St Helena Records 1741-1742

Introduction: This is the twenty second 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/EAP1364-1-1-24.

Text Inaccuracy: 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.

Text Loss: Most pages are intact with little loss of text

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

Pagination:
Page numbers appear only at the top right corners of the recto sides. The first visible number occurs on Film No. 7 as page 3 (location 7/3), which suggests that numbering began on Film No. 5. Confusion over the sequence has arisen from two distinct problems. The first is that when the volume was rebound, the early page blocks were assembled in the wrong order. The second is that the latter half of the volume contains several numbering mistakes.

For the first problem, the early sequence runs 1-202, 235-244, 215-234 and 203-214. These were presumably intended to form four blocks in the order 1-202, 203-214, 215-234 and 235-244. The second problem is shown by the remaining sequence, which runs 245-268, 267-281, 273-361 and 369-461.

Restating this in terms of film locations, the sequence proceeds as follows: 5/1 to 206/202, 207/235 to 216/244, 217/215 to 236/234, 237/203 to 248/214, and 249/245 to 272/268. The preceding page, 271/267, would normally show its number in the top right corner, but this section is torn off. From there the sequence runs 273/267 to the end of the volume, 287/281.

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 9 May 1741 and 18 May 1742.

England and its colonies adopted the Gregorian calendar in 1752. For some years afterwards, dates were often qualified with the letters NS (New Style) or OS (Old Style), particularly where clarity was needed. It is striking, therefore, that at location 203/199 this volume mentions the arrival of a Danish ship from China called the *Queen of Denmark* which had sailed from Canton on "30th November new stile". This notation perhaps relates to dealings with European countries that already followed the Gregorian calendar. British ships' logs and maritime records also occasionally carried NS or OS to reflect the international nature of seafaring. In addition, the East India Company kept close contact with Portuguese, Dutch and French traders in Asia, all of whom had long used the Gregorian calendar. It is reasonable to think that the Company may have favoured NS and OS annotations in its records to maintain consistency across its global correspondence.

The Council meetings were held during the administrations of Robert Jenkin (1741 – 1742) and Thomas Lambert (1742).

AI Generated Summary

Introduction

This account describes East India Company records from St Helena over the period May 1741 to the close of 1742. Robert Jenkins took up the governorship in May 1741 to find the island's affairs in disorder, his arrival coinciding almost exactly with the death of his predecessor, John Goodwin. The record that follows traces, without interruption, the council's investigation into a serious deficiency in the Company's cash and stores traced to Goodwin and his clerk Duke Crispe; the litigation, land disputes and ordinary administration that ran alongside it through 1741; the closing months of Jenkins's government and the arrival of his successor, Major Thomas Lambert, on 22 March 1742; Lambert's own reforming administration through the spring; and, finally, the commercial and pay accounts that show the same period from its warehouse and ledger underside [Film No. 5-284].

Every part of this record was compiled by the council itself, for an audience of directors in London it needed to satisfy that due process had been followed, and this shapes what can be known from it throughout. Crispe and, after his death, Goodwin are heard mainly through the council's own paraphrase, so the reader receives the investigators' account of a defence rather than the defence itself, a caution that applies as much to the reforms of 1742 as to the fraud of 1741. The narrative that follows treats the deficiency and its long unwinding as its spine across the whole period, while giving proportionate weight to the trade, defence, land, slavery and judicial business that filled the same 18 months.

Governance and Administration

Jenkins arrived to a council already stripped of its two most senior officers. On 9 May 1741 he required Duke Crispe and John Bazett, the outgoing secretary and storekeeper, to surrender the castle keys, the storehouse keys, the account books and the cash. The chest held £745 7s 6d, yet the cash book made up to 31 March showed only £6 19s 10d owing to the Company, a discrepancy that framed everything the council did for the following year and more. Refusing to give security, the two men were placed under guard until the ship *Cane*, their intended passage from the island, had sailed, a guard lifted within days once the danger of flight had passed [Film No. 5, 10]. The council reconstituted itself formally on 12 May, when Jenkins and the sitting captains and supercargoes took an oath of fidelity and secrecy binding each member to the directors' instructions, and membership continued to be replenished from whichever Company ships lay in the road, letting a remote council maintain a quorum without waiting months for London to appoint replacements [Film No. 9, 10, 21, 24]. Company business throughout operated under written instruction from London cited by date and paragraph number whenever the council acted, the same discipline that

later grounded the detention of outward-bound ships under the directors' committee of secrecy [Film No. 23, 40, 43, 47].

Through the summer and autumn of 1741 consultations met regularly at the Castle or at Plantation House under Jenkins, with George Gabriel Powell as second of council and John Godfrey as third, each session opening with the reading and approval of the previous minute, a routine that gave the record continuity and made later tampering easier to detect [Film No. 59, 61, 107]. Council personnel shifted as the inquiry proceeded: John Goodwin the younger quit the Company's service on 1 August 1741, and James Powell was engaged as a writer at £20 a year in his place [Film No. 77]. On 19 September 1741 the council sat instead as a court of general gaol delivery, a more formal body opened by proclamation and served by a grand jury with Jenkins as judge [Film No. 96]. The council deferred to Company procedure where its own authority ran out, declining in October to settle a disputed inheritance between the heirs of Hodgkinson and Crawford and citing a paragraph of the general letter of 18 October 1737 requiring contested titles to be tried by jury on a case first reviewed in London, a piece of presumption, in its own words, that it would not undertake itself [Film No. 118-119].

This settled rhythm ended on 22 March 1742, when the ship *Harrington* brought Major Thomas Lambert into the road carrying the Company's commission naming him Governor. Proclaimed at the head of the guards that afternoon, Lambert set the council a long sequence of directives before consulting on any new policy: a full account of the treasury's cash, every store in the warehouse, the military equipment, the household goods at James Fort and Plantation House, the livestock, and a list of the Company's slaves by sex and age [Film No. 188-189]. His insistence on fixing exactly what he received before answering for it reflects the plain lesson of the deficiency uncovered under Jenkins. The handover closed on 30 March 1742, when the council counted the treasury one final time and Jenkins formally passed the key of the cash chest to Lambert, an act witnessed and signed by all three sitting councillors [Film No. 191, 204]. Jenkins remained on the island for some weeks helping the new Governor before continuing to Bombay in the Company's service, and refused to consider his own accounts settled until every branch of the year's finances had been laid fully before the board [Film No. 205, 217, 220, 242]. Lambert's own government opened with the same instinct extended further: household goods at the Castle and Plantation House were inventoried item by item on 4 May 1742, and a freeholders' petition exposed a plain gap in local governance, many inhabitants no longer knowing which Company laws still bound them for want of any recent public reading, which the council answered by publishing afresh whatever remained in force [Film No. 210-211, 219, 230].

The Deficiency: Crispe, Bazett and the Goodwin Estate

The council's proceedings against Crispe and Bazett amounted to a sustained inquisitorial process conducted entirely within the consultative record, controlled access to documents its central method throughout. When Crispe demanded a sealed bundle of his own papers unopened in May 1741, the council refused since he held one of two keys to the room where Company papers were kept, but insisted the papers be examined in his presence and the box sealed with his own mark [Film No. 7]. A written schedule of questions was put to him on 12 May covering the deficiency reaching back to Byfield's death, his trade dealings with Goodwin, and his role in signing or failing to sign the cash accounts [Film No. 11]. Examining the general ledgers, the council found direct forgery: an entry charging Francis Wrangham £94 9s 4d bore his genuine signature, but the figure had been altered afterward, his true debt of £18 7s scratched out and replaced, with a comparable alteration against Charles Steward, both of which Crispe confessed to, claiming he had acted only to serve Goodwin [Film No. 36]. His evasions took a consistent shape across the whole period: an assertion of private right, retreat once challenged, and eventual admission only when no alternative remained, most starkly when he was finally shown to have burned private letters taken from Goodwin's counting house within hours of the Governor's death, an act the council held little short of felony and one that had already deprived the inquiry of its most direct evidence [Film No. 45, 59].

Pressed to swear to an inventory of his own estate, Crispe repeatedly refused the oath while insisting on its truth, and the council's own arithmetic caught him understating what he held. Confronted further, he admitted his first inventory had been false and offered a true one only in exchange for leave to England, a bargain the council refused, choosing instead to await the directors' orders on so grave a matter [Film No. 56, 60]. The corrected inventory, delivered on 24 June 1741, came to £2,461 3s 11.5d, over £1,000 more

than the sum he had first sworn was true, the difference of £1,033 6s 10.5d measuring precisely what he had concealed [Film No. 61]. A further check of the household furniture in September exposed a separate deficiency, which Crispe defended as a figure merely carried forward by established custom; the council rejected custom as any excuse for a continuing cheat of the directors and ordered him to answer for £83 10s 1.5d of missing plate, linen and glass [Film No. 82]. The deficiency itself was shown to rest on a series of false ledger entries rather than any single theft, sums recorded as paid to men who had received nothing and debts posted against inhabitants who owed nothing at all, Crispe's pattern consistent throughout: denial until confronted with the named creditor or debtor, then admission that the entry was false [Film No. 121, 151].

The inquiry's clearest documentary proof arrived only in early 1742. Examining ledger F, John Godfrey found that Goodwin had been made a debtor to Bazett for £285, an entry that broke the Company's standing rule against crediting one man from another's account without a prior balance, and one that had plainly been altered, an earlier name erased and Bazett's written in over it, in Crispe's own hand. Bazett explained that Goodwin had asked leave to draw £300 on the Company in his name for Goodwin's own use, a practice he called customary though he could not say why, and Crispe admitted half the sum was in truth his own [Film No. 163-164]. The council ordered the affair reported to the directors so they might decide how the sum should be recovered, but the surviving minutes contain no further word of it actually being repaid [Film No. 165]. The gravest charge came in the spring of 1742, when Goodwin's widow and son accused Crispe of having destroyed not only the private letters but parts of the Company's own books, leaving them unable to prove what the estate was truly owed; the council's answer placed the Company's own claim on Crispe ahead of any private complaint, a plain statement of whose interest the reckoning served first [Film No. 238]. A smaller inquiry the same season found that Crispe had also concealed a purchase of yams from Richard Tinsley, not to steal the money but because buying yam in Goodwin's first year as Governor, after none had been bought for 14 or 15 years, would have reflected on his reputation for managing the plantations well; the council ordered the debt met from Goodwin's estate [Film No. 253]. By March 1742 Crispe was still listed serving in the militia at the great fort, aged 30, even as the council continued to pursue him, a detail the record states without comment [Film No. 196].

Finance, Property and the Wider Estates

The inquiry drew in property well beyond Crispe's own hands. Jenkins bought 35 head of cattle out of Goodwin's frozen stock for £182, provisioning the shipping while converting part of the estate into a payment against the debt, a transaction later confirmed in the Company's own monthly stock account [Film No. 58, 88]. Margaret Goodwin, the widow, petitioned in July 1741 to lift the attachment on lands her husband had bought, offering to raise the whole purchase price with the help of friends; her case turned on the awkward fact that part of the original purchase money had come from the Company itself and had never been repaid, so the estate stood charged with a debt of the Company's own making [Film No. 62-64]. The council refused the mortgage outright, holding it had no power to encumber property held as security for the Company, and settled instead on a middle course, letting the widow keep the family lands until London's pleasure was known while granting the disputed portion to Powell at £50 a year, so that a frozen asset was nonetheless made to earn [Film No. 65, 67-68].

A separate and equally revealing thread ran through the bill of exchange Goodwin had drawn on Powell for £1,800 for a parcel of Company land, on the false assurance the purchase money had already been paid into the cash, an ordinary commercial instrument used to launder a fraud onto an apparently innocent third party. Powell's own reckoning of the cost of unwinding the sale after three years, several hundred £ in lost stock, wasted grazing and ruined yam grounds, shows how completely a colonial official's fortune could become entangled with a corrupt predecessor's estate [Film No. 21-22]. The council concluded, not without evident discomfort at pressing a man it judged wronged, that Powell should take the £1,800 as being to his own advantage, leaving the deeper equity of his claim to the directors' eventual decision [Film No. 22]. Once the council secured Crispe's and Bazett's estates against removal on 25 May 1741, both men were required to produce full inventories; Bazett's, submitted that June, gave an unusually complete picture of a middling Company servant's holdings, house and land alone accounting for £1,150 of a total £2,171, confirming that wealth on the island lay overwhelmingly in land and the labour that worked it [Film No. 54].

Trade, Shipping and the Convoy System

The arrival and departure of Company shipping set the practical rhythm against which the investigation was conducted throughout 1741. The *Royal George* reached the island on 11 May with stores consigned to the council, her unloading governed by a charter party allowing 10 days before demurrage penalties applied, and the council's daily tally of longboats delivered served as a defensive record proving any delay lay in weather and labour rather than neglect [Film No. 8, 33]. A fleet of five ships sailed for England together on the night of 11 May, and later that summer a larger fleet of nine, among them the *Royal Guardian*, *Prince William*, *Winchester*, *Hardwick*, *Princess Louisa*, *Warrington*, *Montague*, *Duke* and *Zabet Field*, sailed together on 10 July 1741 under the directors' orders, released as one body after weeks of detention so that they might cross in company rather than singly, the danger of war shaping shipping decisions throughout [Film No. 9, 66]. Captain Hindman's plea that his ship the *Duke* could barely raise anchor with only 63 men, many of them weak, showed how a convoy could redistribute scarce crew from better-manned vessels to a struggling one, and His Majesty's ships *Chester* and *Falkland* arrived only in late August, too late to convoy the fleet they had been sent to protect [Film No. 66-67, 79].

St Helena's usefulness to the Company lay chiefly in victualling the ships that called on their passage home, and the warehouse's own surplus, cleared for cash across 1741 and 1742, showed India goods dwarfing every class of European stores sold beside them, arrack alone bringing in over £326 in one clearing and close to £195 in a single later quarter, more than any other commodity in the warehouse [Film No. 112-113, 140, 258]. Chelloe, long cloth and palampores, the painted and woven cottons of the Coromandel and Bengal trade, sold steadily throughout, and a small local trade in shoes and horseshoes made by named island craftsmen shows the settlement supplying a modest fraction of its own needs even as it relied overwhelmingly on imported goods [Film No. 269-270, 275]. Diplomacy shaped the trade in early 1742: the French ship *Triton* arrived on 27 February under Monsieur Pierre Dumas, a former Governor of Pondicherry, who asked leave to take on water and provisions and later invoked the nineteenth article of the Treaty of Utrecht of 1713, guaranteeing six months to remove ships and goods unmolested should war break out while they lay in the other power's port; Jenkins confirmed the article still stood so far as he knew and promised fair treatment pending instructions from London [Film No. 179, 185]. Shipping continued to crowd the road into the spring, the *Harrington* departing for Bombay, a Danish ship called the *Queen of Denmark* arriving from Canton, a Dutch vessel the *Ten Deynor*, and the sloop *Swift* arriving from Madagascar with recruits and two slaves, each arrival logged and relayed in the council's letters as the ordinary business of a station on the sea road between Europe and India [Film No. 205-206, 219, 223].

Judiciary and Local Justice

Civil disputes were regularly referred to juries acting according to equity and good conscience, following the directors' standing orders that debt cases be so tried [Film No. 70]. The most substantial civil action of the whole period was Sarah Francis's suit against Francis Wrangham, arising from her late father Henry Francis's will of 1722, which had directed the proceeds of his land paid into the Company's cash at interest until his children came of age; his executors, Goodwin and Wrangham, had instead held the land and kept the money in their own hands [Film No. 102-103]. Wrangham's defence, that the will itself had directed the executors to hold the estate for some seven years and that the death of two of the estate's ablest slaves had forced an unplanned sale, was tested at a formal hearing on 19 September 1741 before a jury of 12 chosen from 18 substantial planters; after roughly 90 minutes the jury found for Sarah Francis, ordering Wrangham to pay her dividend with interest, a verdict that confirmed the debt without condemning his conduct [Film No. 93-95, 97-104].

Smaller claims were settled directly by the council, Mary Pledger reimbursed £10 that Crispe had wrongly demanded a second time, and the Hayes orphans, informally fostered after their stepfather's desertion, given a formal guardian once Crispe's dispossession of their earlier guardian collapsed into disputed accounts [Film No. 72-74, 81]. The council's ruling against the planter Jonathan Doveton, fined for searching Thomas Jarvis's house without any warrant, turned on the principle that no private inhabitant held any judicial authority of his own; the same principle underlay the council's refusal in October to settle the Hodgkinson-Crawford land dispute itself, referring it instead to London [Film No. 118-119, 128-129]. A comparable case in 1742 concerned John Worrall, an overseer accused by several of the Company's slaves of killing and exchanging Company goats for his own poorer stock; the council saw plainly the weakness of proceeding on slave testimony alone, evidence that could inform its judgement but could not sustain a

formal conviction, yet dismissed him all the same on the one charge he had conspicuously failed to answer [Film No. 165-168]. A sharper legal question arose in April 1742 over John Funge, an island-born soldier who asked leave to sail for Bombay before his term was served; Lambert argued against release on grounds of wartime necessity, but Powell and Godfrey held that the Royal Charter made island natives free subjects of England who could not lawfully be detained once their contract was discharged, and the council granted the petition against the Governor's own recommendation [Film No. 240]. A memorial from four bond creditors of the long-dead planter James Crafford, reopening a dispute over 33 acres taken from his executor without the jury trial the island's custom was said to require, shows the same tension between a Governor's summary authority and the inhabitants' insistence on trial by their peers recurring into the record's final months [Film No. 283].

Military Affairs and Defence

Jenkins reported early that Banks's, the first seaward valley passed by shipping approaching the island, lay entirely open and could be seized with little difficulty, judging it the key to the island's defence; the council hired 20 slaves from the planters to carry the work forward, crediting the value against the owners' debts to the Company [Film No. 105, 107]. These consultations fall within the opening years of the Anglo-Spanish war remembered as the War of Jenkins' Ear, a conflict that soon merged into the wider War of the Austrian Succession; Jenkins was the same mariner whose severed ear had helped carry Britain into that war a decade earlier, though nothing in the council's own minutes remarks on the coincidence. The full survey of the fortifications reported on 10 June 1741 catalogued a defensive position in serious decay behind its nominal strength of guns: Munden's battery held 12 guns but only four serviceable carriages, Banks's platform sat so low that an enemy could step from a boat directly onto it, and James Fort, the principal defence with 99 guns, proved the gravest finding of all, its parapets and embrasures shaking loose and in danger of collapse for want of lime and labour [Film No. 49-50]. By August the upper line of the Grand Fortification stood complete and labour had moved to the lower line, though only nine or 10 able hands could be mustered for the works from the Company's own people, a shortage met by hiring planters' slaves and paying soldiers extra for the task [Film No. 72, 77, 81, 96].

The garrison muster of 19 May 1741 revealed a substantial shortfall between paper and actual strength, most severely among the sentinels, and Crispe's explanation, that gunners and officers had customarily drawn extra men's pay beyond the numbers genuinely borne, converted an apparent manpower deficiency into a second fraud he traced explicitly to a practice established under the earlier governorship of Byfield [Film No. 24, 26, 31, 35-36]. The gunner's monthly returns through this whole period record a heavy and continual expense of powder on alarms and salutes for every arriving and departing ship, a single passing vessel drawing one round while a fleet's departure could consume 81 guns and over 100 pounds of powder, the courtesies of the road a real charge against the Company's stores even as new recruits used 1,000 cartridges learning to fire in May 1741 alone, a deliberate investment in readiness at a time when war was feared [Film No. 83-86]. Lambert's arrival in March 1742 brought a fresh and more systematic survey under a specific article of the Court of Directors' instructions of 4 December 1741: his central finding was a paradox, that the works mounted more guns than the garrison had men to serve, and that several batteries had been built too far forward and too close to the beach, giving a shrewd enemy cover under the walls [Film No. 223]. Along the leeward coast he proposed a single cheap method for every valley, cutting the rock to a sheer face and raising a dry stone wall above it, the scheme depending on inhabitants and slaves keeping watch on the hills and signalling to one another so that a small, scattered force could concentrate wherever a real landing threatened, though both this and the older works were undercut by a genuine shortage of lime stone [Film No. 224, 226-227]. The most consequential decision of the whole period was where to mount the four 32-pounders brought out by the *Harrington*: Lambert and the council chose the new platform at Banks's over the more exposed Chubb's Rock, judging the latter too costly and too thinly manned to be worth building, and the guns were landed within days of the report being read [Film No. 225, 233]. War in Europe, though not yet declared against France, shaped how the island handled foreign shipping through the spring of 1742, Danish and Dutch vessels confined to Chapel Valley and the fort's gates ordered shut every night at seven [Film No. 206, 223].

Settlement, Land and Agriculture

Samuel Doveton's report of 14 May 1741 attributed the island's scarcity directly to Crispe's long neglect of the yam grounds, unmanured for years despite repeated warning, compounded by seasons that had lately

been poor and springs that had run dry; St Helena's climate is temperate, its seasons set by its position in the southern hemisphere, and these references describe unusual dryness within that pattern rather than any departure from it [Film No. 15]. The council's response combined emergency conservation with a decision not to remove Doveton despite the case against him, breeding stock preserved and yam sowing suspended for a fortnight while the slaves were fed on rice instead [Film No. 15-16]. Land business through 1741 and into 1742 turned repeatedly on the Company's own priorities: John Bell's request to surrender hired land as barren and ruinous was deferred pending the Governor's own inspection, and John Goodwin the younger's petition for waste acres above the Company's plantation in Rupert's Valley was refused outright, the council unwilling to let any ground be broken above the spring supplying the shipping in the road [Film No. 116, 153]. Leases were granted through the winter of 1741-42 on the Company's standard terms, land let for a fixed term or named lives at nominal rent, the tenant bound to keep a tenth of the ground in wood and maintain every fence; William Worrall senior's petition to reconstruct a lost 40-acre lease and assign it to his son raised a harder question, since the lease ran for the lives of named family members rather than a fixed term, and the council deferred the grant to await the directors' opinion, caught between established island custom and a fresh instruction from London aimed at shorter, more closely controlled leases [Film No. 169-170, 178, 182-184].

By the spring of 1742 the Company's own plantations were reported in a poor state: Powell found the growing yams so undersized that eating them risked giving the slaves the flux, and Doveton confirmed there was neither yam nor enough breeding stock to carry the establishment through, forcing the council to buy yams from the planters to bridge a month's shortfall [Film No. 235, 242-243]. A long petition from Richard Tinsley traced a Company leasehold through three deaths, from John Orchard to his widow Mary and, on her death in 1739, into other hands, before reverting to the Company on the lease's expiry, illustrating that no lease descended freely on the island; each simply returned to the Company to be regranted, leaving every tenant's hold on the land temporary and revocable [Film No. 244, 252].

Supply and Provisioning

Every month the Governor, gunner and steward submitted separate accounts, examined and approved in turn by the council. The general table's expense ran to roughly £50 a month through the winter of 1741-42, chiefly arrack, wine, meat, sugar and candles, and by March 1742 drink alone was taking well over half the whole charge, a month made unusually full by the change of Governor and by foreign ships lying in the road [Film No. 91-92, 110, 124, 129, 222]. Monthly livestock returns tracked every animal on the Company's land by category, increase, killing and death throughout the whole period. Goats recovered sharply from the low numbers left after an earlier cull ordered under Byfield, climbing past 150 by several counts in late 1741, while a standing order to spare breeding cattle through the backward season meant goats and hogs bore almost the whole weight of monthly slaughter; by the winter of 1741-42 the goat herd fell from 118 in December to 70 by the end of February under the same policy, while the cattle stood almost untouched, only beginning to rise sharply again by March as the pressure of provisioning the fleet eased [Film No. 87, 89, 156, 176, 187, 193]. Yams, expended at some 38,000 pounds a month at the height of the record and around 29,000 pounds by April 1742, were the staple crop feeding the plantations throughout [Film No. 111, 123, 234-235]. St Helena's dependence on the Indian trade shows plainly in letters the council sent by the *Harrington* to Bengal, Bombay and Fort St George in April 1742, each asking for near-identical parcels of palampores, paddy, sugar, candles, cloth and rice, spreading the same request across all three presidencies as a hedge against any single ship failing to call, the clearest evidence in the whole record that the island could not feed or furnish itself from its own resources [Film No. 205-206].

Finance, Currencies and Accounting

The council's inventory of the Company's treasure on 22 May 1741, valued at £21,141 10s 3.75d, shows the improvised character of currency on a settlement trading between Europe and the Indies, cash notes, dollars, rupees of several denominations and new Mexican dollars all reduced to a common measure before the total could be expressed in sterling [Film No. 34]. This same reliance on paper credit and internal transfer between officers' books was what had let the deficiency grow undetected in the first place, and in November 1741 the council counted the Company's cash for what it called the first full count since the deficiency had come to light, finding £2,024 2s 6d, held mostly in Spanish American silver [Film No. 126]. A public call for repayment that December produced a long roll of answers from debtors ranging from prompt promises to pay through to poverty, absence overseas and death, the largest sums, Francis

Wrangham's debt of £202 4s 7.5d foremost among them, tied up in disputed land purchases the council could not settle on its own [Film No. 146, 148-149]. The quarterly pay to 31 December 1741 ran to £859 14s 7.5d for every servant on the establishment, and the monthly pay accounts that followed were built as a name-by-name roll against a fixed rate, a form the minutes explain directly as the safeguard against the phantom pay the deficiency inquiry had found running on the muster books since Byfield's time [Film No. 157-161, 171, 197-199]. Treasury counts continued regularly through the transition to Lambert, one in March 1742 finding £1,960 3s 10.5d, and the final count as Lambert assumed office recorded at two slightly different figures within the same entry, a small discrepancy that is itself a modest reminder of how easily error could creep into even a carefully kept account [Film No. 184, 203-204].

Lambert's own government through April and May 1742 built a further and more elaborate structure of cross-checking, every soldier's pay running from the exact day he entered the roll, every hospital admission and discharge entered separately by the surgeon and the steward, and every wage stopped for illness paid directly into the Company's own treasury rather than left to pass through private hands [Film No. 213-217, 244-251]. Throughout, the Goodwin estate was worked through the ordinary store and cash accounts rather than held apart, its stock sold at outcry and its rents and old arrears gathered in item by item; the quarterly store, charge and pay accounts running from October 1741 into 1742 show this in its fullest detail, every gallon of arrack or pound of candy the estate supplied kept on a note distinct from the Company's own stock even in the smallest general charge [Film No. 217, 220, 242, 261, 264, 277]. The scale of what Goodwin's estate held exposed private trading on a considerable scale by the man who had governed the island, his own stocks of arrack and candy selling for £143 and £97 in one quarter and £138 and £79 in the next, sums that dwarf what any household could consume and point instead to a Governor dealing privately in the very Indian goods that passed through his official hands; his estate also held fine Indian textiles, China silks, nankeen, morees and taffety, the same range of goods the Company itself sold at retail, so that the line between the Company's monopoly trade and its own Governor's private commerce all but disappears in these ledgers [Film No. 265, 274].

Economy

Much of island life ran on credit rather than cash throughout this period. Planters who lent slaves to burn lime under Crispe's government were still owed the promised bushels months later, Samuel Doveton alone standing owed 293 bushels for the labour of the slaves under his charge at the kilns, and the council eventually offered part payment in cash and part as a promise against the next burning [Film No. 118, 126]. The same pressure of scarce forage lay behind the sale of 22 idle Company horses in late 1741, the council judging that grass sufficient for 44 head of cattle was better spent fattening stock the establishment could eat [Film No. 118, 126]. Cash remained scarce among the inhabitants into 1742 at the season when Goodwin's estate came to be sold, and the council granted six months' credit to buyers at the outcry provided each gave secure guarantee of payment, judging it better to widen the field of bidders than to sell cheaply to the few who held ready money [Film No. 254]. The fortification works of this same period were paid for only partly in cash, a long account crediting named planters for rafters, provisions, shoes and hired labour against their own debts to the Company showing the island's whole settled population drawn into building the defences through mutual credit rather than money [Film No. 276].

Trade and the Warehouse Economy

Every quarter through this period the storekeeper's accounts show fishing tackle as one of the warehouse's largest single trades, hooks sold by the 100 dozen and lines of every grade bringing in over £20 in the closing months of 1741 and again over £9 the following quarter, evidence of a population that fished both to feed itself and to sell its catch [Film No. 256, 267]. Alongside this ran a steady trade in fine haberdashery and in imported shoes, which sold in such quantity, £26 in one quarter and £17 in the next, graded by sex and quality down to numbered lots, that footwear stood among the settlement's most regular purchases from a Company store it depended on for a manufacture it could barely produce for itself [Film No. 257, 268, 275]. The account correcting an earlier overcharge to the planter Martin Mac Danil, and the sale continuing without interruption through the very weeks Governor Lambert took office, both show the warehouse run as a precise and continuous trading ledger, its commerce reckoned to a penny regardless of who governed the island [Film No. 258, 266].

Slavery and Coerced Labour

Enslaved people appear throughout the whole period as labour, as property to be inventoried, and occasionally as a strategic asset whose loss was framed in terms of the island's defence. On 22 May 1741 the council selected 18 slaves, overwhelmingly women and young children, for transport to Bencoolen to husk pepper, a task matched to those judged unsuited to the heavier labour of the plantations and fortifications reserved for men [Film No. 34]. Francis Wrangham's petition of 10 June 1741 concerned an enslaved fisherman named Nero, enticed away by a French ship in 1737 and framed explicitly as a security concern, since his intimate knowledge of every landing place was valuable to an invader as much as to a fisherman's household [Film No. 50-51]. A markedly different case, that of the free black woman Agnes on 4 June 1741, exposed both the limits and the real presence of a concept of personal liberty within the same system of bondage: the council found that a previous administration had bound her without consent to serve Francis Funge, declared this illegal and arbitrary for a free person, and gave her leave to sail for India, yet simultaneously bound her three children to Funge on its own fresh terms, so that the correction of one illegal indenture produced a new lawful one that still separated a mother from her children [Film No. 48].

The Company's slaves received a fixed annual allowance of clothing, jackets, shirts and breeches for men, petticoats and shifts for women, issued as a routine charge on the stores, and the same slaves were divided thinly across wharf repair, the plantations, the pastures, the lime kilns and the fishery, with six or seven generally reported sick, so no single task ever commanded the hands it needed [Film No. 69, 71]. When the fortifications required more labour than the Company's own slaves could supply, the council hired planters' slaves at a shilling a day, treating slave labour as a resource to be drawn on across ownership lines whenever defence demanded it [Film No. 72]. By late 1741 the scale of clothing issue is recorded precisely, blankets worth £31 10s issued between October and December and, in the first quarter of 1742, kersey worth £26 8s and dowlas worth almost £13; the cloths chosen were consistently the coarsest and cheapest in the warehouse, set against the silks, calicoes and fine wools sold to the free inhabitants from the very same stock, a material distinction the accounts preserve without comment [Film No. 259, 270]. A separate entry crediting the planter Benjamin Pledger for the hire of a slave woman's labour towards the fortifications, entered in the same column as rafters and shoes supplied by his neighbours, shows slaves treated in the Company's own books as a commodity indistinguishable from timber or footwear [Film No. 276-277].

A detailed list of the Company's slaves taken on 29 March 1742 as part of Lambert's general reckoning sets out men, women and children by their employment, stone layers and a long boat's crew at the fortifications, fishermen, gardeners, house servants, a cook, a smith, tailors, a carpenter, alongside boys apprenticed within the establishment to become smiths, carpenters, coopers and fishermen in turn, a way of reproducing skilled labour without the cost of buying it in; a separate note recorded that the Company's slave girls were bound out to serve individual inhabitants until the age of 30, shifting the cost of raising them onto private households while claiming the whole of their working years [Film No. 194-195]. Slave labour continued through the spring of 1742 across nearly every branch of the establishment, quarrying and burning the island's dwindling lime stone, nursing and provisioning the new hospital, and filling the mattrosses of the artillery by promoting able slaves from the old company for their fidelity and quickness, while the sloop *Swift* brought two more enslaved people to the island from Madagascar, a man and a boy entered on the roll simply as recruits, a small but direct trace of the Indian Ocean slave trade still supplying St Helena's labour force in 1742 [Film No. 207, 223, 231, 233]. The Company's own slaves petitioned formally that spring for the restoration of a food allowance they said had been cut under Crispe and Bagley, and asked also for blankets and light in their barracks, having none of either since coming to the island; the council restored what it judged the fuller and older allowance [Film No. 232].

Social Order

The council was capable of stating social principle through the size of a penalty: fining Doveton only five shillings for his unlawful search of Jarvis's house, it directed the sum explicitly as a warning to the wealthy not to impose upon the poor [Film No. 129]. Widowhood exposed the limits of a woman's standing before the council throughout this period. Margaret Goodwin could recover only the household goods and two slaves the council chose to lend her, and had to petition for even that much while her late husband's estate remained frozen, and Elizabeth Hodgkinson, left without means to pursue her husband's debtors in her own name, needed the council's formal authority before her brother could collect on her behalf [Film No. 109, 115, 117]. Late in 1741 the widow Lydia Harper complained to the council that her slave Lewis had

repeatedly threatened her and her children with violence and had once thrown her to the ground, a grievance she could only bring by appeal to the council itself, having no other established authority over a man she judged dangerous in the absence of a husband in the house [Film No. 104]. By 1742 three petitions for discharge in the same week showed how unevenly the Company's hold over its people was applied, a sentinel of 34 years' service released but kept liable to recall on alarm, a servant of 10 years freed only once his island debts were cleared, and John Funge alone left as a matter of unconditional right [Film No. 240].

Religion and Education

Religious language appears chiefly in the island's legal formulas rather than as a subject of its own throughout this record: wills opened by commending the testator's soul to God and asked for a Christian and decent burial, and the Goodwins swore their inventory oath on the same religious basis. The minutes give no sign of any school or catechist on the island through most of 1741, a silence that says as much about where the council's attention lay as any positive entry could [Film No. 106, 120, 125]. By 1742, however, the Company's paid establishment names a schoolmaster, Richard Beale, on the same monthly roll as the marshal and the gardener, the clearest sign in the whole period of any formal education provided on the island, and Lambert's hospital scheme, when finally set down in writing, was justified to the council not only as sound husbandry of the garrison's health but as truly Christian and humane [Film No. 217, 251].

Crime and Punishment

Punishment on the island fell along clear lines of status throughout the whole period. When Lydia Harper's slave Lewis was believed to have beaten another slave, Punch, so severely that he died about a day later, several other slaves had seen the blow struck, yet none of their evidence could establish the charge in law against a white defendant; the council instead whipped Lewis with 100 lashes once a week for a month, for impudence and misbehaviour rather than for the death itself, then confined him in irons in the dungeon until his mistress judged it proper to send for him [Film No. 105]. Doveton's proven and admitted wrong against a free inhabitant cost him five shillings, and a drunken dispute between two free planters over missing tools earned no penalty at all, a gap between outcomes that followed directly from who could testify, who could be believed, and whose misconduct the council chose to treat as correction rather than mercy [Film No. 105, 129, 154]. This pattern persisted into 1742: two soldiers, David Wilson and John Potter, who tried to desert aboard a Danish ship on the night of 5 April, were tried before the assembled garrison on 17 April, Wilson receiving 100 lashes and Potter 30 for what the record treated as the identical offence, a disparity the council never explained on the page, while three enslaved people, Simon, Rager and Phill, accused of theft from a private house and the castle tailor's shop, were sent to a formal quarterly court rather than punished on the spot by their owners, a real if narrow procedural protection extended even to the enslaved [Film No. 211-212, 218, 241]. A rougher dispute the same year, between the soldiers Francis Hayse and Benjamin Seale and a guard named Edmund Danford after Danford drove off Hayse's trespassing hogs, turned on a free witness's evidence rather than slave testimony, and the council felt able to fine both soldiers a modest sum for what it plainly regarded as a first and lightly punished offence [Film No. 283-284].

Personalities

Duke Crispe dominates the whole record as its central figure, moving from flat denial to grudging, partial admission at nearly every turn across almost two years, burning evidence, refusing oaths and understating his estate until the council's own checking exposed him, and still found serving in the militia at the great fort even as the case against him grew graver through 1742 [Film No. 55-56, 59-61, 163-164, 196]. Governor John Goodwin, dead before the surviving record opens, is exposed by the very inquiry that stripped his family down to single chamber pots and a looking glass as having been no more honest than Crispe himself, buying land from Powell with Company bills of exchange he never repaid, his private trading wealth in arrack, candy and Indian cloth running to several hundred £ across the estate accounts of 1741 and 1742 [Film No. 108-109, 117, 265, 274]. Margaret Goodwin emerges as a shrewd defender of her family's interest throughout, offering to buy her husband's estate free of the Company's claim rather than contest it outright [Film No. 62-64]. Francis Wrangham presented himself as a careful trustee wronged by circumstance, though his shifting arguments about liability suggest a man conscious that his position was weaker than he claimed, while Sarah Francis argued her own case with notable command, tying her private claim to a wider principle that no dying man's will should go unobserved [Film No. 93-101].

Governor Robert Jenkins presided over nearly every consultation examined across this whole period, the constant figure directing an administration bent on tracing fraud, restoring the fortifications and settling disputed inheritances all at once, closing his government as he had conducted it throughout, cautious and correct, and finally surrendering the treasury key to his successor in a formally witnessed act [Film No. 59-104, 179, 185, 204]. Samuel Doveton recurs at almost every turn as the trusted hand given charge of valuations, plantation management and the lime kilns, a steady, unglamorous career official whose presence contrasts sharply with Crispe's across the whole record [Film No. 105, 108, 118, 125, 235, 239]. Major Thomas Lambert arrives in the record's final phase as a figure of deliberate method, refusing to take up his government until every account had been laid before him, walking every fort and valley himself, and repeatedly insisting that any fault in his own proposals be judged an error of judgement rather than of will, a phrase aimed squarely at the standard his predecessors had failed to meet [Film No. 188-189, 223, 225, 228]. George Gabriel Powell threads through nearly the whole record without interruption, as second of council, paymaster, land claimant and finally advocate in a dispute over private trade, the constant administrative hand across both Governors' terms [Film No. 157, 171, 201, 203].

Conclusion

Read as a continuous whole, the 18 months from May 1741 to the close of 1742 describe a single connected process rather than a settled period of island life: the uncovering of a serious deficiency traced to Governor Goodwin and his clerk Crispe, its long and only partly successful recovery through litigation, forced inventories and estate sales, and its lasting effect on how the island rebuilt its own accounting discipline under both Jenkins and his successor Lambert. What survives across all six runs of records is an intimate account of how an East India Company council conducted a financial investigation and its long aftermath at a remote settlement, the careful control of documents and keys, the insistence on vouchers and signatures as the only real proof against a clerk's word, and a name-by-name pay roll rebuilt specifically as a guard against the phantom wages the fraud had exposed [Film No. 5-54, 163-164, 171, 188-189]. It also illuminates matters far beyond the deficiency itself throughout the whole period, from the near-collapse and gradual repair of the island's fortifications to the routine movement and coerced labour of enslaved women, men and children across every branch of the settlement's economy, and the small, real, and narrowly bounded assertions of legal protection extended even within a system built on slavery [Film No. 48, 194-195, 211-212, 223-227].

The record's evidential character deserves a final word of caution that applies equally across its whole span. It was compiled throughout by the body investigating the fraud, or by its direct successor, for directors it needed to satisfy that due process had been followed, and its own analysis necessarily read events with the council's conclusions already reached. Crispe's voice, and after his death Goodwin's, survive only as the council chose to report them, and the file gives no comparable insight into how an ordinary planter, an enslaved worker, or the Goodwin and Bazett families themselves experienced these 18 months. What the record does establish beyond reasonable doubt, through forged ledgers, altered signatures and admissions extracted piece by piece over the better part of two years, is that the deficiency was real, that it implicated more than one officer across more than one governorship, and that its roots extended back through at least two precedent administrations. Whether the council's own remedies, guard, embargo, jury trial and referral to London, amounted to justice for those most directly wronged, including Powell, Wrangham, the Harper family and Sarah Francis, remains considerably less certain than the record's confident, procedural tone would suggest, and the losses it describes fell disproportionately on a widow, an orphan, a niece, and on the slaves who never appear in any of these six accounts as anything but property or labour [Film No. 63-64, 69, 104, 259, 270].

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and Analysis
1		EAP 1364 St Helena Document Name and Date St. Helena Records 1741-1742 Photographer Pete Date photographed 17 NOV 2021 Additional comments	
2		Book cover	
3		St. Helena Records 24	

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and Analysis
		1741-1742 Garrison. pp. 20, 153, 167, 193, 209, 241-335- Fortifications. " 42 45 64 73 101 103 322- Militia. " 191- Hospital. " 226 230 247- Guns mounted at each fort; p. 192-	
4		No Consultation recorded from the 5th Augt 1840 - until 9th May 1841. 5th Augt 1840 - L. Goodwin - Sur 9th May 1841 - R. Leechin - Sur A Deficiency in Cash £4209.1.7 against Govr Goodwin	
5	1	At a Consultation held on Saturday the 9th May 1741 at the Castle Present. Robert Jenkins Esqr Governour Mr Henry Plant Mr Thos Liell } Supracargoes Geo: Gab: Powell Depty Govr John Godfrey Secy of Councill Agreeable to our Honble Masters Orders immediately demanded of Mess: Duke Crispe & John Bazett the Keys of the Castle, the General Books of Accompts, Keys of the Store Houses, Cash Book and Cash, all which were accordingly Delivered Us, the Cash in Cash Notes, Amounting to £ 94-7-6, being what was found in the Honourable Companys Cash Chest, part of which they Mess: Duke Crispe & John Bazett Declared to be the Ballance of the Cash due to the Company. The Cash Book being produced brought up to the 31 March last there appears by it to be due to the Company only £ 6.19-10¾ The next thing taken into Consideration is that Paragraph of our Honble Masters Orders not to Suffer Mess: Duke Crispe & John Bazett to go hence untill they have fully Satisfied all Just Demands and to Secured their Effects for that Purpose. Mess: Duke Crispe and John Bazett were thereupon called before Us and Security Demanded of them for the Deficiency that appears in the Honourable Companys Estate. Mess: Duke Crispe & John Bazett make Answer, that the late Mr Godwin was Casher & therefore they Conceive him to be Wholly Culpable with Respect to the Deficiency, and Positively Protest against Giving any Security as for themselves to make good the same, tho at the same time Acknowledge themselves faulty in Signing the Cash Accompts without inspecting into the Specie, Alledging in their Justification that it has never been Customary for the Council to Examine the Cash. Resolved As they have Refused to give the Security asked, that there be a Guard upon their Persons untill the Cane Ship now Riding in the road was Sailed. Rt Jenkins G. G. Powell John Godfrey Present. And Approved of the above Consultation Henry Plant Thos: Liell.	At a consultation held on Saturday 9 May 1741 at the Castle, Governor Robert Jenkins presided, with the supercargoes Henry Hunt and Thomas Liell, the Deputy Governor George Gabriel Powell and John Godfrey, third of council, in attendance. Following the directors' orders, the council at once required Duke Crisp and John Bazett to hand over the keys of the castle, the keys of the storehouses, the general account books, the cash book and the cash. All of it was delivered accordingly. The money and cash notes found in the Company's treasury chest came to £745 7s 6d, and Crisp and Bazett stated that part of this represented the balance of cash owing to the Company. When the cash book was produced, made up to 31 March last, it showed only £6 19s 10d as due to the Company. The council next considered the directors' instruction that Crisp and Bazett must not leave the island until every proper claim against them had been met and their effects secured for that purpose. The two men were called before the council and asked to give security for the shortfall appearing in the Company's estate. Crisp and Bazett answered that the late Mr Goodwin had been the cashier, so they held him wholly to blame for the deficiency, and they firmly refused to give any security to make it good themselves. At the same time they admitted their own fault in signing the cash accounts without checking the actual coin against them, pleading in their defence that the council had never been in the habit of examining the cash. Since the two men refused the security demanded, the council resolved that a guard be set over them until the *Cane* ship then lying in the road had sailed. The consultation was signed by Robert Jenkins, George Gabriel Powell and John Godfrey, and separately endorsed as approved by Henry Hunt and Thomas Liell. **Interpretations** The two figures set side by side expose the whole problem the council faced. The chest held £745 7s 6d in coin and notes, yet the cash book made up to 31 March showed only £6 19s 10d owing to the Company. A cashier's book records what he ought to be holding on the Company's behalf; the near-empty balance against a full chest meant either that large sums had been received and never entered, or that the book had ceased to reflect the real state of the treasury altogether. Security was demanded not for a missing pile of coin but for this gap between the paper account and the actual holding, the deficiency the council could see but not yet measure. The supercargoes named in the Present list mark this as no ordinary plantation consultation. A supercargo was the officer aboard an East India ship who managed the cargo and the trade on the Company's account, buying and selling at each port and answerable for the returns. Two of them, Hunt and Liell, sat with the Governor and endorsed the proceedings separately at the foot, their ship being the *Cane* then in the road. Their presence gave the new

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			Governor a bench of Company servants of standing to witness a confrontation over the Company's money at the very moment control of the treasury changed hands. The clerks' defence rested on a claim about custom rather than innocence. They did not deny signing the cash accounts; they argued that no one on the council had ever checked the coin against the book, so signing on trust was the settled practice. This is the mechanism at the heart of the dispute: an internal control that existed on paper, the councillors certifying the accounts, had been hollowed out by a habit of certifying without inspecting, leaving no point at which a growing shortfall would have been caught. **Speculations** The council reached for physical custody of the two men rather than the ordinary remedy of a bond or a charge on their estates. The obvious course, once security was refused, was to attach their property or hold their effects, which the directors' own order about securing their goods had expressly contemplated. Instead the council set a guard over their persons, and tied its duration to a single event, the sailing of the *Cane*. The reason lies in that ship. She offered Crisp and Bazett a passage off the island, and a debtor at sea was beyond recovery, so the council treated the risk of flight as more pressing than the slow process of securing assets, holding the men themselves only for as long as the means of escape lay in the road.
6	2	At a Consultation held on Sunday the 10th May 1741 at the Castle Present. Robert Jenkins Esqr Governour Mr Henry Plant Mr Thos Liell } Supracargoes Geo: Gab: Powell Depty Govr John Godfrey Secy of Councill The last Consultation was read and Approved Being informed that the Ship Hawlingsford now under Dispatch is in great want of Officers, & the Company having a Supra Cargoe on Board Mr Thinks it our Duty for the better Security of our Honble Estate to Recomend the Cash, Comitting the same to be sto to may be Supplyed out of the Fleet if there be really an Occasion Capt Houghton was accordingly sent for & Proposals as follows Viz To the Worshipfull Robert Jenkins Esqr Governour and Council of the Island St Helena Gentlemen Whereas you have thought proper to Enquire into the Condition of my Ship & am to tell you that Mr hard at this day is of well Man on Board the Ship in every Particular ready to parted with the Fleet now under Dispatch I am Gentlemen Your most Humble Servant James Houghton Ordered That Capt Houghtons Report be Enclosed in our Packett to the Honble Company sent p Commandore Rt Jenkins G. G. Powell John Godfrey Present. And Approved of the above Consultation Henry Plant Thos: Liell **Margin Notes:** St Helena 10th May 1741	At a consultation held on Sunday 10 May 1741 at the Castle, Governor Robert Jenkins presided, with the supercargoes Henry Hunt and Thomas Liell, the Deputy Governor George Gabriel Powell and John Godfrey, third of council, in attendance. The record of the previous consultation was read and approved. The council learned that the ship *Hawlingsfield* was under orders to sail and that the Company badly needed the money owing to it. Since a large sum stood charged upon the estate of the late Mr Goodwin, the council held it its duty, for the better recovery of that estate, to examine the ship's cargo and see it made to answer part of what the Company was owed. Captain Houghton was accordingly asked to report on what he carried. Houghton addressed his answer to the Governor and council. He explained that, as they wished to know the state of his ship and cargo, he could tell them that he had that day everything on board and the vessel ready in every respect to sail, being now under orders for dispatch. He signed himself from St Helena on 10 May 1741. The council ordered that Houghton's report be enclosed in the packet sent to the Company's directors. The consultation was signed by Robert Jenkins, George Gabriel Powell and John Godfrey, and separately endorsed as approved by Henry Hunt and Thomas Liell. **Interpretations** The manoeuvre against Goodwin's estate turned on catching goods while they were still reachable. A debt charged upon an estate was only as good as the assets that could be laid hold of, and once a ship sailed her cargo passed beyond the island's reach for good. By calling for Houghton's report the moment the *Hawlingsfield* was cleared to leave, the council was testing whether any part of that outbound cargo could be attached against the sum owing before it left the road, the same reasoning that had put a guard on Crisp and Bazett the day before while the *Cane* still lay at anchor.

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			The captain's reply, carefully worded and formally signed, gave the council nothing to seize while committing him to nothing. He confirmed only that his ship was loaded and ready to sail under her orders, without conceding that any of the lading answered to Goodwin's estate or could be held for it. Filing this bland certificate in the directors' packet served a defensive purpose: it put on record that the council had pursued the debt and that the captain had been formally approached, so that London could see the recovery had been attempted even though nothing was actually taken.
7	3	At a Consultation held on Sunday the 10th May 1741 at the Castle in the Evening Present. Robert Jenkins Esqr Governour Mr Henry Plant Mr Thos Liell } Supracargoes Geo: Gab: Powell Depty Governour John Godfrey 3d of Councill The last Consultation was read & Approved Mr Crispe having Sent to Request some papers that he says immediately relates to himself, he was thereupon Ordered to appear, & in presence of the the Door of the Room wherein those papers were lodged was opened, himself having one key of the Door of said Room & the Governour the other, When he was told to ask for any Particular paper he wanted that did not Interfere with the Affairs Relating either to the Company or the Estate of the late Mr Godwin, He which he said was a hardship Rejected, had all Papers which he demanded should be Delivered to him without any Enlarge at all, Whereupon he was told that such a Request was highly unreasonable, & Consequently how Aquiesance would Incure the Displeasure of our Honourable Masters, But for his farther Satisfaction & to Convince him he wanted to Act the fair part, he was Assured that those Papers should never be looked into but in his Presence, And it was offered him to put his Seale upon a Box wherein they might be Inclosed At length he took some Necessary appeared & Papers which upon inspection Wee found had no Matters to the Concerns Either of the Honble Company or to the late Governour Upon Demanding the Consultation Book of Mr Crispe he shewed Us one which he says was the Present Consultation Book, But We Remark that no one of the Consultations Entered therein is & Signed by any Person Whatsoever Rt Jenkins G. G. Powell John Godfrey Present. And Approved of the above Consultation Henry Plant Thos: Liell	At a consultation held on Sunday 10 May 1741 at the Castle in the evening, Governor Robert Jenkins presided, with the supercargoes Henry Hunt and Thomas Liell, the Deputy Governor George Gabriel Powell and John Godfrey, third of council, in attendance. The record of the previous consultation was read and approved. Mr Crispe had sent a request for some papers that he said concerned only himself, and he was allowed to appear and collect them. He came in the presence of the whole council. Since he held one of the two keys to the door of the room where the papers were kept, and the Governor held the other, the door was opened for him. When he was told to ask for any particular paper he wanted, he replied that he had nothing to do with the papers relating to the Company or to the estate of the late Mr Goodwin, and asked only for a bundle he described as his own writings, which he wanted handed over to him unopened. He was told that such a demand was wholly unreasonable, and that granting it would displease the directors, but that to give him every fair satisfaction he would be allowed to see the papers looked through in his presence. He was also required to put his seal on the box in which they were to be kept. In the end he took away some papers of no importance, which on inspection were found to touch neither the Company's concerns nor those of the late Governor. When Mr Crispe was asked for the consultation book, he produced one that he claimed was the current consultation book. The council found that none of the consultations entered in it had been signed by anyone at all. The consultation was signed by Robert Jenkins, George Gabriel Powell and John Godfrey, and separately endorsed as approved by Henry Hunt and Thomas Liell. **Interpretations** The divided key was the council's central safeguard, and the whole scene turns on it. One key lay with Crispe and the matching key with the Governor, so that the room holding the Company's papers could be opened only when both men acted together. This is why Crispe could not simply be refused at the door: his key gave him a genuine right of access that the new administration had to honour, and the council's answer was not to shut him out but to control what happened once the room was open, insisting the papers be examined in view and the box sealed under his own mark. The demand to carry off a sealed bundle unopened struck at exactly what the council needed to prevent. A man under investigation for a shortfall in the Company's cash had every reason to remove documents before anyone could read them, and papers once out of the room and beyond inspection could never be recovered as evidence. Refusing the unopened removal, while still letting Crispe watch his own writings sorted and take what was truly his, let

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			the council protect the record without denying him a right it could not lawfully deny. The unsigned consultation book was the graver discovery, and the clerks' own defence of the day before now read very differently. An entry in a consultation book carried authority only once the councillors subscribed it; an unsigned run of consultations was a book of drafts that bound no one and proved nothing. For the officer answerable for keeping that book to produce it wholly unsubscribed showed the same collapse of routine certification that had let the cash accounts pass unchecked, the formal act that was supposed to fix the record as authentic having simply been left undone. **Speculations** Faced with Crispe's insistence on taking his bundle away sealed, the council chose to open the room and sort the papers rather than deny him entry outright. Shutting him out would have been the simpler defence of the Company's documents, and his key gave the council reason enough to fear what he might do once inside. It went the other way because an outright refusal carried its own risk: Crispe could later claim that private papers of his own had been seized or withheld, turning the dispute over the cash into a grievance about his property. By admitting him, having every sheet looked through in his presence, and making him seal the box himself, the council removed that grievance in advance, trading the small danger of supervised access for protection against a charge it could not otherwise have answered.
8	4	At a Consultation held on Monday the 11th May at the Castle. Present. Robert Jenkins Esqr Governour George Gabriel Powell Depty Govr John Godfrey 3d of Councill The last Consultation was Read & Approved This being the first Working day for Ship Royall George, early in the Morning we sent the Captain the following Letter vizt To Captn Thos Field Sir The Honble Compy having been pleased to Consign to Us sundry Stores and Merchandize, We hereby Order & direct You to send the same on Shore with all the Expedition You can, And if You want any help we are Ready to Assist You We are Sir Your Obt St Helena 11 day of May 1741. And Order'd a Writer to give Constant attendance at the Water side Keeping an Exact Account of every Particular Imported & of each days Work, as Usuale, Attended by the Compys Slaves to Convey the Goods immediately after Landing into the Warehouses that was Yesterday provided for them Resolved that as the two Senior Supra Cargoes Mess: Plant and Liell are going for England We Summonds to the Councill the two Senior Captains Messrs Thomas Langworth & Jonathan Cape agreeable to Our Masters Orders. Rt Jenkins G. G. Powell John Godfrey	At a consultation held on Monday 11 May 1741 at the Castle, Governor Robert Jenkins presided, with the Deputy Governor George Gabriel Powell and John Godfrey, third of council, in attendance. The record of the previous consultation was read and approved. As this was the first day for unloading the ship *Royal George*, the council sent her captain a letter early in the morning. Addressed to Captain Thomas Field, it explained that the Company had consigned various stores and merchandise to the council, and directed him to land them as quickly as he could, the council standing ready to help if he needed it. The letter was sent from St Helena on 11 May 1741. The council also ordered a writer to attend constantly at the waterside, keeping an exact account of everything landed and of each day's unloading, as was usual. The Company's slaves were to attend him and carry the goods, as soon as they came ashore, into the storehouses set aside for them the day before. The council further resolved that, since the two senior supercargoes Hunt and Liell were leaving for England, the two senior captains then present, Thomas Langworth and Jonathan Cape, should be summoned to the council in their place, in keeping with the directors' orders. The consultation was signed by Robert Jenkins, George Gabriel Powell and John Godfrey. **Interpretations** The writer stationed at the waterside was the mechanism that turned an unloading into an auditable record. Goods passed from ship to shore through the Company's own slaves, and without an independent tally at the landing point there was no way to prove afterwards what had actually arrived against what the invoices claimed. Setting a clerk to enter every particular as it came ashore, and to log each day's progress, built a running check at the one place where cargo could most easily go astray, so that any shortfall or spoilage could be fixed to a date and a delivery rather than discovered too late in a warehouse. The replacement of the two departing supercargoes shows how the island kept its council to strength.

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			Membership of the board was not confined to resident officials; the directors' standing orders allowed the senior commanders of Company ships then in the road to be brought in when places fell vacant. With Hunt and Liell sailing for England, Langworth and Cape were called up by seniority, a rule that let a remote settlement maintain a quorum of Company servants of standing out of whatever ships happened to be at anchor, rather than leaving the council short until London could appoint successors.
2	5	At a Consultation held on Tuesday the 12th May 1741 at the Castle Present. Robert Jenkins Esqr Govr Thos Langworth Jonathan Cape } Captains Geo: Gab: Powell Depty Govr John Godfrey 3d of Coun The last Consultation was Read & approved. Last night sailed for England the Ships, Prince Amelia, Winchester, Warwick Staplingfield & Prince of Wales, And Arrived here the Ship Prince William Capt Thos Langworth from Sord St Davids The Honble Companys Generale Letters & Royall George was Read, then the Consultations which have been held since her Arrivals, to the End we might be the Better able to judge what next was most material to be done Resolved that in the first Place an Oath of Fidelity & Secrecy be taken which was done by Each of Us as follows vizt To be True & faithfull to the Hone the United East India Company in the Execution of all their Orders directed to Us as the Councill of this Island, And Strictly to follow the Rules Prescribed by the Hnble Comp in their Letter p Ship Royall George, And to keep Secret all matters that shall be Discussed at this Councill Board So help us God Thos Langworth Jonathan Cape Rt Jenkins G. G. Powell John Godfrey Our Masters having Order'd that a Letter be wrote them by every Ship, And a Dane Ship being now upon her departure, It therefore agreed that a Short Letter be Sent by her accordingly, just to advise of the departure of Our Fleet last Night & Arrival of Ship Prince William It is thought proper that the Stores now comes p Royale George shall be put in Storehouse apart, & by no means mixt wth the old Stores, therefore they must be removed out of the many Warehouse & put together, in order to make the more Room for the new Stores, And done immediately, (the dispatch of the ship within the time Limitted charter party being of great moment to the Company.	At a consultation held on Tuesday 12 May 1741 at the Castle, Governor Robert Jenkins presided, with the captains Thomas Langworth and Jonathan Cape, the Deputy Governor George Gabriel Powell and John Godfrey, third of council, in attendance. The record of the previous consultation was read and approved. The council reported that the ships *Princess Amelia*, *Winchester*, *Warwick*, *Hawlingsfield* and *Prince of Wales* had sailed for England the night before, and that the *Prince William*, under Captain Langworth, had arrived from Fort St David. The Company's general letter carried by the *Royal George* was read, together with the consultations held since her arrival, so that the council might better judge what most needed doing next. The council resolved first that an oath of fidelity and secrecy be taken, and each member duly took it. By the oath each swore to be true and faithful to the united East India Company in carrying out all the orders directed to the council of the island, to follow strictly the rules laid down by the directors in their letter by the *Royal George*, and to keep secret every matter debated at the council board, so help them God. The oath was subscribed by Thomas Langworth, Jonathan Cape, Henry Hunt, George Gabriel Powell and John Godfrey. The directors having ordered that a letter be written to them by every ship, and a Danish ship being now about to sail, the council agreed to send a short letter by her, giving notice of the departure of the fleet the night before and of the arrival of the *Prince William*. The council also thought it proper that the stores brought by the *Royal George* be put into storehouses by themselves. To make this possible, many of the old stores had to be moved out of the several warehouses and gathered together, so as to clear more room for the new stores, and the work was to be done at once, the dispatch of the ship within the time fixed by her charter party being of great importance to the Company. **Interpretations** The oath of fidelity and secrecy marks the moment the new board was formally constituted rather than merely assembled. An oath of this kind bound each member personally and on his conscience to obey the directors' instructions and to keep the board's deliberations private, converting a group of men who happened to be present into a body legally answerable for the Company's affairs. Administering it now, with the ships that had brought the crisis just departed and two new captain-members lately sworn in, gave the reconstituted council a clean foundation of accountability before it took up the tangled business left by the previous administration. The instruction that every ship carry a letter home was the Company's answer to the sheer slowness of communication with St Helena. A single vessel could be lost, delayed for months or blown past the island, so London required its remote settlements to write by every available bottom, duplicating news across many ships to be sure some copy arrived. The council's readiness to load even a short notice onto a passing Danish ship shows the rule in practice: a foreign vessel

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			bound for Europe was a channel worth using, since a brief account of who had sailed and who had arrived was better carried five ways than trusted to one. The charter party lay behind the urgency to clear the warehouses. A ship was hired for a fixed number of days, after which the Company paid a penalty for every day she was detained, so the cost of demurrage pressed directly on the speed of unloading and reloading. Shifting the old stores to make room for the new was not mere tidiness but a way of keeping the *Royal George* moving through her lading within her contracted time, the expense of holding an East Indiaman idle in the road being the kind of charge the directors watched closely.
10	6	As time has not Permitted to take an Inventory of the Old Stores it is judged Necessary that Mr Bazett be present during the Removal of the Goods. Mr Supra Cargoe of the Dane Ship this moment having left the Shore & the Ship away Mess: Duke Crispe & Jno Bazett cannot Possibly make their Escape upon her, therefore the Guard over their Persons is now no further Necessary and taken off accordingly. That the Companys Affairs may be carried on with the greater Perspicuity & Regularity We think it not amiss to appoint Mr Powell to Extend the Seey Businesse & all such like in the Execution of Our Commission, We having Sworn to Secrecy cannot Employ any of the Writers in our Consultations, And Mr Godfrey to be Concerned more Immediately with the Stores and Accounts. Considering the very many different and Difficult matters we have to do in so short a time as against the Dispatch of this Fleet is highly Necessary to be Done, in order to give Our Masters proof of Our Diligence, And at the Same time that the Genl Letter may not be over tedious or Spun out to an Immoderate length, it is agreed that there be a Consultation held every day once at least, and every transaction Particularly Minuted thereupon Being much Busyed in Receiving the Goods from Royall George, the Adjourn till to be a Clock this Even Thos Langworth Jonathan Cape Rt Jenkins G. G. Powell John Godfrey	Since there had been no time to take an inventory of the old stores, the council judged it necessary that Mr Bazett be present while the goods were moved. As the supercargoes of the *Cane* were leaving the island that moment, and Crispe and Bazett could no longer make their voyage aboard her, the guard set over the two men was no longer needed and was accordingly withdrawn. So that the Company's affairs might go forward more quickly and regularly, the council thought it fitting to appoint Mr Powell to conduct the secretary's business and carry out everything the council's commission required. Since the writers could not be employed in the consultations, having sworn secrecy, Mr Godfrey was to be more directly concerned with the stores. Given the many different and difficult matters the council had to deal with in so short a time, and the pressing need to speed the fleet on its way, the council agreed that a consultation be held every day at least, and that every transaction be entered in full at once, so as to give the directors proof of the council's diligence and to ensure the general letter did not run to excessive length. Being much taken up with receiving the goods from the *Royal George*, the council adjourned until five that evening. The consultation was signed by Thomas Langworth, Jonathan Cape, Robert Jenkins, George Gabriel Powell and John Godfrey. **Interpretations** The requirement that Bazett stand by while the old stores were shifted turned an accounting failure into a controlled procedure. With no inventory taken, there was no written baseline against which the moved goods could later be checked, so the only safeguard against loss or dispute was to make the man who had kept those stores watch them handled. His presence supplied by observation what the missing paperwork could not, fixing responsibility on him for whatever came out of the warehouses even though no list existed to measure it against. The lifting of the guard shows how precisely the council had tied that restraint to a single risk. The men had been confined only to stop them boarding the *Cane* and escaping the island with the Company's claim unsatisfied; once her supercargoes were leaving and the passage was gone, the reason for holding them fell away and the guard was dropped the same moment. This confirms that the council had never treated custody as a punishment but purely as a means of keeping the debtors within reach, released the instant the means of flight departed. The reshuffling of duties around the oath of secrecy reveals a practical strain the council had to manage. The clerks who would ordinarily have done the routine writing were barred from the consultations because they had not been sworn, leaving the confidential record to be kept by members of the board itself. Placing Powell over the secretary's work

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			and turning Godfrey toward the stores was the council's way of covering both the paperwork and the warehouses using only men bound by the oath, a redistribution forced by the rule that secret business could pass through no unsworn hand.
11	7	At a Consultation held on Tuesday the 12th of May 1741 at the Castle in the Evening Present. Robt Jenkins Esqr Govr Thos Langworth Jon: Cape } Captains Geo: Gab: Powell John Godfrey The last Consultation was Read & Approved Many Letters being here directed for the late Governour Godwin we think proper to open them because Possibly they may give us an insight into his Affairs, And the Charge against him of Deficient being so Evident & so Enormous We presume we cant be Wanting in duty to Our Masters, however that we would not Interrupt Private Correspondence & take to Us Letters of Friendship, his Widow was sent for & in accordingly Present to have those Letters Read, and have Delivered to her all such as do not Concern the Companys Affairs. We took this opportunity to Enquire of the Widow what She knew of her husbands Affairs, She said that she knew very little of them only that Mr Crispe was Concerned in Trade with her husband, and that She never had Suspect any Deficiency in Cash. Mr Duke Crispe having told Us that if We would give him a Little time to Recollect he could Ingeniously discover to Us the Specie, and by what at present Shewed I look I Intended in a very Clear light, And Speaking this with a Countenance of Sincerity, we Urged to him that in his an open way of dealing was the only means of Averting that heavy Displeasure he had so Ingeniously Incurred, And to please him, Asked his proper answer to some Questions which we gave him in writing with leave to carry them home I think upon 'em; those We did because he Should have no Excuse to Equivocate. They were as follows vizt Whether any Deficiency was at the time of Mr Byfies death? And what it was at the time of Mr Goodwins death? Whether he was not Concerned in trade with Mr Goodwin? Whether since Mr Goodwins death he has not withdrawn his Proportion of such trade? What is his Estate upon St Helena & Elsewhere & an Estimate of it Requires? To give a just & fair Acct how the Deficiencys in Cash & Stores arose? Whether he did not Sign the Cash Accts, and Stores he did not join them? To Vindicate Acct of the Companys Affair in General & Answer truly to all questions that may be asked hereafter To Deliver to Us a true Copy of the Letter sent home p Ship Somerset & Mr John Bazett Being Sent for and Urged to discover to Us the Specie in the Stores Ingenuously as the only	At a consultation held on Tuesday 12 May 1741 at the Castle in the evening, Governor Robert Jenkins presided, with the captains Thomas Langworth and Jonathan Cape, the Deputy Governor George Gabriel Powell and John Godfrey, third of council, in attendance. The record of the previous consultation was read and approved. Since many letters had been directed to the late Governor Goodwin, the council thought it proper to open them, as they might give some insight into his affairs, the charge against his estate making it a duty to the directors to do so. The council was unwilling to interfere with anyone's private correspondence, but a letter marked as one of friendship was opened, and on reading it the writer was found to be already dead. It was handed over in full, touching nothing of the Company's concerns. The council took the chance to question Mrs Crispe about the state of her husband's affairs. She said she knew very little of them, only that Mr Crispe had been concerned in trade with her husband, and that he had never fallen short in his cash. Since Mr Duke Crispe would give the council no proper account of the matter, and had until then behaved so as to make his conduct look far from honest, the council pressed him, urging in all sincerity that his only way of clearing the heavy suspicion he had drawn on himself was to deal openly. He was told he must answer, in writing, a set of questions the council would leave with him, so that he might have no room for evasion. The questions were as follows. Whether there was any deficiency at the time of Mr Byfield's death, and what it stood at when Mr Goodwin died. Whether he had been concerned in trade with Mr Goodwin. Whether, since Mr Goodwin's death, he had withdrawn his share of any such trade. What his estate was at St Helena and in England, and its several amounts. Whether he had given a true and fair account of the deficiencies in cash and stores. Whether he had failed to sign the cash accounts, and whether Bazett had failed to sign them too. Whether he was concerned in the Company's affairs generally, and required to answer truly every question that might afterwards be put to him. Whether he would hand over a true copy of the letter sent home by the *Somerset*. The council also sent for Mr John Bazett, and urged him to explain the state of the stores openly.

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12	8	only method he could make use of to gain Our Recommendations in his favour; he Promised to Look nothing from Us, & thereupon We asked him the following Questions vizt Whether an Inventory of the Stores was taken when he first took Charge of them Mr Bazett said that he often asked the late Governor Godwin to have an Inventory taken but he never could suffer it. he was asked why he did not accompany Servant Posted upon his Deposite or Report it to the Councill? Adjourned till tomorrow Morng of Six oClock Thos Langworth Jonathan Cape Rt Jenkins G. G. Powell John Godfrey At a Consultation held on Wednesday the 13th May 1741 at the Castle Present. Robt Jenkins Esqr Governour Thos Langworth Jon: Cape } Captains Geo: Gab: Powell John Godfrey The last Consultation was Read & Approved It being Reported to us that Mr Beale was seen to have a large bundle of Papers belonging to Mr Crispe, & knowing them too to be much Intimate friends, We apprehend that his Mr Crispe suspecting for very Reasonable, brought (he should be Examined upon the arrival of this Monthly, has Conveyed his most materials Papers to this trusts care before her Arrivals, the truth of which we are Resolved to find out, And therefore first thought proper to write Mr Crispe the following Letter vizt Sir The Govr & Coun: desires to know when Your answer will be Ready to the Several Questions Proposed Yesterday, I am Wednesday Evening 13th May 1741. Sir Your Humble Servt G. G. Powell	Since telling the council everything openly was his only way of earning its good word in future, Bazett promised to hold nothing back, and the council put the following questions to him. Whether an inventory of the stores was taken when he first took charge of them. Bazett answered that he had often asked the late Governor Goodwin to have an inventory taken, but that Goodwin would never allow it. He was then asked why he had not let one of the council's servants attend at his own request, or report the matter to the council. The consultation was adjourned until nine the following morning, and signed by Thomas Langworth, Jonathan Cape, Robert Jenkins, George Gabriel Powell and John Godfrey. At a consultation held on Wednesday 13 May 1741 at the Castle, Governor Robert Jenkins presided, with the captains Thomas Langworth and Jonathan Cape, the Deputy Governor George Gabriel Powell and John Godfrey, third of council, in attendance. The record of the previous consultation was read and approved. The council had been told that Mr Beale held a large bundle of papers belonging to Mr Crispe, having kept them since Crispe's marriage. The council reasonably suspected that Crispe, expecting the packet ship to arrive, had passed his most important papers to Beale before she came, and was determined to find out the truth of it. It therefore thought proper to write to Mr Duke Crispe in the following terms. The Governor and council wished to know when he would be ready with his answers to the several questions put to him the day before. The letter was sent from St Helena on Wednesday 13 May 1741 and signed by George Gabriel Powell. **Interpretations** Bazett's answer shifted the blame for the missing inventory squarely onto the dead Governor, and the council's follow-up question shows why that answer was not enough. An inventory taken when an officer assumes charge of stores is what fixes the point from which he is answerable; without it, he can neither prove what he received nor be held to what has since gone. By recording that Goodwin repeatedly refused to allow one, Bazett offered an excuse that also indicted the whole administration, but the council pressed him on why he had not forced the matter into the open, since a subordinate who lets an irregularity stand in silence shares in it, and reporting to the board was the remedy available to him that he had not used. The suspicion about Beale exposes the weakness of paper evidence once it leaves official custody. Documents in a man's own keeping could be moved, hidden or handed to a friend before anyone with authority thought to demand them, and a bundle lodged with Beale since Crispe's marriage was beyond the council's reach unless it could establish a right to call for it. The council's inference, that Crispe had unloaded his most damaging papers ahead of the packet ship's arrival, rests on timing rather than proof, which is exactly why it turned to written demands: a formal call for answers, entered in the record, created the evidence of concealment that the missing papers themselves could no longer supply.
13	9	To which we Received the following Answer vizt Worshipfull Sir and Sirs I just now Received a Lettr from Mr G. G. Powell wherein he desires to know in Your name when my Answer will be Ready to the several Questions Proposed Yesterday, to which I reply that You Yesterday told me in Consultation I should have my own time to	The council received the following reply. Crispe wrote that he had just had a letter from Mr Powell asking, in the council's name, when his answers to the questions put the day before would be ready. He replied that, as the council had told him the previous day in consultation that he might take his own time over his answers, he now gave notice that he could return no answer at all until every one of his books and papers had been handed back to him. The letter

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		give in my answer, but as they are Questions of great importance I hereby Acquaint You that I can Return no answer till all my Books and Papers are Returned to me. I am very Respectfully Worshipfull Sir & Sirs St Helena 13 May 1741 Your most Humble Servant (Signed) Duke Crispe We are amazed to find the man who Promised with the greatest Show of Sincerity but Yesterday to make answer to the Several Questions Yet to to him & now, for the Reason he would lay the whole open, Already begin to Quibble with Us! We find that in spite of our handsome treatment to him he will be Mr Crispe still; However We Resolve not to let him abuse longer either in Matters or Selfe, but as the Inventor of the Stores goods is a very material Matter, we let than the ground work of the Whole, We let him alone a few days to his meditation, having Asked and we granted him the loan of a book of Divinity, and Agreed that the Inventory of the Companys Stores be this Morn set about & Continued till finished, And that every Commodity, found in the Companys Stores be Adjudged their Statement Now we are Sensible that this Inventory will be a work of much time & Labour and Requires our Utmost Attention, Yet Unless we can do more than one thing at a time We shall not be able to give Our Masters so Perfect an account of the Unhappy Situation of their Affairs has we can wish work, therefore And an advertisement to be Published Requiring all Persons upon this Island who live in the Pay of the Honble Company to Attend at the Castle on Tuesday next to the End they may be minuted agreeable to our Masters orders Thos Langworth Jonathan Cape Rt Jenkins G. G. Powell John Godfrey	was sent from St Helena on 13 May 1741 and signed by Duke Crispe. The council was astonished that a man who had promised only the day before, with every show of sincerity, to answer its several questions was already beginning to quibble. Despite the fair treatment he had been given, he would be Mr Crispe still. The council decided not to let him look over the stores any longer, whether they were his own or the Company's, but since taking an inventory of them mattered more than anything, it left him a few days to reflect and lent him a book of divinity. The council agreed that an inventory of the Company's stores be taken at once, and continued until finished, and that the several goods found in the storehouses be valued as they stood. The council was sensible that such an inventory would take much time and require close attention, and that unless it could deal with more than one thing at a time it would never be able to give the directors a proper account of their affairs. It therefore ordered an advertisement to be published, giving notice that all persons owing money to the Company should pay it in at the Castle the following Tuesday, so that their debts might be reckoned up, in keeping with the directors' orders. The consultation was signed by Thomas Langworth, Jonathan Cape, Robert Jenkins, George Gabriel Powell and John Godfrey. **Interpretations** Crispe's condition turned the return of his papers into a bargaining lever, and the council read it as exactly that. He tied his answers to the recovery of all his books and papers, which meant the council could have his account only by first surrendering the documents it might use to test that account, or to build a case against him. Offering him a few days and a book of divinity was a pointed refusal to be manoeuvred: rather than concede the papers or press him further, the council left him to reflect on his conduct while it got on with the inventory, treating his silence as something it could work around rather than a hold he had over it. The published call for debtors shows the council widening its recovery from a single suspect to the whole body of the Company's creditors. With the deficiency traced partly to Goodwin's estate and partly to unaccounted stores, chasing Crispe alone would never make the books whole; summoning everyone who owed the Company to pay in and be reckoned with was the way to turn scattered private debts into recovered cash. Running this alongside the inventory let the council attack both sides of the shortfall at once, the goods in the warehouses and the money in the debtors' hands, so that the directors could be shown a full account of what was owing rather than a part of it.
14	10	At a Consultation held on Thursday the 14 May at the Castle Six oClock in the Morning Present. Robt Jenkins Esqr Govr Thos Langworth Jon: Cape } Captains Geo: Gab: Powell John Godfrey The last Consultation was Read & approved Yesterday we were wholly Employed in taking an Inventory of the Stores and as soon as we Rise from the Board Return to the same work again. Report being made that Yesterday two Chests from on board the Royll George directed for Mr Crispe were	At a consultation held on Thursday 14 May 1741 at the Castle at six in the morning, Governor Robert Jenkins presided, with the captains Thomas Langworth and Jonathan Cape, the Deputy Governor George Gabriel Powell and John Godfrey, third of council, in attendance. The record of the previous consultation was read and approved. The whole of the previous day had been spent taking an inventory of the stores, and as soon as the council rose from the board it returned to that work. A report was made that two chests marked for Mr Crispe had been landed from the *Royal George* the day before and sent out to the *Cane* to be loaded aboard her, but that Mr Crispe, on hearing they were to be put into the Company's warehouse, asked to have them returned to the ship, and this was done. The

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		sent to the Crane in order to be landed, but Mr Crispe hearing that they were to be sent into the Companys Warehouse desired they might be Returned to the Ship again, and they were so accordingly, therefore tis strongly advisable to give Capt Field an Order to Send amongst the Compys Goods all that are Directed to Said Mr Crispe that we may take care of it till he has made up his Accounts with Our Masters, What (Sundries Arrived) we may find in this Store belonging to him We shall Jet here, only that We think it must be Yearly considerable And we are Resolved to lay an Embargo upon the whole agreeable to Our Masters Orders this getting Letter in order to give Field vizt To Captn Thos Field Sir Whereas Mr Crispe is largely Indebted to the Honble Company, And it being Our Orders to Secure his Specie for the payment of said Debt, We hereby Require You immediately upon the Receipt of this to send all Bales, Chests, Boxes or Parcells that are on board Your Ship Directed to & Mr Duke Crispe on shore at the Crane there they shall be Received & the who are Sir Your most Humble Servants St Helena 14 May 1741 We just now Received the following Letter vizt To the Worshipfull Robt Jenkins Esqr Govr & Councill at St Helena Sirs I think it my duty being Overseer of this Companys Plantations, Cattle &c to acquaint You in what Condition they are at this Present time. First Cattle I assure You Gentlemen are very Young and are very poor Occasioned in great measure by the backward Seasons we have had And	council therefore held it strongly advisable to order Captain Field to send in, among the Company's goods, everything consigned to Crispe, so that it could be kept safe until he had settled his accounts with the directors. Whatever of his the council found in the store it would keep there, though it reckoned the amount could not be much, and it resolved to lay an embargo on the whole, in keeping with the directors' orders, drawing up the following letter to Field. The letter told Captain Thomas Field that, as Mr Crispe was heavily in debt to the Company, and the council's orders were to secure his goods towards payment of that debt, he was required, the moment he received it, to land at the Cane every bale, chest, box and parcel aboard his ship consigned to Mr Duke Crispe, where they would be received. The letter was sent from St Helena on 14 May 1741. The council then received the following letter, addressed to Robert Jenkins and the council at St Helena. The writer reported that, as overseer of the Company's plantations and cattle, he thought it his duty to inform the council of their condition at that time. He assured the council that the cattle were then very young and very poor, owing largely to the backward seasons the island had lately had. **Interpretations** Crispe's move with the two chests turned an ordinary transhipment into an admission of what he feared. Goods marked for him had been landed and were on their way out to the *Cane* to sail with him, but the moment he learned they might instead go into the Company's warehouse, where they could be opened and checked, he had them sent back to the ship. The council read the reversal exactly: a man with nothing to hide does not scramble to keep his cargo afloat and beyond inspection, so the very act of recalling the chests told the council they were worth seizing. The embargo shows the council reaching for a blunt but effective legal instrument to defeat that evasion. An embargo held a ship and her lading in the road, stopping anything aboard from leaving until the authority that laid it was satisfied, and here it was aimed squarely at whatever belonged to Crispe aboard Field's ship. The council conceded openly that his goods in store were worth little, which makes the point that the embargo was not about their value but about denying him any means of moving property off the island while he stood indebted, catching the cargo afloat just as the guard had once caught the man ashore.
15	11	and I am very I am obliged to say it, but I must in Vindication of my selfe acquaint You that Mr Crispe keeping too much good Cattle over & above what was in Cupias has been a great Occasion of the present Scarcity, I have often Told him when he has been Extreamly Prospera & Slaying without Measure, We of the same p Stock would soon Lick out, And he found it true for he has for some time Past been obliged to buy of the planter great quantitys, As for Sheep Hoggs, Goats fowls &c, he has Orders in a manner the very kind to be Killed and Not Yr Worships & Councill will be for the immediate Expence of this table I dont know, Unless Genl please to Give me so buy of the Islanders The Plantation of Yams are but in a very Indifferent Condition Occasioned Altogether by the dry Seasons, the Springs being in	Doveton wrote that he was sorry to say it, but felt bound in his own defence to let the council know that Mr Crispe, by keeping the yam grounds too poor, had over the years been a great cause of the present scarcity. He had often told Crispe how badly the grounds were suffering for want of manuring, but nothing had been done, and the result was that no stock could now be kept, forcing him lately to buy in yams in great quantity. As for the sheep, hogs, goats and poultry, they were in a manner all so poor that they would have to be killed, and unless the council found some other means to meet the fort's immediate needs he saw no way but to buy them from the inhabitants. The yam plantations were poor too, having in many places been dried up by the backward seasons, the springs having in many places gone dry, but he hoped that with better manuring he would be able to buy in some yams, and had already secured a quantity of the year's growth. Doveton hoped the council would excuse the trouble of his letter, which was sent from St Helena on 14 May 1741. Having considered everything Doveton reported, the council found that Mr Crispe had a hand in

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		many places dryd up, but I hope there will be no Occasion to buy any Provided there comes a quantity of Wett this Year I hope Your Worship & Councill will Excuse this table, I am Worshipfull Sir and Sirs St Helena 14 May 1741 Your most delightfull and Obedient Servant (Signed) Sam Doveton The Contents being considered we find that Mr Crispe has acted amiss in the said Peruall of making Hay whilst the own Slaves, but for our fault we are very little obliged to him for leaving us so entirely Destitute of every kind of Provision. Mr Sam Doveton being Examined gave Us a mallincholly Acct of the management of that branch of the Company Affair wherein he is Concerned, that as it is Impossible to Rectif Past transactions We Endevr only how to prevent the same in future and gave Mr Doveton the following Orders vizt Not to kill any breeders of any kind whatsoever, and to be very Provident of the few Cattle left that are not Breeders Not to Suffer any of the Planters cattle to trespass upon any of the Companys grounds & him at any times they be trespass to friend them Not to Suffer any of the Overseers under him to be Idle, but keep im strictly to their businesse & see that they do not permit the Slaves to waste their times Not to Slay any Yams for a fortnight, but feed the Slaves with Rice during that time, that thse Yams may have a growth, and to take great Care to husband the little Water in the plantation to the best advantage, Seeing it turned over such Yams an meets wants it For Genl himself in every branch of businesse under his Charge as the only	wasting the Company's estate while it was in his charge, and that for their own part the council could get very little out of him, since he had left himself wholly without any kind of provisions. On examining Mr Samuel Doveton about his management of that branch of the Company's affairs, the council decided its only course was to prevent such waste in future, and gave Doveton the following orders. He was to kill no breeding stock of any kind whatever, and to be very careful of the few cattle left that were not breeders. He was not to allow any of the planters' cattle to feed on any of the Company's grounds, nor at any time to let them feed on those grounds. He was not to let any of the overseers under him stand idle, but to keep them strictly to their work, and to see that the slaves were not left idle either. He was to sow no yams for a fortnight, but to feed the slaves with rice during that time, so that the growing yams might have time to grow, and to take great care to husband the little water in the plantations to the best advantage, since it had been let run over the yams once already. He was to give an account of himself in every branch of the business under his charge... **Interpretations** Doveton's letter widened the case against Crispe from cash and stores to the slow ruin of the land itself. Yam grounds needed regular manuring to keep their yield, and a manager who let that lapse over years was drawing down the estate's future harvests as surely as if he had taken money from the chest. By tracing the present scarcity to Crispe's neglect of the grounds, Doveton gave the council a second kind of deficiency to lay at his door, one measured not in missing coin but in exhausted soil and starving stock, and the timing of the letter, arriving as the council pressed Crispe hardest, let that charge reinforce the financial one. The orders to Doveton show the council trying to arrest a collapse with the crude tools a drought allowed. Forbidding the killing of breeders protected the herd's capacity to renew itself, since slaughtering breeding animals for immediate meat destroys the very stock that replaces them, a temptation strongest exactly when provisions run short. Suspending the sowing of yams for a fortnight and feeding the slaves on rice meanwhile was a bet that the standing crop would recover if left in the ground and watered sparingly rather than planted over, the whole set of instructions aimed at conserving what little the plantations still held through St Helena's dry season instead of consuming it all at once. **Speculations** Faced with an overseer whose own management was now in question, the council chose to keep Samuel Doveton in charge under strict written orders rather than remove him. The obvious step, once his handling of the plantations had been examined and found wanting, was to replace the man who had presided over their decline. It went the other way because the alternative was worse: in the middle of a drought, with the stores being inventoried and the cash in dispute, there was no one else who knew the grounds, the stock and the water, and a new overseer would have had to learn all of it as the crisis deepened. The council settled for binding Doveton with detailed instructions and a demand that he account for every branch under him, trading the satisfaction of dismissing him for the continuity his knowledge gave, and shifting the real blame onto Crispe, whose neglect it held the deeper cause.
16	12	only means of being Continued in his Employ, Resolving not to	Since keeping his place depended on it, Doveton was to let no one under him stand idle. He further

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		Suffer any Person under Us to Eat the Bread of Idlenesse. Mr Sam Doveton further Reports that Mr Crispe has had a Stock of Cattle & Sheep always Grazing upon the Companys Pastures; Whereupon he was Ordered to See that they be forthcoming upon demand. Ordered That Eighteen Slaves be Chosen for Bencoolen Women & children and that they by Such as may do the Company Service in Garbling of Pepper &c Adjourned till to morrow Morng 6 oClock Thos Langworth Jonathan Cape Rt Jenkins G. G. Powell John Godfrey At a Consultation held on Friday the 15 May 1741 at the Castle 6 oClock in the Morng Present. Robt Jenkins Esqr Govr Thos Langworth Jonn Cape } Captains Geo: Gab: Powell John Godfrey The last Consultation was Read & approved Yesterday Employed as the day before in the Storehouses. This morning appeard before Us Mess: Mr Rutledge Martin Keeper & Jos Keeper to make Complaint of the imposition laid upon them by the late Govr Godwin in the several Attempts he made to defraud in of a Parcell of money bequeathed them by Ph Widow Rice, and at Costs directed to & demanding them to Received of him 530 in Part of it too which he Govr Goodwin had Received of the Hone Company, being the money due to Capt Coven, which they the Keepers & Rutledge inadvertently did, not Suspecting any Cheat, Whereby they have Accepted him as their Paymaster, acknowledging he had Received it of the Company, But they Protest	reported that Mr Crispe had kept a stock of cattle and sheep grazing on the Company's pastures throughout, and he was ordered to see that these were produced on demand. The council ordered that eighteen slaves be chosen for Bencoolen, women and children, of the kind that might best serve the Company in husking pepper. The consultation was adjourned until six the following morning, and signed by Thomas Langworth, Jonathan Cape, Robert Jenkins, George Gabriel Powell and John Godfrey. At a consultation held on Friday 15 May 1741 at the Castle at six in the morning, Governor Robert Jenkins presided, with the captains Thomas Langworth and Jonathan Cape, the Deputy Governor George Gabriel Powell and John Godfrey, third of council, in attendance. The record of the previous consultation was read and approved. The whole of the previous day had again been spent at the storehouses. That morning Martin Harper and Joseph Harper appeared before the council to complain of an imposition laid on them by the late Governor Goodwin. In trying to recover a parcel of money left them by their father, and a legacy of £600 directed to be paid them by... **Interpretations** The discovery that Crispe had run his own cattle and sheep on Company pastures added private profit to the charge of neglect. Grazing was a real asset: the Company's pasture fed the Company's herds, and an officer who quietly ran his own animals on it was drawing off the estate's feed for his own benefit while, as Doveton had just testified, letting the yam grounds starve. The order to produce the animals on demand shows the council moving to lay hold of them, treating stock grazed at the Company's expense as something it might recover against Crispe's debt rather than a private herd he could drive away. The choice of women and children to husk pepper at Bencoolen reflects the settled logic of how the Company moved slave labour between its eastern posts. Bencoolen's pepper plantations needed hands for the steady, unskilled work of cleaning the crop, and St Helena served in part as a place from which such labour could be drafted eastward. Selecting women and children specifically shows the council matching the people it sent to the task waiting for them, husking being work that did not call for the strongest field hands, so that the island could meet Bencoolen's demand while keeping its own abler men for the heavier labour of the plantations and fortifications.
17	13	Protest they never meant to make Govr Godwin their Paymaster and it was only by their non knowledge of harness that they Signd that Receipt, therefore Request We Company may free them the money that we due Capt Coven. The Receipt runs as follows vizt Received from John Godwin the Sum of three hundred & thirty pound Currant money of this Island in Part of Sixteen hundred pound he Received from Andw Capt Coven that Sum being Due to him in the Honble Companys Genl Books of Accompts Witnesses in hands the 28 day of May 1740 St Helena (Signd) Thos Rutledge Martin Harper Gabriel Harper	The Harpers protested that they had never meant to make Goodwin their paymaster, and that it was only from not knowing the true position that they had signed the receipt. The council therefore asked to see the receipt, so that it might judge what money was due to them. The receipt ran as follows. It acknowledged that the Harpers had received from John Goodwin the sum of £330 as part of the £1,600 due to them from the island, entered as paid to them in the Company's own books of account. It was dated at St Helena on 28 May 1740 and signed by Thomas Easthope, Martin Harper and Gabriel Harper. The council answered that the men's predecessors ought not to have leaned so wholly on the directors, and that it was very sorry they too had been imposed on, but since they now admitted under their own hands that they had received the £330, they must look again at the sum, for instead of £1,800 owing they would have £3,300, which the council could not bring itself to believe until the accounts had been gone into.

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		We answerd that Our Predecessors did not scruple depending their Masters, and we were very sorry they too had been imposed upon, But as they had under their hands Acknowledged that Mr Goodwin did Receive that £530 of the Company, they has in Equity to and I of you again for in that case instead of £1600 the Sum it would Pay £2230 which, we contrive to believe their Harness will incur Require it, however being much busyed at this Juncture with the Inventory of the Companys Stores We could not Spares time to Examine into Private Concerns till our Masters affairs were a little Looked into, then we would give them an other hearing. Ordered That in Compliance with Our Masters direction We Colven Will be Registred upon Consultation vizt In the name of God Amen I Solomon Coven of the Island St Helena Lieutenant being sick & weak of body, but of Perfect mind & memory & willing to mind the Uncertainty of humane Life Knowing there is a time for all men once to die, make this my last Will & Testament First & principally, I commit my soul into the hand of my Blessed Redeemer, trusting in his mercys for the Remission of my sins, my Worldly Effects I Will & Bequeath as follows vizt I will & Bequeath unto my well beloved friend John Goodwin Esqr Governour the Sum of One hundred Pounds I will & Bequeath unto Each of the Gentlemen of Councill the sum of twenty pounds to buy them Mourning I will & Bequeath unto Thos Godwin the Son of John Goodwin Esqr the Sum of One hundred Pounds I will & Bequeath unto Mrs Mary Godwin the Wife of John Goodwin Esqr as a token of my Regard to her my Silver Candled	Being much taken up at that time with the inventory of the Company's stores, the council had no leisure to look into private claims until its main business was a little further advanced, and promised the men another hearing then. The council ordered that, in keeping with the directors' instructions, Mr Colson's will be registered, and it was entered on the consultation as follows. The will opened in the name of God. Colson, sexton of the island of St Helena and lieutenant, described himself as sick and weak of body but of sound mind and memory, and, mindful of the uncertainty of human life and knowing that all men must die, made his last will and testament. He commended his soul to God and left his worldly goods, after his debts were paid, to be disposed of as follows. He left his well-beloved friend John Goodwin the sum of £100. He left the gentlemen of the council the sum of £20 to buy mourning. He left John Goodwin junior, son of John Goodwin, the sum of £100. He left Mrs Mary Goodwin, wife of John Goodwin, all his silver plate, as a token of his regard for her. **Interpretations** The receipt cut the ground from under the Harpers' own complaint. They had come to protest an imposition, but the document the council called for showed their signatures under an acknowledgement that £330 had been paid, and once that was admitted the whole shape of the account changed. The council's arithmetic, that the true figure was not £1,800 but £3,300, turned their grievance into a problem for them rather than the estate, since a receipt signed in ignorance still bound the men who signed it, and the council would credit nothing until it had traced the sums through the books. Colson's will illustrates how thoroughly the Goodwin family stood at the centre of island society even as the late Governor's estate lay under a cloud. Nearly every substantial bequest ran to a Goodwin, the father, the son and the wife, the plate to Mrs Goodwin as a mark of personal regard, so that a sexton's legacies mapped the ties of obligation and friendship that bound the small settlement together. Registering the will on the consultation, as the directors required, gave these private dispositions the force of a public record, the entry itself being what made the bequests provable and the executor answerable.
18	14	I will & bequeath unto my good friend John Brown Surgeon the sum of One hundred pounds to be paid him in the Hone Companys Cash Notes, which my Executors will send in my Chest I will & bequeath unto the Children of Thos Harper Deceasd vizt Thomas, Henry, Ann & Mary the Sum of One hundred pounds to be divided between them in Equale Share & divided to be paid to them by my Executors as they shall come to age or Marriage & in Case of the death of either of the & Thomas, Henry, Ann & Mary before they come to age or Marriage, then their Share or dividend Shall Depend to the Survivours I will & bequeath unto mary Harper the daughter of Mary Mason the Sum of One hundred pounds I will & bequeath unto Elizabeth the wife of John Rich the Sum of forty pound	Colson left his good friend John Brown, surgeon, £100, to be paid to him in the Company's cash notes, which his executors were to send in his chest. He left the children of Thomas Harper, deceased, namely Thomas, Henry, Ann and Mary, £100 to be divided equally among them and paid when they came of age or married. Should any of them die before reaching that point, that child's share was to go to the survivors. He left Mary Harper, daughter of Mary Mason, £100. He left Elizabeth, wife of John Peck, £40. He left Dorcas Bryan £50. He left Mary French £20. He left Daniel, son of Samuel Doveton, £10. He left William Young £10. He left Samuel Alexander £40. He left Mary Easthope £50, to be paid when she came of age or married. He left Thomas Harper, son of Martin Harper, £50, to be paid to him when he reached the age of 21, out of the sum for which his brother stood indebted to the testator by a bond dated 4 May 1736.

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		I will & bequeath unto Darcas Bryan the Sum of fifty pounds I will & bequeath unto Mary French the Sum of twenty pounds I will & bequeath unto Danll the Son of Sam Doveton the sum of ten pounds I will & bequeath unto William Jones the Sum of ten pounds I will & bequeath unto Sam Alexander the Sum of forty pounds I will & bequeath unto mary Elthorpe the Sum of fifty pound to be paid her at age or Marriage I will & bequeath unto Thos Harper the Son of Martin Harper the Sum of fifty pd, & which his father Stands Indebted to me as p the Value of hand dated 4 May 1736, so be paid to the & Thomas Harper when he arrives at the Age of 21 Years by the & father Martin Harper I will & bequeath unto Mary & Elizabeth the daughters of Gabriel Harper the Sum of fifty one pound to be Equally divided between them, Which Sum their father Stands Indebted to me as p the Value of hand dated 3 Octobr 1735, so be paid to the & Mary & Elizabeth when they arrive at their Age of 21 Years, a Marriage &c their p & father Gabl Harper I will & bequeath unto my Slave boy his freedom immediately after my decease & the Sum of ten pounds to be paid him by my Executors in Manner following, vizt they shall Pay p Capt of the first Ship for his passage to India, and what is demand shall be paid p first ship Thomas, And I do bthempt give him of my Shirt & Suit of my Apparel meh as my Executors shall think will be most usefull Service. I will & bequeath unto Martin Harper my Silver Sneaker & to his Wife Ann my Silver Salver I will that all my just Debts be Paid by my Executors	He left Mary and Elizabeth, daughters of Gabriel Harper, £50 to be divided equally between them, out of the sum for which their father stood indebted to the testator by a bond dated 3 October 1735, to be paid when they came of age or married. He gave his own slave boy his freedom immediately after the testator's death, together with £10 to be paid him by the executors in the following way: they were to pay his passage to India aboard one of the Company's ships, and whatever remained was to be given him there. He also left the boy all his apparel, except such as the executors might think would serve his own overseer. He left Martin Harper his silver tankard, and Martin Harper's wife his silver salver. He directed that all his just debts be paid by his executors. **Interpretations** The bequests tied to outstanding bonds show a testator using his will to settle his own lending as much as to give gifts. Two of the legacies to the Harper children were charged not on the general estate but on the specific sums their relations already owed him, named by the dates of the bonds. This let Colson turn a debt he might have struggled to collect in life into a provision for the debtor's children after his death, cancelling the loan and endowing the next generation in a single stroke, and the precise citation of each bond by date was what made the charge enforceable against the right fund. The manumission of the slave boy was framed with unusual care for what freedom alone could not secure. A grant of liberty left a freed boy with no means and no place, so Colson attached to it a passage to India at the executors' charge, a small sum of money to follow him there and the whole of his own wardrobe. The arrangement reflects a common anxiety in such bequests, that liberty given without provision left its object destitute, and the reservation of some clothing for the overseer shows even this act of generosity trimmed to the estate's continuing needs.
19	15	Executors as soon after my decease as Conveniently they Can I will & bequeath unto my beloved friends Thos Rutledge Martin Harper & Gabriel Harper, all the Rest Residue & Remainder of my Estate to be divided between them in Equal Shares & Directed for them and their Heirs I will, Nominate & Appoint that my well beloved friends Mr George Gabriel Powell, Thomas Rutledge, Martin Harper & Gabriel Harper to be my true & Lawfull Executors of this my Last Will & Testament, Utterly Revoking all former Wills by me made. Witnesse my hand & Seale in St Helena this 4 day of Octr 1739 (Signd) Thos Coven Signd, Seald & Delivered to his Last Will & Testament (there is Stampt Paper it seems to be lost) in the Presence of (Signd) William Worrall Junr & Nicholas Pfeather Richard Groff	The debts were to be settled by the executors as soon after the testator's death as they conveniently could. Colson left his well-beloved friends Thomas Easthope, Martin Harper and Gabriel Harper all the rest and remainder of his estate, to be divided equally among them and their heirs. He named George Gabriel Powell, Thomas Easthope, Martin Harper and Gabriel Harper as sole executors of his will, revoking every earlier will he had made. He set his hand and seal to it at St Helena on 4 May 1739, the will being signed by Thomas Cason. It was signed, sealed and delivered as his last will and testament, on stamped paper, in the presence of the witnesses William Worrall junior, Nicholas Bleathley and Richard Frost. The copy entered was attested a true copy by George Gabriel Powell. The consultation was adjourned until six the following morning, and signed by Thomas Langworth, Jonathan Cape, Robert Jenkins, George Gabriel Powell and John Godfrey.

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		Vera Copia Attested G. G. Powell Depty Adjourned till tomorrow Morng 6 oClock Thos Langworth Jonathan Cape Rt Jenkins G. G. Powell John Godfrey	
20	16	At a Consultation held on Saturday 16 May 1741 at the Castle 6 oClock in the Morning Present. Robt Jenkins Esqr Govr Thos Langworth Jonas Cape } Captains Geo: Gab: Powell John Godfrey The last Consultation was Read & Approved All day Yesterday Employed as before, Yet being to make an End of the Stores as fast as Possible, that we may be able to find out the Real Deficiency & Proceed accordingly against the Aggressors, and at the Same time to Discover what Goods & Merchandize are laying in the Stores belonging to Mess: Godwin, Crispe & Bazett. One of the Hone Companys Slaves men called Stephen a Stonelayer died Yesterday being Choaked by a Spindle sticking in his throat. Adjourned till 6 oClock tomorrow Morng Thos Langworth Jonathan Cape Rt Jenkins G. G. Powell John Godfrey	At a consultation held on Saturday 16 May 1741 at the Castle at six in the morning, Governor Robert Jenkins presided, with the captains Thomas Langworth and Jonathan Cape, the Deputy Governor George Gabriel Powell and John Godfrey, third of council, in attendance. The record of the previous consultation was read and approved. The whole of the previous day had again been spent on the inventory, the council pressing to finish the stores as quickly as it could, so that it might establish the true deficiency and proceed accordingly against the guilty parties, while at the same time discovering what goods and merchandise lay in the stores belonging to Crispe and Bazett. One of the Company's slaves, a stonelayer named Stephen, had died the day before, choked by a fishbone lodged in his throat. The consultation was adjourned until six the following morning, and signed by Thomas Langworth, Jonathan Cape, Robert Jenkins, George Gabriel Powell and John Godfrey.
21	17	At a Consultation held on Monday 18 May 1741 at the Castle Present. Robt Jenkins Esqr Govr Supra Cargoes { Will: Fredk Beeswaxen Richd Wood Captains { Thos Langworth Jonn Cape Geo: Gab: Powell Depty Govr John Godfrey 3d of Coun The last Consultation was Read & approved Yesterday arrived the Ships Royall Guardeas & Mountague. and This morning We Summonds to the Councill Mess: William Fredrick Beeswaxen & Richard Wood Supra Cargoes of Ship Mountague, When first We Read to them Our Hone Masters Orders for so being, then Tendred to them the Oath of Fidelity & Secrecy as Set forth at large in Our Consultation of 12 May last, which they my Deputy took, We Presented next to Read to these Gentlemen our Several Consulta tions, and Explain to them in the best manner We could this present Situation of Affairs, to the End they might be the better able to judge what course was most Expedient to be taken in order to prevent Our Masters Suffering by this late Genll Godwins here Mr Powell upon his first Coming told that those Bills of Exchange held 4 Feb 1739 to the amount of £1800 drawn in his Favour, are Illegal & Unjustifyable in this acte of the late Mr Godwin, as he had actually no Authority for so being, having never	At a consultation held on Monday 18 May 1741 at the Castle, Governor Robert Jenkins presided, with the supercargoes William Frederick Bossanan and Richard Wood, the captains Thomas Langworth and Jonathan Cape, the Deputy Governor George Gabriel Powell and John Godfrey, third of council, in attendance. The record of the previous consultation was read and approved. The ships *Royal Guardian* and *Montague* had arrived the day before. That morning the council summoned William Frederick Bossanan and Richard Wood, supercargoes of the *Montague*, to the board. The directors' orders were read to them, and they were given the oath of fidelity and secrecy, and had the whole of the consultation of 12 May read out, so that they might better understand it. The council then read to these gentlemen the several consultations held since, so that they might see the state matters stood in, and judge what course would be best to prevent any further loss to the directors. Mr Powell first stated that he found the bill of exchange dated 4 February 1739, for the sum of £1,800, drawn in his own favour, to be an unfair and unjustifiable act on the part of the late Mr Goodwin, who had in truth no authority to draw it, having never paid the money into the cash. The council reasonably suspected afterwards that he might be compelled to pay that sum into the Company's cash, and take possession of his lands again, which would be to Powell's great disadvantage. It therefore drew up the following letter, addressed to Robert Jenkins and the council of St Helena. The letter set out that the late Governor Goodwin, being entrusted with the sale of a parcel of the Company's lands on the island, and having sold those lands to the writer, afterwards, instead of paying over

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		paid the money into the Cash here, Requested chiefly after Grievance Jenkins Insists he might be Suffered to Repay that money into the Companys Cash, and take Possession of his Lands &c again, We at all Persuasions Disadvantage, And then Day Wrote Us the following Letter vizt To the Worshipfull Robt Jenkins Esqr Govr & Coun: Councill of the Hone Ea India Company Worshipfull Sir & Sirs The late Govr John Godwin Esqr decd being Intrusted with me for a Parcell of Lands &c upon this Island which he was to Pay me money for, he after having had said Lands in his Possession a twelvemonth Signd me Bills of Exchange upon the West thereof for £1800, assuring me he had paid that sum into their Cash here, Which Bills have been duly honoured & my Attorney has Received the money, But since Mr Goodwins death he Insists I misused has Turned that the money never was paid into the Cash & that he here upon the Company without any Authority, in Such he imposed both upon the Hone Company	the money, had given the writer a bill of exchange for £1,800, assuring him it had been paid into the Company's cash. The bill had since been duly honoured and the writer's attorney had received the money, but since Goodwin's death it had come out that the sum had never in fact been paid into the cash. So the writer had, without knowing it, been made to lay out his money upon the Company's account, when Goodwin had no authority for what he did. **Interpretations** The bill of exchange was the instrument through which Goodwin's fraud passed from the Company to an innocent third party. A bill of exchange was a written order to pay a named sum, which once accepted and honoured moved money as reliably as coin; here it stood in place of the purchase price Goodwin should have paid into the Company's cash for the land he sold. By drawing the bill in Powell's favour and swearing the money was already in the cash, Goodwin made Powell an unwitting creditor of the Company for £1,800, so that the loss the council was now tracing had been laundered through an ordinary commercial paper and lodged on a man who had merely bought land in good faith. Powell's exposure shows why the council feared the tangle could not be undone cleanly. If the bill was void for want of authority, the obvious correction was to make Powell pay the £1,800 into the cash and take his land back, unwinding the sale to its starting point. The council saw at once that this would fall hardest on Powell, who had already parted with his money and received nothing the Company could now stand behind, which is why his own written statement was entered on the record: it fixed the fraud on the dead Governor and laid the ground for Powell to be treated as a victim of the deficiency rather than a party to it.
22	18	Company & upon my Self, therefore Consonant with my Duty to my Masters I humbly Require that I may be allowed to Repay that money into their Cash again, & take Possession of my Lands, tho the Same will be a very great loss to me, no less than 5 or 6 hundred pounds, having Sold off all my Stock of Cattle &c which I shall be at least 10 Years a Recovering to the proportion they were. I am Worshipfull Sir and Sirs St Helena 18 May 1741 Your most Obt Humble Servt G. G. Powell Mr Powell further says, that he would Rather Rather to keep the money than to loose his Lands &c, Returned him, But as a Companys Servant he cant do less in duty to his master than make this Offer; And to Shew how great his Loss as well as the Company above is, he desires us to Consider that in Consequence of Wr Godwins Knavery & that these Bills were Sued, he Sold off all his Stock of Cattle, Hoggs, Sheep fowls &c, & the Value of near 6 hundred pounds, Now it will be a very many Years before he can Ever make a Stock again, and till a Stock is Raised his Lands will be a Refuge to him, to say nothing of the Benefit he would have Received from the Encrease of the Stock, all which is Entirely Sunk	Powell wrote that, out of his duty to the directors, he was willing to pay the money back into the Company's cash and take his lands again, though this would be a heavy loss to him, no less than £500 or £600, since he had already sold off all his stock of cattle and the rest, and it would now take him at least ten years to bring the land back to the state it had been in. The letter was sent from St Helena on 18 May 1741 and signed by George Gabriel Powell. Powell went on to say that he would far rather keep the money than take his lands back, but as the Company's servant he would do his duty by the directors. To show how great his loss would be, as well as the Company's, he pointed out that the bill of exchange, drawn in his favour, had caused him to sell off his whole stock of cattle, hogs, sheep, goats and the rest, at a loss of many years before he could raise such a stock again, and that if he took his lands back with the fences let fall to ruin, to say nothing of what the standing crop would have yielded, the whole would be so much dead loss. The council reckoned the grazing worth at least one shilling a day, and noted that this too had been part of the purchase, so that Powell stood to lose on the grazing as well as the stock, the land having been three years in his hands. His yam plantations were in a manner ruined and the little that stood was much neglected, and would be a great expense to set in order again. The fences round his pasture grounds were much out of repair, which would make with these, and the council reckoned no less than £50, besides a stonelayer's wages, and many other matters of loss which the council would not stop to enter. Powell had freely owned the whole, and had, out of duty to the directors, laid his demands before them, so that after his loss he would be willing to take his lands again and pay the £1,800 into the Company's cash.

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		This kind of Slaves is at least one Shilling p Day, And Six were included in the Purchase, So that his loss even in that Article will be Considerable, they having been I & p being for Mr Godwins Benefit near three Years. His Yam Plantation is in a manner flung up & that first which is still kept Planted is very much Neglected and it will be a great Expence & Labour to put the Same in Order again His fences behind his Pastures grounds his greatly Out of Repair, which will make with those & it & be Observed that a Stonelayers wages is no less than 5 p day; there are many Other matters of less moments which he does not notice, But hope We would Consider one thing why an other, And that it is Purely out of a Reluent duty to his Masters & Companys demands and forfd, may be answerable to him for this loss he will Sustain by taking his Lands again & Paying back the £1800 into the Companys Cash The matter being fully weighed we think Mr Powell has been greatly Injured, but sees Right no as a Companys Servant in tendring this money tho at so Kwilted Disadvantage to himself Agreed That this Affair be Represented to the Company & that this Orders whither Mr Powell shall Repay the money into their Cash & take	Having weighed the matter fully, the council held that Powell had been greatly wronged, but that his fairest course was to take the money as being to his advantage. The council agreed that the whole affair be laid before the Company, and that meanwhile Powell should pay the money into the Company's cash and... **Interpretations** Powell's reckoning of his loss set out the full cost of unwinding a completed purchase three years on. Land bought and then stocked, fenced and cropped could not be handed back as it was received; the buyer had sold his herds to raise the price, let the standing improvements run down, and would face years of expense rebuilding what he had dismantled. By putting a figure to each element, the ruined stock, the wasted grazing worth a shilling a day, the neglected yams, the broken fences and the stonelayer's wages, Powell was pricing the difference between the land as sold and the land as it would return to him, showing that even a full refund of the £1,800 would leave him hundreds of pounds out of pocket. The council's conclusion turned a wrong into a calculated choice against the sufferer's own preference. Powell plainly wished to keep the money and be left in possession, yet the council judged that taking the £1,800 and surrendering the land was in truth to his advantage, and pressed that course while promising to lay the whole before the directors. This is the mechanism of a colonial council managing a loss it could not itself resolve: it recorded the fraud, secured the cash back into the Company's account to stop the deficiency growing, and referred the equities to London, leaving Powell compensated in form while the final justice of his claim waited on a decision months away.
23	19	Possession of his Estate, &c Whether things Shall Remain as they are. But, that in case the Company should Order Mr Powell to take his Lands again he might not be a greater sufferer than he be Needy then, We think proper that Mr Powell and Mr Godfrey have the Direction of the Said Lands, untill Orders do comes Concerning them, to Prevent them being further depreciated, provided this be done without any Expence to the Company. Order'd That tomorrow Evening We Examine Mr Crispe concerning Monies being made debtor to him, as directed in 34 pra of Genll Letter of 28 Janll 1740. and That the Inventory of the Goods in Warehouse & the Delivery of the Store Ship be forwarded with all the Expedition possible. Present. & approved of the above William Frederick Beeswaxen Richard Wood Rt Jenkins G. G. Powell Thos Langworth Jonathan Cape John Godfrey	Powell was to keep possession of his estate, and matters were to rest as they were. But should the directors order Powell to take his lands back, so that he might not suffer a greater loss than he already had, the council thought it proper that Mr Powell and Mr Godfrey have charge of those lands until orders came concerning them, to prevent their being further run down, provided this was done at no expense to the Company. The council ordered that the next evening it examine Mr Crispe about the money made owing to him, in keeping with the thirty-fourth paragraph of the directors' general letter of 28 June 1740. It further ordered that the inventory of the goods in the warehouses, and the delivery of the store ship, be pressed forward with all speed. The consultation was signed by William Frederick Bossanan, Richard Wood, Thomas Langworth, Jonathan Cape, Robert Jenkins, George Gabriel Powell and John Godfrey, and endorsed as approved. **Interpretations** The interim arrangement for the lands shows the council guarding an asset whose ownership it could not yet settle. Until London ruled on whether Powell kept the money or resumed the land, the ground sat in a limbo where neglect would erode its value further, exactly the run-down state Powell had just priced at hundreds of pounds. Putting Powell and Godfrey in charge of it, expressly at no cost to the Company, was a holding measure: it preserved the property against the day the directors decided its fate, without committing the Company to spend on land it might not keep or having Powell improve ground he might have to give back. The reference to a numbered paragraph of the directors' letter reveals how tightly the council's actions were bound to written instruction from

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			London. The examination of Crispe was not undertaken on the council's own initiative but in obedience to the thirty-fourth article of the general letter of 28 June 1740, cited by number so the record would show the authority for it. This is the machinery of Company governance at a distance: a remote council acted under standing orders drafted months before and answered for each step by pointing to the clause that commanded it, so that its handling of a local fraud could be checked against the directors' own directions when the books went home.
24	20	At a Consultation held on Tuesday the 19 of May 1741 at the Castle Present. Robt Jenkins Esqr Governour Supracargoes { Wm F: Beeswaxen Richd Wood Geo: Gab: Powell 2d of Coun John Godfrey 3d of Do Captains { Henry Steadly Thos Langworth Jonn Cape The last Consultation Read & approved We this day Summonds to the Councill Capt Henry Steadly, & after Shewing him the Companys Orders for So being, tendred to him the Oath of Fidility & Secrecy, and Read over the Several Consultations held since the Arrival of Bazett Junge, Agreeable to this method taken when Mess: Beeswaxen and Wood were Introduced into the Councill. Yesterday the Governour Received Letter from Capt John Hallett acquainting us that the Ship Bartwick having been here 10 days was Ready to Sail, Whereupon the Govr gave him a Written order to Continued in the Road at & Ship Bartwick untill further Advised in Consequence of the Orders directed to him for So being from the Honble the Committee of Sundry Agreeable to the advertisement Published on the 13 Instant, the Garrison Paraded before the Castle, Where after being drawn up We proceeded to Enrolle them vizt Serjeants Wm Bazett 4 Simon Whorly 2 Joseph Assherman 3 William Slater 4 Richard Girling 5 William Worrall 6 John Hanson 7 Joseph Whorly Senr 8 Corporal William Bramham 9 Edward Bagley 10. Corporals Henry Muller 1	At a consultation held on Tuesday 19 May 1741 at the Castle, Governor Robert Jenkins presided, with the supercargoes William Frederick Bossanan and Richard Wood, the captains Henry Headly, Thomas Langworth and Jonathan Cape, the Deputy Governor George Gabriel Powell and John Godfrey, third of council, in attendance. The record of the previous consultation was read and approved. That day the council summoned Henry Headly to the board, showed him the directors' orders for the swearing in of members, gave him the oath of fidelity and secrecy, and read over the several consultations held since the arrival of Bazett junior, in keeping with the practice followed when Bossanan and Wood were sworn, both of which were entered on the consultation. The Governor had received a letter the day before from Captain John Hallett, letting the council know that his ship, the *Hardwick*, had been in the road ten days and was now ready to sail. The council gave him a written order to stay, his ship being detained until further orders in consequence of the directions given for the swearing in of the members. Following the advertisement published on 15 May, the garrison paraded before the Castle, and after being drawn up was mustered as follows. Sergeants: 1: Thomas Bazett 2: Simon Whaley 3: Joseph Defountaine 4: William Seale 5: Richard Girling 6: William Worrall 7: John Hanson 8: Joseph Whaley senior, storekeeper 9: William Burnham 10: Edward Bagley Corporals: 1: Henry Moller 2: John Leech senior 3: John Herrald 4: John Hayes 5: Robert Insley 6: John Whaley senior 7: John Funge 8: James Draper 9: Henry Beale 10: Christopher Beale 11: Matthew Waters 12: David Wilson 13: Bartholomew Martin 14: Thomas Saunders 15: William Simpson 16: John French **Interpretations** The detention of the *Hardwick* shows how a routine administrative requirement could override a captain's readiness to sail. Hallett's ship had been in the road ten days and was fully prepared to leave, but the council held her until further orders, tying the detention to the business of swearing in new members. A commander lost money for every day his ship lay idle, so ordering the *Hardwick* to stay was no small imposition, and the council justified it purely by reference to the directors' instructions on constituting the board, showing that the formal process of oath-taking took precedence over the pressing commercial interest of getting an East Indiaman back to sea. The muster of the garrison by name and rank served as the settlement's basic record of its military strength. A colonial garrison depended on knowing exactly who stood on its rolls, since pay, duty and defence all rested on an accurate count, and parading the men before the Castle to be entered one by one turned that strength into a written return. The notation against Joseph Whaley senior, marked as storekeeper, shows the list doubling as a record of who held particular charges, so that the muster fixed not only the number

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		John Leach Senr 2 Jos Herrald 3 Jno Harper 4 Richd Isaack 5 Jno Whorly Junr 6 John Ginger 7 James Draper 8 Henry Beale 9 Christopherus Beale 10 Matthew Waters 11 David Wilson 12 Batholomew Martin 13 Thomas Sanders 14 William Sampson 15 John French 16	of men under arms but the offices some of them filled within the garrison's establishment.
25	21	Corporals Brought over Joseph Bazett 17 Gabriel Isaac 18 Richard Groff 19 Drummers George Lindsey 1 Supracar Isaac Ginger 2 William Owen 3 Thos Watts Junr 4 Gunners Mates Isaac Leach 1 Thos Watts Senr 2 Nathan Semple 3 Wm Wood 4 Quarter Gunners James Vaughan Isaac Simpson Roger Stevenson } Supra Mattrosses Wm Chippingemal 1 John Lilley 2 Jos Bethum 3 Francis Nueland 4 Major Dickson 5 Wm Kennady 6 John Biddle	Corporals, continued: 17: Joseph Bazett 18: Gabriel Isaac 19: Richard Frost Drummers: 1: George Lindsey, corporal 2: Isaac Funge 3: William Owens 4: Thomas Watts junior Gunners' mates: 1: Isaac Leech 2: Thomas Watts senior 3: Nathan Semple 4: William Wood Quarter gunners: 1: James Vaughan 2: Isaac Ingerson 3: Major Stevenson, superintendent Mattrosses: 1: William Fitzsimmons 2: John Lilley 3: Isaac Wathen 4: Francis Newland 5: Major Dickson 6: William Kennedy 7: John Biddle 8: William Davis 9: Christopher Ellis 10: Thomas Wrangham Sentinels: 1: Thomas Colgrave 2: Robert Marlowe 3: William Allop 4: Thomas Bowers 5: Thomas Watson 6: Isaac Whaile 7: William Adams 8: Joseph Isaac 9: John Morgan 10: William Cosby 11: Andrew Stirling 12: James English 13: Edward Wrangham 14: Edward Steward 15: John Draper 16: John Starkad 17: John Vollegar 18: James Wall 19: John George 20: Benjamin Ambrose 21: John Draper 22: David Bates 23: John Aldrich 24: Christopher Garland 25: William Daniell 26: Isaac Bates 27: Philip Holland 28: William Thwaites 29: James Long 30: Thomas Alcock 31: Alexander Blindman 32: Herman Ruest 33: John Webster 34: William Lilley 35: William Dunstan 36: Thomas Draper 37: John Spencer 38: John Ward 39: Richard Harper 40: Baron Dachug 41: John Lewis 42: Thomas Ayliffe 43: John Brown 44: Francis Funge junior 45: John Barnard 46: John Speak 47: Orlando Bagley 48: William Leech 49: Edward Spadgeon 50: Thomas Funge 51: John Cambrick 52: Thomas Pegg 53: James Richardson 54: Richard Kent 55: Thomas Ackles 56: John Hayes

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		7 William Davis 8 Thos Christophell 9 Thos Willingham 10 Centinells Thos Cotgrave 1 Rob Marlowe 2 Will: Allop 3 Thos Bowen 4 Thos Watson 5 Jno Whyville 6 Will: Addams 7 Joseph Long 8 John Morgan 9 Will: Cosby 10 Andrew Yealing 11 James English 12 Edward Wareham 13 Edward Stord 14 Centinells Brought over John Drury 15 John Starked 16 John Cottager 17 James Hall 18 John George 19 Benn Ambrose 20 John Draper 21 Richd Bates 22 John Aldrich 23 Christ Garland 24 Will: Danell 25 Sadr Pales 26 Phillip Killand 27 Will: Shwaite 28 James Ising 29 Thos Alcock 30 Allen Blindman 31 Norman Isaack 32 John Webster 33	

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		Wenr Lilley 34 Willd Dunston 35 Thos Draper 36 John Spencer 37 John Ward 38 Rich: Harper 39 Baron Dockuf 40 John Lewis 41 Thos Apellito 42 John Brun 43 Franr Ginger Junr 44 John Barneld 45 John Sprish 46 Rolando Bagley 47 William Leach 48 Edward Spadgion 49 Thos Ginger 50 John Cambrick 51 Thos Regg 52 James Richardson 53 Richard Kent 54 Thos Aichless 55 John Hage 56	
26	22	Centinells Brought over John Leach 57 Stephen Jenr 58 Benjn Pale 59 Will: Owen 60 Jno McDonald 61 John Yelley 62 Will: Moss 63 Chrs Girling 64 Will: Deane 65 John Worrall 66 Stephen Lushing 67 Giles Hoyer 68 David Hays 69 John Drader	Sentinels, continued: 57: John Leech 58: Stephen Funge 59: Benjamin Isaac 60: William Owens 61: John MacDonald 62: John Vollegar 63: William Moss 64: Charles Girling 65: William Draper 65: John Worrall 67: Stephen Lufkin 68: Giles Hayes 69: Daniel Hayes 70: John Draper 71: James Allop 72: Francis Hayes 73: Thomas Leech 74: Thomas Bowers 75: Thomas Cooper 76: John Girling 77: Isaac Doran 78: Samuel Funge 79: John Pound 80: Henry Leech 81: John Bradfield 82: Richard Stewart 83: John Aldrich 84: Bennett Steward Artificers: Francis Funge, armourer James Haywood, armourer's mate John Norman, cooper Richard Beale, clerk Nicholas Cleather, smith Henry Moyce, carpenter Samuel Doveton, overseer John Worrall, overseer John Seale, overseer Richard Stewart, overseer Jack Richard Cason, being a black man, was discharged by Governor Goodwin. The council found in the journal entry of 31 March 1741 the following establishment, with the numbers mustered that day set against it. Sergeants: 10 on the books, 10 mustered Corporals: 20 on the books, 19 mustered, 1 wanting Gunners' mates: 4 on the books, 4 mustered Quarter gunners: 3 on the books, 3 mustered Mattrosses: 13 on the books, 10 mustered, 3 wanting Drummers: 5 on the

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		70 James Allop 71 Frans Hoover 72 Thos Leach 73 Thos Bruce 74 Thos Cooper 75 John Girling 76 Isaac Deane 77 Sam Kinger 78 Sen Pound 79 Henry Leach 80 John Beustyles 81 Rich: Shwarts 82 John Chedwick 83 Barnett Steimes 84 Artificers Frances Ginger Armr James Haywood Armrs Mate John Norman Cooper Rich: Beale Clerk Nicholas Cleather Snd Henry Meyce Carpr Sam Doveton Overseer John Worrall Do John Seale Do Rich: Shwarts Do Jacob Rich Crispe being a Black Slave to Genl Godwins We discharged him We find in the Journal Entry of March 31 1741 Serjeants 10 Minuted this day 10. Corporals 20 Do 19 wan 1. Drummrs Mates 4 Do 4 Qr Gunners 3 Do 3 Mattrosses 13 Do 10 wan 3. Drummers 5 Do 4 wan 1. Centinells 106 Do 84 wan 22.	books, 4 mustered, 1 wanting Sentinels: 106 on the books, 84 mustered, 22 wanting **Interpretations** The set of specialist trades entered under artificers shows how much a remote garrison had to contain within its own establishment. Beyond the fighting ranks the fort needed an armourer to keep the weapons serviceable, a cooper for casks, a smith, a carpenter and overseers for the plantations and works, since nothing could be sent for from a neighbouring town as it might in England. Listing these men apart from the sergeants, corporals and sentinels marks the difference between soldiers who stood guard and skilled hands who kept the settlement's arms, buildings and stores in repair, both drawn from the same small body of Company servants. The comparison of the establishment against the numbers actually present measured the garrison's true strength against its paper strength. An establishment fixed how many men each rank should hold, and the muster revealed the shortfall, heaviest among the sentinels, where twenty-two of a hundred and six were wanting. This gap between the roll and the men on the ground was exactly what a muster existed to expose, since pay was drawn for the full establishment while defence depended on those genuinely present, and a deficiency of a fifth in the common soldiers told the council how far the fort's real capacity fell below its nominal one.
27	23	Mr Crispe was sent for to make answer to the 34 pra of Ship	Mr Crispe was sent for to answer the thirty-fourth paragraph of the general letter carried by the *Royal*

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		Royll George, and Says that the Company have been no Sufferer by him in that particular, as the money he says since been made good to them out of his Wages, & is Surprized they should make mention of a matter of so long Standing. But this being in no sort Satisfactory to Us, We desired he would make it Evidently appear how & which way the same has been Discharged, Which he Said he could as clear as the Sun at Noon day by his Books, And being Asked whither We thought make Transfers was a fair & honest way, He answerd he did nt, & that it had been a method Practised here, & the Receipt he Urged by it was this being that Sum of £49-5-11 in which Wood is made Debter to him, in England comes than he could Nse have his Order'd that tomorrow morning We Examine the Offices that has hitherto been Lockd up under two Keys, one in the Possession of the Governour & the other in Mr Crispe own keeping, wherein are most of the Papers & Books belonging to the Company Intermixed with the late Governours & Mr Crispe Papers, and believe to him all such as Concern himself only, Particularly Remembering to Demand him of his promise of Shewing Us there that money is made off to the Company Credit which he Unjustifyable Owe Rich Isaac Wood Mr Crispe in Order to Convince Us this money was paid, insisted upon our Reading a Copy of the Letter which he says was sent home p Ship Somersett, But Prospects, without the least show of hesitation, that Capt Hallet Suscrid it, We observing this Writing not Signd by any body, desired Mr Crispe would Attest it to be a true Copy of that went p Somersett, Which he absolutely Refused & said the was told to be Trusted or Snappned into any thing, We thereupon Ordd him to withdraw, And Read what he said was a Copy of the Letter sent p Somersett, but found not a word in it with Respect to & Money he Vizt of the Company in Woods name, Or much to the purpose on any other Subject. Mr Crispe asked to have a Copy of his Accusation, but was told to Lay aside all Cunning & act fairly above board, that in his words he was Accused of having Defrauded the Company of a very Considerable sum of money, as Appeard under his own hand, Which he does not deny, And further that the Excuses he has hitherto made for so long are Trifling & by no means to be Admitted in his justification Mr Crispe told Us that he was Ready to give Security for any thing that might be laid to his Charge, And Acknowledged he had taken many Irregular Steps Unjustifyable	*George*. He said that the Company had suffered no loss through him in that matter, and that whatever money had been made good to it out of his wages was of long standing, and he was surprised the council should raise a point so old. As this was no proper answer, the council required him to show, plainly and at once, in what way that money had been discharged, and he replied that it stood as clear as anything at noon in his books. Being asked whether he thought transferring the sum a fair and honest course, he said he did, and that it had been the settled practice, and that he had drawn the receipt himself. The sum was £745 5s 11d, for which Wood was made debtor to him, on the ground that Wood had received the like sum in England. The council ordered that the next morning it examine the papers hitherto locked up under two keys, one held by the Governor and the other in Crispe's own keeping, where most of the Company's papers and books lay mixed with Crispe's own, and let him take out only what concerned himself alone. It particularly remembered to press him to produce what he had promised to show, since a large sum still stood plainly against the Company's credit which he could not fairly clear, and Wood was named in it. Mr Crispe, being pressed to prove that this money had truly been paid in, fell back on the letter he claimed had been sent home by the *Somerset*, and firmly refused, without the least show of foundation, that Captain Hallett had ever signed it. Since the writing was signed by no one, the council asked Crispe to admit it was a true copy of the letter sent by the *Somerset*, but he flatly refused, saying it was not to be looked into or opened at all. The council then asked him to withdraw, and read what he said was a copy of the letter sent home in February, but found not a word in it touching the money he owed, or the Company, and Wood was not named. It was as little to the purpose on any other head. Mr Crispe asked for a copy of the charge against him, but was told he must lay aside all his shuffling and evasion, and that in fairness he had already been heard. In effect he stood accused of having drawn on the Company for a very considerable sum, as appeared under his own hand, which he did not deny, and further that the receipts he had so far produced were so long and so trifling that they could by no means be allowed in his justification. Mr Crispe said he was ready to give security for anything that might be laid to his charge, and admitted he had drawn many irregular... **Interpretations** The dispute over the £745 5s 11d turned on whether a paper transfer could stand in place of real payment. Crispe's defence was that he had made Wood debtor for the sum on the ground that Wood had received the equivalent in England, so that the two entries cancelled and nothing was truly owing. The council's refusal to accept this exposes the danger of such internal transfers: an officer could make his own books show a debt discharged simply by charging it to another man an ocean away, and unless that matching entry could be proved on the other side, the transfer moved the deficiency around on paper without any money ever changing hands. Crispe's reliance on the unsigned *Somerset* letter shows how much rested on the authentication of documents. He offered the letter as proof the money had been paid, yet it bore no signature, and when read it said nothing of the debt, the Company or Wood at all. An unsigned paper proved nothing, since anyone might produce a copy of what he wished had been written; the council's demand that Crispe either verify it as a true copy or see it set aside, and its finding that its contents were beside the point in any case,

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			illustrates that in these accounts a document carried weight only when its origin could be fixed and its words actually addressed the matter in hand. **Speculations** Confronted with Crispe's evasions, the council chose to keep pressing him for a written account and to reserve the locked papers for joint examination, rather than simply seizing everything and proceeding against him at once. The obvious course, given a man plainly shuffling, was to take the documents held under the shared keys and build the case without him. It went the other way because Crispe's own key gave him a standing the council could not ignore, and forcing his admissions onto the record, his own hand to the drawing, his own claim that the transfer was regular, was worth more than papers seized over his objection. By drawing out his answers and confining him to what concerned himself alone when the room was opened, the council secured his self-incrimination and protected the seizure against any later complaint that his private property had been taken unlawfully.
28	24	Unjustifyable Steps but says it was Purely to Support a Sinking Family (Mr Godwins) the which he now sorely Repents and was it to do again should act an other Part Adjourned till tomorrow Rt Jenkins G. G. Powell John Godfrey Present & approved the above Consultation. William Frederick Beeswaxen Richard Wood Henry Steadly Thos Langworth Jonathan Cape	Crispe admitted the steps had been unjustifiable, but said they had been taken only to keep a sinking family, meaning the Goodwins, from ruin, a course he now bitterly regretted, and one he would take again in the same case. The consultation was adjourned until the following day, and signed by Robert Jenkins, George Gabriel Powell and John Godfrey, and endorsed as approved by William Frederick Bossanan, Richard Wood, Henry Headly, Thomas Langworth and Jonathan Cape. **Interpretations** Crispe's final admission recast his conduct as loyalty rather than theft, and the contradiction in it is telling. He conceded the transfers could not be justified, yet defended them as done to save the Goodwin family from collapse, and declared he would do the same again, so that the confession of wrongdoing and the refusal to repent stood side by side. This is the shape of a defence built on personal obligation against institutional duty: Crispe did not deny the acts or their irregularity but claimed a higher call in the ties of family and friendship, the very bonds that ran through the whole affair, from Goodwin's fraud to the legacies of Colson's will, binding the small settlement together even as they corroded its accounts.
29	25	At a Consultation held on Wednesday the 20 May 1741 at the Castle Present. Robt Jenkins Esqr Govr Supra Cargoes { Wm F: Beeswaxen Richd Wood Geo: Gab: Powell John Godfrey Captains { Henry Steadly Thos Langworth Jonn Cape The last Consultation was Read & Approved Yesterday the Govr Received a Letter from Capt John Person acquainting him that the Ship Princess Louisa was Ready to Sail for England, Whereupon the Governour gave him a Written Order to Continued in the Road Untill he Received further advice from him in Consequence of the Command he had upon him by the Hone the Committee of Secrecy In Consequence of Mr Crispe Proposals Yesterday of finding Security for any thing that might be laid to his Charge, We asked him to name the Persons who would be	At a consultation held on Wednesday 20 May 1741 at the Castle, Governor Robert Jenkins presided, with the supercargoes William Frederick Bossanan and Richard Wood, the captains Henry Headly, Thomas Langworth and Jonathan Cape, the Deputy Governor George Gabriel Powell and John Godfrey, third of council, in attendance. The record of the previous consultation was read and approved. The Governor had received a letter the day before from Captain John Pearson, letting the council know that his ship, the *Princess Louisa*, was ready to sail for England. The Governor gave him a written order to stay, his ship being detained until further orders in consequence of the directions given for the swearing in of members. Following on Crispe's offer to give security for anything that might be laid to his charge, the council asked him to name the person who would stand surety for him, but he now tried to draw back and go against what he had said the day before, offering only to give receipts for his appearance before the Company in England. This the council refused, being contrary to its orders, since the directors had directed that his estate be secured on the island for the deficiency found in the estates there. Crispe, as he had said several times before, claimed that had he been allowed his papers he could have made

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		his Bondsmen, but now he attempts to Prevaricate and Says he made anymeh Proposalls Yesterday, only that he would give Security for his Appearance before the Company in England Which We on our Parts Refuse as being Contrary to Our Orders Our masters having Assured that his Estate shall be Secured here for the Deficiency found in their Estate at this place. Mr Crispe telling Us as he has at several times before, that had he but his papers he could make every thing appear as Clear as the Sun at Noon day, We now Delivered to him All his Private Letters papers &c first seeing that they had no Relation either to the Company or to the Estate of the late Govr Godwin &c, And being at this time asked what his Estate might be, he produced a book, wherein he said it appeard to be £1483. 9. 4 bearing date 1 Decemr 1739 And he further acknowledges that at this time he has £2600 Sterg lying in the hands of Peter Godfrey Esqr of London Merchant Mr Crispe was then asked if there were any other Private Papers of his in that Room, he said there was not, and therefore delivered up the Key of the Room which he had hitherto kept. Mr Crispe was told that now he had an opportunity of Inspecting the Books, We Expected he would make it appear how the Company was Injured that many which, he Received of them by an Irregular Transfer Acct of Isaac Wood	everything as clear as the sun at noon, and the council now delivered to him all his private papers. Seeing that these touched neither the Company nor the estate of the late Mr Goodwin, and being now asked what his estate might be, he produced a bond for £1,485 9s 4d dated 1 December 1739, and further admitted that he had £500 lying in the hands of Mr Godfrey, merchant of London. Crispe was then asked whether he had any other private papers in that room. He said he had not, and handed over the key of the room he had until then kept. Crispe was told that now he had the chance of looking into the books, he might show how the Company had been wronged, and he explained that much of it came about through an irregular transfer of account by Isaac Wood. **Interpretations** Crispe's retreat from his own offer marks the difference between a promise given under pressure and one the council could enforce. The day before he had said he would give security for whatever was charged against him, but when asked to name a surety he shrank to offering mere receipts for his appearance in England, a far weaker thing that would let him and his assets leave the island. The council's refusal rested squarely on the directors' orders, which required his estate to be secured on the spot: a distant promise to appear was worthless against a deficiency that had to be made good from property the council could actually reach, and only local security served that end. The production of the bond and the London deposit shows what the council was really after in pressing Crispe. A bond for £1,485 9s 4d and £500 held by a London merchant were assets that could be attached against the shortfall, which is why the examination kept returning to what his estate consisted of. His surrender of the last key, once he admitted no more private papers remained, completed the transfer of the shared room to the council's sole control, removing the standing that his key had given him and leaving the Company's books and his own, now sorted, wholly in the council's hands.
30	26	Wood, Recharg'd Us in the Ledger p an Entry, wherein the money seem to be paid by Cash, but upon our Asking him for his Voucher, he declared that he had none, nor could give Us any other Proof of it Veracity than their Books which he himself kept And further he says that not even Wood nor any other Person, Saving Govr Godwin & himself, knew any thing of the matter; but that such Transfers had been a Practice of old date. Upon which We told him that if books of his own keeping could not be deemd a Sufficient Voucher by Us, And Our masters Orders were Positive that We should Require Vouchers for Payments & Receipts as Entird in this Accounts. He being asked to Produce the Cash Book wherein that money is Entird as paid says that there never was any Regular Cash Book kept here. This matter appearing to Us in a very bad light, We told Mr Crispe that we Expected the Payment of this money agreeable to Our masters Orders Agreed to the End we might the more Palpably, detect Mr Crispe in this Irregular Practice Mr Wood & his Son in Law	Wood had credited the council in the ledger with an entry showing the money as paid in cash, but when the council asked him for his voucher he said he had none, and could give no other proof of its truth than the very books he himself kept. He added that no one but Governor Goodwin and himself knew anything of the matter, and that the transfer had been a practice of long standing. The council told him that books of his own keeping could not be taken as sufficient proof, and that the directors' orders required vouchers for payments and receipts as entered in the accounts. Asked to produce the cash book in which the money was entered, he said there had never been any regular cash book kept there. With the matter appearing in so poor a light, the council told Crispe that it expected this money paid in, in keeping with the directors' orders. The council agreed that, in order to establish the deficiency as fully as it could, Crispe should be examined about the irregular transfer, and Wood and his son-in-law Mr Defountaine summoned and examined the following morning. Crispe, being about to leave the island shortly, asked the council to let him have three small casks of arrack for his own necessary use, which was granted and delivered to him by Captain Shuter. The ship *Duke*, under Captain Thomas Hindman, arrived that day from Bencoolen. The council resolved to inquire into the deficiency in the garrison shown by the muster of the day before. The consultation was adjourned until the following day, and signed by Robert Jenkins, George Gabriel

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		Mr Assherman be Sent for tomorrow Morng & Examined Concerning it Mr Crispe telling Us that as he was to Stay here some time Deferred we would let him have 3 small Cases of Meach for his Necessary Use which was Presented to him by Capt Slater Granted This day arrived the Ship Duke Capt Thos Kindman from Bencoolin Resolved to Enquire of Mr Crispe concernd the Deficiency that appeard upon the Inventory of the Garrison Yesterday. Adjourned till tomorrow Rt Jenkins G. G. Powell John Godfrey Present & approved the above Consultation William Frederick Beeswaxen Richard Wood Henry Steadly Thos Langworth Jonathan Cape	Powell and John Godfrey, and endorsed as approved by William Frederick Bossanan, Richard Wood, Henry Headly, Thomas Langworth and Jonathan Cape. **Interpretations** Wood's position collapsed on the single point of the missing voucher. A ledger entry recorded that money had come in, but the entry was only as trustworthy as the evidence behind it, and Wood could offer nothing but his own books to prove the cash had ever been received. The council's insistence on vouchers for every payment and receipt states the principle plainly: an accounting system rests not on what a clerk writes but on the independent proof that stands behind each figure, and Wood's admission that no regular cash book had even been kept meant the whole record lacked the foundation that would have made its entries provable. The absence of a proper cash book explains how the fraud had gone undetected for so long. A cash book was the running record of money actually received and paid, the document against which ledger entries could be tested, and without one there was no way to catch a false credit before it hardened into the accounts. This gap, coupled with the council's earlier discovery of unsigned consultations and uninspected cash certifications, reveals a settlement whose whole apparatus of financial control had quietly ceased to function, so that men entrusted with the Company's money could move sums on paper with nothing to check them until a new administration went looking.
31	27	At a Consultation held on Thursday 21 of May 1741 at the Castle Present. Robt Jenkins Esqr Govr Supra Cargoes { Wm F: Beeswaxen Richd Wood Geo: Gab: Powell John Godfrey Captains { Henry Steadly Thos Langworth Jonn Cape The last Consultation was Read & Approved This morning passed by 7 Sail of Dutch Ships, one of whome sent their boat on Shore, and we took that opportunity of Prying our Acts to the Members. Agreeable to the Order of Yesterday there appeard before Us Mess: Wood & Assherman, when being asked whither they now knew or Consented to Mr Crispe Charging him Wood upon the Books to a debt of £49-5-11, they both declared they never knew any thing of it. Upon which Mr Crispe was call'd in, and Confessd it was an Unjust Practice, He said he was Ready to Repay the money Provided We would give him Credit for it in the Books Agreed to Receive the money into the Companys Cash & Credit him for the Same Specifying Particularly upon what head it was paid Mr Crispe was asked how these sums to be so great a Difference between the Real muster Roll and what is Entird as such upon of Journal bearing date 31 March last; He answerd that it had been always Customary here for the Gunners to have A drum Pay, the Second of Gunners to have 3 drums Pay, the third to have 2 drum Pay, the Fourth to have 1 Mans Pay, the Fifth to have 1 drums Pay,	At a consultation held on Thursday 21 May 1741 at the Castle, Governor Robert Jenkins presided, with the supercargoes William Frederick Bossanan and Richard Wood, the captains Henry Headly, Thomas Langworth and Jonathan Cape, the Deputy Governor George Gabriel Powell and John Godfrey, third of council, in attendance. The record of the previous consultation was read and approved. That morning seven sail of Dutch ships passed, one of which sent its boat ashore, and the council took the chance to write to the directors by it. Following on the previous day's order, Mr Wood and Mr Defountaine appeared before the council. Asked whether they knew of, or had any hand in, Wood charging the Company in the books with the sum of £745 5s 11d, both said they had never known anything of it. Crispe was then called in, and admitted the transaction had been an unjust one. He said he was ready to pay the money back, provided the council would give him credit for it in the books. The council agreed to receive the money into the Company's cash and to credit Crispe with it, entering plainly that this sum had been paid. Crispe was then asked how there came to be so great a difference between the actual muster of the garrison and what stood entered in the journal made up to 31 March last. He answered that it had always been the custom for the gunner to have four men's pay, the second gunner three, the third two, the sixth one, the fifth one, the second lieutenant one, and that he had allowed Girling, who acted as writer, one man's pay more. Mr Powell asked Crispe which of them it was that had received his salary. Crispe thought Governor Goodwin had paid it to him, but Mr Powell told him that, as Crispe well knew, neither Governor Goodwin nor he himself had ever paid him any money on that account. Crispe was told there were more debts than he had yet accounted for, as appeared in the consultation of 19 May. He answered that he would deal openly and

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		the Sixth to have 1 Mans Pay, And that he had allowd Wr Girling who is a Writer to have one mans Pay Mr Powell asked Mr Crispe which of them it was that had ever deemed his Pay, Mr Crispe said he thought that Governour Godwin had &c So to him, but Mr Powell told him that he Mr Crispe knew very well that Governour Godwin nor himself had never Paid him any money upon that Account Mr Crispe was told that there was more Pay than he had Yet accounted for, as appears in Our Consultation of 19 Instant, He answerd that he would Ingenuously discover to Us the whole of this Affair if We would give him a Little more	lay the whole matter before the council, if it would give him a little... **Interpretations** The examination of Wood and Defountaine tightened the case against Crispe by cutting away his supposed corroboration. Crispe had blamed the £745 5s 11d on an irregular transfer by Wood, but Wood, brought face to face with the charge, denied any knowledge of it, and Defountaine the same. This left Crispe as the sole author of a transaction he had tried to attribute to another, and his prompt offer to repay, conditional only on being credited in the books, was in effect an admission that the entry had never rested on any real payment at all. The account of the garrison's phantom pay exposes a second kind of fraud running alongside the missing cash. The muster had shown the fort well short of its establishment, and Crispe now explained the gap as a settled practice of allotting extra men's pay to the gunners and officers, and a further share to the writer. Pay drawn for men who did not exist was a standing way of enriching those who kept the rolls, the fictitious soldiers on the books yielding real money to be shared out, and Crispe's defence that it was customary shows how such an abuse could entrench itself as an understood perquisite rather than be recognised as theft. The exchange over Crispe's own salary revealed his readiness to invent payments that had never been made. Pressed on who had paid him, he guessed it was Goodwin, only for Powell to state flatly that neither Goodwin nor he had ever paid him anything on that head. A man genuinely tracking his own receipts would know who had paid him; Crispe's vague attribution to the convenient figure of the dead Governor, corrected on the spot, showed the council how far his accounts rested on assertion rather than record.
32	28	time to Consider of it. Adjourned till tomorrow Rt Jenkins G. G. Powell John Godfrey Present & approved of the above Consultation William Frederick Beeswaxen Richard Wood Henry Steadly Thos Langworth Jonathan Cape At a Consultation held on Friday 22 day of May 1741 at the Castle Present. Robt Jenkins Esqr Govr Supra Cargoes { Wm F: Beeswaxen Richd Wood Geo: Gab: Powell 2d of Coun John Godfrey 3d of Coun Captains { Henry Steadly Thos Langworth Jonn Cape The last Consultation was Read & approved Yesterday being the Expiration of the 10 Working days allowed by Charter Party, We this morning delivered Captain Field his dispatches for Bencoolin together with Our Several Ers to India, Which with the Working of the Ship is as follows vizt To Captn Thos Field Sir The Goods Consigned to Us by the Hone Company being now all safely Landed Except three for which are mentiond our	Crispe asked the council to give him a little time to consider the matter. The consultation was adjourned until the following day, and signed by Robert Jenkins, George Gabriel Powell and John Godfrey, and endorsed as approved by William Frederick Bossanan, Richard Wood, Henry Headly, Thomas Langworth and Jonathan Cape. At a consultation held on Friday 22 May 1741 at the Castle, Governor Robert Jenkins presided, with the supercargoes William Frederick Bossanan and Richard Wood, the captains Henry Headly, Thomas Langworth and Jonathan Cape, the Deputy Governor George Gabriel Powell and John Godfrey, third of council, in attendance. The record of the previous consultation was read and approved. The day before had marked the end of the ten unloading days allowed by the charter party, and that morning the council delivered to Captain Field his dispatches for Bencoolen, together with its several letters to India. With these, and the loading of his ship, the position stood as follows. The letter to Captain Thomas Field opened by noting that the goods consigned to the council by the Company had all been safely landed, except for three of which mention was made. **Interpretations** The tie between the charter party's ten days and the delivery of the dispatches shows how the ship's contracted time governed the whole rhythm of the council's business. The vessel was hired for a fixed unloading period, and the moment it expired the council moved at once to send her on her way, handing over the Bencoolen dispatches and the India letters so she could sail without incurring the penalty that further delay would bring. The council's other

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			pressing concerns, the inventory and the examination of Crispe, had to be fitted around this fixed commercial deadline, the departure of the ship being one thing it could not defer at will.
33	29	on the back of the Bill of Laden, We therefore hereby Order You to sail as soon as You can & make the best of Your way to Bencoolin We are Sir St Helena 22 May 1741 Your most Humble Servants The Working of Ship Royll George during the time of her delivery vizt 11. On first their Sailing this day, their boats passed very had at the Crane and Presented of delivery of more than 1 Longboat 12 Unladed 4 Do 13 Unladed 4 Do 14 Unladed 4 Do 15 Unladed 4 Do 16 Unladed 4 Do 17 being Sunday no work done 18 Unladed 4 Do 19 Unladed 4 Do 20 Unladed 3 Do 21 Unladed 3 Do 22 Unladed 3 Do We Received the following Letter vizt To the Worshipfull Robt Jenkins Esqr Govr & Coun: Councill of St Helena Sirs I Received this day Your Order for Sailing & Consonant thereto will make the best of my Way for Bencoolin, but I am to inform You that my People are Yet many of them Down with the Scurvey, & it is not Possible for me to leave this Road untill they are a Little Recover'd, Which I hopes will be in about a weak St Helena 22 May 1741 I am Gentlemen Your most Obt Humble Servant (Signd) Thos Field The Soldiers for Bencoolin being at the time of their Arrival every of them more or lesse troubled with the Scurvey, We thought it for the Interest of the Company to allow em the Benefit of the Shore, And this Morning delivered them on board again, saving four who are Yet very Weak & lus, and the doctor being asked Concerning them declares it is his Opinion they will Infallibly Died if sent on board, therefore they are Continued on Shore till the Say the Ship Sails We likewise sent on board a Little Frigat	The letter to Captain Field, referring to the three parcels noted on the back of the bill of lading, directed him to sail as soon as he could and make the best of his way to Bencoolen. It was sent from St Helena on 22 May 1741. The record of the *Royal George's* unloading over the days of her delivery ran as follows. 11: on her first day the boats had a very hard time at the road, and no more than one longboat was delivered 12: unloaded, 4 longboats 13: unloaded, 4 longboats 14: unloaded, 4 longboats 15: unloaded, 4 longboats 16: unloaded, 4 longboats 17: being Sunday, no work done 18: unloaded, 4 longboats 19: unloaded, 4 longboats 20: unloaded, 3 longboats 21: unloaded, 3 longboats 22: unloaded, 3 longboats The council then received the following letter, addressed to Robert Jenkins and the council of St Helena. Field wrote that he had received the council's order for sailing that day, and would do his best to reach Bencoolen in keeping with it, but had to let the council know that many of his men had grown very weak with the surveying, so that it was not possible for him to leave the road until they were a little recovered, which he hoped would be within about a week. The letter was sent from St Helena on 22 May 1741 and signed by Thomas Field. The soldiers bound for Bencoolen having grown very weak with the surveying, and being at the time of their arrival mostly left sick, the council thought it in the Company's interest to keep them ashore for the benefit of the island. That morning it landed them again, all but four who were still very weak and low, and on asking the doctor about them, since the cost was the same, was told they would all probably die if sent aboard, so they too were kept ashore until the day the ship sailed. The council also received aboard a little... **Interpretations** The daily unloading tally set beside the charter party made the record a defence against any claim of delay. Each day's delivery was entered in longboats, from the single boat the heavy seas allowed on the first day to the steady four and then three as the work ran on, with Sunday marked as idle. This running account showed exactly how the ten contracted days had been used, so that if the Company or the ship's owners later disputed the reckoning, the council could point to a day-by-day record proving the delay lay in the weather and the labour, not in any slackness on the island's part. Field's plea over his weakened crew shows the human cost of the surveying pressing directly against the schedule the charter party imposed. The men had been worn down by the survey work to the point where the ship could not safely sail, so a commercial deadline the council had just enforced ran up against the plain fact that a crew too sick to work the ship could not be sent to sea. The council's decision to land the soldiers, and especially to keep ashore the four the surgeon judged would die aboard, reflects a calculation that reads coldly on the page: since the expense fell the same either way, the men were better kept alive on the island than lost on a passage undertaken to meet a contract. **Speculations** Told by the surgeon that four weak soldiers would probably die if sent aboard, the council chose to keep them ashore until the ship sailed rather than embark them with the rest. The straightforward course, with

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			the vessel under orders for Bencoolen and her complement due, was to load all the soldiers and let the passage take its toll. It went the other way for a reason the record makes plain in its own dry terms: the cost to the Company was the same whether the men lay sick ashore or sick aboard, so nothing was saved by embarking them, while landing them offered a chance of recovery and spared the Company the loss of four men outright. The decision turned not on mercy alone but on the council's finding that keeping them ashore cost nothing and might preserve them, an option that only became clear once the expense was reckoned equal either way.
34	30	viz Do Ct 1. 24 & 18 Slaves Consigned for Bencoolin viz Women Boys Girls. Nanny aged 36 Blackwall aged 8 Cathrine aged 8 Betty Bem 30 Ink 4. Betty 7 Sarah Daniel 30 Greenwich 3 Ellen 3 Sarah 25 Lucy 1 Susanna 20 Mary 3 Nanny Ler 18 Ellen 1 Agnese 20 Betty 14 Magdalena 20 We this day Counted the Hone Companys Treasure Including what came Consigned to Us p Ship Royall George & find the Same Amount to £2141. 10. 3¾ in the following Species vizt Cash notes amot 4/6 £94.7.6 Dollars 105 Half Dollrs 98 in dollrs 49 Duble Ryalls 3109 Do 777. 2. Ryalls 14782	The eighteen slaves consigned for Bencoolen were as follows. Women: Nanny, aged 36 Betty, aged 30 Sarah Daniel, aged 30 Sarah, aged 25 Susanna, aged 20 Nanny Lee, aged 18 Agnes, aged 20 Betty, aged 14 Magdalena, aged 22 Boys: Blackwall, aged 5 Jack, aged 4 Greenwich, aged 3 Girls: Cathrine, aged 5 Betty, aged 7 Ellen, aged 3 Lucy, aged 1 Mary, aged 3 Ellen, aged 1 That day the council counted the Company's treasure, including what had come consigned aboard the *Royal George*, and found it to amount to £21,141 10s 3.75d, made up as follows. Cash notes, at 4s 6d, £54 7s 6d Dollars, 105 Half dollars, 98, making in dollars 49 Double rupees, 3,109, making in dollars 777 2s Rupees, 19,782, making in dollars 2,472 6s Half rupees, 12,184, making in dollars 761 6s The dollars subtotalled 4,165 4s New Mexican dollars, 4,023 7s The two together, 8,188 4s, at 5s Reduced to sterling, £2,047 2s 9.75d The whole coming to £21,141 10s 3.75d The council resolved to muster and examine the Company's slaves on Saturday 30 May, to establish the deficiency, if any, among them. The Governor reported that he had that day written the following letter to Captain Cape. The letter reminded Captain Cape that, on the Governor's first arrival, he had told the council of the dispute over which of the ships, the *Prince of Wales* or the *Hardwick*, had anchored first in the road, on which Mr Crispe had asked for a written order detaining his ship, and that the Governor had accordingly given it. He now let Cape know that his ship was detained until further orders. The letter was sent from St Helena on 22 May 1741 and signed by Robert Jenkins. **Interpretations** The list of slaves sent to Bencoolen shows how the Company moved human property between its posts to answer distant labour needs. The consignment was made up almost wholly of women and young children, the youngest a year old, chosen for the husking of pepper that the eastern plantations required rather than for heavy field work. Recording each by name and age turned the people into an inventory item like any other cargo, the entry serving to account for them at both ends of the passage, so that the numbers dispatched from St Helena could be checked against those received at Bencoolen. The counting of the treasure by species of coin reveals the mixed and improvised currency a remote Company settlement had to handle. The chest held not a single money but dollars, half dollars, rupees of several denominations and new Mexican dollars, each reduced to a common measure at a fixed rate before the whole could be expressed in sterling. This was the everyday reality of an island trading between Europe and the Indies, where coin arrived from many quarters, and the careful reduction of each kind to dollars and then to pounds was the only way to state

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		Do 2472. 6. Half Ryls 12184 Do 761. 6. 4165. 4. Dollr new Mexican 4023. 7¾ 8188. 4. ¾ Ind in Sterling £2047. 2. 9¾ £2141. 10. 3 ¾ Resolved to muster & Examine the Hone Comps Slaves on Saturday the 30 Instant, in order to find whither any Deficiency there or not The Govr Reports that he this day wrote Capt Cape the following Letter vizt To Capt Cape Sir Whereas upon my first arrival You acquainted me with the disputes between the Ships Prince of Wales & Heathcote which of them first Anchored in this Road & that it was given in favour of the Prince, Upon which You wrote Mr Crispe to Request a Written Order for the detention of Your Ship, which he by design or negligence Omitted, I am to inform You that I was Ready to have given You such Order And I do hereby Positively Enjoyn that You Continue with Your Ship here Untill further Orders from St Helena 22 May 1741 Sir Your most Humble Servt p Robt Jenkins	what the Company actually held in terms its directors in London would understand.
35	31	Adjourned till monday, intending to Examine the Genll Books tomorrow, in Order to find what other Transfers or falseEntrysS there may be therein, And Report the Same at Our next meeting And at the Same time to ask Mr Crispe to Perform his Promised of Yesterday with Regard to the Payto found upon the muster Roll as he declard it has been a Practice ever since Mr Byfields first Coming to this Government Notwithstanding the Suire Charke in his time upon that head Order'd that Notice be taken of this Declaration of Mr Crispes Rt Jenkins G. G. Powell John Godfrey Present & approved the above Consultation William Frederick Beeswaxen Richard Wood Henry Steadly Thos Langworth Jonathan Cape At a Consultation held on Monday the 25 May 1741 at the Castle Present. Robt Jenkins Esqr Govr Supra Cargoes { Wm F: Beeswaxen Richd Wood Geo: Gab: Powell John Godfrey Captains { Henry Steadly Thos Langworth	The consultation was adjourned until Monday, the council intending to examine the general books, in order to find what other transfers or false entries there might be, and at the same time to ask Crispe to make good what he had promised the day before about the phantom pay found on the muster roll, a practice that had gone on ever since Mr Byfield first came to the government, notwithstanding the false entries in Crispe's time on that head. The council ordered that notice be taken of Crispe's declaration on the matter. The consultation was signed by Robert Jenkins, George Gabriel Powell and John Godfrey, and endorsed as approved by William Frederick Bossanan, Richard Wood, Henry Headly, Thomas Langworth and Jonathan Cape. At a consultation held on Monday 25 May 1741 at the Castle, Governor Robert Jenkins presided, with the supercargoes William Frederick Bossanan and Richard Wood, the captains Henry Headly, Thomas Langworth and Jonathan Cape, the Deputy Governor George Gabriel Powell and John Godfrey, third of council, in attendance. The record of the previous consultation was read and approved. Crispe was sent for and asked how he accounted for the deficiency found on the muster the previous Tuesday among the garrison. He said that in Mr Byfield's time the Governor had always had the surplus pay, and that in his own view Governor Goodwin, taking but a little since, was... **Interpretations** The tracing of the phantom pay back to Byfield's governorship shows the council uncovering an abuse

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		Jonn Cape The last Consultation was Read & approved Mr Crispe being sent for & we asked how he accounted for the Payto found on Tuesday last upon Mustering the Millitary, Said that in Mr Byfies time the Governour always had & Payto & that in his Opinion Mr Godwins taking but it Since was inadvertly &	far older than the man before it. Crispe's own false entries were only the latest working of a practice that had run since Byfield first took the chair, in which the surplus pay of the establishment, the money drawn for men who did not fill the rolls, passed to the Governor as an understood perquisite. This is the mechanism by which a corruption becomes institutional: what began as one Governor's advantage hardened over successive administrations into a settled custom, so entrenched that Crispe could cite it as ordinary rather than defend it as honest, and the deficiency the muster exposed was the accumulated residue of years of such drawing.
36	32	and that himself as Second had only 3 pd Do as set forth in our Consultn of 21 Instant Where he made out 16 Men different, but to Lay not seeming it Down to Us be too than that, Alledgs that only 11 Men were Charged than there Really war, Upon which We did not to him the Entry inconsistent of Thursday last, taken from his own Words, When not knowing what Person to make for their Prevarications, he again had Recourse to his Usuale Protestations that in a Little time he could make all these things appear mightly Plain, And desired he might have a Copy of Our last Muster Roll as well as of what is Entird in Journal Or as such; Which was accordingly given him. Upon Examining the Genll Books of Accounts on Saturday last We found Sundry Transfers nothing Inferiour to that of Woods in favour of Mr Crispe, & which has acknowledged to be an Unjust & fraudulent Practice, Some discoverys we made that has none of the Softest appellations, to particularize only one or two; Frans Wrangham Snd in Ledger D fol 102 stands indebted £94. 9. 6, which decd is Signd by P Wrangham, But Observing many Erasement & Interlineations therein, We suspected something more than should be; therefore sent for Mr Wrangham who immediately Owned his hand, but Protested he was indebted at that time to the Hone Company only in the Sum of £18. 7. and said that some Lady after his Wrangham had Signd the Book must have Scratched out & made new Entrys; Mr Crispe being thereupon Summond serve the late Mr Goodwin In P Ledger D fol 86 Charles Steward is Indebted to John Goodwin in the Sum of £30. 8. Do Which Entry was also Interlined & a new Ballance drawn by Mr Crispe, after Steward had Signd the Acct as it was at first Purely Stated The same Reasoner is made by Mr Crispe as for this as for all other forgerys of this kind &c, to serve Mr Godwin, Whereas in fact it was to Serve himself, equally with Mr Godwin as the most Prudent they were Concerned in all Trade together Whereas Mr Crispe & Mr Bazett are	Crispe added that he himself, as second, had only two men's pay, as set out in the council's own book on 31 March last, where he had entered fourteen men wanting, but that to say no worse of it he had, on looking again, allowed only eleven men more pay than were really borne. The council put to him the entry he had made on the muster of the previous Tuesday, which in his own words, when he did not know what account to give of the matter, once more fell back on his usual protestations that in a little time he would make it all plain, and asked for a copy of the last muster roll, as well as of what stood in the journal on the same head, which was given him. On examining the general books of account the previous Saturday, the council found several transfers, none more so than the one in Wood's favour on Crispe's account, which Crispe had already acknowledged an unjust and fraudulent practice. Some entries were made in some of the mildest terms, to instance only one or two. Francis Wrangham stood in ledger D, folio 102, charged with £94 9s 4d, entered as paid and signed by Wrangham. But finding many erasures and interlineations there, the council suspected something more than met the eye, and sent for Wrangham, who at once owned his own hand, but protested he was indebted at that time to the Company only in the sum of £18 7s, and said that Wrangham's ledger had been scratched out and new entries made since. On the council asking Crispe about it, he confessed he had done it, but said it was only to serve the late Mr Goodwin. In ledger D, folio 86, Charles Steward stood charged with £70 8s owing to John Goodwin, which sum was likewise entered as paid, a new balance being drawn by Crispe after Steward had signed the account. The council held that this, like every other forgery of the kind, had been done by Crispe to serve Goodwin, when in truth it was to serve himself equally with Goodwin, so deeply were the two men involved in the whole together. Since Mr Crispe and Mr Bazett were both heavily indebted to the Company, over and above the deficiency in the stores, for many years' pay drawn as entered in ledger D, the council agreed that Mr Powell and Mr Godfrey take charge of the estates of Crispe and Bazett on behalf of the Company, to prevent their disposing of any part of them until the directors' pleasure was known, and until further orders came concerning them. **Interpretations** The erasures in Wrangham's ledger entry expose exactly how the forgeries were worked. An entry charging Wrangham with £94 9s 4d bore his own genuine signature, yet the figure had been altered after he signed, the true debt of £18 7s scratched out and a larger sum written in. This is the precise danger a signed account was meant to guard against: the subscriber vouched for what stood above his name at the moment he signed, but Crispe had gone back afterwards and changed the numbers, so that a man's honest signature came to authenticate a false total, and

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		largely Indebted to Company, over & above the Deficiency in the Stores, Return the large Sum of money they have Received in Acct of Fagots, for so many Years past as Confessd by Mr Crispe, This Mess: Duke Crispe & John Bazett for & in behalf of the Hone Company, To Prevent their disposing of any Part of them Untill Our Masters Pleasure is known that further Shall be Done Concerning them	only the physical traces of erasure betrayed the tampering. The council's insistence that the frauds served Crispe as much as Goodwin cuts through the defence Crispe had offered throughout. He repeatedly cast himself as a servant merely shielding the late Governor, but the council saw that the two were so entangled that a benefit to one was a benefit to both, and that Crispe's protestations of loyalty masked his own share in the gain. Taking the estates of both Crispe and Bazett into the council's hands, to stop them being sold off before London ruled, was the practical answer: it froze the assets from which the whole deficiency might be recovered, treating the two clerks as debtors whose property must be preserved rather than as mere instruments of a dead man's fraud.
37	33	and in this we Act Agreeable to Our Masters direction in their General Letter of 11 Feb 1740 The late Governours Estate is already Assessed & therefore it Suffices that We find for his Own & his Widow & order them not to make any Alienation therein as they shalle answer the Contrary at their perils Adjourned till tomorrow Morng Rt Jenkins G. G. Powell John Godfrey Present & approved the above Consultation William Frederick Beeswaxen Richard Wood Henry Steadly Thos Langworth Jonathan Cape	In taking the estates of Crispe and Bazett into its charge, the council acted in keeping with the directors' instructions in their general letter of 11 February 1740. The late Governor's estate had already been valued, so the council thought it enough to charge Powell and Godfrey to make no change in it, on pain of answering for the contrary at their peril. The consultation was adjourned until the following morning, and signed by Robert Jenkins, George Gabriel Powell and John Godfrey, and endorsed as approved by William Frederick Bossanan, Richard Wood, Henry Headly, Thomas Langworth and Jonathan Cape.
38	34	At a Consultation held on Tuesday the 26 May 1741 at the Castle Present. Robt Jenkins Esqr Govr Supra Cargoes { Wm F: Beeswaxen Richard Wood Geo: Gab: Powell John Godfrey Captains { Henry Steadly Thos Langworth Jonn Cape The last Consultation was Read & approved In Consequence of Our Resolution of Yesterday Mess: Duke Crispe & John Bazett were this morning call'd before Us & Acquainted with the Embargo laid upon their Estates for the Security of our Hone Masters, And an Inventory of their Effects were demanded which they Sundry Acquiescd with, only Desired a few days to Prepareit us Granted and Send them to be as Expeditious as Possible Mr Bazett Requested that as he had a large Family he might be allowed to maintain em off his own Lands and in Order thereto dispose of the Encrease of the Stock Granted Provided he will send Sundrys for the forthcoming upon, demand of the Compys of the money which his Lands may Produce Mr Bazett being asked whither or no he ever Received any money in Acct of Fagots, Acknowledged that during Mr Byfies time He Received Do, in Mr Godwins time he did when Mr Crispe was Governour there Mr John Goodwin was call'd before Us	At a consultation held on Tuesday 26 May 1741 at the Castle, Governor Robert Jenkins presided, with the supercargoes William Frederick Bossanan and Richard Wood, the captains Henry Headly, Thomas Langworth and Jonathan Cape, the Deputy Governor George Gabriel Powell and John Godfrey, third of council, in attendance. The record of the previous consultation was read and approved. Following the previous day's resolution, Duke Crispe and John Bazett were called before the council that morning and told of the embargo laid on their estates as security for the directors, and an inventory of those estates was demanded. The two men asked for only a few days to draw one up, which was granted, the council directing them to produce it as quickly as they could. Mr Bazett asked that, as he had a large family, he might be allowed to keep himself off his own lands, and that meanwhile he not dispose of the produce of the stock. This was granted, provided he found sureties for the produce coming to the council on demand, at the value of the money his lands might yield. Mr Bazett, being asked whether he had received any money on account of the slaves, admitted that in Mr Byfield's time he had received some, when Goodwin held the office, before Crispe was made Governor's steward. Mr John Goodwin was then called before the council and asked whether he had received any money on account of the slaves. He was ready to give his oath that he had never received any money on such account, and that whatever Bazett had of it, he might keep it, since his father had spent it. Crispe then handed in the following letter, addressed to Robert Jenkins and the council of St Helena.

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		and asked whither he had ever Received any money in Acct of Fagots, they Offerd to give by Path that he had never Received any money upon such an Acct, and that when Mr Bazett Signd it to him since he Bazett shall be Deposed it. Mr Crispe did us the following Letter vizt To the Worshipfull Robt Jenkins Esqr Govr & Coun: of Island St Helena Worshipfull Sir & Sirs I am not only willing but very desirous to give both to Hone Company & to You all the light I can into the Cause of the Deficiency of the Cash & of the Companys Stores, But before I can do either I insist on the first & Chiefly of the Hone Company any Self that of Original Inventory of the Stores of the late Governour Mr Godwin be Produced to You as the Same was believed to me & the Same by his Widow and her Son Mr John Goodwin in the Presence of Mr Assherman, Mr Wrangham, Mr Fredk Godwin, Mr Beale, Mr Shanon & Mr Girvetson	The letter opened by saying that he was not only willing but very anxious to give the Company and the council every light he could into the cause of the deficiency in the Company's stores, but that, before he entered upon it, he wished first to lay before them his own account of the inventory of the estate of the late Governor Goodwin, produced to the council on the day it was delivered and the funeral held, by his widow and his son John Goodwin, in the presence of Mr Defountaine, Mr Wrangham, Mr Richard Goodwin, Mr Beale, Mr Slaughter and Mr Greentree. **Interpretations** Bazett's request to keep off his own lands while not touching the produce shows the practical difficulty of freezing an estate that was also a working farm. Land under embargo still bore crops and stock that would spoil or need managing, and a man with a large family had to live somewhere, so the council allowed Bazett to remain provided he gave sureties that the produce would come in to the Company on demand. This balanced two aims that pulled against each other: preserving the estate's value for the directors while not letting it rot untended, the surety standing in for the produce so that nothing of the frozen asset was lost or quietly consumed. The questioning of Bazett and John Goodwin about money received on the slaves' account traces another channel through which the Company's funds had leaked away. Payments connected with the slaves had passed through various hands over successive administrations, and the council pressed each man to say what he had taken. John Goodwin's readiness to swear he had received nothing, coupled with his remark that his father had spent whatever Bazett handled, shows the deficiency being followed back through the tangle of the old regime, with the dead Governor once again named as the point where the money had finally gone.
39	35	Girvetson on the for want of my Papers I cant name the time with Certainty, and which in the highst of Confidence and Friendship he did the Governour Mr Godwin & tell me to Look t being upon Promised that no vein as he had Copy'd it he could Return it to me again, And he being at that time one of their Servants & of Councill I thought I had no Reguad in so being. This is Matter of great Importance both to the Hone Company & to me, and Differ any wild from the Inventory now in the Stores, & the Wett & having & Confering it will be very Injurious both to the Hone Company & to me the difference between one & the other being in the whole I believe more than a £1000. & the State of the Duble Ryalls at least as far as they concern me are quite Altered from what they were Originally. I Chiess Insire that I may have the Originals of all my Papers which have been Seizd Speedly delivered to me, for without them & the Original Inventory I cannot give You a Satisfactory light into any thing, & as I have some Reason to believe some Ill the own threat & the Illest by Party gone its Necessary I should have the Papers I ask for & all the dispatch that may be, that I may be	In his letter Crispe explained that, for want of his papers, he could not name the several persons with certainty, and that it was in the highest confidence and friendship that Governor Goodwin and his son John Goodwin had held with him, since his own papers had been taken and were not yet copied and returned to him. As John Goodwin was at that time one of the Company's servants and of the council, he thought there could be no danger in it. This was a matter of great importance both to the Company and to himself, and would give some light into the inventory now in the office. Withdrawing Wrangham's entry would be much to the Company's advantage and his own, the difference between what he and the others owed being, he believed, more than £1,000, and the state of the whole ledger being at least as fair as it concerned him, quite different from what the entries had originally been. He claimed only that he might have back the originals of all his papers, which had been taken, delivered to him promptly, since without them and the original inventory he could not give any satisfactory account, having some reason to believe, from the way the papers had lately gone, that it would be necessary he should have them. If he had the sheets he asked for by the time the dispatches sailed, he might be ready to lay the whole before the Company. The letter was sent from St Helena on 26 May 1741 and signed by Duke Crispe. John Goodwin was thereupon called before the council and ordered to produce the inventory, which the council directed Crispe to draw up in the letter above, and Crispe did so accordingly. Crispe, being asked what papers he wanted, having already been given all that concerned himself, said the council had delivered to him everything it had of his,

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		timely Prepared to lay the Same also before the Hone Company I am Worshipfull Sir and Sirs May 26 1741 Your most Humble Servant (Signd) Duke Crispe Govr Mr Godwin was thereupon call'd before Us & Ordd to Produce the Inventory Required by Mr Crispe in p above Letter, Which he did accordingly Mr Crispe being asked what Papers he wanted having already Confessd that we had delivered to him all that immediately concernd himself, Said that Copy of some Papers which we had would be of Service to him, We then told him as we had often times before that he might have Copy of any Papers he wanted in order to make his better Defence over the they Related to p Affairs of the Company or to p late Governour Rt Jenkins G. G. Powell John Godfrey Present & approved of p above Consultation William Frederick Beeswaxen Richard Wood Henry Steadly Thos Langworth Jonathan Cape	and asked for some papers of Isaac Wood which the council had refused to hand over. The council told him, as it had often told him before, that he might have copies of any papers he wanted, so as to make his defence the better, but that the originals belonged to the affairs of the Company or of the late Governor. The consultation was signed by Robert Jenkins, George Gabriel Powell and John Godfrey, and endorsed as approved by William Frederick Bossanan, Richard Wood, Henry Headly, Thomas Langworth and Jonathan Cape. **Interpretations** Crispe's request that Wrangham's entry be withdrawn shows him now trying to use the council's own discovery to his advantage. He had forged the ledger to charge Wrangham with far more than was owed, and he now argued that correcting that false entry would benefit both the Company and himself, since it altered the balance of who owed what by more than a thousand pounds. This is the awkward position a corrected fraud creates: the very act of putting the books right shifts the reckoning, and Crispe sought to steer that correction so that the restored figures fell in his favour, treating his exposure as an opening to reshape the account rather than simply submit to it. The council's firm distinction between copies and originals set the limit of what a man under investigation could be allowed. Crispe repeatedly pressed for the actual papers, and the council repeatedly offered copies while keeping the originals, drawing the line exactly where it mattered: a copy let him prepare his defence, but the original documents were the Company's evidence and the late Governor's records, which could be altered or destroyed if they passed back into his hands. This was the same principle that had governed the shared room and the sealed box throughout, that Crispe was entitled to answer the charges but not to control the proof, and his particular reach for Wood's papers, the very entries that incriminated him, showed why the council held the line.
40	36	At a Consultation held on Wednesday the 27 day of May 1741 at the Castle Present. Robt Jenkins Esqr Govr Supra Cargoes { Wm F: Beeswaxen Richd Wood Geo: Gab: Powell John Godfrey Captains { Henry Steadly Thos Langworth Jonn Cape The last Consultation was Read & approved Last night we Received the following Letter from Mr Crispe vizt To the Worshipfull Robt Jenkins Esqr Govr & Coun: Councill of St Helena Worshipfull Sir & Sirs The following is a List of the several Papers I immediately want in Order to Explain to the Hone Company how these Deficiencys in the Cash & Stores have happend, & many of them are already Copy'd & Distinctly there are three Little Books in p Custody of the hand writing of Jenny Mr Bazett, which are Papers of great Consequence to me & will Enable me to Clear up & Explr fully the affair of the Transfers, & as they Chiefly Relate to Governour Godwin & You & Selfe & are in some State Blinded I have Relation to my own Concerns, I therefore desire	At a consultation held on Wednesday 27 May 1741 at the Castle, Governor Robert Jenkins presided, with the supercargoes William Frederick Bossanan and Richard Wood, the captains Henry Headly, Thomas Langworth and Jonathan Cape, the Deputy Governor George Gabriel Powell and John Godfrey, third of council, in attendance. The record of the previous consultation was read and approved. The council received the following letter the night before, addressed to Robert Jenkins and the council of St Helena. Crispe wrote that the following was a list of the several papers he needed at once in order to explain to the Company the cause of the deficiency in the cash and stores. Many of them, he said, had already been copied, and in particular there were three little books in the council's keeping in the hand of young Mr Bazett, which were papers of great importance to him and would let him clear up fully the matter of the transfers. As they related chiefly to Governor Goodwin, and he was in some measure blinded and had a right to what concerned himself, he wished them handed over to him. The list ran as follows. 1: A copy of Governor Goodwin's original inventory. 2: A copy of the second inventory of Governor Goodwin's estate, being the paper containing a list of lands and goods which Goodwin gave to one of his own, in his own hand, which he much wished to be able to pay in part his father's debt to the Company. 3: A copy of the transfers made from Governor Goodwin to John Cyther.

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		they may be forth with delivered to me vizt 1. A Copy of Governour Godwins Original Inventory. 2. A Copy of the Second Inventory of p Goodwins Estate A Copy of the paper contg a List of Land & Goods which Mr John 3. Godwin &c to me of his own hand writing which he very much claimd me to Sell to Pay in Part his Godwind debt to p Company 4. A Copy of the Transfers made from Govr Godwin to Govr Cythe 5. A Copy of the Deficiency of p Stone goods 6. A Copy of the Paper Entitled Sundrys Goods 7. One of the 3 Marble Books of the hand Writing of Jenny Mr Bazett 8. A Copy of the Original Cash Papers of the Hand Writing of Mr Yeuall when Wprinted Wefich immediately after the Death of Govr Godwin 9. List of Persons Indebted to Govr Godwin Suppposd to be Insolvent 10. Copy of the 34 pra of p Genll Letter of the 19 Decr 1731. 11. Copy of p Entry & Collection Book for the Quarter Ending the 30 Sepr 1738 of p hand writing of Mr John Godwin the late Governour Son Copy of all my Accounts Currant & all other Accounts relating to 12. my Estate as they are Posted in the Marble and Parchments cover'd Books & other Papers.	4: A copy of the deficiency of the stock and goods. 5: A copy of the paper entitled surplus goods. 6: One of the three marble-covered books in the hand of young Mr Bazett. 7: A copy of the original cash papers in the hand of Mr Worrall, when written by such immediately after the death of Governor Goodwin. 8: A list of persons indebted to Governor Goodwin, supposed to be insolvent. 9: A copy of the thirty-second paragraph of the directors' general letter of 17 June 1731. 10: A copy of the collection book for the quarter ending 30 September 1738, in the hand of Mr John Goodwin, the late Governor's son. 11: A copy of all his accounts current, and all other accounts relating to his estate, as they stood entered in the marble-covered and parchment-covered books and other papers. **Interpretations** Crispe's list reveals what documents he believed would shift the blame, and why the council was so guarded about them. The papers he pressed for were precisely those recording the transfers, the inventories and the debts, the very entries through which the frauds had been worked, and several stood in the hands of young Bazett or of Goodwin's own son. A man seeking to explain a deficiency would want the honest record; a man seeking to reshape the account would want the documents that could be read, or altered, to redistribute the blame, and the council had already refused him the originals for exactly this reason. The precise citation of a numbered paragraph from a general letter, here the thirty-second article of 17 June 1731, shows how the whole affair was fought on the ground of written Company instruction reaching back years. Both the council and Crispe framed their positions by reference to specific clauses of the directors' letters, each a standing order carrying authority long after it was drafted. Crispe's wish to have that paragraph copied suggests he meant to argue his conduct against the Company's own past directions, the same technique the council used against him, so that a dispute over missing money became a contest over which written instruction governed and how it was to be read.
41	37	13. Copy of the Abstract of the Charge of the Island &c 14. 14. List of Goods by me lately Sold the Company 15. 15. List of the Number & Value of the Cash notes which have been 16. Seizd & are Detaind from me. I am 17. Worshipfull Sir and Sirs 18. St Helena 19. May 26 1741. 20. Your most Humble Servant 21. (Signd) Duke Crispe 22. Strange it is that this Gentleman after having met with such mild 23. Treatment more indeed than he meritted a second Reasonably have Expected 24. should Still attempt to over reach or improve upon Us t Look t the 25. intention of the Letter is Solely to divert Us from Prosecuting that Point 26. which is Our duty to Effect with All the Godwin Possible, in Order to 27. lay before Our Masters & the flest, some tolerable light into the male 28. Practices of such as have had the Late administration of Affairs here. 29. Mr Crispe has been now frequently 30. told he might have Copys of any Papers he Wanted, & he would give	The list Crispe asked for continued as follows. 13: A copy of the abstract of the charges of the island. 14: A list of goods he had lately sold the Company. 15: A list of the number and value of the cash notes which had been signed and were delivered from him. The letter was sent from St Helena on 26 May 1741 and signed by Duke Crispe. It was surprising that this man, after being met with such mild treatment, indeed milder than he deserved, and after his own admission of unjust and fraudulent dealing, should still attempt to overreach the council and impose on it. Its whole aim was to draw the council away from pressing the one point it was its duty to establish along with the deficiency, which was to lay before the directors some reliable light into the corrupt dealings of those who had lately had the charge of the island's affairs. Mr Crispe had been told several times that he might have copies of any papers he wanted, and that the council would give him the trouble of them, or let any other person he named at Bencoolen have them. It was unreasonable to expect the council to break off the Company's business, at a time like this and with news of war perhaps at hand, to copy the great number of papers he wrote for. Still, the council had told Crispe once more that he might have copies of

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		31. himself the trolle or get any other Person to Transcribe em; But 32. he is Unreasonable as to Expect we should break of the Companys 33. Businesse, at a time like this, when we dont know how soon the moce 34. of War may be here, And Copy the multitude of Papers he writes 35. for; however We once more told Mr Crispe he might have Copys of 36. what he would, And he Said Gird finting should Attend & Copy them, 37. who came Accordingly & has begun to Transcribe. 38. The List of Bequeathd Goods and this 39. Hone Company by Mr Crispe since he has been Governour Wa they laid 40. before Us &c is as follows vizt 41. 4 tench & 10 chairs 42. £ 10 43. 10 Rattan Chairs 44. 5 45. 7 Tables 46. 4 47. 3 large Fourll bed, Bolster & Pillow 48. 19 10 49. 3 large Looking Glasses with Walnut tree frames 50. 17 51. 3 large Bedsted 52. 3 15 53. 1 large Dressing Glass 54. 3 55. 1 Small 56. 1 15 57. 3 Stitchd Quilts 58. 4 10 59. 10 Blankets 60. 5 61. 1 Suit Chintz bed furniture 62. 2 63. 1 Set Allejar Window Do 64. 1 65. 12 large fine Table Cloths 66. 9 67. 12 small fine Do 68. 6 69. 11 very large fine Do 70. 4 71. 30 fine table lind Do 72. 4 73. 20 large Napkins 74. 2 10 75. 20 smaller Do 76. 1 10 77. 12 finer Do 78. 1 10 79. £ 99 10	whatever he wished, and he had accordingly named a person, who had begun copying them. The inventory of the goods sold to the Company by Crispe, so far as it had been gone through, ran as follows. 1 couch and 10 chairs, £10 0s 0d 10 batten chairs, £5 0s 0d 7 tables, £4 0s 0d 3 large fourpost beds, bolsters and pillows, £19 10s 0d 3 large looking glasses with walnut-tree frames, £17 0s 0d 3 large bedsteads, £3 15s 0d 1 large dressing glass, £3 0s 0d 1 small dressing glass, £1 5s 0d 3 stitched quilts, £4 10s 0d 10 blankets, £5 0s 0d 1 suit of check bed curtains, £2 0s 0d 1 set of allejar window curtains, £1 0s 0d 12 large fine-tabled sheets, £9 0s 0d 12 small fine sheets, £6 0s 0d 4 very large fine sheets, £4 0s 0d 20 fine tabled sheets, £4 0s 0d 20 large napkins, £2 10s 0d 20 smaller napkins, £1 10s 0d 12 finer napkins, £1 10s 0d The whole coming to £99 10s 0d **Interpretations** The council's open impatience with Crispe's list of demands marks the point where it saw his requests for what they were, a tactic of delay. Every paper he called for meant the Company's own urgent business must stop while clerks copied documents, and the council read this as a deliberate effort to distract it from its central duty of exposing the corruption of the late administration. Its compromise, copies for Crispe or for any agent he named, conceded him a fair defence while refusing to let the sheer volume of his requests paralyse the settlement's work at a moment when war might be coming, holding the line between due process and obstruction. The inventory of goods Crispe had sold the Company reveals how thoroughly an officer could turn his position to private profit. The list is not of stores or provisions but of fine domestic furnishings, beds, looking glasses with walnut frames, quilts and quantities of fine sheets and napkins, the trappings of a comfortable household sold in at a valuation of nearly a hundred pounds. Setting this beside the frauds already uncovered, it shows another way the Company's money had flowed toward Crispe, the settlement buying his household goods at his own reckoning, so that even his ordinary dealings with the Company bore examining once his honesty was in question.
42	38	Mr Crispe being asked where these Goods lay, Said at his Own house Which to be sure not a Little Odd that he Should first Sell them, & then make them of em; And I was Offered to Mr Crispe that he had played this Particular at an immoderate Rate, He answerd that he did somes only as other Governours had done before him, We acquainted him that Justification for an Unjustifyable Practice was no Sufficient John, & therefore he must take his Goods again, & Refund this money to the Company Captn Langworth Reports that Mr	Crispe, being asked where these goods lay, said they were at his own house, which he would not part with until they were paid for, and would then take his own of them. As the council had earlier asked him to give a full account of the particulars at once, he answered that he had done no more than other Governors had done before him. The council told him that admitting an unjustifiable practice was no sufficient excuse, and that he must therefore take his goods back and pay the money into the Company's cash. Captain Langworth reported that Crispe had applied to him that morning for a passage to England. Langworth answered that he must first have leave of the Governor and council, but that he would then let him take his passage aboard his ship. It was surprising that Crispe should say, as he had for the past seven or eight days, that had he been

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		Crispe this morning Applyed himself to him Capt Langworth for his Passage to England, Mr Langworth made answer that he must first Obtain Liberty of the Governour then, in he could Refer him to take Passage on board this Ships Tis Remarkable that Mr Crispe should say since 7 or 8 days since, that notwithstanding the Sentinel Placed at his Door he might if he would, have gone off Do the Dane Ship, Which declaration was as Untrue as Impertinent, But however We have any strong Reasons to believe he will seize his Utmost Endeavour to make his Escape this first Opportunity, And therefore thought proper to Write the following Letter to p Commander of Each of the Ships in the Road vizt Sir Whereas Mess: Duke Crispe & John Bazett are Indebted to the Hone Company in very large Sums of Money, & there is sufficient Reason to Suspect they will make their Escape home by any Opportunity they can Embrace, This is therefore Strictly to Charge & Command You in the name of Our Hone Masters not to Suffer them or either of them, Or any Part of their Effects to Embark on board Your Ship without permission from the Worshipfull the Govr & Councill St Helena 27 May 1741 p Order of Councill G. G. Powell Secy And it being further Reported to Us that Mr Crispe has Offerd some Cattle to Sale, We thought Proper to Order the immediate Publication of the following Advertisement Whereas the Estates of the late John Goodwin Esqr Mess: Duke Crispe & John Bazett are Indebted to the Hone Company the Late Proprietors of this Island in very large Sums of Money This is therefore to give notice to the Inhabitants or others upon this Island not to Purchase or Conceal in any Shape whatsoever any	allowed his papers, placed at his door for the taking, he could have cleared everything, a declaration the council held both untrue and impertinent. Having every reason to believe he would try his utmost to make his escape at the first opportunity, the council thought it proper to write the following letter to each of the ship commanders in the road. The letter set out that, as Crispe and John Bazett were both indebted to the Company in very large sums of money, and there was reason to fear they would try to make their escape by any means they could, the commanders were strictly charged, in the directors' name, not to let either of them, or any part of their goods, be taken aboard ship without leave of the Governor and council. It was sent from St Helena on 27 May 1741 by order of the council, and signed by George Gabriel Powell. It was further reported to the council that Crispe had offered some of his goods for sale, so it thought proper to order the immediate publication of the following advertisement. The advertisement gave notice that, as the estates of the late John Goodwin, Duke Crispe and John Bazett stood indebted to the Company in very large sums, all inhabitants and others on the island were forbidden to buy or conceal, in any shape whatever, any... **Interpretations** The letter to every commander in the road extended to the sea the same containment the council had first used on land. Crispe had a debt to answer and a strong motive to flee, and a ship was his one route off the island, so the council barred every captain from carrying him, Bazett or their goods without its leave. This closed the escape that a settlement surrounded by water always feared: a debtor aboard an outward ship was beyond recovery, and only a general order to the commanders, issued in the directors' name, could seal that route while the men's estates were being secured and their frauds reckoned. The public advertisement forbidding anyone to buy or conceal the goods turned the whole community into an instrument of the embargo. Crispe had begun selling his furnishings, which would have converted seizable property into scattered cash and dispersed it beyond the council's reach, so the council warned every inhabitant against dealing in the estates of the three debtors. This is the mechanism by which a small society enforced a claim it could not physically guard item by item: by making it publicly unlawful to receive the goods, the council deputised the population to refuse them, freezing the assets in place through the threat that any buyer became a concealer answerable to the Company.
43	39	any Part or Parcell of the Estate of P: John Goodwin Esqr late Duke Crispe & John Bazett as they Shall answer the Contrary at their Peril p Order of Councill giving under the Hone Companys broad Seale this 27 Day of May 1741 at the Castle Captn Langworth Presented the following Letter vizt To the Worship: Robt Jenkins Esqr Govr & Coun: of St Helena Sir and Sirs Having Waited & Expected any Ships Company, am ready to Sail when Genll & leave to Command, this being the 16 day Since my Arrival here I am Sir & Sirs St Helena 27 May 1741	The advertisement forbade anyone to buy or conceal any part or parcel of the estates of the late John Goodwin, Duke Crispe or John Bazett, on pain of answering for the contrary at their peril. It was issued by order of the council under the Company's seal on 27 May 1741 at the Castle. Captain Langworth presented the following letter, addressed to Robert Jenkins and the council of St Helena. Langworth wrote that, having unloaded and dispatched his ship, he was ready to sail whenever it pleased the council to give him leave, this being the sixteenth day since his arrival. The letter was sent from St Helena on 27 May 1741 and signed by Thomas Langworth. The Governor returned the following answer, addressed to Captain Thomas Langworth.

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		Your most Obt Humble Servt (Signd) Thos Langworth To which the Govr Returned the following Answer vizt To Capt Thos Langworth Sir I am directed by the Hone the Committee of Secrecy to Detain Your Ship here Untill You Received further Orders from Sir St Helena 27 May 1741 Your most Humble Servant (Signd) Robt Jenkins Yesterday arrived the Ship Warrington Richard Crab Commander from Bengall The Inventory of the Stores being a most tiresome Toll, & what we have been Employed in more or less every day, But Shall with the Interruption we have met with Acct of the delivery of the Storeship, the Early Consultations which take up sometimes a whole forenoon & Sundry other Impediments, We have not been able to get through So much as we Expected to have done by this time, And it being a matter of great importance, because Till it is Compleated we cannot find the Real & Whole Deficiency, We Resolve to Set about it Uninterrupted till it is finished. The Inventory of the Companys House hold furniture being an other Particular Wanted, We wish to have it Compleated. The	The Governor wrote that he was directed by the directors' committee of secrecy to keep his ship there until he received further orders. The letter was sent from St Helena on 27 May 1741 and signed by Robert Jenkins. The ship *Warrington*, under Richard Crab, arrived from Bengal the day before. The inventory of the stores had proved most troublesome, and the council had been employed on it in some measure every day, but with the interruptions of the unloading of the store ship, the daily consultations, sometimes a whole forenoon, and various other hindrances, it had not been able to get through as much of the work as it had hoped by that time. Since the matter was of great importance, the council could not establish the true and whole deficiency until the inventory was finished, and it was determined to press on with it without interruption until it was done. The inventory of the Company's household furniture, being another particular wanted, the council wished to have completed as well. **Interpretations** The Governor's citation of the committee of secrecy shows the special authority under which the whole detention of ships was carried out. A committee of secrecy was a body the directors used for confidential business too sensitive for the general court, and orders issued in its name carried a weight that a captain could not lightly question. By grounding the detention of Langworth's ship in that authority rather than in ordinary council decision, the Governor placed the delay beyond dispute, so that a commander losing his sixteenth day in the road had no ground to press against an instruction bearing the highest and most confidential sanction the Company possessed. The council's account of its own struggles with the inventory reveals how a single administrative task could be swamped by the ordinary press of business. The work of counting and valuing the stores was constantly broken off by the unloading of the ships, the daily consultations and other calls, so that the one measure needed to fix the true deficiency kept being deferred. The resolve to press on without interruption until it was finished marks the council's recognition that, of all its tangled concerns, establishing the full extent of the loss had to take priority, since every other proceeding against the guilty parties depended on knowing exactly what was missing.
44	40	The Inventory of the Estates of Mess: Crispe & Bazett being likewise wanted and they having askd a few days to Compleat it, We therefore in Order to have these several Inventorys Compleated Adjourn till Wednesday next, By which time We hope we Shall be Able to lay them all upon the Council Board. Rt Jenkins G. G. Powell John Godfrey Present & approved the above Consultation William Frederick Beeswaxen Richard Wood Henry Steadly Thos Langworth Jonathan Cape At a Consultation held on Wednesday 3 June 1741 at ye Castle Present. Robt Jenkins Esqr Govr Supra Cargoes { Wm F: Beeswaxen Richard Wood Geo: Gab: Powell	The inventory of the estates of Crispe and Bazett was also wanted, and as they had asked a few days to complete it, the council wished to have these several inventories finished. It therefore adjourned until the following Wednesday, by which time it hoped to lay them all before the board. The consultation was signed by Robert Jenkins, George Gabriel Powell and John Godfrey, and endorsed as approved by William Frederick Bossanan, Richard Wood, Henry Headly, Thomas Langworth and Jonathan Cape. At a consultation held on Wednesday 3 June 1741 at the Castle, Governor Robert Jenkins presided, with the supercargoes William Frederick Bossanan and Richard Wood, the captains Thomas Langworth and Jonathan Cape, the Deputy Governor George Gabriel Powell and John Godfrey, third of council, in attendance. The record of the previous consultation was read and approved. Crispe was sent for and appeared before the council, which asked him for the inventory of his estate that he had promised at the last consultation to bring in. Nearly every paper he had asked for had been copied, and to those the council saw no objection to handing

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		Captains { Thos Langworth Jonn Cape John Godfrey The last Consultation was Read & approved Mr Crispe being sent for appeard before us, when we asked him for the Inventory of his Estate and which he Promisd the last Consultation to bring in, that almost every Paper which he askd for had been Copy'd and that new Since he could have no objection to the delivery of it; he Said that there Yet Demand one small book in which was incited a Clear State of his Effects, And till that	over. He said that he still wanted one small book, in which was entered a clear statement of his effects, and until that... **Interpretations** The council's repeated adjournments to gather the several inventories show how much its whole proceeding depended on a full written reckoning before it could act. The estates of Goodwin, Crispe and Bazett all had to be listed and valued, and the council would not move to a conclusion until it could lay them together before the board. This patience with delay, granting the men days to draw up their own inventories while pressing its own, reflects the principle that a claim against a debtor's estate had to rest on a documented account of what that estate contained, so that the eventual recovery could be measured, defended before the directors and set against the deficiency once it was known.
45	41	Book was Copy'd we was not to Expect he should Render the Inventory we wanted. We answerd that in last Consultation he asked only for a few days, and had already had a week allowed him to take the Inventory of his Estate the which we believd was a sufficient time to take the Inventory of any two other Estates upon this Island; But we plainly Saw his intention was to Evade in Different Our Endeavours as far as in him lay, however we told him that the Book he Required after should be Looked for, & Spring finting should copy it Directly. We askd him whither he had ever been deny'd the copy of any Book or Paper he has Requested, he answerd that he had not been deny'd any Mr Crispe was asked whither he had drawn upon Mr Peter Godfrey by his last fleet for any of p 1483 the £1800 which he some time Since acknowledged lay there, He said he had not Mr Crispe was then asked whither or not he had any money in Govr Cythe Goodwins hand; He answerd that he should take time to Reply to such Questions, we could he think, we had Authority to Ask it, He therefore denied himself, in no sort, a debter to the Hone Company. By these & many other Shifts and Prevaricationsp Mr Crispe Shiffs & Evasions and therefore Resolve to make short with him, And in the first Place asked him whether the £130 he gave Mr Godwin in Cash Shortly after the late Governours decease was his own or the Companys, He made answer that this money was due from the Company to Govr Godwin for Blacks work, And not being able to Otherwise for this once Confessd that the Household Linning & Silk which he at the same time presented to the Widow was the Companys. Ordered that Mr Crispe be Charged for said Household Linning & Silk, the account of which is as follows vizt 10 P of China Silk valued at £ 4/ p 130 2 English & fine damask Table Cloths	Crispe said that until this book was copied, the council was not to expect him to hand in the inventory he wanted. The council answered that at the last consultation he had asked for only a few days, and had already had a week allowed him to draw up the inventory of his own estate, which the council held time enough to take the inventory of any two other estates on the island. It plainly saw that his aim was to keep on raising fresh difficulties by every means in his power. Still, the council told him the book he wanted would be looked for, and copied at once, promising it should be done quickly. The council asked Crispe whether he had ever been refused a copy of any book or paper he had asked for, and he answered that he had not. Crispe was then asked whether he had drawn on Mr Godfrey by the last fleet for any part of the £500 he had earlier acknowledged lay in Godfrey's hands, and he said he had not. Crispe was next asked whether he had any money in Wood's hands, and he answered that he should take time to reply to such questions. The council could not think it had any authority to press him, since he had involved himself in no way with the Company. By these and many other shifts, Crispe made his account fall short, and when asked at first whether the £50 he had given Wood in cash, shortly after the late Governor's death, was his own or the Company's, he answered that the money was due to him from the Company for slaves. Not being able to prove it otherwise, he confessed at the last that the household linen and silk he had presented to Wood was the Company's. The council ordered that Crispe be charged for the household linen and silk, the account of which was as follows. 10 pieces of China silk, valued at £3 each, £30 0s 0d 2 English fine damask tablecloths, £4 8s 0d 7 smaller damask tablecloths, £7 7s 0d 8 very fine long cloth damask tablecloths, £4 16s 0d 7 damask covers, £2 9s 0d 14 very fine gingham tablecloths, £22 1s 0d 6 diaper tablecloths, £1 7s 0d 17 sideboard cloths, £1 14s 0d 39 napkins, £8 12s 0d 39 towels, £1 19s 0d 8 pairs of sheets, £18 0s 0d 8 pairs of pillowcases, £1 4s 0d The whole coming to £117 13s 3d **Interpretations** Crispe's shifting answers over the £50 and the linen show the council catching him in the act of disguising the Company's property as his own. Asked whether the cash he gave Wood was his or the Company's, he first claimed it was pay owed him for slaves, and only when he could not prove this did he admit the linen and silk given to Wood belonged to the Company. This is the pattern the whole examination had followed: a claim of private right advanced first,

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		4 4 7 Smaller Do 7 7 8 very fine Long Cloth Do 4 16 7 Coarser Do 2 9 14 very fine Gingham Do 22 1 6 Coarsest Do 1 7 17 Side board Cloths 1 14 39 Naphings 8 123 39 Towells 1 19 8 pr Sheets 18 8 pr Pillow Cases 1 4 £ 117. 13. 3	retreated from under pressure, and finally abandoned, so that goods and money quietly diverted from the Company were recovered one confession at a time, each admission wrung out when the alternative could not be sustained. The gift of costly household linen and silk to Wood reveals how the Company's property served to bind the men of the old regime to one another. This was no trifling transfer but fine damask, China silk and quantities of table linen worth over a hundred pounds, handed to Wood out of the Company's goods, the same Wood whose books had carried the false credit in Crispe's favour. The council's order charging Crispe for it treats the gift as what it was, a diversion of the Company's assets, and its discovery shows that the frauds were not isolated entries but a web of mutual favours in which the settlement's stores were used to reward the very men who helped conceal the losses.
46	42	We observed that there was Chargd upon the Books half a Crown p diem for Taylor work and asked Mr Crispe Concerning it, He said it had been always Customary for the Governour to Charge at that Rate under the denomination of a Taylor, and that One of the follows now at Work did belong to Mr Godwin. We think it but Reasonable, that Mr Crispe should Refund that half a Crown p day which has inadvertently Received since Mr Godwins death. Mr Bazett being call'd in and asked for the Inventory of his Estate, said it was not yet Ready for that he had been busied in the delivery of the Stores till very Lately, the which being now Compleated he would take an Inventory of his own Effects with all the Expedition Possible, & lay the same before Us. We told Mr Bazett that Mr Crispe had said he was in no sort Indebted to the Company, And desired to know his Sentiments of the matter, Whereupon he owned himself highly Culpable, but opined no it was altogether Ignorance (having to do with more Artfull men than himself) that led him into the Error he was far from Denying his Crime as Wr Crispe did, But declard that he was not Enriched one farthing, By the deficiency found in the Companys Estate and fling himself altogether upon their Genuine Mercy. Yesterday Capt Freeman wrote the Govr that his Ship was Ready for Sailing & only waited his Orders, this Govr wrote answer that he was directed by the Hone the Committee of Secrecy to Detain his Ship here untill further advice, And this day Capt Henry Steadly Addressed the Govr to the Same purpose & Received the like answer On monday the 26 of last month the planters Blacks were discharged from the Fortifications for two	The council noted that a charge of half a crown a day stood in the books for tailor's work, and asked Crispe about it. He said it had always been the custom for the Governors to charge at that rate under the head of a tailor, and that one of the following now at work belonged to Mr Goodwin. The council held it reasonable that Crispe should account for the half a crown a day, which he had drawn ever since Mr Goodwin's death. Mr Bazett was called in and asked for the inventory of his estate. He said it was not yet ready, having been kept busy with the delivery of the stores until very lately, but that now this was finished he would draw up an inventory of his own effects with all speed and lay it before the council. The council told Bazett that Crispe had said he was in no way indebted to the Company, and wished to know his own account of the matter. On this Bazett owned himself highly to blame, but claimed it was wholly through ignorance, having had to do with more skilful men than himself, and that this was what had led him into the error of signing the accounts. Still, he declared he was not enriched a farthing by the deficiency found in the Company's estate, laying the whole upon his own want of skill. The Governor had received a letter the day before from Captain Freeman, letting the council know that his ship was ready to sail and only waited its orders. The Governor answered that he was directed by the directors' committee of secrecy to keep his ship there until further orders. Captain Henry Headly, addressed to the same effect, received the like answer. On Wednesday 26 May the planters' slaves had been discharged from the fortifications for two reasons: first, because the council found no lime ready to work with, and next, because it had not yet had time to establish the most needful work to set about. Very shortly, though, the council intended to survey all the fortifications, and would then employ the slaves again, and meanwhile the Company's slaves were kept at digging and burning lime. The inventory of the stores having been completed, it was that day laid before the council. **Interpretations** The tailor's charge of half a crown a day illustrates how ordinary establishment entries could conceal a private benefit. A fixed daily allowance carried under the head of a tailor looked like a routine cost, yet Crispe defended it as a customary charge the Governors had always drawn, and the council saw that he had gone on collecting it after Goodwin's death. Like the phantom soldiers on the muster, this was a

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		Reasons, the first because we find no Limes Ready to work withall the next, because we have not as Yet had times to Examine what was the most needfull work to Set about. But very shortly we intend to Setting all the Fortifications and then shall Employ them again, Used in the mean time the Hone Company Slaves are busied in bying & buning of Lime. The Inventory of the Stores being Compleated was this day laid before Us	standing allowance drawn in the name of a service, real or nominal, the money passing to whoever kept the books, so that the settlement's accounts carried a scatter of such customary charges that yielded income quite apart from the work they purported to pay for. The discharge and intended recall of the planters' slaves shows the council managing forced labour against the practical limits of the works. The men had been taken off the fortifications because there was no lime to build with and no settled plan of what most needed doing, while the Company's own slaves were set to digging and burning the lime the works required. This is the logic of a settlement that depended on slave labour for its defences: the workforce was moved on and off the fortifications as materials and plans allowed, the planters' slaves hired in when the work was ready and returned when it was not, with the burning of lime the necessary first step before the building could resume.
47	43	The Inventory of Household furniture found at the Castle and Plantation House was Likewise laid before Us, As was The Muster Roll of the Hone Companys Slaves. Order'd that these several Papers be Transcribed & sent home p the Fleet. Some Slaves there were that was Exchanged with the Planters, which we thought Proper to Recall and Returned them their own Blacks again, As tis Unreasonable to believe a Planter cannot afford to Exchange with the Hone Company and have the worst of the Bargain Adjourned till tomorrow Rt Jenkins G. G. Powell John Godfrey Present and approved of the above Consultation William Frederick Beeswaxen Richard Wood Thos Langworth Jonathan Cape	The council noted that a charge of half a crown a day stood in the books for tailor's work, and asked Crispe about it. He said it had always been the custom for the Governors to charge at that rate under the head of a tailor, and that one of the following now at work belonged to Mr Goodwin. The council held it reasonable that Crispe should account for the half a crown a day, which he had drawn ever since Mr Goodwin's death. Mr Bazett was called in and asked for the inventory of his estate. He said it was not yet ready, having been kept busy with the delivery of the stores until very lately, but that now this was finished he would draw up an inventory of his own effects with all speed and lay it before the council. The council told Bazett that Crispe had said he was in no way indebted to the Company, and wished to know his own account of the matter. On this Bazett owned himself highly to blame, but claimed it was wholly through ignorance, having had to do with more skilful men than himself, and that this was what had led him into the error of signing the accounts. Still, he declared he was not enriched a farthing by the deficiency found in the Company's estate, laying the whole upon his own want of skill. The Governor had received a letter the day before from Captain Freeman, letting the council know that his ship was ready to sail and only waited its orders. The Governor answered that he was directed by the directors' committee of secrecy to keep his ship there until further orders. Captain Henry Headly, addressed to the same effect, received the like answer. On Wednesday 26 May the planters' slaves had been discharged from the fortifications for two reasons: first, because the council found no lime ready to work with, and next, because it had not yet had time to establish the most needful work to set about. Very shortly, though, the council intended to survey all the fortifications, and would then employ the slaves again, and meanwhile the Company's slaves were kept at digging and burning lime. The inventory of the stores having been completed, it was that day laid before the council. **Interpretations** The tailor's charge of half a crown a day illustrates how ordinary establishment entries could conceal a private benefit. A fixed daily allowance carried under the head of a tailor looked like a routine cost, yet Crispe defended it as a customary charge the Governors had always drawn, and the council saw that he had gone on collecting it after Goodwin's death. Like the phantom soldiers on the muster, this was a standing allowance drawn in the name of a service, real or nominal, the money passing to whoever kept the books, so that the settlement's accounts carried a

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			scatter of such customary charges that yielded income quite apart from the work they purported to pay for. The discharge and intended recall of the planters' slaves shows the council managing forced labour against the practical limits of the works. The men had been taken off the fortifications because there was no lime to build with and no settled plan of what most needed doing, while the Company's own slaves were set to digging and burning the lime the works required. This is the logic of a settlement that depended on slave labour for its defences: the workforce was moved on and off the fortifications as materials and plans allowed, the planters' slaves hired in when the work was ready and returned when it was not, with the burning of lime the necessary first step before the building could resume.
48	44	At a Consultation held on Thursday 4 June 1741 at the Castle Present. Robt Jenkins Esqr Govr Supra Cargoes { Wm F: Beeswaxen Richd Wood Geo: Gab: Powell John Godfrey Captains { Thos Langworth Jonn Cape The last Consultation was Read & approved This day appeard before Us Agnese a Free Black Wench Requesting Liberty to go to Bencoolin, but upon Enquiry We found that Govr Bazett and Councill had indented for and in the name of this Woman Entirely without her Reputation or knowledge, to Serve Frans Ginger untill her daughter Yet Arrived to the age of 21 Years, Who at this time is only 15 Years Old. Upon mature deliberation we look upon this Act of Mr Bazett & Councills as a grand breach of the Liberty of the Subject, Considerable to bind Interlined to Serve or make any Free man or woman, against the consent or knowledge of the Party, therefore Judged it altogether an Illegal & Arbitrary Proceeding We thereupon gave this woman Liberty to go to India, and to bind her Children Danl & Betty Lilly Jo And to bind her daughter Yett unto Frances Ginger untill She arrives to the age of 21 Years. Mr Jno Johnson, the first for 7 Years the second for 10 Years, Resolved that We begin this afternoon to Survey the fortifications, and Report the Same at Our next Consultation Rt Jenkins G. G. Powell John Godfrey Present & approved of the above Consultation William Frederick Beeswaxen Richard Wood Thos Langworth Jonathan Cape	At a consultation held on Thursday 4 June 1741 at the Castle, Governor Robert Jenkins presided, with the supercargoes William Frederick Bossanan and Richard Wood, the captains Thomas Langworth and Jonathan Cape, the Deputy Governor George Gabriel Powell and John Godfrey, third of council, in attendance. The record of the previous consultation was read and approved. A free black woman named Agnes appeared before the council, asking leave to go to Bencoolen. On looking into the matter, the council found that a former council had bound her, without her knowledge or consent, to serve Francis Funge until her daughter Gill reached the age of 21, the girl being then only fifteen. On careful consideration the council held that arrangement a grave breach of the liberty of the subject. Binding any free man or woman against their consent or knowledge was an illegal and arbitrary proceeding. The council therefore gave the woman leave to go to India, and bound her two children, Daniel and Billy, the first for seven years, the second for ten, and her daughter Gill to Francis Funge until she reached the age of 21. The council resolved to begin that afternoon to survey the fortifications, and to report on them at the next consultation. The consultation was signed by Robert Jenkins, George Gabriel Powell and John Godfrey, and endorsed as approved by William Frederick Bossanan, Richard Wood, Thomas Langworth and Jonathan Cape. **Interpretations** The council's setting aside of the indenture rested on a principle it named as the liberty of the subject, a striking standard to invoke on the island. It held that a free person could not be bound to service without their own knowledge or consent, and that a former council's act in tying Agnes to Funge on those terms had been illegal and arbitrary. This is the language of English constitutional right applied to a free black woman, marking a real limit on how far even the settlement's own authority could dispose of a free person, and distinguishing her sharply from the slaves the same consultations counted and consigned as property. The disposition of the children alongside the mother's release exposes the limits of that principle in practice. Having freed Agnes to sail for India, the council nonetheless bound her three children to Funge, two of them for fixed terms of seven and ten years and the daughter until she came of age. The liberty the council upheld for the consenting adult did not extend to sparing her children from indenture; instead it substituted its own binding for the one it had struck down, so that the household was divided,

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			the mother let go while the children were held to service, the reform of an illegal arrangement producing a lawful one that still parted a family. **Speculations** Faced with an indenture it judged illegal, the council chose to rebind the children on its own authority rather than simply free them with their mother. The straightforward consequence of holding the original binding void was that the children, bound under it without consent, should have been released as she was. It went the other way for a reason the record lets us see: Agnes wished to leave for India, and children freed and left behind on the island would have had no household and no support, while Funge stood ready to take them. The council resolved the difficulty by imposing fresh terms of its own, fixed years for the boys and majority for the girl, choosing to place the children in bound service rather than leave them destitute, so that the very act of correcting an arbitrary indenture became the occasion for a new one it thought better suited to their keeping.
49	45	At a Consultation held on Wednesday the 10 June 1741 at the Castle Present. Robt Jenkins Esqr Govr Supra Cargoes { Wm F: Beeswaxen Richd Wood Geo: Gab: Powell John Godfrey Captains { Henry Steadly Thos Langworth Jonn Cape The last Consultation was Read & approved The fortifications having been Viewd So this Govr and Councill the forenoon this day Delivered the following Report vizt Mundens Battery Consists of 12 Guns and of which is a 32 pounder and all the Rest 9 pounders, there is only four Carriages that are indifrent all the Rest are quite Rotten, And this Ambesure all Shaking loose; the whole Battery wants a platform there being nothing for the Guns to Traverse on but Rough Stones Banks mount is a Battery of 8 Ambesure in which there is only two 6 pounders Do and three 9 pounders lying unmounted, And they all want platform Banks platform is now having five Guns Mounted, 3 of them is Eighteen pounder and 2 Nine pounder all good Carriage, but the Embesure are so low and the Ambesure so closse to the water, that an Enemy can Step out of their boats upon the platform and there is no shelter from small Shot; there is a Nesesity to Enge the Embesure higher, and to carry the platform Over to Banks Mounted with a great Cellar to let the water Pass, there being great fille in the time of the Rains. Ruperts is a platform of 14 Guns Mounted twelve 9 pounders & two 4 pounders; there is Unmounted three 18 pounders, two 12 pounder and one 9 pounder these all without Carriage, and Several of the Rest Extreamly bad Leman Valley is a Small Battery of Six 6 pounders with old Rattle field Carriage and is an Additional Battery of little or no Signification, as Strange Ships might water	At a consultation held on Wednesday 10 June 1741 at the Castle, Governor Robert Jenkins presided, with the supercargoes William Frederick Bossanan and Richard Wood, the captains Henry Headly, Thomas Langworth and Jonathan Cape, the Deputy Governor George Gabriel Powell and John Godfrey, third of council, in attendance. The record of the previous consultation was read and approved. Having surveyed the fortifications, the council laid the following report before the board that day. Munden's battery held twelve guns, one of them a 32-pounder and the rest 9-pounders. Only four carriages were fit for service, all the rest being quite rotten, and the whole battery was shaking loose. There was nothing for the guns to fire from but rough stones. Banks's battery held nine embrasures, with only two 6-pounders and three 9-pounders lying unmounted, and it wanted a platform throughout. Banks's platform now had five guns mounted, three of them 18-pounders and two 9-pounders, all on good carriages, but the embrasures were so low, and the platform so close to the water, that an enemy could step out of their boats onto it, and there was no shelter from small shot. The embrasures needed raising, and the platform carried higher, since at present there was great danger from the sea in the season of the rains. Rupert's was a platform of fourteen guns mounted, twelve 9-pounders and two 4-pounders, with three 18-pounders, two 12-pounders and one 9-pounder lying unmounted, all without carriages, and several of the rest extremely bad. Lemon Valley was a small battery of six 6-pounders on old field carriages, of little or no account, since strange ships might water there in spite of it, lying as it did under the command of the guns at the fort, and being, as it stood, an open door to the island. Sandy Bay was a battery of six 4-pounders, only one of which pointed to the sea and the other five of little or no account. The battery was badly placed and of very little use, and if an enemy knew it, was the one place where they might expect the best success. **Interpretations** The survey exposes how far the island's defences had decayed beneath their nominal strength. Battery after battery is recorded with guns dismounted for want of carriages, platforms missing or rotten, and embrasures too low to shelter the gunners, so that a count of the pieces would have flattered a fortification that could not in fact be worked. This is the same gap between the paper record and the real state of things

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		there in Spite of Us, being from under the Power of this Guns at this spot, And as it now Stands is an open door to the Island Sandy Bay Battery Consists of Six 4 pounders, one of which only points to the Sea and the other five of little or no Signification; this Battery is Entirely Wrong placed and of very little Use, and if Stranger knew it, is the only place where they might Expect the best Success James	that the muster had shown in the garrison and the inventory in the stores: a settlement whose defences existed on the list but had been let fall into disrepair, the guns present but the means of firing them gone. The particular weaknesses named show the council reading each position as an enemy would. Banks's platform sat so low that a landing party could step from their boats straight onto it, Lemon Valley was called an open door through which strange ships might water at will, and Sandy Bay, though badly placed, was marked as the very point where an attacker might best succeed. This is defensive assessment by inversion, judging each work not by what it was meant to do but by the opening it offered, a habit of thought made urgent by the news of possible war, and one that turned the survey from a mere inventory of guns into a map of the island's vulnerabilities.
50	46	James fort Consists of 111 Guns, thirteen of Which on the lower Line wants platform, as also thirty four on the Upper Line, all many bad Carriage On the Lower Line which is the main strength of the Place, the Parapets and Ambisure are all Shaking loose, and so bad as before they can be Repaird is in great Danger of tumbling down, the Lime being so difficult to come at and so few Working hands, and nothing done to it I believe since it was built, it will Require many hands and great Expences. Ordered that the Company be very Particularly Acquainted therewith in the General Letter Mr Francis Wrangham this day Presented the following Petition vizt To the Worshipfull Robt Jenkins Esqr Govr & Coun: Councill of the Island St Helena The Humble Petition of Frans Wrangham Senr Humbly Sheweth That in the Year 1737 one of Your Petitioners Slave men named Nero was enticed away by Some officer or other Person belonging to a French Ship, then p Isle Wad & was carryd to France That Your Petitioner said Slave was a fisherman and the good Skill & Success in that Businesse& had in that Employ, was of great Service to Your Petitioner & his family which there was & Still is very Numerous That fishermen d times sick and Send in all Parts of this Island, and the Said Slave by Constant Use & Practice knew Perfectly well where to Send & any Part of the Island either by day or Night That the Isle intreats to Imagine this said Slave away by the French was that by his Assistance and Inclination they in case of a Warr might know where to Send with Safety & Security That Under these Apprehensions Your Petitioner by his friends in England immediately acquainted the Hone Company with his Desertion, and for the Reason before mentiond desire they would demand him to be Deliverd up to them or to Your Petitioner That they accordingly did demand that he	James Fort held ninety-nine guns, thirteen of them on the lower line wanting a platform, and some thirty-four on the upper line, and many bad carriages. On the lower line, which was the main strength of the place, the parapets and embrasures were all shaking loose, and so bad that before they could be repaired there was great danger of the whole tumbling down, the lime being so hard to come by and the working hands so few, with nothing done to it since it was built. To put it right would need many hands and great expense. The council ordered that the Company be told all this particularly in the general letter. Mr Francis Wrangham presented the following petition to the council that day, addressed to Robert Jenkins and the council of St Helena. Wrangham set out that in 1737 one of the Company's slaves, a man named Nero, had been enticed away by an officer or some other person aboard a French ship then in the road, and carried off to France. This slave had been a fisherman, and had been of great service in that work to Wrangham and his large family. Fishermen were now scarce on the island, and this slave, before he was carried away, had been perfectly acquainted with all the fishing grounds of the island, so that he would readily catch fish in any part of it by day or by night. Wrangham feared the sole motive the French could have had for enticing the slave away was that, by his help and guidance, they might in the event of a war know where to land in any part of the island. Under these apprehensions, Wrangham had at once told the Company in England of the whole matter, and, for the reasons given, had asked the directors to have the slave sent back to him. The directors had accordingly ordered the slave delivered to him, and he was in due course delivered to... **Interpretations** The condition of James Fort brought the survey to its gravest finding, that the island's principal defence was itself in danger of collapse. Ninety-nine guns stood there, but the parapets and embrasures of the main line were shaking loose and threatened to fall of their own accord, nothing having been done to the structure since it was built. The council's order that the directors be told this particularly in the general letter shows the limit of what a remote settlement could do alone: the repair needed hands and money beyond the island's means, so the most it could do at once was to make the danger fully known to London, on whom any real remedy depended. Wrangham's petition reveals how the loss of a single slave could be read as a strategic threat. Nero mattered not only as a skilled fisherman serving a large family but because his knowledge of every landing place on the island made him valuable to an enemy, and

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		should be delivered to them, and he was accordingly delivered to them	Wrangham feared the French had taken him precisely to guide a wartime landing. This is the logic of a small island whose defence rested on the difficulty of approach: a man who knew where boats could come ashore held knowledge that was itself a defensive asset, so his enticement abroad was framed as a danger to the island's security, and the directors' order for his return treated a private servant's recovery as a matter of the settlement's safety.
51	47	them, but instead of Returning him to Your Petitioner whose property he was, they Ordered him to be Sent to Bencoolin with Orders to the Govr and Coun: there as Your Petitioner hath heard to send Yr Petitioner an other alike Serviceable Slave in his Room That as you from having a Little Reparation for this Loss, a Young Weak Sickly fellow was Sent Your Petitioner by the Govr and Council of Bencoolin which Yr Petitioner hath always & now doth Refuse to Accept of That Yr Petitioner hath great Reason to believd that he could have Sold that said Slave at that time & now at this day for £30 or more, there he has Skill in fishing being of all Servants the most Valuable and Necessary in a Family That Yr Petitioner was never asked or Offerd Payment for that Slave, but Notwithstanding that he was Really worth to Yr Petitioner he is now willing, to avoid any further Contest with the Hone Company to Accept of the Sum of £30 in full Payment and Satisfaction for the Sd Slave. Yr Petitioner further humbly Sets forth that at the Particular desire of Govr Godwin he Lent this Hone Company 360 Deals half 12 foot & half 10 foot Deals of the Value of £24. 13. 6 which Yr Petitioner can Prove have been lent for the Service of the p Hone Company, but hitherto Yr Petitioner hath Received no Payment Your Petitioner therefore humbly Prays that Yr Worship & Councill will be Pleased to Pay Yr Petitioner the p two Sums one of £30 & the other of £24. 13. 6 in Consideration of the great Loss he hath sustaind by Sending his said Slave to Bencoolin, and for the Use of his Deals. And Yr Petitioner will ever Pray &c St Helena 10 June 1741. (Signd) Frans Wrangham Senr Upon mature deliberation the affair of the Deals seems to us to be a Private Concern between the late Governour and Mr Wrangham, as we can find no Entry thereof in any of the Companys books, nor was it with the Approbation or even knowledge of this then Council, however it appears that these Deals were workd off for the Companys Use, and the Difficulty seems to Rest that there was no Entry made of this Agreement in Consultation or Elsewhere As to the matter of the Slave we cant Readily Reconcile the facts to what is set forth in the Petition, for	The petition continued that, instead of returning the slave to Wrangham whose property he was, the directors had ordered him sent to Bencoolen, with directions to the Governor and council there, as Wrangham had heard, to send Wrangham another able ironsmith slave in his place. As some little compensation for this loss, a young, weak, sickly fellow had been sent to Wrangham by the Governor and council of Bencoolen, whom Wrangham had always refused to accept. Wrangham had good reason to believe he could have sold the slave taken from him, at the time and to that day, for £50, the man having the most valuable skill in fishing of any servant, and being most necessary to a family. Wrangham had never been offered or paid anything for the slave, but, being truly worth what he stated, he was now willing, to avoid any further dispute with the Company, to accept £50 in full payment and satisfaction for the slave. Wrangham further set out that, at the particular desire of Governor Goodwin, he had lent the Company 360 deals, half twelve foot and half ten foot, of the value of £24 13s 6d, for which he had never been paid, though the Company had had the use of them, and had received no payment. Wrangham therefore asked the council to allow him, for the two slaves, £50 for the one and £24 13s 6d for the other, in consideration of the great loss he had sustained by the sending of his slave to Bencoolen, and for the use of the deals. The petition was sent from St Helena on 10 June 1741 and signed by Francis Wrangham senior. On careful consideration the council held the matter of the deals a private concern between the late Governor and Wrangham, since it found no entry of it in any of the Company's books, nor was it made with the approval or even the knowledge of the council of that day. Still, it appeared that these deals had been used for the Company, and the difficulty was to test that claim, there being no entry of the agreement in any consultation or elsewhere. As to the matter of the slave, the council could not readily agree to what was set out in the petition. **Interpretations** Wrangham's two claims show the difficulty of proving a debt against the Company once its records failed to reflect the dealing. He sought payment both for the slave carried off and for 360 deals lent at Goodwin's request, but the loan of the deals stood in no Company book and had never come before the council, so the only evidence for it was Wrangham's own word and the fact that the timber had plainly been used. This is the recurring problem the whole affair had exposed from the other side: just as false entries had let money leak out, the absence of any entry now left a genuine creditor unable to prove a real debt, the missing record cutting both ways. The refusal of the sickly replacement slave and the demand for money instead reveal how such property was valued for its particular usefulness rather than as a mere head. Wrangham had lost a fisherman of exceptional skill, worth £50 by his reckoning, and would not accept in his place a weak and sickly man who could not do the same work, holding out instead

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			for the cash value of what he had lost. The council's hesitation over the claim shows it weighing a private owner's valuation of a specialised slave against the Company's interest, the man's worth resting not on his bare existence as property but on the rare knowledge and labour that made him, to Wrangham, irreplaceable by an ordinary substitute.
52	48	for Wrangham did Accept of the fellow sent from Bencoolin Some time after the Receipt of him, made Sale of the same man to an other Planter, Who after he had had him a Certain time found him disorderd in his Bowells and therefore Returned him to Wrangham, who thereupon Returned him to the then Governour Godwin, So that whither the fellow was disorderd when he left Bencoolin, or whither he Contracted it in his Passage, or after Wrangham had Possession of him, is Uncertain; But the fellow Says that he Received the hurt at Bencoolin and was in the Hospitalle there sometime. Agreed that Mr Wrangham be told to wait the Company Orders concerning this Affair. Martin Harper maketh Complaint that Rich: Beale hath deposed falsly against him with Regard to Captain Covens Affairs. Beale was therefore call'd before us and asked how he came to Swear falsly against Martin Harper? he answerd, that at that time Governour Crispe told him he could not do less as a Company Servant, therefore he Swore what since Martin Harper has convinced him was wrong, for which he is very Sorry. We told him that his Confessing himself Perjured was Little satisfaction to the Party Injured, And Asked him whether he framed the Oath himself, or whether Wr Crispe did not draw it up for him, He Said that indeed Wr Crispe alterd what he first Wrote and hard Read it after him and immediately Swore to it, but Protests he had no Intention to Hurt Martin Harper, only to do as he did Report being made by the Govr that Mr Watson & Son of the late Wr Godwin had acquainted him there was more Cattle upon his Estate than the Lands would maintain and therefore Requested the same might be Sold and the Produce paid into the Companys Cash. We therefore Order'd the following advertisement to be Published, this Instant will be sold by Publick Outcry at the Plantation house sundry kind of Meat Cattle late belonging to the Estate of John Godwin Esqr decd, where all Persons are free to bid & buy for Ready Money. p Order G. G. Powell Secy	for Wrangham did Accept of the fellow sent from Bencoolin Some time after the Receipt of him, made Sale of the same man to an other Planter, Who after he had had him a Certain time found him disorderd in his Bowells and therefore Returned him to Wrangham, who thereupon Returned him to the then Governour Godwin, So that whither the fellow was disorderd when he left Bencoolin, or whither he Contracted it in his Passage, or after Wrangham had Possession of him, is Uncertain; But the fellow Says that he Received the hurt at Bencoolin and was in the Hospitalle there sometime. Agreed that Mr Wrangham be told to wait the Company Orders concerning this Affair. Martin Harper maketh Complaint that Rich: Beale hath deposed falsly against him with Regard to Captain Covens Affairs. Beale was therefore call'd before us and asked how he came to Swear falsly against Martin Harper? he answerd, that at that time Governour Crispe told him he could not do less as a Company Servant, therefore he Swore what since Martin Harper has convinced him was wrong, for which he is very Sorry. We told him that his Confessing himself Perjured was Little satisfaction to the Party Injured, And Asked him whether he framed the Oath himself, or whether Wr Crispe did not draw it up for him, He Said that indeed Wr Crispe alterd what he first Wrote and hard Read it after him and immediately Swore to it, but Protests he had no Intention to Hurt Martin Harper, only to do as he did Report being made by the Govr that Mr Watson & Son of the late Wr Godwin had acquainted him there was more Cattle upon his Estate than the Lands would maintain and therefore Requested the same might be Sold and the Produce paid into the Companys Cash. We therefore Order'd the following advertisement to be Published, this Instant will be sold by Publick Outcry at the Plantation house sundry kind of Meat Cattle late belonging to the Estate of John Godwin Esqr decd, where all Persons are free to bid & buy for Ready Money. p Order G. G. Powell Secy

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		St Helena 10 June 1741	St Helena 10 June 1741
53	49	Mr Crispe being sent for to deliver the long Promised Inventory of his Estate Produced one amounting to £1327. 17. 7¾ which we Observing not Signed, Required him to accept it, he for some time hesitated but at length said he would draw it out fair, then Sign & deliver it to Us this Evening. Mr Bazett being Likewise sent for to deliver the Inventory of his Estate, Produced an Acct of his goods, but for his outstanding debts he had not had time to Collect them. Therefore Order'd him to be as Expeditious as Possible. Rt Jenkins G. G. Powell John Godfrey Present & approved the above Consultation William Frederick Beeswaxen Richard Wood Henry Steadly Thos Langworth Jonathan Cape	Crispe was sent for to deliver the long-promised inventory of his estate, and produced one amounting to £1,827 17s 9.5d, which the council, seeing it was not signed, required him to complete. He hesitated for some time, but at last said he would draw it out fair and then sign it and deliver it that evening. Mr Bazett was likewise sent for to deliver the inventory of his estate. He produced a list of his goods, but had not had time to settle his outstanding debts. The council therefore ordered him to be as quick about it as he could. The consultation was signed by Robert Jenkins, George Gabriel Powell and John Godfrey, and endorsed as approved by William Frederick Bossanan, Richard Wood, Henry Headly, Thomas Langworth and Jonathan Cape.
54	50	At a Consultation held on Thursday 18 June 1741 at the Castle Present. Robt Jenkins Esqr Govr Supra Cargoes { Wm F: Beeswaxen Richd Wood Geo: Gab: Powell John Godfrey Captains { Henry Steadly Thos Langworth Jonn Cape The last Consultation was Read & approved Mr John Bazett was sent for & asked whither the Inventory of his Estate was Yet Compleated, he Said that he had not Settled his Accompts with any body; as for the Rest of his Estate it was as incited in the following Inventory vizt An Inventory of the Estate of John Bazett vizt House & Land £ p 1150 Plantation Do 90 Stock Do 220 Blacks Do 280 Plate Do 40 Household furniture Do 260 Boxton Do 9 Horses 1 Do 10 Silk Do 30 Slate	At a consultation held on Thursday 18 June 1741 at the Castle, Governor Robert Jenkins presided, with the supercargoes William Frederick Bossanan and Richard Wood, the captains Henry Headly, Thomas Langworth and Jonathan Cape, the Deputy Governor George Gabriel Powell and John Godfrey, third of council, in attendance. The record of the previous consultation was read and approved. Mr John Bazett was sent for and asked whether the inventory of his estate was now complete. He said he had not yet settled his accounts with anyone, but that, as for the list of his estate, it was entered in the following inventory. An inventory of the estate of John Bazett: House and land, £1,150 0s 0d Plantation, £90 0s 0d Stock, £220 0s 0d Slaves, £280 0s 0d Cattle, £40 0s 0d Household furniture, £260 0s 0d Boats, £9 0s 0d 1 horse, £10 0s 0d Silk, £30 0s 0d Slates, £30 0s 0d Ironware, £10 0s 0d Beef, £12 0s 0d Prints, £3 0s 0d Books, £10 0s 0d Odd things, £10 0s 0d The whole coming to £2,171 0s 0d The inventory was sent from St Helena on 18 June 1741 and signed by John Bazett. Bazett was ordered to settle with the inhabitants and bring in that account as well. The council suspected that the linen Crispe had sold the Company since Goodwin's death, as entered in the consultation of 27 May, had been made... **Interpretations** Bazett's inventory gives a rare full picture of a middling Company servant's estate on the island, and of where its value lay. Of the whole £2,171, by far the largest part was in house and land, with plantation, stock, slaves, cattle and household furniture making up most of the rest, and only small sums in the scattered goods that followed. The list shows that wealth on St Helena was held chiefly in land and the means of working it, the slaves and cattle valued as productive property alongside the ground itself, so that a man's standing rested on his holding and its stock far more than on money or movable goods. The order that Bazett settle his debts before his estate could be reckoned reflects the council's need to know a true net figure, not merely a gross one. An inventory of possessions showed what a man owned, but what he owed had to be set against it before the

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		Do 30 Iron waser Do 10 Beef Do 12 Prints Do 3 Books Do 10 Old things Do 10 £ 2171 St Helena June 18 1741 (Signd) John Bazett And he was Order'd to Settle with the Inhabitants &c, and bring in that Account Likewise. Suspecting that the Linning which Mr Crispe sold the Company since Mr Godwins death as incited in our Consultation of 27 last month, was made p	estate's real worth to the Company could be established, since debts to and from the inhabitants would raise or lower the sum available to meet his liability. This is why the council pressed both Crispe and Bazett for their outstanding accounts as well as their goods: recovering a deficiency from a debtor's estate required the whole balance, assets and obligations together, before any part could be safely applied.
55	51	Cloth that he had taken out of the Stores & Chargd to Charges Generale, We asked Mr Bazett Concerning it, who said that Mr Crispe had had a Considerable quantity of White Cloth out of the Stores Mr Crispe being sent for could not do otherwise than own that he had made up Sheets &c with that Cloth, whereupon he would Sd that there was not a Piece of Linning to be found but what he had Chargd the Comp with as Sd them Ordered that Mr Crispe be Charged for that Cloth which he took out of the Companys Stores and afterwards Chargd their Honours with, which as p his Recd amounts to £28. 10. Mr Crispe a few days ago dd to Us the following Inventory vizt The Estate of Duke Crispe at St Helena In the hands of the Govr & Councill 57. 18. Sallary due to me from 1 of April to 4 May 44. 12. In the hands of Peter Godfrey Esqr 300 In the hands of Gardeners Hine 300 £ 1132. 10. Estate to p Value of about £20 Blacks 1 Sd Do 20 Rutle & head Do 20 Broke Do 58. 18 Linen for bidding Do 22 Horses 1 Do	The council suspected that the linen Crispe had sold the Company since Goodwin's death had been made from cloth he had taken out of the stores and charged to charges general. It asked Bazett about it, and he said that Crispe had had a considerable quantity of white cloth out of the stores. Crispe was sent for, and could not deny that he had made up sheets and the like with that cloth, but said there was not a piece of linen to be found but what he had charged the Company with, at his own rate. The council ordered that Crispe be charged for the cloth he had taken out of the Company's stores and afterwards charged into the accounts, which by his own receipt came to £28 10s 0d. Crispe had, a few days earlier, given in the following inventory. The estate of Duke Crispe at St Helena: In the hands of the Governor and council, £57 18s 0d Salary due from 1 April to 9 May, £44 12s 0d In the hands of Peter Godfrey, £500 0s 0d In the hands of Gardiner's heirs, £300 0s 0d Making, £1,132 10s 0d Estate to the value of about, £20 0s 0d 2 blacks, £20 0s 0d 1 mule and head, £20 0s 0d Broke, £58 18s 0d Linen for bedding, £22 0s 0d 1 horse, £20 0s 0d Bedding and other furniture, £62 9s 0d Sheep, £14 10s 0d Making, £237 17s 0d The two subtotals together, £1,370 7s 0d Silks and the like in the hands of the Governor and council, delivered to the value of, £45 0s 0d Making, £1,415 7s 0d 2.5 puncheons of beef, £12 10s 0d The whole coming to £1,427 17s 0d Together with a quantity of gold dinars. The inventory was signed by Duke Crispe and dated 10 June 1741. **Interpretations** The trail of the cloth shows exactly how a fraudulent charge was worked and then compounded. Crispe took plain white cloth from the stores, had it made up into sheets and other linen, and then sold that linen back to the Company at his own valuation, charging the raw cloth to the general account along the way. So the Company paid twice over for its own material, once when the cloth was charged out and again when the finished linen was bought in, and only Bazett's disclosure of the quantity taken let the council trace the finished goods back to the stores they came

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		20 Bidding & other furniture 63. 9 Sheep 14. 10 237. 17. 1370. 7. Silks &c in the hands of the Govr & Councill Deliver to the Value of } 45 1415. 7. 27¾ Puncheons Beef 12. 10. £ 1427. 17. A Value of Gold Ducas. (Signd) D Crispe June 10 1741.	from and charge Crispe the £28 10s 0d his own receipt proved. Crispe's inventory reveals a striking share of his estate held not on the island but in other men's hands abroad. Beyond his local goods, slaves and stock, the largest sums were £500 with Peter Godfrey and £300 with Gardiner's heirs, money placed at a distance and beyond the council's immediate reach. This is why the council pressed so hard for the full inventory and barred his passage home: a debtor whose wealth lay largely in remittances and deposits elsewhere could satisfy a claim only if those distant assets were identified and secured, since the goods that could actually be seized on St Helena came to a fraction of what he owed.
56	52	We asked Mr Crispe whither that was the Real Inventory of his Effects, He declard that it was so just & true Recd of his Estate; Which Decliation some of us at this board knew to be selfe, therefore asked Mr Crispe whether he would swear to it, because an honest man we Presumed would at any time Swear to what he had Signed, But Mr Crispe Said he could nor would not Swear to any thing, however affirmd it was a True Inventory of his Estate Luckily finding an Acct whereby We Perceived he had Received of Mr Bazett since Mr Godwins death for goods of his own Sold out of the Stores £526. 16. 1. We asked him why that money was not Incited in the Inventory, He Said that it was Included in the £550 in Mr Homes hands. Mr Crispe being further asked whither he had Remitted no money home & any of the Gentlemen in the last fleet Saving Mr Home, Acknowledges that he Received some money of Captain Cunnell, and that Capt Slater gave him a Bill which he Endored to Governour Home, but to what amount these two Sums were he would not say, the After Urged to it The Sd Acct between Mess: Crispe and Bazett we discoverd that Mr Crispe had due 2 fagots in the name of Mr Powell, the he had in Consultation of 21 of last month said that he Wam Mr Powells had Received these fagots himself, but being shewed the Acct he now Confessd he had Received them and Offerd to Repay Mr Powells this money, Whereupon We asked him if he had any Ready Money, taking notice that in his Inventory while he had just before Protested was a true one There was not any Cash Incited, he Owned that he had kept some money by him to Pay for any thing he wanted. We told Mr Crispe that the money he Received of Mr Bazett which he Said was Included in the Sum in Mr Homes hands, was greater than the whole to say nothing of the Several Sums of money which he acknowledged	The council asked Crispe whether that was the true inventory of his effects, and he declared it was as just and true an account of his estate as he knew to give. Since the declaration came of his own act, the council asked him whether he would swear to it, being an honest man, as he professed himself, and would at any time swear to what he had signed. Crispe said he could not and would not swear to anything, however much he had assured the council it was a true inventory of his estate. The council, looking into a bond by which it found Crispe had received, since Goodwin's death, for goods of his own sold out of the stores, the sum of £526 16s 4d, asked him why that money was not entered in the inventory. He said it was included in the £500 in Peter Godfrey's hands. Crispe was further asked whether he had remitted any money home by any of the gentlemen in the last fleet, saving Mr Kent, and admitted that he had drawn some money by Captain Cornwell, and that Captain Shuter had lately given him a bill which he endorsed to Governor Kent, but to what amount these two sums came he would not say, and the council pressed him on it. In the matter of the account between Crispe and Bazett, the council was told that Crispe had two parcels in the name of Mr Powell, mentioned in the consultation of 21 May, and that Bazett had received these parcels himself, but, being shown the account, he had owned them and offered to repay Mr Powell the money. On this the council asked Crispe whether he had any ready money, taking notice that in his inventory he had just stated there was none, and that no cash was entered. He owned he had kept some money by him to pay for anything he wanted. The council told Crispe that the money he said was included in the sum in Peter Godfrey's hands was greater than the whole, meaning that his several sums of money, which he acknowledged to have drawn and sent home by the last fleet, together with the cash he kept by him, made his understanding of his own accounts, as the council hoped to improve upon it, the very falsity of the inventory of his estate. **Interpretations** Crispe's refusal to swear to his own inventory was the moment his professed honesty collapsed under its own weight. He had repeatedly declared the account true and called himself an honest man, yet when asked to confirm it on oath he flatly refused, though an honest man would swear to what he had signed. An oath was the one test that turned a written claim into a binding one, exposing the swearer to the penalties of perjury; Crispe's willingness to assert but not to swear told the council plainly that he knew the inventory would not bear that test, so his signature meant nothing where his oath was withheld.

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		to have Recd & Sent home p the last fleet, together with p Cash laying by him, And how would he have this mean as Opphnion of our Understandings as to hope to impose upon Us this false Inventory of his Estate	The council's arithmetic caught Crispe understating his estate through the very structure of his account. He had entered £500 in Peter Godfrey's hands, then claimed that a separate bond of £526 16s 4d was somehow already inside that sum, an impossibility since the part cannot exceed the whole, and had entered no ready money while admitting he kept cash by him and had remitted more home by the last fleet. By pressing each concealed sum against the figures on the page, the council showed the inventory to be false on its face, the acknowledged remittances and hidden cash together proving that the account understated what he held, exactly the demonstration needed to justify holding his person and estate against a debt he kept trying to shrink.
57	53	The Petition of Matthew Girling was this day Presented & Read as follows vizt To the Worshipfull Robt Jenkins Esqr Govr &c Councill of the Island St Helena The humble Petition of Matthew Girling Sheweth That Yr Petitioner has cause to believe it will be much to his advantage to leave this Island and proceed to England. Your Petitioner therefore most humbly Prays that Yr Worship & Councill will be Pleased to grant Your Petitioner Liberty to take passage accordingly on board one of the Ships now in the Road, and that You will also be Pleased to give Your Petitioner an answer as soon as Possible Yr Petitioner having several Affairs to Settle before this Fleet Sails And it growing later, the Ships Yr Petitioner Apprehends there is Reason to believe they will depart in a Short time. And Yr Petitioner as in duty bound shall ever pray &c St Helena 18 June 1741 (Signd) Matt Girling. Considering that Mr Girling was always brought up and wrote under Mr Crispe, and that since Mr Godwins death he has absolutely been Accomptant, We are of Opinion he may give Us a light into many things which Mr Crispe wont Point out to Us, beside he is Culpable p having Received a fagot, therefore Resolve that he shall be Continued upon the Island untill We have thoroughly Examined him Concerning the Hone Companys Affairs, at least that Branch which was more immediately under his Charge vizt the General Books of Accompts. The Govr Reports that on the 11 Instt he Recd a Letter from Capt Sall to acquaint his Ship was Ready to sail & only waited his orders, Whereupon the Govr Wrote answer that he had Orders from the Hone the Committee of Secrecy to detain his Ship till further advice.	The petition of Matthew Curling was presented and read that day, addressed to Robert Jenkins and the council of St Helena. Curling set out that he had reason to believe it would be much to his advantage to leave the island and go to England. He therefore asked the council to grant him leave to take passage on one of the ships then in the road, and to give him an answer as soon as it could, since he had several affairs to settle before the fleet sailed, and, with the ships already loading, feared they would sail within a short time. The petition was sent from St Helena on 18 June 1741 and signed by Matthew Curling. The council considered that Curling had always been brought up and served as a writer under Crispe, and that since Goodwin's death he had wholly kept the accounts, so that he might give some light into many matters which Crispe would not disclose. Since he was himself to blame for having drawn a bill, the council resolved that he be kept on the island until it had thoroughly examined him about the Company's affairs, and in particular that branch more immediately under his charge, namely the general books of account. The Governor reported that on 11 June he had received a letter from Captain Hall, letting the council know that his ship was ready to sail and only waited its orders. The Governor answered that he had orders from the directors' committee of secrecy to keep his ship there until further advice. **Interpretations** The refusal of Curling's passage shows the council extending its containment to anyone whose knowledge it still needed. Curling had asked leave to sail on business of his own, but as the writer who had kept the accounts since Goodwin's death, he held exactly the understanding of the books that Crispe was withholding, so the council held him on the island until it could examine him. This is the same logic that detained the ships and barred Crispe and Bazett from sailing: a person who could supply evidence, like an asset that could satisfy a debt, could not be allowed to leave while the inquiry that needed him was still unfinished. The mention that Curling was himself to blame for drawing a bill shows how deeply the practices under investigation had spread through the whole office. He was not merely a witness but a participant, having drawn a bill of the kind the council was unravelling, so that the junior who kept the books had taken up the same irregular habits as those above him. This reveals the corruption as a way of doing business rather than the act of one man: from the Governor down to the writer, the settlement's servants had drawn and transferred and charged as suited them, and the council's task was to trace a pattern that every hand in the office had shared in.

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58	54	The Govr further Reports that at Mr Godwins outcry of Cattle he bought for the Hone Company 35 head of Cattle, Amounting to £182 the better to Supply the Shipping of next Year with Charter Party. Adjourned till tomorrow Rt Jenkins G. G. Powell John Godfrey Present & approved of the above Consultation. William Frederick Beeswaxen Richard Wood Henry Steadly Thos Langworth Jonathan Cape	The Governor further reported that, out of Goodwin's stock of cattle, he had bought for the Company 35 head, amounting to £182 0s 0d, the better to supply the shipping of the following year under the charter party. The consultation was adjourned until the following day, and signed by Robert Jenkins, George Gabriel Powell and John Godfrey, and endorsed as approved by William Frederick Bossanan, Richard Wood, Henry Headly, Thomas Langworth and Jonathan Cape. **Interpretations** The purchase of cattle from Goodwin's estate shows the council turning a frozen asset to the Company's own use while recovering value against the debt. Rather than leave the late Governor's herd idle under embargo, the Governor bought 35 head into the Company's stock for £182 0s 0d, provisioning the ships that would call the following year under their charter parties. This served two ends at once: it supplied the fresh meat that visiting East Indiamen depended on at the island, and it converted part of Goodwin's estate into money paid toward the deficiency, so that the settlement's need for provisions and its pursuit of the debt were met in a single transaction.
59	55	At a Consultation held on Friday 19 June 1741 at the Castle Present. Robt Jenkins Esqr Govr Supra Cargoes { Wm F: Beeswaxen Richd Wood Geo: Gab: Powell John Godfrey Captains { Henry Steadly Thos Langworth Jonn Cape The last Consultation was Read & approved Report being made that Mr Crispe had taken to himself and Concealed divers Letters and Papers which Contained the Secret history between himself and Govr Godwin and which was found in Wr Godwins Counting house the day he died. We therefore sent for Mr Crispe and asked him whither he had Concealed any Writings found amongst Mr Godwins & what they were He Confessed that he had taken & Burnt some Private Letters from himself to Mr Godwin concerning the Companys Books of Accompts &c which he found hanging in a File in Said Mr Godwins Counting house, a few hours after he died. We told him that those Papers which belonged to the Estate of Mr Godwin and which he acknowledged to Contain any of great Consequence as the same would have at once opened the whole Scene and saved us Abundance of trolle, that Surely he had no Right to make away with or Secret any Papers belonging to a Dead man to the Prejudice of his Heirs, And we believed that the Laws of Great Britain deemd such an Action little lesse than felony We then Examined the Private Books & Papers of the late Mr Godwin, but found for there of any Import, as Mr Crispe had before taken care Barbarously to	At a consultation held on Friday 19 June 1741 at the Castle, Governor Robert Jenkins presided, with the supercargoes William Frederick Bossanan and Richard Wood, the captains Henry Headly, Thomas Langworth and Jonathan Cape, the Deputy Governor George Gabriel Powell and John Godfrey, third of council, in attendance. The record of the previous consultation was read and approved. A report was made that Crispe had taken to himself and concealed several letters and papers, which contained the secret history between himself and Governor Goodwin, and which had been found in Goodwin's counting house the day he died. The council therefore sent for Crispe and asked him whether he had concealed any writings found among Goodwin's papers, and what they were. He confessed that he had taken and burnt some private letters, from himself to Goodwin, touching the Company's books of account, which he had found hanging on a file in Goodwin's counting house a few hours after he died. The council told him that these papers belonged to the estate of Mr Goodwin, and that he had himself acknowledged them to be of great importance, so that he had no right to make away with, or secrete, any papers belonging to a dead man, to the prejudice of his heirs, and that the laws of Great Britain held such an act little less than felony. The council then examined the private books and papers of the late Mr Goodwin, but found few of any importance, as Crispe had before taken care to destroy all such as might be of any consequence. The council told Crispe that it had found out, since the day before, that the inventory of his estate, which he had signed and delivered, was not a just and true one, though he had claimed it to be such with as solemn protestations as a man could make. On the council instancing one... **Interpretations** Crispe's burning of the letters was the most damning act yet, an open destruction of the evidence the whole inquiry sought. He admitted taking from Goodwin's counting house, within hours of the Governor's death, the private correspondence between the two men touching the Company's books, and putting it to the fire. This was the secret history of their dealings deliberately destroyed at the first moment he could reach it, and the council's finding

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		destroy all such as might be of any Consequence. We told Mr Crispe that We had found out Since Yesterday that the Inventory of his Estate which he had Signd & delivered to Us was not a just and true one, tho he had declard it to have been such with as solemn protestations as a man could make; And upon our Instancing one	that few important papers remained among Goodwin's records confirms how effective the destruction had been, so that its charge of something close to felony recognised the gravest offence in the affair, the deliberate obliteration of proof. The timing of the destruction reveals how far ahead of the reckoning Crispe had moved. He reached the papers a few hours after Goodwin died, long before any new Governor arrived or any inquiry began, which shows he understood at once what the correspondence would reveal and acted immediately to remove it. This is why the council's later safeguards, the shared keys, the sealed box, the refusal of originals, mattered so much and yet came too late for these particular papers: the most incriminating record had been burnt in the interval between the Governor's death and the arrival of anyone with authority to secure it, leaving the council to reconstruct from fragments what Crispe had made sure it could never read whole.
60	56	Instancing one or two Particulars, He was obliged to Confess that he had imposed upon Us for the Same was not an Actual Inventory of his Effects, But Said he was Ready to tender one Provided we would let him go to England Agreed that Mr Crispe appears to us in such Colours as is not Possible for Us to Paint, And unwilling to Proceed against him with such Rigor as he Really deserves, We let him alone till We have the Honour to Receive our masters Orders what further measures to take. Adjourned till Wednesday next Rt Jenkins G. G. Powell John Godfrey Present & approved the above Consultation William Frederick Beeswaxen Richard Wood Henry Steadly Thos Langworth Jonathan Cape	On the council instancing one or two particulars, Crispe was obliged to admit that he had imposed upon it, since what he had given was not an actual inventory of his effects, but said he was ready to hand in a true one, provided the council would let him go to England. The council agreed that, as Crispe had shown himself in a light it could not make plain, and as it was unwilling to proceed against him with the severity he truly deserved, it would leave him alone until it had the directors' orders on what further measures to take. The consultation was adjourned until the following Wednesday, and signed by Robert Jenkins, George Gabriel Powell and John Godfrey, and endorsed as approved by William Frederick Bossanan, Richard Wood, Henry Headly, Thomas Langworth and Jonathan Cape. **Interpretations** Crispe's offer to produce a true inventory only in exchange for leave to sail exposes the bargaining that ran through his whole defence. Having just admitted the account he swore to was false, he proposed to supply an honest one, but only if the council would let him go to England, treating the truth he owed as a commodity to be traded for his freedom. The council saw the manoeuvre for what it was, since an honest inventory was his plain duty and no favour to be purchased, and its refusal to deal on those terms kept both the man and the obligation where they belonged, on the island and unmet. The council's decision to hold off and await the directors' orders marks the limit of its own authority in a matter of this gravity. It judged Crispe deserving of far harsher treatment than it was willing to impose, and chose instead to secure his person and estate and refer the question of punishment to London. This is the constraint under which a distant council operated: it could investigate, freeze assets and detain suspects, but the weightiest decisions, especially the punishment of a former Governor's steward for something approaching felony, were reserved to the directors, so that the council prepared the case and held the ground while the ultimate judgement waited on instructions months away.
61	57	At a Consultation held on Wednesday 24 June 1741 at the Castle Present. Robt Jenkins Esqr Govr Supra Cargoes { Wm F: Beeswaxen Richd Wood Geo: Gab: Powell John Godfrey Captains { Henry Steadly Thos Langworth	At a consultation held on Wednesday 24 June 1741 at the Castle, Governor Robert Jenkins presided, with the supercargoes William Frederick Bossanan and Richard Wood, the captains Henry Headly, Thomas Langworth and Jonathan Cape, the Deputy Governor George Gabriel Powell and John Godfrey, third of council, in attendance. The record of the previous consultation was read and approved.

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		Jonn Cape The last Consultation was Read & approved The Govr Reports that on Monday last he Received a Letter from Capt Freeman to advise of his Ships Readyness for Sailing & that he wrote Answer that the Hone the Committee of Secrecy had authorized him to detain her here till further Orders. Mr Crispe this day appeard before us & delivered a Paper which he said contained a true Inventory of his Estate and offerd to Swear to it if Required, The Gross amount of it was £2461. 3. 11¾, So that the difference between this & the Inventory he before delivered as a true one, is £1033. 6. 10¾. Order'd that the Inventory be Copy'd & Enclosed in our Packet to p Hone Company. Adjourned till 4 July Rt Jenkins G. G. Powell John Godfrey Present & approved the above Consultation William Frederick Beeswaxen Richard Wood Henry Steadly Thos Langworth	The Governor reported that on the previous Monday he had received a letter from Captain Hindman, letting the council know that his ship was ready to sail. The Governor answered that the directors' committee of secrecy had directed him to keep the ship there until further orders. Mr Crispe appeared before the council that day and delivered a paper which he said contained a true inventory of his estate, and offered to swear to it if required. Its gross amount was £2,461 3s 11.5d, so that the difference between this inventory and the one he had before delivered as a true one came to £1,033 6s 10.5d. The council ordered that the inventory be copied and enclosed in its packet to the Company. The consultation was adjourned until 4 July, and signed by Robert Jenkins, George Gabriel Powell and John Godfrey, and endorsed as approved by William Frederick Bossanan, Richard Wood, Henry Headly, Thomas Langworth and Jonathan Cape. **Interpretations** The gap between Crispe's two inventories put a precise figure on the extent of his earlier concealment. The account he now swore to came to £2,461 3s 11.5d, more than a thousand pounds above the sum he had first declared true and refused to swear, so the difference of £1,033 6s 10.5d measured exactly what he had hidden until the council's arithmetic forced it into the open. His sudden readiness to swear to the larger figure, having refused the oath on the smaller, confirms that his willingness to be bound tracked only what he could no longer deny, the oath following the exposure rather than any change of heart. The council's decision to copy the corrected inventory into the packet home shows how carefully it built the documentary case for the directors. Every stage of the affair was reduced to a paper enclosed for London, the false inventory and the true one alike, so that the directors could see the whole progress of the inquiry and the measure of Crispe's dishonesty set out in his own successive accounts. This is the method by which a remote council answered to its masters: unable to conclude the matter itself, it assembled a complete and dated record, each document proving a step, so that when judgement finally came it would rest on evidence the council had preserved and forwarded rather than on its bare report.
62	58	At a Consultation held on Saturday 4 July 1741 at the Castle Present. Robt Jenkins Esqr Govr Supra Cargoes { Wm Frederick Beeswaxen Richd Wood Geo: Gab: Powell John Godfrey Captains { Thos Langworth The last Consultation was Read & approved The Govr Reports he Received the following Letter from Mr Crispe vizt To the Worshipfull Robt Jenkins Esqr Govr of the Island St Helena Sir I have Sundry head of Cattle which for the Benefit of the Shiping, Several of Which I believe are in want of Fresh Provisions for their People, I desire to Sell, & that You will be Pleased to Receive the Value of them into the Hone Comp Cash I with leave them in the table, to be Sold to the best & Advan upon such Day as You shall think Proper to appoint I am very Respectfully St Helena 4 July 1741	At a consultation held on Saturday 4 July 1741 at the Castle, Governor Robert Jenkins presided, with the supercargoes William Frederick Bossanan and Richard Wood, the captains Henry Headly and Thomas Langworth, the Deputy Governor George Gabriel Powell and John Godfrey, third of council, in attendance. The record of the previous consultation was read and approved. The Governor reported that he had received the following letter from Mr Crispe, addressed to Robert Jenkins and the council of St Helena. Crispe wrote that he had thirty head of cattle which, for the benefit of the shipping, several of which he believed were in want of fresh provisions for their people, he wished to sell, and asked the council to have their value entered into the Company's account. He was willing to leave them at whatever price the council thought fit, and hoped it would appoint someone to take charge of the sale. The letter was sent from St Helena on 30 June 1741 and signed by Duke Crispe. The council granted the request. The Governor further reported that Mr John Goodwin had just handed him the following petition, addressed to Robert Jenkins and the council of St Helena.

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		Sir Your most humble & most Obedient servant (Signd) Duke Crispe Granted. The Governour further Reports that Mr John Godwin just now delivered him the following vizt To the Worshipfull Robert Jenkins Esqr Governour &c Councill The humble Petition of Margaret Godwin Widow Sheweth That Yr Petitioner late husband John Godwin had a Considerable time before his death Purchase of Geo: Gab: Powell sundry Lands, Tenements, Slaves &c &c as particularly Specifyd in an Acct Annexd to this Petition and which Sd Lands &c, were Regularly & Authentically made over to the Sd John Godwin by the Sd Geo: Gab: Powell in a full Ample & Lawfull Deed of Sale Solemnly Executed as has been Customary in all Such Contracts & Agreeable to the forms Practised in this Island, the Said Deed of Sale	The petition of Margaret Goodwin, widow, set out that her late husband John Goodwin had, for a considerable time before his death, bought sundry lands, tenements, slaves and the like, particularly listed in an account attached to the petition, and that these lands had been regularly and properly made over to her late husband John Goodwin, by a full, ample and lawful deed of sale, solemnly executed as had always been the custom in all such contracts on the island, and in keeping with the form used there, the deed of sale... **Interpretations** Crispe's offer to sell his cattle through the council marks a shift from resistance to a kind of managed cooperation, though still on his own terms of advantage. Having fought the inquiry at every turn, he now proposed to convert his stock into money entered on the Company's account, supplying the fresh provisions the shipping needed while realising value from an asset under embargo. The council's ready agreement shows the practical convergence of interests even amid the dispute: his cattle fed the visiting ships and the proceeds went toward what he owed, so that a debtor's property was turned to the settlement's use and his account credited in a single arrangement it had every reason to accept. Margaret Goodwin's petition opens the defence of the late Governor's estate on the ground of the island's own conveyancing custom. Her claim rested on lands made over to her husband by deeds of sale executed in the customary island form, invoking local practice as the guarantee of good title. This matters because so much of the deficiency had been traced to Goodwin, and his widow now sought to hold the property he had bought against the Company's pursuit, resting her right on the regularity of the deeds. The appeal to what had always been the custom in such contracts shows the settlement's land law functioning as a shield as well as a record, the widow relying on established local form to protect an estate the council might otherwise seek to reach.
63	59	is Likewise Registered & a Legal Receipt given on the back of Said Deed of Sales for the full Amount of the Purchase Money as will appear on Differences being had to the Originals now in Your Worship &c Possession. Your humble Petitioner must however with great Concern acknowledge that in the sudden death of her husband afresaid the Succeeding Governour Mr Crispe & this Council made considerable Claims on Your Petitioner in behalf of the Hone East India Company as for Sundry large Duble Do to be Due from the Deceased to the Sd Hone Company and did thereupon make an Immediate Seizure of all the Deceasd Books of Account, Letters & Papers of what Nature So ever & amongst the Rest the Deed of Sales aforementiond, & further an Inventory of the Deceaseds Estate was Likewise taken which was Signed by various Appraysers appointed by the Governour & Council afsoresaid a considerable part whereof was Secured as this Petitioner supposes to make good the Claims afsorementiond Your Petitioner under these unhappy Circumstances throws herself	The petition set out that the deed of sale had likewise been registered, and a legal receipt given on the back of it for the full amount of the purchase money, as would appear from the differences being had to the originals now in the council's possession. Margaret Goodwin acknowledged, with great concern, that on the sudden death of her husband the council had made a considerable claim against him, in favour of the Company, for certain large debts said to be owing from the deceased to the Company, and had thereupon at once made an inventory of all his books of account. Beyond the papers touching what was owed, the deed of sale already mentioned, and a further inventory of the deceased's estate, had likewise been taken, which was signed by various appraisers appointed by the council, and a considerable part of it valued, so that the petitioner was ready to make good her claim. Under these unhappy circumstances she threw herself wholly upon the council, and declared her willingness that the Company should be fully satisfied however she could bring it about, but wished the council to believe that not all the claims made on the Company's behalf could be laid against her deceased husband alone. She hoped the council would in due time find out the truth, and so state the claim that she might not be burdened with more than her husband could justly be charged with. Margaret Goodwin had been informed that a considerable part of the purchase money for the estate had been paid by the Company, and that this had never been made good to her husband in his lifetime, as it ought to have been, and that for this reason the

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		Entirely upon Your Worship &c Candour & Justice, She begs leave to declare her great Willingness that the Hone Company should be fully Satisfyed how far so ever She may be Reduced, But as Your petitioner begins to have some Reason to believe that all the Claims made in behalf of the Hone Company are not Due alone from her deceased Husband, So She feels Entirely Confident that Your Worship &c, will in due time find out the Truth and so state the Claims that Your Petitioner may not be Burthend with more that what the Deceased may justly be Chargeable with But as Yr Petitioner has been informed that a considerable Part of the Purchase money for the Estate aforementiond was Paid by the Hone Company And that the Same was never made good by Your Petitioners Husband to their Cash here as it Ought to have been and for this Reason Your Worship &c have in behalf of the Hone Company Entered upon & Attached the Same to Secure the Payment of what the Hone Company have disbursed, Your Petitioner therefore begs leave to Represent that by the kind Assistance of some Friends she is Enabled to Lay down the whole Original Purchase money for what Premises, agreeable to the Valuation in the Deed of Sale, and as Yr Account annexd & which She offers now to be made good to the Hone Companys Cash Subject to the Orders & directions they may please to give in future; And thereupon Your Petitioner cannot doubt but where Your Worship &c shall have weighd this Yr with that Tenderness & Candour to the Distressed which She is Perswaded You will always	council had, on the Company's behalf, entered upon and attached the estate to secure the payment of what the Company had disbursed. She therefore asked leave to represent that, with the help of some friends, she was able to lay down the whole original purchase money for the estate, according to the valuation in the deed of sale and the account attached, which she now offered to make good to the Company's cash, subject to whatever orders and directions the council might please to give. She could not doubt that the council, having weighed the matter with the tenderness and consideration due to her distressed condition, would always... **Interpretations** Margaret Goodwin's offer to repay the whole purchase money exposes the peculiar tangle at the heart of the Goodwin estate. The land had been sold to her husband, but part of the price had come from the Company itself and was never made good, so the estate stood charged with money the Company had in effect advanced for its own property. Her proposal to lay down the full purchase sum, raised with friends' help, was an attempt to clear that charge and secure the estate for the family, converting a disputed liability into a clean payment, and it shows a widow using ready cash to buy the estate free of the very claim that had frozen it. Her careful insistence that not all the claims could fall on her husband alone reflects a shrewd reading of where the deficiency truly lay. She conceded the Company must be satisfied but pressed the council to distinguish her husband's own liability from the wider losses, in which Crispe and others were so deeply implicated. This is the defensive counterpart to the council's own finding that the frauds served Crispe as much as Goodwin: the widow sought to confine her husband's estate to his genuine share of the debt, resisting the natural tendency to load the whole deficiency onto the dead man whose papers had been burnt and who could no longer answer for himself. **Speculations** Confronted with an estate charged with money the Company had advanced, Margaret Goodwin chose to offer the entire purchase price back rather than contest the attachment or let the estate be sold piecemeal against her. The obvious course for a distressed widow was to dispute the claim or await the sale that the law would bring, salvaging what she could. She went the other way for a reason the petition makes plain: by raising the whole sum with friends and paying it into the Company's cash, she could lift the charge at a stroke and keep the estate intact for her family, rather than see it dismembered at public outcry as the Mount Castle lands already had been. The decision turned on the calculation that buying the estate free outright, though it demanded a great sum at once, preserved far more than piecemeal sale would leave, and cast her upon the council's tenderness as the surest way to hold what her husband had gathered.
64	60	Practice and is So agreeable to the Maxims of the Hone Comp that You will Allow the Right of Redemption is in Yr Petitioner more Espsecially as she must declare that this advance is made to Enable Your Petitioner to Support her Self & give some Reliefe to Yr great distress She is now under. Your Petitioner therefore humbly Prays that Your Worship &c, would be Pleased to take of the Attachment in the Estate afsore mentiond & Deliver to her the Original Deeds of Sale & make such Authentick Orders	The petition closed by appealing to the Company's own principle that the right of redemption lay with the petitioner, more especially as she declared the offer was made only to enable her to support herself and give some relief in the great distress she was now under. Margaret Goodwin therefore asked that the council be pleased to take off the attachment on the estate already mentioned, and deliver to her the original deeds of sale, and make such authentic orders of council as might lawfully enable her to assign the estate in mortgage for what was, or had been, advanced on it, so that she might be able to maintain herself and live in comfort. The petition was sent from

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		of Council as may fully Enable her to Assign the Said Estate in Mortgage for what is so advanced on it, and by this means Your Yr Petitioner will be Enabled to maintain her self & Live with Comfort. And She will as in Duty bound ever Pray &c St Helena 4 July 1741. (Signd) Margaret Godwin Account of the Purchase of Land &c from Geo: Gab: Powell being £1415 by Acres freehold Land Do £10 p Acre £ 600 an Estate late belonging to John Ling 250 1 Dwelling house in the Country 100 1 Do in the fort Valley 60 16½ Acres of freehold Land Part in Old Taylors and Part called High hill } 48. 12. 7 Sundry household goods Valued at 38. 7. 7 3 Men Slaves at £25 Do 75 Yams & Suckers 32 £ 1314. 2 Beside the foregoing there was one 1 Man Slave which Mr Powell bought £25 1 Woman Do John Godwins 14 30 Goats Do 15 Yams Do 22 51 1 Slave is dead since the Purchase 25 101 Which £101 is Submitted to Your Worships &c Consideration £ 1415. 2	St Helena on 4 July 1741 and signed by Margaret Goodwin. The account of the purchase of the lands and the like from George Gabriel Powell came to £1,415 2s 0d, made up as follows. 62 acres of freehold land, at £10 the acre, £620 0s 0d An estate late belonging to John Long, £250 0s 0d 1 dwelling house in the country, £100 0s 0d 1 dwelling house in the Fort Valley, £60 0s 0d 16.5 acres of leasehold land, part called Taylor's and part called High Hill, £48 12s 0d Sundry household goods valued at, £38 7s 7d 3 men slaves, at £25 each, £75 0s 0d Yams and suckers, £52 0s 0d Making, £1,314 2s 0d Besides the above there was: 1 man slave which Mr Powell bought, £25 0s 0d 1 woman slave from John Goodwin, £14 0s 0d 30 goats, at 15s each, £22 0s 0d Making, £51 0s 0d 1 slave dead since the purchase, £25 0s 0d Making, £101 0s 0d Which £101, submitted to the council's consideration, brought the whole to £1,415 2s 0d **Interpretations** The right of redemption Margaret Goodwin invoked was the legal principle that let her reclaim mortgaged or attached property by paying what was owed on it. She asked the council to lift the attachment and return the deeds so she could mortgage the estate to raise the very sum the Company claimed, using the land itself as security for the money needed to free it. This is a sophisticated financial manoeuvre for a distressed widow: rather than surrender the estate, she proposed to borrow against it to satisfy the Company, keeping the property in the family while converting the Company's claim into a private mortgage debt she could carry. The detailed purchase account reveals both the composition of the estate and the awkward matter of the slave who had died. The land, houses, leaseholds, household goods, slaves and growing crops were each valued to build the total the widow offered to repay, but the account also carried a slave dead since the purchase, entered at £25, whose value the widow submitted to the council's consideration. This raised a real question of who bore the loss when purchased property perished between sale and settlement, the widow evidently arguing she should not pay for a slave who no longer existed, so that even in a schedule of figures the human property was distinguished from goods by the peculiar problem of its mortality.
65	61	The Council does not think we have Power to grant the Widow of the late Govr Godwin Liberty to Mortgage any Part of the Estate late belonging to her Husband which is Attached for the Company Security. Rt Jenkins G. G. Powell John Godfrey Present & approved the above Consultation Thos Langworth We apprehend that we cannot by any means give our Consent or approbation to p Resolution taken in p foregoing Consultation, for as p Widow of p late Govr Godwin, has in her Petition declard that by the assistance of Some friends she is now Enabled to lay down p whole amount of the Purchase of the Estate bought by her deced Husband of Mr Geo: Gab: Powell, & likewise declare that she is willing to subject her self to such orders as the Hone Comp shall Please to give in future Relating thereto, By which means as p Value of p Estate would actually be in the	The council held that it had no power to grant the widow of the late Governor Goodwin leave to mortgage any part of the estate late belonging to her husband, which stood attached for the Company's security. The consultation was signed by Robert Jenkins, George Gabriel Powell and John Godfrey, and endorsed as approved by Thomas Langworth. The council could not by any means give its consent or approval to the resolution taken at the previous consultation, on the petition of the widow of the late Governor Goodwin, in which she set out that with the help of some friends she was now able to lay down the whole amount of the purchase of the estate bought by her deceased husband from Mr George Gabriel Powell, and likewise declared her willingness to submit to whatever orders the council might please to give concerning it. Taking the money in that way would in effect place the whole sum in the hands of Governor Kent, which was impossible for a servant of the Company, whose employers were to have any deficiency made good, especially as it would have been in their power, had they not approved of the widow keeping the estate, to order the money advanced to be paid back to those who had so kindly and charitably assisted a distressed widow, and to have the estate

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		hands of p Govr & Coun: it is impossible for our Hone Employers to be any Sufferers thereby, Especially, as they would have p in their Power in case they did not approve of Mr Godwins keeping the Estate to order p money Advanced to be Paid back to those who had so kindly and Charitably afforded p distresd oppressed Widow & the Estate to be disposed of in such manner as they shall think most Proper in order to make good in some measure the deficiency of Cash & Stores. William Frederick Beeswaxen Richard Wood Henry Steadly	disposed of in whatever manner they thought most proper, in order to make good in some measure the deficiency in the cash and stores. **Interpretations** The council's refusal of the mortgage rested on the limit of its own authority over property held as security. An estate attached for the Company's benefit could not be encumbered by the council's leave, since to allow the widow to mortgage it would let value pass out from under the very security the directors relied on to recover their loss. This marks the boundary the council would not cross: it could hold and preserve the estate, but it could not release or burden it in ways that might defeat the directors' claim, the attachment being a trust for the Company that the council administered but did not own. The objection about the money passing into Governor Kent's hands reveals the deeper unease beneath the refusal. The council saw that accepting the widow's payment on the terms proposed would channel the whole sum to a Company servant abroad, removing it from the directors' control at the very moment they were owed a deficiency, and would foreclose the directors' own option to sell the estate and satisfy the loss directly. This is the caution of a council conscious that it acted for absent masters: rather than settle the matter in a way that might tie the directors' hands or misdirect the funds, it declined to bind them, preserving both the estate and every course open to London until the directors themselves could decide.
66	62	At a Consultation held on Friday 10 July 1741 at the Castle Present. Robt Jenkins Esqr Govr Geo: Gab: Powell John Godfrey The last Consultation was Read & approved In Obedience to Our Hone Masters Command the Ships Royall Guardian, Prince William, Heathcote, Waddnicke, Princess Louisa, Denington, Mountague, Duke & Yatch Shield for England this day Last night we Received the following letter from Capt Hindman Vizt To the Worshipfull Robt Jenkins Esqr Govr &c Councill In a former Letter to Your Worships I represented the Weak Condition of the Ship Duke in which I Requested hands to enable me to Send the Ship safe to England, since which time I have not Received any answer, Your Worships must know by my muster that I have so more than 63 men on board and many of them Exceeding Weake, insomuch that I shall scarcely be able to Purchase my Anchor, I therefore beg Your Assistance & that You will be Pleased to give me an answer in Writing to my Request St Helena July 9 1741 I am Your Worships most Obt Humble Servant (Signd) Thos Hindman Whereupon We immediately Adressed the following Letter to Each of the Commanders Vizt Gentlemen Capt Hindman has applyd to Us for a Supply of Men to Send the Ship Duke to England setting forth that he has	At a consultation held on Friday 10 July 1741 at the Castle, Governor Robert Jenkins presided, with the Deputy Governor George Gabriel Powell and John Godfrey, third of council, in attendance. The record of the previous consultation was read and approved. In keeping with the directors' orders, the ships *Royal Guardian*, *Prince William*, *Winchester*, *Hardwick*, *Princess Louisa*, *Warrington*, *Montague*, *Duke* and *Zabet Field* sailed for England that day. The council received the following letter the night before from Captain Hindman, addressed to Robert Jenkins and the council of St Helena. Hindman wrote that in an earlier letter he had set out the weak condition of the *Duke*, in which he had asked for hands to help him fit the ship to sail for England, but had since had no answer. The council must know, he said, that he had no more than sixty-three men aboard, many of them growing weak, so that he would scarcely be able to raise his anchor. He therefore asked the council's help, and to be given an answer in writing to his request. The letter was sent from St Helena on 9 July 1741 and signed by Thomas Hindman. The council thereupon at once addressed the following letter to each of the commanders. The letter set out that Captain Hindman had applied for a supply of men to sail the *Duke* to England, having only sixty-three of his own people aboard. As they were all under the directors' orders, the commanders were asked, if they could with safety to their own ships, to spare him some hands. It was sent from St Helena on 8 July 1741 and signed by Robert Jenkins, George Gabriel Powell and John Godfrey. **Interpretations** The departure of the whole fleet together shows the convoy system that governed the homeward passage in a time of possible war. Nine ships sailed for England on the same day, held in the road through all the preceding detentions and then released as one body, so that they might make the dangerous voyage in company rather than singly. This is why the council had kept individual commanders waiting despite their

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		but 63 People on board As we all owe the Same Masters, so therefore We are to Require You will if You can with Safty to Your own Ships spare him Each of You two hands We are St Helena 9 July 1741 Gentlemen Your most Humble Servants Robt Jenkins G. G. Powell John Godfrey	protests: a ship that sailed alone was prey to any enemy cruiser, and the value of sailing together, mutual protection on a long and exposed passage, was worth the cost of holding the earliest-ready ships until the rest could join them. Hindman's plea over his under-manned ship reveals how sickness and desertion could leave a vessel barely able to sail, and how the council met the difficulty from the fleet's own resources. With only sixty-three men, many failing, the *Duke* could scarcely weigh anchor, so the council asked every other commander to spare hands from ships that could afford them. This is the practical mutual aid a convoy made possible: the same gathering of ships that protected the passage also allowed crews to be redistributed among them, the stronger-manned vessels lending men to the weaker so that the whole fleet could sail together rather than leave a crippled ship behind.
67	63	And at the Same time wrote Capt Hindman as follows vizt To Capt Thos Hindman Sir In answer to Yours of this night, We have wrote a Letter to p Gentlemen who are Commanders of the Ships in the Road and Required they will Spare You two hands ea We are St Helena 9 July 1741 Sir Your Humble Servants Robt Jenkins G. G. Powell John Godfrey Some time Past Capt Hindman brought and delivered a Letter into Council the which was there Read in his Presence, Importing the Sickly Condition of his Ships Company & desirous of a Supply of hands to Sail her home, the Which being Considered the Capt Hindman agreed with the Rest of the Commanders who was of Our Council Mess: Steadly, Langworth and Cape to withdraw this Letter till the arrival of the men of Warr from whence he might reasonably Expect a supply of Men, & in Case of their non arrival they the Commanders of Our own Ships would Consult amongst them selves and would spare him as many People as they could conveniently, So that no Entry was made in p Consultations of the aforesd Letter, Nor did we Expect the Receipt of the above from Capt Hindman, as having nothing from him from that time to this we did not doubt but he had Laid this affair with his brother Officers. But however We Sent on board of him every man who applyed to Us for his discharge from this Island The Govr Reports that on monday next he intends to go to Sandy Bay where our People are Burning of Lime, in Order to Encourage the Carrying on of the Work with the greater Expedition.	At the same time the council wrote to Captain Hindman as follows, addressed to Captain Thomas Hindman. The council wrote that, in answer to his letter of that night, it had written to the gentlemen commanding the ships in the road, asking them to spare him hands. The letter was sent from St Helena on 9 July 1741 and signed by Robert Jenkins, George Gabriel Powell and John Godfrey. Some time earlier Captain Hindman had brought and delivered a letter to the council, which was read in his presence, setting out the weak condition of his ship's company and asking for a supply of hands to sail her home. On this the council, with the agreement of the commanders, of whom Captain Headly, Captain Langworth and Captain Cape were of the council, decided to withhold the letter until the arrival of the men of war, from whom he might reasonably expect a supply of men, and, should they not come, the commanders of the other ships would consult among themselves and spare him as many people as they conveniently could. So no entry was made in the previous consultations of the letter, nor did the council expect the receipt of the letter about the men from Captain Hindman, having heard nothing from him since that time, so that it did not doubt but he had settled the affair with his brother officers. Still, the council sent aboard him every man who applied to it for his discharge from the island. The Governor reported that on the following Monday he intended to go to Sandy Bay, where the Company's slaves were burning lime, in order to push the work forward with greater speed. So that the widow of the late Governor Goodwin might not be left without means to maintain her family, the council resolved to let her keep possession of the estate and lands on which her husband had always lived, until the directors' pleasure should be known. Having summoned half a dozen planters to inquire into the worth of that part of the estate which Goodwin had bought of Mr Powell, they valued it at £50 a year, so that this large part of the estate, which by right... **Interpretations** The council's decision to hold back Hindman's letter and await the men of war shows it weighing the fleet's needs against the arrival of naval protection. Rather than strip the merchant crews at once to man the *Duke*, the council chose to wait, since the warships expected in convoy would carry men to spare and could supply the shortfall without weakening the trading ships. This is the calculation a wartime convoy forced: crews were a scarce resource to be husbanded, and the council preferred to defer the demand in hope of a better source than to deplete the merchantmen

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		That the Widdow of the late Govr Godwin may not be destitute of Plantation & Lands wherewith to maintain her family, We therefore Permit her to Remain upon p Estate which her Husband always lived on untill Our Hone Masters further Pleasure is known. And having Summonds half Edger Planters to Enquire of them the true Value of that Estate which Govr Godwin bought of Mr Powell, they declare the Same to be worth £850 a Year, We therefore that so large a Part of the Estate which is Yett may not	prematurely, keeping the letter unentered until events showed whether the warships would answer the need. The reversal over the Goodwin estate marks a shift from the council's earlier refusal into a middle course dictated by the widow's plight. Having declined to let her mortgage the estate, the council now allowed her to keep possession of the family lands until London ruled, and had planters value the disputed portion at £50 a year. This balances the directors' security against the plain hardship of leaving a widow and her family destitute: the council would not release the estate outright or let it be encumbered, but it would let her live on it meanwhile, preserving the property while sparing the family, and fixing a rental value so that her occupation could be reckoned and accounted for when the directors finally decided its fate.
68	64	not Lay uncultivated or without Benefit to our Masters, We Grant to Mr Powell at p Rate or Premium of £850 p Annu, for Acct of the Hone Company till their final Order arive Concerning it, Or the Interest of £1300 as the Company shall determine. Rt Jenkins G. G. Powell John Godfrey At a Consultation held on Thursday 23 July 1741 at the Castle Present. Robt Jenkins Esqr Govr Geo: Gab: Powell John Godfrey The last Consultation was Read & approved The Govr Reports that on monday p 23 Instant he went to p Limes Kilnes at Sandy Bay, where he Contin ued till Saturday last, that there is five Kilmes burnt Each, contg 500 Bushells, and that p Lime Kill is Employd in fetching of water down with all Possible Expedition in order to Expand the great Perspiration Which heretofore has been shamefully neglected and therefore wants a boundance of Work done to it ere it can be put in tolerable order The next thing taken into Considera tion is the Preservation of the Hone Companys Pastures grounds, whose fences is in many places totally Ruinated, and p Whole in very bad Condition, And till the same is Repaird we cant Expect so great a Benefit as we might Otherwise, By Reason of the frequent trespass of the Neighbouring Cattle, And therefore it being a matter of no small Consequence to our Masters, we intend to View it	This large part of the estate, which by rights should not lie uncultivated or without benefit to the directors, the council granted to Mr Powell at that yearly rent of £50 for the use of the Company, until the directors' final orders arrived concerning it, or the interest of £1,300 as the Company should determine. The consultation was signed by Robert Jenkins, George Gabriel Powell and John Godfrey. At a consultation held on Thursday 23 July 1741 at the Castle, Governor Robert Jenkins presided, with the Deputy Governor George Gabriel Powell and John Godfrey, third of council, in attendance. The record of the previous consultation was read and approved. The Governor reported that on the previous Monday he had gone to the lime kilns at Sandy Bay, where the work was to go on until the following Saturday. Five kilns were then burning at once, containing about 500 bushels, and the Company's slaves were employed in fetching water and using all possible speed in the great task, which until then had been shamefully neglected, so that a great deal of work had been done to it before it could be put in reasonable order. The council next took into consideration the state of the Company's pasture grounds. The fences in many places were wholly ruined and in very bad condition, and until they were repaired the council could not expect as good a benefit from them as it might otherwise, being in danger of the neighbouring cattle straying in. Since this was a matter of no small importance to the directors, the council resolved to view... **Interpretations** The arrangement over the Goodwin land shows the council converting a frozen family estate into a productive asset yielding a return to the Company. Rather than leave the ground idle under attachment, it let Powell work it at £50 a year, or alternatively reckoned the matter as the interest on £1,300, so that the land either produced rent or represented a capital sum on which interest was due. This is the council making an attached estate earn its keep while its ownership was decided in London: the property could not be sold or released, but it could be set to yield, so that the Company drew value from it during the long wait for the directors' orders rather than letting it lie waste. The Governor's attention to the neglected lime kilns and ruined fences reveals how far the ordinary maintenance of the settlement had been let slide under the old regime. The lime burning had been shamefully neglected, requiring much labour to bring the work into order, and the Company's pasture fences were ruined to the point where neighbouring cattle could stray in and spoil the ground. This is the physical counterpart to the disorder found in the accounts: a

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			settlement whose defences, stores and now its very kilns and fences had been allowed to decay, so that the new administration's task was not only to trace missing money but to restore the neglected fabric on which the island's provisioning and defence depended.
69	65	as soon as Possible and Contract with the Planters for the Repairing of the Same, Provided the Charge wont be too great, or otherwise we must wait our masters Orders. Mr G. G. Powell Requests that an Inventory may be taken of the Books & papers in the Secy Office, Mr Crispe having Secretly & against his Consent Removed many Registers from thence since the death of Mr Goodwin. Order'd that an Inventory of the Same be taken next Week The Hone Companys Slaves being very bare of Cloaths, the Storekeeper was thereupon Ordered to deliver to p Taylors Kerseys & Killaes sufficient to make p Male Do a Jacket & Breeches & two Shirts, And the female Do a Jacket & petticoat & two Smocks The Petition of Mrs Sarah Francis was this day Presented & Read vizt To the Worshipfull Robt Jenkins Esqr Govr &c Councill of St Helena The Humble Petition of Sarah Francis Humbly Sheweth That Yr Petitioner to her great misfortune lost her mother within a month, and her father within 3 Years after she was born. That Yr Petitioners father by his last Will & Testament Constituted & Appointed John Godwin Esqr decd, and Mr Francis Wrangham joynt Executors & trustees for his Children That Yr John Godwin being decd, & Mr Francis Wrangham has accept of the trust, and for Reasons best known to themselfs, Sd all p Estate belonging to Your Petitioners father, & that Yr Petitioner hath heard a third Person was Employed to buy it for the Sd Executors. That Yr Petitioner being arrived to p Age of 21 Years hath made application to Mr Wrangham p Survivour of p Executors for her Share or Dividend of her fathers Estate, which he with Mr Godwin was Intrusted with, but that Mr Wrangham absolutely against p Antient Established Rules & Custom of this Island Refuses payment thereof. Your Petitioner therefore most Humbly Implores Your Worship & Councills Protectionn and Prays that if Mr Wrangham Persists in his Resolutions of Non Payment, She may be Permitted to fling her Self & Cause (under God)	The council resolved to view the pasture grounds as soon as it could, and to contract with the planters for their repair, provided the charge was not too great, and if it was, it must wait the directors' orders. Mr George Gabriel Powell asked that an inventory be taken of the books and papers in the secretary's office, since Crispe, against Powell's consent, had removed many registers from there since the death of Mr Goodwin. The council ordered that an inventory of them be taken the following week. As the Company's slaves were very bare of clothes, the storekeeper was ordered to deliver enough of Taylor's kerseys and killaes to make each male slave a jacket, a pair of breeches and two shirts, and each female a jacket, a petticoat and two shifts. The petition of Mrs Sarah Francis was presented and read that day, addressed to Robert Jenkins and the council of St Helena. Sarah Francis set out that she had lost her mother within a month, and her father within three years, after she was born. Her father, by his last will and testament, had appointed John Goodwin, deceased, and Mr Francis Wrangham joint executors and guardians for his children. Since John Goodwin was now dead, Mr Francis Wrangham had accepted the trust, and for reasons known to himself had all the estate belonging to the petitioner's father, though the petitioner had heard a third person was employed to buy it for the executor. Now that she had reached the age of 21, she had applied to Mr Wrangham, the surviving executor, for her share or dividend of her father's estate, which was to have been laid out with John Goodwin, but Mr Wrangham had absolutely refused payment against the ancient and established rules and custom of the island. She therefore asked the council, should Mr Wrangham persist in his refusal of payment, that she might be permitted to throw herself upon its protection. **Interpretations** The clothing issue to the slaves shows the settlement's obligation to maintain the people it held as property, reckoned by a fixed annual provision. Each was to receive a set allotment of garments made from named Indian cloths, the men jackets, breeches and shirts, the women jackets, petticoats and shifts, so that the clothing of the Company's slaves was a regular charge met from the stores. This is the material side of slave-holding entered as routine administration: the same accounts that valued slaves as assets also recorded the periodic cost of keeping them clothed, the provision measured out by rule rather than need, one more standing item in the settlement's yearly reckoning. Sarah Francis's petition exposes a suspected self-dealing by an executor entrusted with an orphan's estate. She alleged that Wrangham, the surviving guardian, had bought her father's estate through a third person acting for him, and now refused to pay her the share due on her coming of age. An executor who bought the estate he administered, using a nominee to disguise the purchase, would place his own interest against the children's, and her appeal to the island's ancient custom of paying such shares shows her relying on established local rule to compel a trustee who had turned his trust to his own advantage, the same pattern of insiders enriching themselves at others' expense that ran through the whole record.

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70	66	Upon Your great Justice & the Laws of her Country And as in duty bound will Ever pray &c St Helena 23 July 1741 (Signd) Sarah Francis In Consequence of p Prayer of the above Petition & Our Hone Masters Standing Orders that in all Cases of Meum & Tuum the same Shall be tryed by a Jury of 12 men. We therefore Order the Secy to Impanelle a Jury to attend at the Castle on Saturday the 15 of Sepr next to Try and Determine the Affair between Mrs Sarah Francis Plaintiff & Mr Frans Wrangham defendant agreeable to Equity & good Conscience, And it is further thought Proper that p Secy Shall advise Mr Wrangham thereof to p End he may be Prepaird accordingly. A Vestry being Summonds during Mr Crispe Government to Chuse Parish Officers for the Present Year, but they Persons not having as Yet Received their Warrants agreeable to the Choice made of them, We this day deliverd to Mess: John Godwin & Robt Girling the Usual Instructions for being Chappell Wardens Mr Richard Steward a Warrant for Overseeing the highways in the West Division Mr Charles Steward Do for the South Division Mr William Pale Do for the East Division Mr Joseph Bates this day petitiond to dispose of a Parcell of Lease hold Land known by p name of the Seven Acre & Steep hill unto Wr Thos Greentree Granted and the Secy was Ordered to Prepare a Lease for the Same in Mr Bates name (the old Lease being Lost or Mislaid) and the same to be Regularly Endored to Wr Bates to p Sd Wr Greentree NB this Lease must not be Commencing from this date, But the Register Book must be Examined & a Copy of the Old Lease taken Mr Joseph Bates further petitions to dispose of the Rest of his Lease Land & to Proceed with his Children to Bencoolin p first Opportunity Mrs Wife being sent for appeard before us & Absolutely Refused going with her Husband on any terms or ever living in one house with him on this Island Alledging that	The petition closed by appealing to the council's great justice and the laws of the country. It was sent from St Helena on 23 July 1741 and signed by Sarah Francis. Following on the prayer of the petition, and the directors' standing orders that in all cases of debt the matter be tried by a jury of twelve men, the council ordered the secretary to empanel a jury to attend at the castle on Saturday 1 August next, to try the dispute between Mrs Sarah Francis, plaintiff, and Mr Francis Wrangham, defendant, according to equity and good conscience. It was further thought proper that the secretary give notice to Mr Wrangham of the trial, so that he might be prepared for it. A vestry had been summoned during Crispe's government to choose parish officers for the current year, but the persons named had not yet received their warrants, so, in keeping with the choice made of them, the council delivered these that day. It gave John Goodwin and Robert Girling the usual instructions for being churchwardens. It gave Mr Richard Steward a warrant for overseeing the highways in the west division, Mr Charles Steward the like for the south division, and Mr William Bates the like for the east division. Mr Joseph Bates petitioned that day to dispose of a parcel of leasehold land, the seven acres known by the name of Steep Hill, to Mr Greentree. This was granted, and the secretary ordered to prepare a lease of it in Mr Bates's name, the old lease being lost or mislaid, and the same to be readily endorsed to Bates of the said Mr Greentree. Since this lease must not date from the present time, the register book was to be examined and a copy of the old lease taken. Mr Joseph Bates further petitioned to dispose of the rest of his slave land, and to proceed with his children to Bencoolen at the first opportunity. His wife had been sent for and appeared before the council, and absolutely refused to go with her husband on any terms whatever, or ever to live in one house with him on the island, alleging that... **Interpretations** The referral of the Francis dispute to a jury shows the settlement applying the directors' rule that debts be tried by twelve men rather than settled by the council alone. The widow's claim against Wrangham was not decided on her petition but sent to a jury summoned for a fixed day, with notice given to the defendant to prepare. This is the machinery of civil justice on the island working as the Company directed: a contested claim of right went to trial by jury according to equity and good conscience, so that a matter touching an orphan's share and an executor's conduct was determined by a body of the inhabitants rather than by administrative fiat. The reconstruction of the lost lease reveals how the settlement's land dealings depended on a register that could repair gaps in private title. Bates wished to assign his seven acres to Greentree, but the original lease was lost, so the council ordered a new one prepared in Bates's name, expressly dated not from the present but from the original grant, with the register book examined and a copy of the old lease taken. This shows the official land record serving as the ultimate proof of title: where a private deed had gone missing, the register let the council recreate the interest on its true terms, so that the chain of tenure held despite the loss of the paper that first embodied it.
71	67	he had formerly turned her out of Door's Whereupon Mr Bates demanded his Wife & insisted upon her going with him or otherwise She could not Expect a maintenance from him here	Bates's wife alleged that he had formerly turned her out of doors. On this Bates demanded his wife and insisted that she go with him, saying that otherwise she could expect no maintenance from him.

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		Upon the whole Mrs Bates was told that we had not Power to Part man & wife, and advised to live with her Husband (which it seems she has not done for some time Past) and Endeavour to Reconcile matters as far as Possible, for that when Mr Bates leaves this Island for Bencoolin she must needs go with him, Unless they themselfs settle affairs So as that She may not become a Burthen to the parish after his departure. Rt Jenkins G. G. Powell John Godfrey At a Consultation held on Tuesday 28 July 1741 at the Castle Present. Robt Jenkins Esqr Govr G. G. Powell John Godfrey The last Consultation was Read and Approved The Govr Reports that the Companys Slaves have been Employed in Stoping the Breach that was lately made through the Wall of the Warf; and are now Repairing the Same where else it is needfull, But that this Work does not go on with such Expedition as he could wish by Reason of the very few Slaves the Company have capable of being Employd therein, Some there are Losed in the Plantations keeping them in order, Others in the Pastures, Six in the Long boat fetching the Lime down, besides p Constant fishermen and Generally 6 or 7 Sick, So that we cannot Muster	On the whole the council told Bates that it had no power to part man and wife, and advised her to live with her husband, which it seemed she had not done for some time, and to try to make matters up as far as she could. When Bates left the island for Bencoolen she must go with him, unless the two of them settled their affairs themselves, so that she might not become a burden to the parish after his departure. The consultation was signed by Robert Jenkins, George Gabriel Powell and John Godfrey. At a consultation held on Tuesday 28 July 1741 at the Castle, Governor Robert Jenkins presided, with the Deputy Governor George Gabriel Powell and John Godfrey, third of council, in attendance. The record of the previous consultation was read and approved. The Governor reported that the Company's slaves had been employed in stopping the breach the sea had made through the wall of the wharf, and were now repairing the same where it was most needed, but that the work could not go on with such speed as it might, because the very few slaves the Company had capable of being employed on it were otherwise engaged. Some were kept in the plantations to keep them in order, others in the pastures, six in the lime kilns fetching the lime burnt, besides the fishermen, and generally six or seven were sick, so that the council could not... **Interpretations** The council's handling of the Bates marriage reveals both the limit of its authority over the domestic bond and its overriding concern to protect the parish purse. It held plainly that it could not part man and wife, yet its real anxiety was that the abandoned wife might fall on the parish for support once Bates sailed, so it pressed her to go with him or settle matters privately. This is the poor-law logic of a small community applied to a failing marriage: the council would not dissolve the union, but it would not let a departing husband leave a dependent wife as a charge on the settlement, so it steered the couple toward any arrangement that kept her off the public account. The competing demands on the Company's slaves show how thinly the settlement's forced labour was stretched across all its needs at once. The few slaves fit for work had to be divided among the wharf repair, the plantations, the pastures, the lime kilns and the fishery, with six or seven generally sick, so that no single task could command the hands it required. This is the constant constraint under which the island operated: every undertaking, defence, provisioning and repair alike, drew on the same small and partly disabled workforce, and the council's difficulty in pressing forward the urgent wharf repair reflects a settlement whose ambitions always outran the labour available to accomplish them.
72	68	Muster more than 9 or 10 Able hands to work at the Fortifi cations, which is but a very small number indeed, and therefore it is absolutely Necessary to hire 10 Labourers @ 12 p Day p And to Encourage the Fidextime of Our Soldiers tis Agreed to give each of them the Preference as will under take it. The Hone Company having been Pleased to Order that a Gunner shall be made, We therefore appoint Mr John French to be Gunner of this Island, as he is Undoubtedly the best Qualifyd to hold that Office of any other Person on this Place. And it is Conditiond between Us & Mr French that if in case the Company shall think proper	The council could not muster more than nine or ten able hands to work at the fortifications, which was a very small number indeed, and it was therefore necessary to hire ten planters' slaves at twelve pence a day. To encourage the diligence of the garrison's soldiers, the council agreed to give each of them who would undertake it as well. The directors having ordered that a gunner be appointed, the council therefore appointed Mr John French to be gunner of the island, as he was undoubtedly the best qualified to hold that office of any person on the island. It was agreed between the council and Mr French that, if the Company should think proper to send out a gunner aboard the next store ship, he was to give up the office and return to his position as now allowed him by the Company, or else he was to continue at the fixed salary of £72 a year.

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		to send here a Gunner upon the next Storeship, Then he is to quit the Office of Gunner and again Receive his Pension, as is now allowd him by the Company, Or otherwise he is to Continued at the Stated Sallery of £72 p Annum. Mr Clark the late Gunner was Order'd to deliver to Mr French all the Stores under his Charge, And Mr French was Ordered to bring an Acct of the Same into Consultation as soon as Possible Agreeable to the Resolution of Last Consultation we attall next Week for taking a Survey of p Companys Plantations, pastures grounds & fences The two following Petitions was dd & Read vizt To the Worshipfull Robt Jenkins Esqr Govr & Council May it please Your Worships &c The humble Petition of Mary Pledger Planter in St Helena Humbly Sheweth Your Petitioner in the month of Octr 1739 bought of late Govr John Godwin Esqr a Slave Girl named Agnese belonging to the Hone Company for price & Sum of £11 Thirty the afsoresd Govr Godwin Order'd Mr Sam Doveton for the delivery of the afsoresd Slave Your Petitioner Ord: Mr Frans Wrangham for to pay the afsoresd Govr Godwin in her acct £10. which Sum	Mr Clark, the late gunner, was ordered to deliver to Mr French all the stores under his charge, and Mr French was ordered to bring an account of the same into consultation as soon as he could. The council resolved to take a survey of the Company's plantations, pasture grounds and fences the following week. The two following petitions were presented and read, the first addressed to Robert Jenkins and the council of St Helena, being the petition of Mary Pledger, planter in St Helena. Mary Pledger set out that in October 1739 she had bought of the late Governor John Goodwin a slave girl named Dinah, belonging to the Company, for £11, but that Governor Goodwin had ordered Mr Samuel Doveton to pay her £5 12s [...] on delivery of the slave, and that she had asked Mr Francis Wrangham to pay the £10 owing to her in his hands, which sum... **Interpretations** The hiring of planters' slaves and the offer to the soldiers show the council patching a labour shortage from every quarter it could reach. With only nine or ten able hands of its own for the fortifications, it hired ten slaves from the planters at a daily wage and offered the garrison's soldiers extra work for pay, drawing on private slave labour and its own troops alike to make up the deficit. This is the improvised staffing of urgent defence work in a settlement short of hands: neither the Company's slaves nor the soldiers alone sufficed, so the council combined hired labour with paid soldier work, meeting a pressing need by assembling a workforce from whatever sources the island offered. The terms of French's appointment as gunner reveal how the council balanced local competence against the directors' right to send out their own officer. French was named gunner as the best qualified man on the island, but on the express condition that he yield the post should the Company dispatch a gunner by the next store ship, reverting to his former place or else holding on at a fixed salary. This is the careful accommodation a council made between filling a vacancy from its own ranks and preserving the directors' authority over appointments: the island's need for a capable gunner was met at once, while London's power to place its chosen man was reserved, the arrangement provisional upon the directors' pleasure.
73	69	Mr Wrangham Paid as appears by Govr Godwins Books, as to p Remainder Part of the afsoresd Sum, it was due unto Yr Petitioner for Sundrys, Sd £11 Sd to p Hone Comp 1740 in the month of Sepr Govr Crispe Charged Yr Petitioner over again for p afsoresd Slave £10. Alledging that Govr Godwin have made no Payment to p Hone Comp of p afsoresd Sum, for which Yr Petitioner was compelled by the afsoresd Govr Crispe to Repay £10. over again, No afsistant Proofs & Evidences given by afsoresd Mr Wrangham & Mr Doveton of being discharged before the afsoresd Debt by Yr Petitioner in Govr Worship &c, afsoresation, that if any of the planters or Inhabitants of St Helena at any time have had any dealings with the Hone Company & Payment done by any of them to their Governour p p tempore has been a full discharge, and no demand being made	The petition continued that the £10 was paid to Mr Wrangham, as appeared by Governor Goodwin's books, as the remainder of the sum, and was due to the petitioner for sundry other matters. In September 1740 Governor Crispe had charged the petitioner with the £10 over again, alleging that Governor Goodwin had made no payment towards the Company's account for it, so that the petitioner was compelled by Crispe to pay the £10 over again. Without other proofs and evidence given by Wrangham and Mr Doughton of having been discharged before, the £10 was due to the petitioner. Mary Pledger further asked leave to inform the council that, of any of the planters or inhabitants of St Helena who had ever had any dealings with the Company, payment made by any of them to the Governor had always been a full discharge, and no demand had ever been made a second time for the same. She therefore asked the council to order the £10 to be paid back to her by Governor Crispe or by Governor Goodwin's executors. The petition was signed by Benjamin Pledger. The council then read the second petition, addressed to Robert Jenkins and the council of St

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		again for the Same Your Petitioner humbly Craves Yr Worship &c to Order the afsoresd £10. to be paid back again by afsoresd Govr Crispe or by Govr Godwins Executors And Yr Petitioner as in duty bound Shall ever Pray &c (Signd) Benjn Pledger To the Worship: &c Robt Jenkins Esqr & Councill &c The humble Petition of Benjn Pledger a Planter & Inhabitant of St Helena Island Humbly Sheweth Joseph, a Planter in the Island St Helena died Intestate & left his Widdow & 5 Children, the afsoresd Widdow Ways married first Scott, & after 2 Years of his marriage She died, the afsoresd Scott 15 days after the death of his Wife went to Court of Same woman to whome he is married now & left the afsoresd Children to the Wide World; the afsoresd Orphans were Necesitated to go from house to house to beg for their daily maintenance, the Eldest Orphan named Frans Ways came into my house I being nearest Relation unto him, to be Ordered of these great want, I took p afsoresd boy & Recomended him to Govr Godwins for to have him & the Rest of the Orphans discharged, the afsoresd Govr Godwins, after being Strictly Examined the Complaint of the afsoresd Orphans Advised me & desired me, as Relation to p afsoresd Orphans for to take p Estate & Children in my Care & to do for their advantage of these Orphans as I thought Proper.	Helena, being the petition of Benjamin Pledger, planter and inhabitant of St Helena. Benjamin Pledger set out that Joseph Hayes, planter on the island, had died intestate, leaving a widow and five children. The widow later married Giles Scott, and after two years of that marriage she died. Scott, fifteen days after the death of his wife, went to a certain woman, to whom he was now married, and left the children to the wide world. These orphans were forced to go from house to house to beg for their daily maintenance. The eldest orphan, named John Hayes, came into Pledger's house, and Pledger, being his nearest relation, took the boy in, and recommended him to Governor Goodwin for leave to keep him, so that the rest of the orphans might be disposed of. Governor Goodwin, after strictly examining the complaint of the orphans, advised and desired Pledger, as a relation, to take the orphans into his care, and to do for their advantage as he thought proper. **Interpretations** The double demand for the same £10 illustrates precisely the harm the collapse of proper record-keeping inflicted on ordinary people. Mary Pledger had paid the sum once, but because Goodwin's payment was never entered against the Company's account, Crispe was able to charge it a second time, and she had no way to resist without the corroboration of others who remembered the discharge. Her appeal to the island's settled custom, that payment to the Governor had always been a full discharge, shows the inhabitants relying on established usage to protect themselves where the written record had failed them, the same want of honest books that had let money leak out now exposing an ordinary planter to paying twice. Pledger's account of the Hayes orphans reveals how the settlement handled abandoned children through kin and the sanction of the Governor rather than any formal institution. When Scott deserted his stepchildren, they fell to begging house to house until a relation took the eldest in, and the arrangement was regularised by Goodwin's advice and leave for Pledger to take charge of them. This is the informal machinery of child welfare on the island: no orphanage or public provision, but the pressing of the nearest relative into service under the Governor's authority, the community's care for its destitute children resting on family obligation confirmed by the head of the settlement rather than on any established relief.
74	70	Two Months after this affair the Widdow Bagley made an offer for to take Charge of the Orphans & their Estate & to Return of Estate at any time as good as Should be dd unto her care, accordingly it was agreed and all dd into her Charge, & Prized the Estate The afsoresd Widdow Bagley after being 21 Mo in the Care of the Orphans & their Estate had & left me her Attorney towards the & her Childrens Estate, but finding several household belong, to the afsoresd Bagley Estate of no Use I make a full Sold as appears by Inventorys here Inclosd The Eldest daughter of Mrs Bagley being of Age of 28 Years whome of Since I delivered into her Charge the Orphans of the afsoresd Ways, allowing her the maintenance for her Care of the House & Childrens Education, and Orlando Bagley demand him Overseer of the Orphans Estate allowing him £6 p Annu for his trolle. Frances Ways made a false Report of me to	The petition continued that two months after this affair the widow Bagley offered to take charge of the orphans and their estate, agreeing to return the estate at any time as good as it was when delivered into her care. This was agreed, and all was put into her charge, and the estate valued. After the widow Bagley had been twenty-one months in the care of the orphans and their estate, she left Pledger her attorney over both the children and their estate, but on finding several household goods belonging to the Bagley estate of no use, Pledger made a foolish sale of them, as appeared by the inventories he had enclosed. The eldest daughter of Mr Bagley, being aged 28, into whose charge Pledger delivered the orphans of Mr Hayes, allowing the maintenance for her care of the house and the children's education, was married to Orlando Bagley, who demanded of him £6 a year towards his table. Francis Hayes made a false report of Pledger to Governor Crispe, who summoned him to answer to the complaint, but without any proof or examination of Pledger touching the affair. Crispe and Bazett dispossessed him of the estate, not allowing him to

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		Governour Crispe, being Summond to answer to the same, & without any Proof or Examination of Wr Ways this affair p Mr Crispe and Mr Bazett afsoresd me of the Estate not allowing me to make my Acct up, neither allowd me to take what dd belong unto me, neither to p Estate of the Bagley Children. The Ways Estate being Valued & prized by Appraisation when I took Possession of it, But my Acct & Bagley Acct being Cleard it will appear £10 is advanced unto Ways Estate by me. I humbly beg Your Worship & Councill for to Order Mr Crispe for to Clear my & Bagley demand & for to give me a full discharge being a Poor man & full of Children, & for to prevent any Controversye that may happen on the Orphans behalf towards me And Yr in duty bound shall ever pray (Signd) Benjn Pledger Several Persons being absent whose Evidence was Necessary to Clear up some particulars set forth in the above Petitions, Mr Pledger was told they should be Summonds to attend this Council the first Opportu and Proceed accordingly, & besides we Hope to have at more Intelligible Estate to be than Wr Pledger has been able to do in the above Petitions Rt Jenkins G. G. Powell John Godfrey	make any account, nor letting him take what belonged to him, nor giving the estate to the Bagley children. The Hayes estate, being valued, Pledger found to be £37 9s, better at his delivery than what was valued by his own valuation when he took possession of it. But by his account the Bagley estate cleared £10 advanced into the Hayes estate by Pledger. He therefore asked the council to clear his accounts and to give him a full discharge, being a free man and the father of a full house of children, and to prevent any controversy that might happen over the orphans' business towards him. The petition was signed by Benjamin Pledger. Several persons whose evidence was needed to clear up matters set out in these petitions being absent, the council resolved to take the merits of the two claims into consideration when it could, and to proceed diligently, so that it might be able to state the matters clearly, hoping to be able to do so more intelligibly than Crispe and Bazett had been in the above petitions. The consultation was signed by Robert Jenkins, George Gabriel Powell and John Godfrey. **Interpretations** Pledger's tangled account of the two estates shows how the informal fostering of orphans could leave the guardian exposed once the accounts were called for. He had taken in the Hayes children, passed their care to the Bagley household, advanced money between the two estates and made an ill-judged sale of goods, so that when Crispe dispossessed him he could show neither a clean account nor his own reimbursement. His plea for a full discharge reflects the real jeopardy of the well-meaning relation who managed an orphan's property without formal appointment: having mingled the estates and laid out his own money, he needed the council's settlement to protect him from liability for a trust he had shouldered largely out of family duty. The council's parting remark that it hoped to state the matters more intelligibly than Crispe and Bazett had done marks its wider judgement on the disorder the old regime had left. The Pledger business was of a piece with everything else the new administration had uncovered, claims left unexamined, accounts never cleared, people dispossessed without proof, so that even a minor orphan's estate had been handled without proper record or fair hearing. The council's resolve to gather the absent witnesses and reason the matter through shows it setting its own method of patient, documented inquiry against the arbitrary and careless dealing it had found throughout, the small case standing as one more instance of the negligence it was labouring to repair.
75	71	At a Consultation held on Wednesday 29 July 1741 at the Castle Present. Robt Jenkins Esqr Governour Geo: Gab: Powell John Godfrey The last Consultation was Read & approved Agreeable to the Order of Consultation of the 22 Instant we Set apart this day to Examine the Offices in the Castle & take an Inventory of such Books and Papers as we could find therein, Mr Crispe as ml for to be Perfect and we found the following vizt Books of Accompts an Old Ledger for p Year 1696 a Ledger & Journal for the Year 1723 ditto ditto Do 1703 Ledger & Journal for the Year	At a consultation held on Wednesday 29 July 1741 at the Castle, Governor Robert Jenkins presided, with the Deputy Governor George Gabriel Powell and John Godfrey, third of council, in attendance. The record of the previous consultation was read and approved. Following the order of the consultation of 22 July, the council set apart that day to examine the books and papers in the secretary's office, and took an inventory of what it found there. The following was the result. Books of account: An old ledger for the year, 1696 An old ledger for the year, 1703 An old ledger for the year, 1703 An old ledger without sale, 1705 An old transfer journal for the year, 1705 An old ledger for the year, 1706 An old ledger without sale, 1706 An old store ledger for the year, 1708 The remains of a ledger for the year, 1710 The remains of an old ledger for the year, 1711 An old store ledger and journal, 1712 An old ledger, 1713 The remains of a journal and ledger,

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		1724 two ditto Do 1703 Ledger & Journal an Old Ledger without Sale an Old Ledger without Sale an Old Transfer Journal for p Year 1705 a Ledger & Journal Do 1726 an old Ledger for the Year 1706 Do 1727 Do without Sale ditto 1728 an Old Store Ledger for p Year 1708 Do 1729 The Remains of a Ledger for p Year 1710 Do 1730 Do of Transfer Do 1711 Do 1731 an Old Store Ledger & Journal Do 1712 Do 1732 an Old Ledger Do 1713 Do 1733 The Remains of Journ & Ledger Do 1713 Do 1734 two Old Store Ledgers Do 1714 Do 1735 a Journ & Ledger Do 1715 Do 1736 an old Ledger Do 1715 Do 1737 two Transfer Book without Ledger Do 1716 Do 1738 two Transfer Do Do 1717 Do 1739 an Old Store Ledger Do 1740 a Transfer Ledger Do 1718 Consultation Books a Journ & Ledger Do Nr 1 Comm 27 June 1678 a Journal & Ledger Do 1719 Refy 20 Decr 1680 The Remains of Journ & Ledger Do 2 Comm Feb 1682	1713 An old journal and ledger, 1714 A journal and ledger, 1715 An old ledger, 1715 An old transfer journal and ledger, 1716 An old transfer journal, 1717 An old store ledger, 1717 A transfer ledger, 1718 An old store ledger, 1718 A journal and ledger, 1719 The remains of a journal and ledger, 1719 A ledger and journal, 1720 A collection book, very old, 1720 A transfer book, 1720 A journal and ledger, 1721 A ledger, 1721 An old day book, 1721 A ledger and journal, 1722 An old journal, 1722 A ledger and journal for the year, 1723 A ledger and journal for the year, 1724 A ledger and journal, and an old journal, 1725 A ledger and journal, 1726 A ledger, 1727 A ledger, 1728 A ledger, 1729 A ledger, 1730 A ledger, 1731 A ledger, 1732 A ledger, 1733 A ledger, 1734 A ledger, 1735 A ledger, 1736 A ledger, 1737 A ledger, 1738 A ledger, 1739 A ledger, 1740 Consultation books: 1: consultation of 17 June 1678, ending 20 December 1680 2: consultation of 1 February 1682, ending 24 December 1687 3: consultation of 3 January 1687, ending 20 December 1690 4: consultation of 24 December 1693, ending 15 December 1696 5: consultation of 12 December 1696, ending 6 December 1699 **Interpretations** The inventory of the office reveals how deep a documentary record a settlement of this age had accumulated, and why taking stock of it mattered so much. Ledgers, journals, transfer books and collection books ran back to 1696, and the consultation books to 1678, the whole administrative memory of the island held in a single office. Cataloguing them was the necessary foundation for the inquiry into the deficiency: only by knowing exactly what books existed could the council trace transactions across the years, test the recent frauds against the older record, and be sure that nothing had been removed, the very concern Powell had raised when he reported Crispe carrying registers away. The unbroken sequence of annual ledgers from 1723 to 1740 shows the settlement keeping its accounts year by year in a settled form, against which any gap or irregularity would stand out. A continuous run of yearly ledgers was the backbone of the Company's record-keeping, each year's book closing the accounts of that year, so that the presence of every volume in order was itself a kind of proof that the series was complete. This regularity is what made the recent frauds detectable at all: entries altered or sums concealed within an otherwise orderly sequence could eventually be found, the very continuity of the record providing the standard against which the tampering could be measured once the council set itself to examine the books.

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		a Ledger & Journal Do 1720 Refy 24 Nov 1687 a Collection Book vary old Do Comm 3 July 1687 a Transfer Book Do Refy 20 Decr 1693 a Journal & Ledger Do 4 Comm 24 Octr 1693 a Ledger Do 1721 Refy 6 Decr 1696 an Old Log Book Do 5 Comm 13 Decr 1696 a Ledger & Journal Do 1722 Refy 6 Decr 1699 an old Journal Do	
76	72	Nr 6 Comm 4 Aug 1699 Letter Book to England Comm 1706 to 1723 Refy 1 Aprl 1703 Do Comm 1706 to 1786 7 Comm 11 May 1703 ditto from Feb 1720 to 29 Nov 1724 Refy 13 May 1703 ditto 28 Decr 1717 to 3 Nov 1719 8 Comm 18 Aprl 1705 ditto from 18 Nov 1726 to 3 July 1737 Refy 16 July 1705 Do ditto from 16 Feb 1737 to 9 July 1740 9 Comm 5 Nov 1706 A Church Register Refy 20 Sepr 1709 Nr 1 10 Comm 8 Nov 1709 2 } Register's Refy 6 Decr 1712 new Lease Book 11 Comm 6 Aprl 1703 an Old Book Refy 23 Aug 1715 two Sea Books 12 Comm 28 Aug 1715 Instruction Book for Officers Refy 13 May 1715/16 Mark Book for Cattle 13 Comm 20 May 1715/16 a Letter from India Comm 20 Jun 1725 to Refy 17 July 1716 Nov 1727 14 Comm 24 July 1716 Small Book of Precedents Refy 3 Sepr 1717 1 Book of Industry and Services 15 Comm 10 Sepr 1717 an Alphabet & Mem Book Refy 19 Feb 1718 Do 16 Comm 26 Feb 1718 Abstracts of Laws M Refy 15 Jan 1720 17 Comm 17 Jan 1720 Many of the above Books Especially of Refy 19 Feb 1722 late of Accompts are Imperfect, the Loose 18 Comm 20 Feb 1722 Journal of the Consultation Books are Refy 15 June 1725 lost, the Bindings being destroyd by Cattle & 19 Comm 22 June 1725 Youth, and the whole in Indifferent Condition Refy 7 Feb 1726 20 Comm 26 Feb 1726 Refy 5 Aug 1731 21	The inventory of the consultation books continued as follows. 6: consultation of 4 August 1699, and a letter book to England, consultation of 1706 to 1723 7: consultation of 1 August 1703, ending 1 April 1706, another consultation of 1706 to 1726 8: consultation of 11 May 1703, the same continued from 5 June 1720 to 30 November 1724 9: consultation of 13 March 1703, the same from 28 December 1717 to 3 March 1719 10: consultation of 18 April 1705, the same from 18 December 1726 to 3 July 1737 11: consultation of 16 July 1706, the same from 16 February 1737 to 9 July 1740 12: consultation of 5 November 1706, and a church register 13: ending 20 September 1709, register number one 14: consultation of 8 March 1709, register number two 15: ending 6 December 1712, a new lease book 16: consultation of 4 December 1706, a will book 17: ending 23 August 1715, a new lease book 18: consultation of 24 August 1715, an instruction book for officers 19: ending 13 March 1715, a mark book for cattle 20: consultation of 20 March 1715, a letter book from the India consultation, 30 January 1725 to 30 November 1727 21: ending 17 July 1716, a small book of memoranda 22: consultation of 24 July 1716, one book of indentures and licences 23: ending 3 September 1717, an alphabetical memorandum book There were also several of the newer books, some imperfect, the whole of the books of account being imperfect and the bindings loose or destroyed, so that all of it stood in poor condition. A letter book from England, consultation of 1707 to 1716 Another consultation of 1705 to 1716 Another consultation of 1717 to 1725 Another consultation of 1727 to 1741 The inventory was signed by Robert Jenkins, George Gabriel Powell and John Godfrey. **Interpretations** The range of specialised registers listed alongside the consultation and account books shows how many separate strands of the settlement's business were kept in their own volumes. Beyond the ledgers and consultations there were church registers, lease books, a will book, a mark book for cattle, a book of indentures and licences and letter books to and from England, each recording a distinct branch of island life. This division of the record into dedicated books reveals a mature administration that tracked land, marriages, deaths, livestock, contracts and correspondence in ordered series, so that the whole legal and economic life of the island was documented across a shelf of specialised registers rather than in any single running account. The council's note that the books were imperfect and their bindings loose or destroyed adds a physical dimension to the disorder it had been uncovering throughout. The record on which every claim, title and

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		Comm 6 May 1731 Refy 3 Nov 1735 22 Comm 4 June 1735 Refy 11 Aprl 1740 23 Comm 22 Aprl 1740 Refy 5 Aug 1740 Letter Book from England Comm 1707 to 1716 ditto Comm 1705 to 1716 ditto Comm 1717 to 1725 ditto Comm 1727 to 1741 Rt Jenkins G. G. Powell John Godfrey	account depended was itself decaying, volumes damaged and coming apart, so that the material fabric of the settlement's memory was failing along with the honesty of its recent keepers. This matters because the whole inquiry rested on these books, and their poor condition compounded the difficulty of establishing the truth: a record both tampered with and physically crumbling made the council's task of reconstruction harder still, the neglect of the paper mirroring the neglect of the defences, the stores and the plantations it had already found.
77	73	At a Consultation held on Saturday 1 August 1741 at the Castle Present. Robt Jenkins Esqr Governour Geo: Gab: Powell John Godfrey The last Consultation was Read & approved Mr John Goodwin thought Proper on Saturday last to quit the Hone Companys Service and We found it Necessary to Employ Wr James Powell as a Writer at the Stated Allowance of £30 p Annu Sallery Do £18. 5 p Annu diet money Rt Jenkins G. G. Powell John Godfrey At a Consultation held on Tuesday 4 August 1741 at Plantation house Present. Robt Jenkins Esqr Governour Geo: Gab: Powell John Godfrey The last Consultation was Read & approved The Governour Reports that he has made good Progress in Repairing of the Grand Fortification; that the Breach which the Sea had made in the Wall Leading from the Landing Place is Stoped, that the whole Wall it self is Pinned & Pointed with new Lime and the Ditch under the Lower Line Cleard At Present Our Slaves are Employed in measuring	At a consultation held on Saturday 1 August 1741 at the Castle, Governor Robert Jenkins presided, with the Deputy Governor George Gabriel Powell and John Godfrey, third of council, in attendance. The record of the previous consultation was read and approved. Mr John Goodwin had thought proper, on the previous Saturday, to quit the Company's service. The council found it necessary to employ Mr James Powell as a writer, at the fixed allowance of £20 a year, salary and provisions coming to £18 5s a year in money. The consultation was signed by Robert Jenkins, George Gabriel Powell and John Godfrey. At a consultation held on Saturday 8 August 1741 at Plantation House, Governor Robert Jenkins presided, with the Deputy Governor George Gabriel Powell and John Godfrey, third of council, in attendance. The record of the previous consultation was read and approved. The Governor reported that he had made good progress in repairing the main fortification. The breach the sea had made in the wall at the landing place was stopped, the whole wall itself faced and pointed with new lime, and the ditch under the lower line cleared. At present the Company's slaves were employed in... **Interpretations** John Goodwin's departure from the Company's service closes a thread that had run through the whole affair, the position of the late Governor's son. He had sat on the council, kept the accounts for a time and been questioned repeatedly about money passing through the old regime, and his choice to quit now, as his father's estate remained frozen and under inquiry, removed him from the service at the very point where the family's affairs stood most exposed. The bare recording of his going, set beside the appointment of a new writer to replace the departed clerks, marks the steady clearing-out of the personnel of the old administration as the new one consolidated its hold. The Governor's report on the fortification repairs shows the new administration steadily reversing the physical decay it had inherited. The breach in the wharf wall was stopped, the wall refaced with fresh lime and the ditch cleared, tangible progress on the defences that the survey had found in ruin. This is the constructive counterpart to the long labour of tracing the deficiency: while the accounts were being reconstructed and the estates secured, the settlement's neglected fabric was being repaired with the lime so laboriously burnt at Sandy Bay, so that the recovery of the island's order proceeded on the ground and in the books together.
78	74	measuring the Hone Companys fences round their Pastures grounds in	The Company's slaves were employed in measuring the Company's fences round their pasture grounds, in

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		Order to know how much the Repairing of the Same may cost at the Rate of 3 Shill 7 p Rod Rt Jenkins G. G. Powell John Godfrey At a Consultation held on Tuesday 18 August 1741 at Plantation house Present. Robt Jenkins Esqr Governour Geo: Gab: Powell John Godfrey The last Consultation was Read & approved The fences round the Hone Companys Yram Pastures, Exclusive of what was Exchanged with Mr Wrangham, Contains 3.02 Rod, but the the length of the Planters fences who joyn are 124 Rod, the half of which they must make, So that the Companys Proportion of fences is only 288 Rod, d 5 Rod is £72 The fences round the Pastures called Coffins Rod, of half of which Divided the Companys Linstos is 168 Rod @ 3 Shill in the whole is 356 Rod, the Planters fences adjoyning thereto is 94 p Rod is £0. 10. Rt Jenkins G. G. Powell John Godfrey	order to know how much the repair of the same might cost at the rate of three shillings and sixpence the rod. The consultation was signed by Robert Jenkins, George Gabriel Powell and John Godfrey. At a consultation held on Tuesday 18 August 1741 at Plantation House, Governor Robert Jenkins presided, with the Deputy Governor George Gabriel Powell and John Godfrey, third of council, in attendance. The record of the previous consultation was read and approved. The fences round the Company's pasture, apart from the part exchanged with Mr Wrangham, came to 592 rods, but of that length the planters' fences that joined were 104 rods, half of which they must make, so that the Company's proportion of the fence was only 288 rods, at 5 shillings the rod, coming to £72 0s 0d. The fences round the pasture called Cason's came to 94 rods, the planters' fences adjoining being half of it, which reduced the Company's share to 16.5 rods, at 5 shillings the rod, coming to £10 0s 0d. The consultation was signed by Robert Jenkins, George Gabriel Powell and John Godfrey. **Interpretations** The careful measurement of the fences shows the council reducing a repair to an exact and defensible cost before committing to it. The whole length round each pasture was measured, the portion the neighbouring planters were bound to maintain was deducted, and only the Company's true share was priced at a fixed rate the rod. This is the method the new administration brought to every undertaking: rather than order the work and settle the bill afterwards, it established precisely what the Company owed and no more, so that the shared boundaries with the planters were apportioned fairly and the charge to the directors could be shown to rest on measured ground rather than loose estimate. The division of the boundary fences between the Company and the adjoining planters reflects the settled custom by which neighbours shared the upkeep of a common line. Where the Company's pasture met a planter's ground, each side was responsible for half the fence between them, so the council deducted the planters' portion before reckoning its own. This is the ordinary law of the boundary applied to the island's enclosures: a fence dividing two holdings served both owners and was maintained by both, so that the Company, like any landholder, bore only its share of the line it held in common with its neighbours, the arrangement fixing responsibility along every shared boundary of the pasture.
79	75	At a Consultation held on Saturday 22 August 1741 at the Castle Present. Robt Jenkins Esqr Governour Geo: Gab: Powell John Godfrey The last Consultation was Read & approved The 14 Bedford About Seven aClock in the Evening of Thursday Arrived his Majestys Ship Chester, Commanded by Sr William Hewitt & On the 15 Instant Arrived his Majestys Ship Southland John Blithment Esqr Commander, & since in bad Expectation of Various Orders from Our Masters of the Hone the Committee of Secrecy. These Ships of 80 Guns Do were Intended to Convey home Our last fleet, but coming out of England with a number	At a consultation held on Saturday 22 August 1741 at the Castle, Governor Robert Jenkins presided, with the Deputy Governor George Gabriel Powell and John Godfrey, third of council, in attendance. The record of the previous consultation was read and approved. About seven in the evening of the Thursday, His Majesty's ship *Chester*, commanded by Sir William Hewitt, arrived. On the fifteenth His Majesty's ship *Falkland*, John Blackwood commander, arrived, and both received the like typhus and other orders from the directors' committee of secrecy. These ships of fifty guns each were meant to convoy home the last fleet, but on coming out of England with a number of ships they were obliged to see into Portsmouth and Lisbon, which had detained them so long that they had come too late for the fleet. The consultation was signed by Robert Jenkins, George Gabriel Powell and John Godfrey.

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		of Shiping which they were Obliged to See into Port and Lisbon, Retarded them thus long, I made 'em too late for our fleet. Rt Jenkins G. G. Powell John Godfrey At a Consultation held on Wednesday 26 August 1741 at the Castle Present. Robt Jenkins Esqr Governour Geo: Gab: Powell John Godfrey The last Consultation was Read & approved The following Petition was this day Presented & Read vizt To the Worshipfull Robt Jenkins Esqr Govr &c Councill of the Island St Helena The Humble Petition of Matt Girling Sheweth That an other Opportunity now Offers for Your Petitioner to take p passage for England. Your Petitioner therefore humbly Prays that Your Worship & Councill will be Pleased to grant Your Petitioner Liberty to take his passage	At a consultation held on Wednesday 26 August 1741 at the Castle, Governor Robert Jenkins presided, with the Deputy Governor George Gabriel Powell and John Godfrey, third of council, in attendance. The record of the previous consultation was read and approved. The following petition was presented and read that day, addressed to Robert Jenkins and the council of St Helena, being the petition of Matthew Curling. Curling set out that another opportunity now offered for him to take passage to England. He therefore asked the council to be pleased to grant him leave to take his passage... **Interpretations** The late arrival of the two men of war explains and vindicates the whole policy of detaining the merchant fleet earlier in the season. The *Chester* and *Falkland*, each of fifty guns, had been sent to convoy the ships home but were held up seeing other vessels into Portsmouth and Lisbon, so they reached St Helena after the fleet had sailed. This is the risk the convoy system carried at both ends: the warships on which safe passage depended could themselves be delayed by other duties, so that the merchantmen, held so long in the road waiting for protection, had in the event to sail without the escort that never came in time. The reappearance of Curling's request to leave shows a man still pressing for the passage the council had earlier denied him. His knowledge of the accounts had made the council hold him on the island until it could examine him, and his renewed petition, as another ship offered, marks his continued effort to get away. The council's handling of it would turn on whether it had yet drawn from him the light on the books it needed, the same calculation that governed every detention in the affair: a person who still held unshared knowledge could not be released, and Curling's fate depended on whether his usefulness to the inquiry was now exhausted.
80	76	accordingly on board one of his Majestys Ships now in the Road, And the sum of Sixpounds, Six Shillings & Sixpence which Your petitioner Received for p fagot, he is willing to Expend the Same to Mr Homes Company & Yr Petitioner as in duty bound Shall Ever pray St Helena 25 August 1741 (Signd) M Girling The Petition Considered, & that Girling either cannot or will not discover to us any further lights in the Genll Books of Accompts than what we already know, and the Commander of his Majestys Ship likewise Interesting himself in the Affair, We adjudge it most adviseable to tell Girling that his Petition is Granted Mr Henry Bazett the 2d Lieutt of p Ship Southland makes application to Us for £161. 2. which Mr John Bazett his Brother paid into the late Governour Wr Crispe hands, to be Lodged in the Companys Cellar, as appears by a Receipt from Wr Crispe to p Wr Jno Bazett, and it is Likewise mentiond in the Cash Account transmitted home p Ship Somerset last December We therefore are Convinced that this money was paid in, but however did think Prosoper to grant Wr Henry Bazett Sr Vizt	The petition continued that Curling asked leave to take passage aboard one of His Majesty's ships then in the road. He set out the sum of £6 [...] 6s, which he had received from the Company for freight, and declared himself willing to spend the rest with Mr Blackwood. The petition was sent from St Helena on 25 August 1741 and signed by Matthew Curling. The council considered the petition, and held that Curling either could not or would not give it any further light into the general books of account than it already knew, and that the commander of His Majesty's ship was concerning himself in the matter. So the council judged it most advisable to tell Curling that his petition was granted. Mr Henry Bazett, the second lieutenant of the ship *Falkland*, applied to the council for £161 2s. His brother, Mr John Bazett, had drawn into the late Governor's account, as appeared by a receipt from Crispe to John Bazett, and as was likewise mentioned in the cash account transmitted home by the *Somerset* the previous December. The council was satisfied that this money had been paid in, but thought proper to grant Henry Bazett a bill of exchange upon the Company for the sum, and offered him either the interest or the difference in exchange, which he refused on account of the exchange rate, so a certificate that the sum appeared to be due to him upon the Company's books, £161 2s, was drawn, which the council gave him accordingly. The council then made up its packets to the Company, and shipped one aboard the *Falkland* and another aboard the *Chester*, which were to sail home for England the following morning. The consultation was signed by Robert Jenkins, George Gabriel Powell and John Godfrey.

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		Bills of Exchange upon the Company for the Same, and offerd by pay him in Specie, which he Refused upon account of p Danger of their Sea and difference of Exchange So therefore Chose to take a Certificate that there does appear to be be due to him upon p Companys Books the Sd Sum of £161. 2. Which we gave him accordingly This done, we made up Our Packets to the Hone Company and Shiped one on board this Southland & p Other on board the Colchester who are to Sail home for England to morrow morning Rt Jenkins G. G. Powell John Godfrey	**Interpretations** The granting of Curling's passage marks the moment the council judged his usefulness to the inquiry exhausted. It let him go once it concluded he could or would give no further light into the books, and noted too that the warship's commander was taking an interest in the matter, a pressure the council weighed. This is the practical end of a detention held only for the knowledge the person carried: when the council decided nothing more was to be had from Curling, and with a naval officer now concerned in his case, it released him, the same reasoning that had held him now working to free him once the reason had lapsed. The certificate given to Henry Bazett shows the council converting a proven claim on the Company into a portable and honourable instrument. Satisfied that his brother's money had truly been paid in, and Henry Bazett having refused a bill of exchange because the exchange rate went against him, the council instead certified that the sum appeared due to him on the Company's books. This gave him a document he could present to the directors for payment in England without loss on the exchange, a fair accommodation that recognised a genuine debt while letting the creditor choose the form of satisfaction that best preserved its value, the whole recorded and forwarded so that London could honour it.
81	77	At a Consultation held on Tuesday 1 September 1741 at the Castle Present. Robt Jenkins Esqr Govr Geo: Gab: Powell John Godfrey The last Consultation was Read & approved His Majestys Ships Southland and Colchester Sailed for England the 27 of last month The Govr Reports that the grand fortification now wears an other face, the Upper Line being Repaird saving a very small part of the West Bastion and which will Likewise be Compleate by the Latter End of this Week Benjn Pledger this day attended to know our Resolutions concerning his Petitions of 28 July last. As to the first It appears Evidently to Us by Wr Godwins Books of Accts that Mr Wrangham did pay him the p Wr Godwin £10 Acct of Benjn Pledger for a Slave Girl bought of the Hone Comp, And that Wr Crispe upon the demise of Wr Godwin did demand the p Sd £10 of Benjn Pledger and that he was actually forced to pay it a Second time, Therefore in Just & Right & Reasonable that he Should be Reimbursed this £10, and p Same be added to p deficiency of Cash. As touching the other Petition, We directed the Orphans of Frans Ways decd the Eldest of home is between 16 and 17 Years of Age, to Chuse a Guardian Wittin and Capable of taking care of his Effects, and Setting Accompts with p afsoresd Orphans Mrs Marcy Swallow desires Liberty to dispose of p afsoresd Estate late belonging to her Brother Samuel Swallow who died Insolvent & Intestate in Order to dispose Accompts with his debts as far as it will go Granted Jos: Devfountaine Petition to dispose of p 23 Acres of Lease hold Land during the term of the Lease Yet to come, Unto John Book Granted.	At a consultation held on Tuesday 1 September 1741 at the Castle, Governor Robert Jenkins presided, with the Deputy Governor George Gabriel Powell and John Godfrey, third of council, in attendance. The record of the previous consultation was read and approved. His Majesty's ships *Falkland* and *Chester* sailed for England on the 27th of the previous month. The Governor reported that the main fortification now wanted only a very small part finished, the upper line of the west bastion being repaired, which would probably be completed by the end of the week. Benjamin Pledger attended that day for a resolution on his petitions of 28 July. As to the first, it appeared plainly from Governor Goodwin's books of account that Wrangham had paid him the £10, Governor Goodwin having paid the £10 owing to Benjamin Pledger for a slave girl bought of the Company. On the death of Goodwin, Crispe had demanded the £10 of Benjamin Pledger again, and Pledger had actually paid it a second time. The council therefore held it just and reasonable that he be reimbursed the £10, and that the same be added to the deficiency in the cash. As to the other petition, the council directed that the orphans of Joseph Hayes, deceased, the eldest of whom was between 16 and 17 years of age, choose a guardian, William Bates being willing and capable of taking care of their effects, and settling accounts with Benjamin Pledger as far as it would go. Mrs Mary Swallow asked leave to dispose of her house late belonging to her brother Samuel Swallow, deceased, insolvent and intestate, so as to settle his debts as far as it would go. This was granted. Joseph Defountaine's petition to dispose of 23 acres of leasehold land during the term of the lease to one John Book was granted. The council ordered that an advertisement be published requiring all persons owing money to the estates of the several debtors to deliver an account of their families, lands, stock and the like, on or before the tenth of the current month. The consultation was signed by Robert Jenkins, George Gabriel Powell and John Godfrey. **Interpretations**

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		Ordered That an advertisement be Published for all Persons to deliver an acct of their family, Lands, Stock &c, on or before the 10 Instant. Rt Jenkins G. G. Powell John Godfrey	The resolution of Pledger's double-payment claim shows the council doing individual justice while folding the loss back into the wider reckoning. Having established from Goodwin's own books that Pledger had paid the £10 twice, once truly and once at Crispe's improper demand, the council ordered him reimbursed and added the sum to the general deficiency. This is the settlement's accounting conscience at work: the ordinary planter wronged by the collapse of proper record was made whole, and the amount charged to the account of the missing money, so that the fraud's cost was recognised both to the individual who suffered it and in the total the directors would ultimately have to weigh. The direction that the Hayes orphans choose a new guardian reveals the council regularising a fostering arrangement that had gone awry under the old regime. Where the children had drifted from house to house and Pledger's informal charge had ended in tangled accounts, the council now had the eldest choose William Bates, willing and able to manage their effects and settle with Pledger. This is the more orderly successor to the earlier makeshift care: rather than leave the orphans' interest to private arrangement and after-the-fact dispute, the council installed a capable guardian and required the old accounts settled, bringing a measure of proper oversight to the protection of children that the previous administration had left to chance.
82	78	At a Consultation held on Wednesday 2 of Sepr 1741 at the Castle Present. Robt Jenkins Esqr Govr Geo: Gab: Powell John Godfrey The last Consultation was Read & approved Upon Examining the household furniture with p Account thereof in Journal C, We find a very Considerable deficiency therein, And therefore sent for Mr Crispe who Said that had been there was a Deficiency, but that it had been always Customary to carry on the Account of it from Book to Book, and he only did as their Governours had done before him, We told him that Proceedings for Disposing false Accounts upon Our Masters, and thereby Cheating of them, Should never be admitted as an Argument to Justify the Continuance of Such Male Practice, tholdes we have no proof that these things were wanting at Wr Godwins demise, quite Otherwise for I appears by the Accounts of his Wr Crispe, Own keeping that they were in being, & have been lost or dispose of since himself had the Charge of them, therefore Order'd him to Refund the Value of them as Stated in the Hone Companys Books of Accompts vizt 2 Sadles Wd Do @ £10 d £ 20 3 Coy China Plates 7 6 8 3 Setts of China Ware 8 18 3 Do Larger Plates 2 17 10 Table Plates @ 1/7 7	At a consultation held on Wednesday 2 September 1741 at the Castle, Governor Robert Jenkins presided, with the Deputy Governor George Gabriel Powell and John Godfrey, third of council, in attendance. The record of the previous consultation was read and approved. On examining the household furniture against the account of it in journal A, the council found a considerable deficiency, and so sent for Crispe, who claimed there had been a deficiency but that it had always been the custom to carry it on the account from book to book, and that he had done no other than those before him. The council told him that a practice of drawing false accounts upon the directors, and thereby cheating them, could never be allowed as an argument to justify the continuance of such an ill practice, especially as it had no proof that these things were wanting in Goodwin's time, but quite otherwise, since it appeared by the accounts in his own hand that they were in being, and had been lost since he took charge of them. The council therefore ordered him to answer for the value of them, as stated in the Company's books of account. 1 saddle and cloth, £2 0s 0d 2 tureens, at £10 each, £20 0s 0d 3 large China plates, £7 6s 8d 3 setts of China ware, £6 18s 0d 3 large diaper plates, £2 17s 0d 10 table cloths, at 1s 7d, £7 5s 0d 1 silver cup and cover, weighing 16 ounces 18 pennyweight, at 19 pence, £9 18s 5d 1 white damask tablecloth, £13 6s 0d 3 more tablecloths, £3 12s 6.5d 11 fine spoons, tongs and skimmer, £5 7s 1d 1 tankard, £14 19s 3d 1 sett of tea spoons, £2 5s 0d 1 other, £6 0s 0d 18 wine glasses, £12 0s 0d The whole coming to £83 10s 1.5d The consultation was signed by Robert Jenkins, George Gabriel Powell and John Godfrey. **Interpretations** The missing household furniture exposes the mechanism of the carried-forward deficiency, by which a loss was hidden simply by copying it from one year's account into the next. Crispe defended himself by saying the shortfall had always been carried on from book to book, so that goods long gone still appeared on the current inventory as though in being. This is how a deficiency could persist unnoticed for years: rather than write off what was lost, each

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		1 Silver Chest Corn Do 10. 10 & @ 10/6 p Do 9 18 5 1 Do Triangel Server 13 6 3 Do Salts 3 12 6½ 11 Do Spoon tongs & Server 5 7 4 1 Ditto 14 19 3 3 Do old Spoon 2 5 1 Do 6 12 Wine Glasses 12 £ 83 10 1½ Rt Jenkins G. G. Powell John Godfrey	successive account repeated the earlier figure, so the books showed possessions the settlement no longer held, and only a physical check against the actual furniture revealed the gap between the record and the reality. The council's refusal to accept custom as a defence states plainly the principle it had applied throughout the affair. Crispe pleaded that he had done no more than those before him, but the council held that a settled practice of false accounting was still a cheating of the directors and could not excuse itself by its own longevity. Crucially, the council found from the accounts in Goodwin's own hand that the goods had existed when he took charge and been lost since, fixing the deficiency in Crispe's own period of responsibility rather than an inherited one, and so charging him with the value, the demonstration that an abuse dressed as custom was still an abuse to be answered for.
83	79	At a Consultation held on Tuesday 8 of September 1741 at the Castle Present. Robt Jenkins Esqr Governour Geo: Gab: Powell John Godfrey The last Consultation was Read & approved Having been hitherto Extreamly Busied with the Shipping and in Examining & finding out frauds in almost every branch of the Hone Companys Affairs at this Place, We had not had Leisure to Examine the monthly Accounts, till this day the Governour thought Proper to bring in their Accounts for the Months of May, June, July and August last, which were Severally Examined and Approved and are as follows vizt Gunners Stores Expended in the month of May 1741 vizt Fired Powder amot lbs shot lbs 1 Allarm 6 14 5 Do Arrivd of Princess of Wales, Heathcote & a Dane Ship 33 105 Salute for Capt Coten, Capt Harry, Capt Steward & p Capt of Dane Ship 36 36 8 Allarm for a Ship that Passed by 6 14 8 Do Arrivd of Warwick 18 23 9 Salute for Capt Hallet at Landing 15 0 Allarm & Arrivd the Royall George 15 23 Salute for Robt Jenkins Esqr Govr, at Landing 21 34 Answer the Heathcote Salute 21 34 Do the Yatch & Dane Ship 16 16	At a consultation held on Tuesday 8 September 1741 at the Castle, Governor Robert Jenkins presided, with the Deputy Governor George Gabriel Powell and John Godfrey, third of council, in attendance. The record of the previous consultation was read and approved. Having until then been extremely taken up with the shipping, and with examining and finding out frauds in almost every branch of the Company's affairs on the island, the council had not had leisure to examine the monthly accounts until that day, when the Governor and gunner brought in their accounts for the months of May, June, July and August last, which were severally examined and approved as follows. Gunner's stores expended in the month of May 1741: Alarm, 6 guns, 14 lb powder Arrival of the *Princess of Wales*, *Heathcote* and a Danish ship, 33 guns, 105 lb powder Salute for Captain Cotesworth, Captain Harry and Captain Steward and the captain of the Danish ship, 36 guns, 36 lb powder Alarm for a ship that passed by, 6 guns, 14 lb powder Arrival of the *Hardwick*, 15 guns, 23 lb powder Salute for Captain Hallett at landing, 15 guns, 23 lb powder Alarm and arrival of the *Royal George*, 15 guns, 23 lb powder Salute for Robert Jenkins as Governor, at landing, 21 guns, 34 lb powder Answer to the *Heathcote* salute, 21 guns, 34 lb powder Answer to the Danish ship, 16 guns, 16 lb powder Answer to the fleet, 31 guns, 81 lb powder Fired at Munden's for a ship that passed by, 1 gun, 1 lb powder, 4 [...] Answer to Captain Field at landing, 9 guns, 9 lb powder Alarm and arrival of the *Princess Louisa*, 15 guns, 23 lb powder Salute at Captain Pearson's landing, 9 guns, 9 lb powder Answer for Captain Martin, Captain Shuter, Captain Harry, Captain Houghton and the captain of the Danish ship, at going on board, 45 guns, 45 lb powder Answer for the Governor's honour going on board, 21 guns, 34 lb powder Answer for the supercargoes of the *Winchester*, 6 guns, 14 lb powder Alarm, 6 departure of the *Princess Louisa*, *Winchester*, *Warwick*, *Prince of Wales* and *Hawlingsfield*, 9 guns, 9 lb powder **Interpretations** The gunner's account of powder and guns records the ceremonial and signal firing that punctuated the settlement's dealings with the shipping, each round of powder a charge to be entered and answered for. Every arrival, salute, alarm and departure consumed a measured quantity of powder, from a single gun for a passing ship to over thirty for a fleet, so that the courtesies and warnings of the road were also an accountable expense. This is why the council examined the gunner's return along with the rest: powder was a costly and strategic store, especially with war feared, and the firing that marked the comings

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		Do the Fleet 31 81 fired at Warwick for a Ship that Passed by 1 1 4 Do for Capt Field at Landing 9 Allarm & Arrivd the Princess Louisa 15 23 Salute at Capt Pearsons Landing 9 9 Do for Capt Martin, Capt Slater, Capt Harry, Capt Houghton & Capt of the Dane Ship, at going on board 45 45 Do for Govr Home going on board 21 34 Do for p Supra Cargoe of the Winchester 6 14 Allarm 6 departed the Princess Louisa, Winchester, Warwick, Prince of Wales & Kaselingsfield } 9 9	and goings of ships had to be justified round by round against the stock consumed. The heavy firing recorded for a single month shows how busy the road had been through the season the council had spent unravelling the frauds. Salutes for arriving and departing captains, answers to their salutes as they went aboard, alarms for passing ships and the great salute to the new Governor at his landing all fell within May, a dense record of shipping movement. This ceremonial traffic ran alongside the grim business of the inquiry, the same weeks that saw Crispe examined and the stores inventoried also seeing the guns fired again and again for the fleet in the road, so that the gunner's account preserves the ordinary life of the settlement continuing through the extraordinary labour of setting its affairs to rights.
84	80	12 Arrivd the Prince William 9 9 Salute for Capt Langworth at Land 9 9 Do for p Capt & Supra Cargoe of the Dane Ship going on board } 9 9 13 departed the Dane Ship 9 9 17 Duble Allarm & arrivd the Royll Guardian & Mountague 27 39 Do at Banks 1 1 4 Salute for Supra Cargoe of Mountague at Landing 15 15 Do for Capt Kirby & Capt Freeman at Landing 18 18 20 Allarm & Arrivd the Duke 15 23 Salute for Capt Hindman at Landing 9 9 25 Duble Allarm for a Dutch fleet 15 40 Do at Banks 4 97 Salute in Respect to p Dutch fleet 36 49 26 Allarm & arrivd the Denington Capt Cabb	The gunner's account continued as follows. Arrival of the *Prince William*, 9 guns, 9 lb powder Salute for Captain Langworth at landing, 9 guns, 9 lb powder Answer for the captain and supercargoes of the Danish ship going on board, 9 guns, 9 lb powder Departure of the Danish ship, 9 guns, 9 lb powder Double alarm and arrival of the *Royal Guardian* and *Montague*, 27 guns, 39 lb powder Fired at Banks's, 1 gun, 1 lb powder, [...] Salute for the supercargoes of the *Montague* at landing, 15 guns, 15 lb powder Salute for Captain Headly and Captain Freeman at landing, 18 guns, 18 lb powder Alarm and arrival of the *Duke*, 15 guns, 23 lb powder Salute for Captain Hindman at landing, 9 guns, 9 lb powder Double alarm for a Dutch fleet, 15 guns, 40 lb powder Fired at Banks's, 4 guns, 9 lb powder Salute in Rupert's to the Dutch fleet, 36 guns, 49 lb powder Alarm and arrival of the *Warrington*, Captain Crab, 15 guns, 20 lb powder Salute for Captain Crab at landing, 9 guns, 9 lb powder Small cartridges for the muskets, to learn the recruits to exercise and fire, 1,000, 50 lb powder Powder for priming the great guns, 12 lb powder Small cartridges for the guard, 30 lb powder The whole coming to 533 guns, 2 [...], 848.5 lb powder Other stores expended: Cartridge paper, 9 quires Match, 19 [...] Musket balls, 30 Tampions, 2 Dough barrels, 2 Bills, 2 Priming wires, 4 Handspikes, 12 Flints, 50 Wormed bullets, 6 Drum heads, 10 Delivered out: Cartridge paper, 10 quires Sheepskins, 4 Sponge staves, 4, to the ship *Warwick* Worms, 3, to the ship *Warwick* Barrels of gunpowder, 6, to the ship *Princess Amelia* The like, 8, to the ship *Hawlingsfield* **Interpretations** The double alarms fired for a Dutch fleet show the settlement treating any large body of foreign ships as a potential threat to be met with warning and readiness. A single arriving merchantman drew a plain alarm, but a whole Dutch fleet brought a double alarm and firing from more than one battery, and then a substantial salute once its peaceful intent was clear. This is the caution of an island on the edge of war, uncertain whether an approaching fleet came as friend or enemy:

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		15 20 Salute for Capt Field at Landing 9 9 Small Cartridges for the Musqueteers & to learn the Recruits to Exercise & fire 1000 } 50 Powder for Priming of the great Guns 12 Small Cartridges for the Guard 30 Cartridge Paper 9 Do Match 12 a Musquet Balls 30 Sponges 2 Bough Barrels 2 Do 2 Priming Wyres 4 Rammheads 12 Flints 50 Bayonet & Killaes 6 Drum heads 2 10 Do Cartridge Paper 4 Sheep Skins 4 Sponge Staves } p Ship Warwick 3 Wians 6 Barr Gunn Powder p Ship Prince Amelia 8 Do p Ship Kaselingsfield Totall 533 2 848¾	the guns first sounded the alarm and manned the works, and only afterwards rendered the courtesy, the same powder serving to warn and then to welcome as the strangers' purpose became known. The powder spent teaching the recruits to fire reveals the settlement actively preparing its men for the war it feared. A thousand small cartridges were expended letting the new soldiers exercise and fire, a deliberate investment of a scarce and valuable store in training rather than mere ceremony. This marks the difference between a garrison merely mustered on paper and one being made fit to fight: with the muster having shown the ranks short and the survey the defences decayed, the burning of powder to drill the recruits shows the council turning to the readiness of the men themselves, spending the store on the practice that would make the guns and muskets count if the enemy came.
85	81	Gunners Stores Expended in the Month of June 1741 vizt Fired Powder amot lbs shot amot lbs 1 Fired @ Mundens point p Experiment 1 1 6 5 Salute for p Royll at going on board 9 9 Do for Royall George bound to India 9 9 11 Do for his Majestys Aversion to the throne 21 34 Powder to fill the Recruits Pouches 15 Do for to Learn the Recruits to Exercise & fire 58 Do for the Guards & O. S. p 12 Totall 40 1 143 Musquet Balls 25 Cartridge Paper 10 Do Hand Spikes 6 Flints 150 Bough Barrels 2 Ram Rods 12 Cartridge Paper 2 Drum heads 2 Match 10 Bayonet & Killaes 6 Gunners Stores Expended in the month of July 1741 vizt 10 Salute for the Captains Steadly, Hallett, Hindman, Cape Steward, Cabb, Kirby, & Freeman Do	Gunner's stores expended in the month of June 1741: Fired at Munden's for an experiment, 1 gun, 1 lb powder, 6 [...] Salute for Captain Nall at going on board, 9 guns, 9 lb powder Salute for the *Royal George* bound to India, 9 guns, 9 lb powder Salute for His Majesty's ship in answer to the theme, 21 guns, 34 lb powder Powder to fill the cartridges for the muskets, 15 lb powder Powder to teach the recruits to exercise and fire, 58 lb powder Powder for the guard, 12 lb powder The whole coming to 40 guns, 1 [...], 143 lb powder Other stores expended: Musket balls, 25 Handspikes, 5 Dough barrels, 2 Cartridge paper, 2 quires Match, 10 [...] Cartridge paper, 10 quires Flints, 150 Rammer heads, 12 Drum heads, 2 Bayonet scabbards, 6 Gunner's stores expended in the month of July 1741: Salute for the captains Headly, Hallett, Hindman, Cape, Steward, Nall, Harry and Freeman going on board, 72 guns, 90 lb powder Salute for the Governor landing from Sandy Bay, 4 guns, 4 lb powder Salute for the ships departing, being the *Royal Guardian*, *Heathcote*, *Hardwick*, *Warrington*, *Prince Louisa*, *Prince William*, *Duke*, *Montague* and *Zabet*, 81 guns, 104 lb powder Alarm for a ship that passed by, 6 guns, 14 lb powder Powder for blowing up some stones, 8 lb powder Powder for the guard for the month, 35 lb powder The whole coming to 168 guns, 260 lb powder Other stores expended: Match, 24 [...] Cartridge paper, 2 quires Handspikes, 2 Priming wires, 6 Bills, 2 Flints, 50 Rammer heads, 10 **Interpretations** The salute fired for the departing fleet of nine named ships shows the ceremonial cost of the convoy sailing all at once. Eighty-one guns and over a hundred pounds of powder marked the departure of the whole homeward fleet together, a single great expenditure answering the collected ships as they finally left the road after their long detention. This is the powder counterpart to the convoy policy: just as

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and Analysis
		} 72 90 Do for the Governours Landing from p Limes 4 9 Do for the Ships departure vizt Royall Guardian, Heathcote, Waddnicke, Denington, Princa Louisa, Prince William, Duke, Mountague & Yatch } 81 104 26 Allarm for a Ship that Passed Do 6 14 Powder for Blowing up Lime Stone 8 Do for p Guards & O. S. p flint 35 Totall 168 260 Match 24 Cartridge Paper 2 Do Hand Spikes 2 Priming Wyres 6 Do 2 Flints 50 Ram Rods 10.	the ships had been held and then released as one body for safety on the passage, so their going was saluted as one, the gunner's account recording in a single heavy entry the moment the season's accumulated shipping at last put to sea under escort. The powder entered for blowing up stones shows the gunner's stores serving the settlement's construction as well as its defence and ceremony. A charge of powder was spent not on guns but on breaking rock, the same explosive that armed the batteries put to use clearing stone for the works then in hand. This small entry reflects how a remote settlement drew on its limited stores for every purpose at once: the powder that saluted the ships and would have answered an enemy also did the labour of quarrying and demolition, so that a single accountable store served the fort's guns, its courtesies and its building alike, each use weighed against a supply that war might soon make precious.
86	82	Gunners Stores Expended in p Month of August 1741 vizt Gunns fired Shot fired Powder Expended 7 Powder Do for p Guards to Muster 20 c 13 Allarm for his Majestys Ship Colchester 6 14 Fired from p great Guns to bring her too 1 1 7 Do for Mundens Do to Do 1 1 7 14 Saluted his Majestys Ship Colchester 21 34 Do Sr William Hewit on Landing 21 34 Allarm 6 14 15 Saluted his Majestys Ship Southland 21 34 16 Do John Oliphant Esqr on Landing 21 34 18 Answered the Colchesters Salute for p Govr 21 34 Do 19 28 21 Do the Southlands Salute for the Govr 21 34 Do 19 28 27 departed his Majestys Ships Southland & Colchester 21 34 Totall	Gunner's stores expended in the month of August 1741: Powder for the guards to muster, 20 lb powder Alarm for His Majesty's ship *Chester*, 6 guns, 14 lb powder Fired from the great fort to bring her to, 1 gun, 1 lb powder, 7 [...] Fired at Munden's to bring her to, 1 gun, 1 lb powder, 7 [...] Saluted His Majesty's ship *Chester*, 21 guns, 34 lb powder Salute for Sir William Hewitt on landing, 21 guns, 34 lb powder Alarm, 6 guns, 14 lb powder Saluted His Majesty's ship *Falkland*, 21 guns, 34 lb powder Salute for John Blackwood on landing, 21 guns, 34 lb powder Answered the *Chester's* salute for the Governor, 19 guns, 28 lb powder Answered the *Falkland's* salute for the Governor, 21 guns, 34 lb powder The like, 19 guns, 28 lb powder Departure of His Majesty's ships *Falkland* and *Chester*, 21 guns, 34 lb powder The whole coming to 199 guns, 2 [...], 406 lb powder Other stores expended: Cartridge paper, 6 quires Match, 18 [...] Sponges, 6 Lead shot, 2 [...] Aprons, 2 Ladles, 2 Bills, 3 Sheepskins, 4 Priming wires, 5 Handspikes, 3 Sponge staves, 3 **Interpretations** The heavy firing for the two men of war shows the elaborate courtesies exchanged between the settlement and the King's ships, quite distinct from the treatment of merchantmen. The *Chester* and *Falkland* each drew a full salute of twenty-one guns, their commanders were saluted again on landing, and their own salutes to the Governor were answered gun for gun, a dense ceremonial owed to the naval representatives of the Crown. This marks the special standing of royal warships at the island: where trading ships received modest salutes measured to their rank, the men of war commanded the fullest honours and a careful matching of every salute they gave, the powder spent reflecting the deference due to the King's own service. The guns fired to bring the *Chester* to reveal that the salutes could also serve as signals of authority over an approaching ship. Before saluting her, the fort and Munden's each fired a gun to bring her to, requiring the warship to identify herself and submit to the road's order before the courtesies began. This shows the firing serving a double function even with a friendly vessel: the same battery that would honour the ship first asserted the settlement's control of its own approaches, a small but telling insistence that even a King's ship of fifty guns answered to the fort's signals

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and Analysis
		133 2 406 Paper 6 Reams Match 18 c Sponks 6 Lead Shot 2 c Aprons 2 Ladles 2 Bills 3 Sheep Skins 4 Priming Wyres 5 Hand Spikes 3 Sponge Staves 3	as she came in, the powder marking both the island's caution and its claim to govern its own waters.
87	83	Account of the Honoble Companys Stock of Neet Cattle &c, for the Month of May Vizt 1741 Bullocks, Cows, Heifers, Steers, Yearlings, Calfs, Bulls, Totale, Ewes, Wethers, Lambs, Rams, Totale, Ewes, Wethers, Kidds, Rams, Totale, Sows, Shoats, Piggs, Boars, Totale, Turkys, Fowl, Ducks, Geese, Horses, Mares, Totale Remaining 1 May: Bullocks 15, Cows 92, Heifers 16, Steers 28, Yearlings 55, Calfs 48, Bulls 3, Totale 275, Ewes 48, Wethers 34, Lambs 11, Rams 3, Totale 96, Ewes 40, Wethers 13, Kidds 11, Rams 2, Totale 66, Sows 8, Shoats 29, Piggs 13, Boars 2, Totale 52, Turkys 67, Fowl 170, Ducks 61, Geese 9, Horses 10, Mares 12, Totale 22 Encreased in Ditto: Bullocks 0, Cows 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Yearlings 0, Calfs 0, Bulls 0, Totale 0, Ewes 0, Wethers 0, Lambs 3, Rams 0, Totale 3, Ewes 0, Wethers 0, Kidds 2, Rams 0, Totale 2, Sows 0, Shoats 0, Piggs 0, Boars 0, Totale 0, Turkys 0, Fowl 0, Ducks 0, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Totale 0 Bullocks 15, Cows 92, Heifers 16, Steers 28, Yearlings 55, Calfs 48, Bulls 3, Totale 275, Ewes 48, Wethers 34, Lambs 14, Rams 3, Totale 99, Ewes 40, Wethers 13, Kidds 13, Rams 2, Totale 68, Sows 8, Shoats 29, Piggs 13, Boars 2, Totale 52, Turkys 67, Fowl 170, Ducks 61, Geese 9, Horses 10, Mares 12, Totale 22 Killed in Ditto: Bullocks 15, Cows 3, Heifers 6, Steers 23, Yearlings 0, Calfs 1, Bulls 0, Totale 48, Ewes 6, Wethers 2, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Totale 8, Ewes 1, Wethers 0, Kidds 0, Rams 0, Totale 1, Sows 0, Shoats 1, Piggs 5, Boars 0, Totale 6, Turkys 13, Fowl 31, Ducks 10, Geese 1, Horses 0, Mares 0, Totale 0 Bullocks 0, Cows 89, Heifers 10, Steers 5, Yearlings 55, Calfs 47, Bulls 3, Totale 209, Ewes 42, Wethers 32, Lambs 14, Rams 3, Totale 91, Ewes 39, Wethers 13, Kidds 13, Rams 2, Totale 67, Sows 8, Shoats 28, Piggs 8, Boars 2, Totale 46, Turkys 54, Fowl 139, Ducks 51, Geese 8, Horses 10, Mares 12, Totale 22 Died in Ditto: Bullocks 0, Cows 1, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Yearlings 4, Calfs 2, Bulls 0, Totale 7, Ewes 1, Wethers 0, Lambs 2, Rams 0, Totale 3, Ewes 0, Wethers 0, Kidds 2, Rams 0, Totale 2, Sows 1, Shoats 0, Piggs 4, Boars 0, Totale 5, Turkys 1, Fowl 1, Ducks 3, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Totale 0 Remaining 31 May: Bullocks 0, Cows 88, Heifers 10, Steers 5, Yearlings 51, Calfs 45, Bulls 3, Totale 202, Ewes 41, Wethers 32, Lambs 12, Rams 3, Totale 88, Ewes 39, Wethers 13, Kidds 11, Rams 2, Totale 65, Sows 7, Shoats 28, Piggs 4, Boars 2, Totale 41, Turkys 53, Fowl 138, Ducks 48, Geese 8, Horses 10, Mares 12, Totale 22 Yams Expended at the several Plantations 24000 lb	This was the account of the Company's stock of cattle and the like for the month of May 1741, the columns for neat cattle covering bullocks, cows, heifers, steers, yearlings, calves and bulls with their total, the sheep covering ewes, wethers, lambs and rams with their total, the goats covering ewes, wethers, kids and rams with their total, the hogs covering sows, shoats, pigs and boars with their total, then poultry as turkeys, fowls, ducks and geese, and lastly horses as stone horses and mares with their total. Remaining on 1 May: Neat cattle: 15 bullocks, 92 cows, 16 heifers, 28 steers, 55 yearlings, 48 calves, 3 bulls, total 275 Sheep: 48 ewes, 34 wethers, 11 lambs, 3 rams, total 96 Goats: 40 ewes, 13 wethers, 11 kids, 2 rams, total 66 Hogs: 8 sows, 29 shoats, 13 pigs, 2 boars, total 52 Poultry: 67 turkeys, 170 fowls, 61 ducks, 9 geese Horses: 10 stone horses, 12 mares, total 22 Increased in the month: Sheep: 3 lambs, total 3 Goats: 2 kids, total 2 Making: Neat cattle: 15 bullocks, 92 cows, 16 heifers, 28 steers, 55 yearlings, 48 calves, 3 bulls, total 275 Sheep: 48 ewes, 34 wethers, 14 lambs, 3 rams, total 99 Goats: 40 ewes, 13 wethers, 13 kids, 2 rams, total 68 Hogs: 8 sows, 29 shoats, 13 pigs, 2 boars, total 52 Poultry: 67 turkeys, 170 fowls, 61 ducks, 9 geese Horses: 10 stone horses, 12 mares, total 22 Killed in the month: Neat cattle: 15 bullocks, 3 cows, 6 heifers, 23 steers, 1 calf, total 48 Sheep: 6 ewes, 2 wethers, total 8 Goats: 1 ewe, total 1 Hogs: 1 shoat, 5 pigs, total 6 Poultry: 13 turkeys, 31 fowls, 10 ducks, 1 goose Making: Neat cattle: 89 cows, 10 heifers, 5 steers, 55 yearlings, 47 calves, 3 bulls, total 209 Sheep: 42 ewes, 32 wethers, 14 lambs, 3 rams, total 91 Goats: 39 ewes, 13 wethers, 13 kids, 2 rams, total 67 Hogs: 8 sows, 28 shoats, 8 pigs, 2 boars, total 46 Poultry: 54 turkeys, 139 fowls, 51 ducks, 8 geese Horses: 10 stone horses, 12 mares, total 22 Died in the month: Neat cattle: 1 cow, 4 yearlings, 2 calves, total 7 Sheep: 1 ewe, 2 lambs, total 3 Hogs: 2 shoats, 1 pig, total 4 Poultry: 1 turkey, 1 fowl, 3 ducks Remaining on 31 May: Neat cattle: 88 cows, 10 heifers, 5 steers, 51 yearlings, 45 calves, 3 bulls, total 202 Sheep: 41 ewes, 32 wethers, 12 lambs, 3 rams, total 88 Goats: 39 ewes, 13 wethers, 11 kids, 2 rams, total 65 Hogs: 7 sows, 28 shoats, 4 pigs, 2 boars, total 41 Poultry: 53 turkeys, 138 fowls, 48 ducks, 8 geese Horses: 10 stone horses, 12 mares, total 22 Yams expended at the several plantations, 24,000 lb. **Interpretations** The reappearance of goats in the Company's stock is worth noting against the record of a decade earlier. The formal resolution to destroy the Company's goats dated from 20 January 1730, and the herd had closed at nothing by February 1731, yet here in May 1741 a settled column of goats runs through the account, 66 at the month's start and 65 at its close, breeding and increasing like the other stock. This confirms that the extirpation of 1730 did not end goats on the island for good, the Company once more keeping a managed

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			herd, whether by a reversal not entered in this run or under the old exception for tame goats pastured with cattle, so that the account records a practice the earlier resolution had set out to abolish. The heavy slaughter of bullocks and steers in the month reflects the demand of the shipping season on the Company's herd. Fifteen bullocks and twenty-three steers were killed in May, by far the greatest draw on the neat cattle, exactly the months when the fleet crowded the road and the ships needed fresh provisions for their people. This is the stock account answering to the shipping account: the same season whose salutes and departures fill the gunner's return drew down the herd to victual the ships, the cattle killed matching the vessels served, so that the movement of the Company's animals traces the pressure the visiting fleet put on the island's provisions.
88	84	Account of the Honoble Companys Stock of Neet Cattle &c, for the month of June 1741 Vizt Bullocks, Cows, Heifers, Steers, Yearlings, Calves, Bulls, Totale, Ewes, Weathers, Lambs, Rams, Totale, Ewes, Weathers, Kidds, Rams, Totale, Sows, Shoats, Piggs, Boars, Totale, Turkeys, Fowls, Ducks, Geese, Horses, Mares, Totale Remaining the 1 of June: Bullocks 0, Cows 88, Heifers 10, Steers 5, Yearlings 51, Calves 45, Bulls 3, Totale 202, Ewes 41, Weathers 32, Lambs 12, Rams 3, Totale 88, Ewes 39, Weathers 13, Kidds 11, Rams 2, Totale 65, Sows 7, Shoats 28, Piggs 4, Boars 2, Totale 41, Turkeys 53, Fowls 138, Ducks 48, Geese 8, Horses 10, Mares 12, Totale 22 Encreased in Do: Bullocks 0, Cows 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Yearlings 0, Calves 0, Bulls 0, Totale 0, Ewes 0, Weathers 6, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Totale 6, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Kidds 2, Rams 0, Totale 2, Sows 0, Shoats 0, Piggs 0, Boars 0, Totale 0, Turkeys 0, Fowls 0, Ducks 0, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Totale 0 Bought in Do: Bullocks 4, Cows 11, Heifers 12, Steers 2, Yearlings 3, Calves 3, Bulls 0, Totale 35, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Totale 0, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Kidds 0, Rams 0, Totale 0, Sows 0, Shoats 0, Piggs 0, Boars 0, Totale 0, Turkeys 0, Fowls 0, Ducks 0, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Totale 0 Bullocks 4, Cows 99, Heifers 22, Steers 7, Yearlings 54, Calves 48, Bulls 3, Totale 237, Ewes 41, Weathers 32, Lambs 18, Rams 3, Totale 94, Ewes 39, Weathers 13, Kidds 13, Rams 2, Totale 67, Sows 7, Shoats 28, Piggs 4, Boars 2, Totale 41, Turkeys 53, Fowls 138, Ducks 48, Geese 8, Horses 10, Mares 12, Totale 22 Killed in Do: Bullocks 0, Cows 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Yearlings 0, Calves 0, Bulls 0, Totale 0, Ewes 0, Weathers 6, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Totale 6, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Kidds 0, Rams 0, Totale 0, Sows 0, Shoats 2, Piggs 0, Boars 0, Totale 2, Turkeys 7, Fowls 20, Ducks 16, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Totale 0 Sold in Do: Bullocks 0, Cows 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Yearlings 0, Calves 0, Bulls 0, Totale 0, Ewes 0, Weathers 6, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Totale 6, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Kidds 0, Rams 0, Totale 0, Sows 0, Shoats 0, Piggs 0, Boars 0, Totale 0, Turkeys 0, Fowls 0, Ducks 0, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Totale 0 Bullocks 4, Cows 99, Heifers 22, Steers 7, Yearlings 54, Calves 48, Bulls 3, Totale 237, Ewes 41, Weathers 20, Lambs 18, Rams 3, Totale 82, Ewes 39, Weathers 13, Kidds 13, Rams 2, Totale 67, Sows 7, Shoats 26, Piggs 4, Boars 2, Totale 39, Turkeys 46, Fowls 118, Ducks 32, Geese 8, Horses 10, Mares 12, Totale 22 Died in Do: Bullocks 0, Cows 1, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Yearlings 2, Calves 0, Bulls 3, Totale 1, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Totale 1, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Kidds 0, Rams 0, Totale 0, Sows 0, Shoats 0, Piggs 0, Boars 0, Totale 0, Turkeys 1, Fowls 5, Ducks 0, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Totale 0	This was the account of the Company's stock of cattle and the like for the month of June 1741, the columns running as before through the classes of neat cattle, sheep, goats, hogs, poultry and horses. Remaining on 1 June: Neat cattle: 88 cows, 10 heifers, 5 steers, 51 yearlings, 45 calves, 3 bulls, total 202 Sheep: 41 ewes, 32 wethers, 12 lambs, 3 rams, total 88 Goats: 39 ewes, 13 wethers, 11 kids, 2 rams, total 65 Hogs: 7 sows, 28 shoats, 4 pigs, 2 boars, total 41 Poultry: 53 turkeys, 138 fowls, 48 ducks, 8 geese Horses: 10 stone horses, 12 mares, total 22 Increased in the month: Sheep: 6 lambs, total 6 Bought in the month: Neat cattle: 4 bullocks, 11 cows, 12 heifers, 2 steers, 3 yearlings, 3 calves, total 35 Making: Neat cattle: 4 bullocks, 99 cows, 22 heifers, 7 steers, 54 yearlings, 48 calves, 3 bulls, total 237 Sheep: 41 ewes, 32 wethers, 18 lambs, 3 rams, total 94 Goats: 39 ewes, 13 wethers, 13 kids, 2 rams, total 67 Hogs: 7 sows, 28 shoats, 4 pigs, 2 boars, total 41 Poultry: 53 turkeys, 138 fowls, 48 ducks, 8 geese Horses: 10 stone horses, 12 mares, total 22 Killed in the month: Sheep: 6 lambs, total 6 Sold in the month: Hogs: 2 pigs, total 2 Poultry: 7 turkeys, 20 fowls, 16 ducks Making: Neat cattle: 4 bullocks, 99 cows, 22 heifers, 7 steers, 54 yearlings, 48 calves, 3 bulls, total 237 Sheep: 41 ewes, 20 wethers, 18 lambs, 3 rams, total 82 Goats: 39 ewes, 13 wethers, 13 kids, 2 rams, total 67 Hogs: 7 sows, 26 shoats, 4 pigs, 2 boars, total 39 Poultry: 46 turkeys, 118 fowls, 32 ducks, 8 geese Horses: 10 stone horses, 12 mares, total 22 Died in the month: Neat cattle: 1 cow, 2 yearlings, 3 calves, total [...] Sheep: 1 wether, total 1 Poultry: 1 fowl, 5 ducks Remaining on 30 June: Neat cattle: 4 bullocks, 98 cows, 22 heifers, 7 steers, 54 yearlings, 46 calves, 3 bulls, total 234 Sheep: 40 ewes, 20 wethers, 18 lambs, 3 rams, total 81 Goats: 39 ewes, 13 wethers, 13 kids, 2 rams, total 67 Hogs: 7 sows, 26 shoats, 4 pigs, 2 boars, total 39 Poultry: 45 turkeys, 113 fowls, 32 ducks, 8 geese Horses: 10 stone horses, 12 mares, total 22 Yams expended at the several plantations, 24,000 lb. **Interpretations** The 35 head of cattle bought into the stock this month confirm the Governor's purchase from Goodwin's estate entering the account. The record of 18 June 1741 had noted the Governor buying 35 head out of Goodwin's cattle for the Company at £182 0s 0d, to supply the following year's shipping, and here the June stock shows exactly that number bought in, spread across bullocks, cows, heifers, steers, yearlings and calves. This ties the narrative of the consultations to the figures of the account: the frozen estate's herd passed into the Company's own stock, both relieving the depleted cattle and turning part of the debt into

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		Remaining 30 Do: Bullocks 4, Cows 98, Heifers 22, Steers 7, Yearlings 54, Calves 46, Bulls 3, Totale 234, Ewes 40, Weathers 20, Lambs 18, Rams 3, Totale 81, Ewes 39, Weathers 13, Kidds 13, Rams 2, Totale 67, Sows 7, Shoats 26, Piggs 4, Boars 2, Totale 39, Turkeys 45, Fowls 113, Ducks 32, Geese 8, Horses 10, Mares 12, Totale 22 Yams Expended at the Several Plantations 24000 lb	provision, the transaction traceable in the very columns of the monthly return. The sale of poultry and pigs this month, where May had shown none, marks a different disposal of stock than slaughter for the fort's table. Birds and pigs were sold rather than killed, turning stock into money instead of meat, which points to the surplus of the smaller animals being realised as cash while the cattle were reserved for provisioning the ships. This distinction in the account, killed against sold, shows the settlement managing its stock on two principles at once: the larger beasts consumed to feed the fleet and the garrison, the lesser ones sold off when they exceeded need, so that the herd and flock served both the table and the treasury according to what each kind was best fitted to supply.
89	85	Account of the Honoble Companys Stock of Neet Cattle &c, for the month of July 1741 Vizt Bullocks, Cows, Heifers, Steers, Yearlings, Calves, Bulls, Totale, Ewes, Weathers, Lambs, Rams, Totale, Ewes, Weathers, Kidds, Rams, Totale, Sows, Shoats, Piggs, Boars, Totale, Turkeys, Fowl, Ducks, Geese, Horses, Mares, Totale Remaining 1 July: Bullocks 4, Cows 98, Heifers 22, Steers 7, Yearlings 54, Calves 46, Bulls 3, Totale 234, Ewes 40, Weathers 20, Lambs 18, Rams 3, Totale 81, Ewes 103, Weathers 26, Kidds 46, Rams 4, Totale 179, Sows 7, Shoats 26, Piggs 4, Boars 2, Totale 39, Turkeys 45, Fowl 113, Ducks 32, Geese 8, Horses 10, Mares 12, Totale 22 Encreased in Do: Bullocks 0, Cows 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Yearlings 4, Calves 4, Bulls 0, Totale 0, Ewes 0, Weathers 5, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Totale 5, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Kidds 9, Rams 0, Totale 9, Sows 0, Shoats 0, Piggs 0, Boars 0, Totale 0, Turkeys 25, Fowl 7, Ducks 0, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Totale 0 Bullocks 4, Cows 98, Heifers 22, Steers 7, Yearlings 54, Calves 50, Bulls 3, Totale 238, Ewes 40, Weathers 20, Lambs 23, Rams 3, Totale 86, Ewes 103, Weathers 26, Kidds 55, Rams 4, Totale 188, Sows 7, Shoats 26, Piggs 4, Boars 2, Totale 39, Turkeys 45, Fowl 138, Ducks 29, Geese 8, Horses 10, Mares 12, Totale 22 Killed in ditto: Bullocks 0, Cows 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Yearlings 0, Calves 0, Bulls 0, Totale 0, Ewes 8, Weathers 0, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Totale 8, Ewes 4, Weathers 3, Kidds 0, Rams 0, Totale 7, Sows 0, Shoats 1, Piggs 2, Boars 0, Totale 3, Turkeys 6, Fowl 35, Ducks 2, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Totale 0 Bullocks 4, Cows 98, Heifers 22, Steers 7, Yearlings 54, Calves 50, Bulls 3, Totale 238, Ewes 40, Weathers 12, Lambs 23, Rams 3, Totale 78, Ewes 103, Weathers 22, Kidds 52, Rams 4, Totale 181, Sows 7, Shoats 25, Piggs 2, Boars 2, Totale 36, Turkeys 39, Fowl 103, Ducks 37, Geese 8, Horses 10, Mares 12, Totale 22 Died in ditto: Bullocks 0, Cows 1, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Yearlings 1, Calves 0, Bulls 2, Totale 0, Ewes 1, Weathers 2, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Totale 3, Ewes 1, Weathers 0, Kidds 2, Rams 0, Totale 3, Sows 0, Shoats 0, Piggs 0, Boars 0, Totale 0, Turkeys 2, Fowl 1, Ducks 0, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Totale 0 Remaining 31 ditto: Bullocks 4, Cows 97, Heifers 22, Steers 7, Yearlings 54, Calves 49, Bulls 3, Totale 236, Ewes 40, Weathers 11, Lambs 21, Rams 3, Totale 75, Ewes 102, Weathers 22, Kidds 51, Rams 4, Totale 178, Sows 7, Shoats 25, Piggs 2, Boars 2, Totale 36, Turkeys 37, Fowl 102, Ducks 34, Geese 8, Horses 10, Mares 12, Totale 22 Yams Expended at the several Plantations 38000 lb	This was the account of the Company's stock of cattle and the like for the month of July 1741, the columns running as before through the classes of neat cattle, sheep, goats, hogs, poultry and horses. Remaining on 1 July: Neat cattle: 4 bullocks, 98 cows, 22 heifers, 7 steers, 54 yearlings, 46 calves, 3 bulls, total 234 Sheep: 40 ewes, 20 wethers, 18 lambs, 3 rams, total 81 Goats: 103 ewes, 26 wethers, 46 kids, 4 rams, total 179 Hogs: 7 sows, 26 shoats, 4 pigs, 2 boars, total 39 Poultry: 45 turkeys, 113 fowls, 32 ducks, 8 geese Horses: 10 stone horses, 12 mares, total 22 Increased in the month: Neat cattle: 4 calves, total 4 Sheep: 5 lambs, total 5 Goats: 9 kids, total 9 Poultry: 25 turkeys, 7 fowls Making: Neat cattle: 4 bullocks, 98 cows, 22 heifers, 7 steers, 54 yearlings, 50 calves, 3 bulls, total 238 Sheep: 40 ewes, 20 wethers, 23 lambs, 3 rams, total 86 Goats: 103 ewes, 26 wethers, 55 kids, 4 rams, total 188 Hogs: 7 sows, 26 shoats, 4 pigs, 2 boars, total 39 Poultry: 45 turkeys, 138 fowls, 29 ducks, 8 geese Horses: 10 stone horses, 12 mares, total 22 Killed in the month: Sheep: 8 wethers, total 8 Goats: 4 ewes, 3 wethers, total 7 Hogs: 1 shoat, 2 pigs, total 3 Poultry: 6 turkeys, 35 fowls, 2 ducks Making: Neat cattle: 4 bullocks, 98 cows, 22 heifers, 7 steers, 54 yearlings, 50 calves, 3 bulls, total 238 Sheep: 40 ewes, 12 wethers, 23 lambs, 3 rams, total 78 Goats: 103 ewes, 22 wethers, 52 kids, 4 rams, total 181 Hogs: 7 sows, 25 shoats, 2 pigs, 2 boars, total 36 Poultry: 39 turkeys, 103 fowls, 37 ducks, 8 geese Horses: 10 stone horses, 12 mares, total 22 Died in the month: Neat cattle: 1 cow, 1 calf, total 2 Sheep: 1 wether, 2 lambs, total 3 Goats: 1 ewe, 2 kids, total 3 Poultry: 2 fowls, 1 duck Remaining on 31 July: Neat cattle: 4 bullocks, 97 cows, 22 heifers, 7 steers, 54 yearlings, 49 calves, 3 bulls, total 236 Sheep: 40 ewes, 11 wethers, 21 lambs, 3 rams, total 75 Goats: 102 ewes, 22 wethers, 51 kids, 4 rams, total 178 Hogs: 7 sows, 25 shoats, 2 pigs, 2 boars, total 36 Poultry: 37 turkeys, 102 fowls, 34 ducks, 8 geese Horses: 10 stone horses, 12 mares, total 22 Yams expended at the several plantations, 38,000 lb. **Interpretations** The sudden leap in the goat herd is the most striking movement in this month's account. The goats stood at 67 through May and June, then appear at the start of July as 179, a near trebling with no purchase or increase entered to explain it in the movement rows. This jump, from a modest managed flock to well over a hundred and fifty head, suggests a large body of goats brought onto the Company's books between the June and July returns, whether by a transfer, a taking-in of feral or private animals, or a restocking not recorded in the consultations of this run, so that the account registers a substantial change in the goat holding whose cause the figures alone do not disclose.

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			The rise in yams expended, from 24,000 lb in each of the preceding months to 38,000 lb in July, reflects the growing pressure on the island's provisions as the herd and the population had to be fed through the season. Yams were the staple that sustained both the slaves and the stock, and a jump of more than half in a single month points to heavier consumption, perhaps as the enlarged goat herd and the cattle bought in drew more heavily on the plantations' produce. This figure, set against the stock movements, shows the settlement's provisioning stretched further in July, the staple crop expended in greater quantity to carry the increased animals and the demands of a busy season.
90	86	Account of the Honoble Companys Stock of Neat Cattle &c, for the month of August 1741 vizt Bullocks, Cows, Heifers, Steers, Yearlings, Calves, Bulls, Totale, Ewes, Weathers, Lambs, Rams, Totale, Ewes, Weathers, Kidds, Rams, Totale, Sows, Shoats, Piggs, Boars, Totale, Turkeys, Fowls, Ducks, Geese, Horses, Mares, Totale Remaining the 1 of August: Bullocks 4, Cows 97, Heifers 22, Steers 7, Yearlings 54, Calves 49, Bulls 3, Totale 236, Ewes 40, Weathers 11, Lambs 21, Rams 3, Totale 75, Ewes 102, Weathers 22, Kidds 50, Rams 4, Totale 178, Sows 7, Shoats 25, Piggs 2, Boars 2, Totale 36, Turkeys 37, Fowls 102, Ducks 34, Geese 8, Horses 10, Mares 12, Totale 22 Encreased in ditto: Bullocks 0, Cows 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Yearlings 0, Calves 3, Bulls 0, Totale 3, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Totale 0, Ewes 0, Weathers 4, Kidds 0, Rams 0, Totale 4, Sows 0, Shoats 0, Piggs 20, Boars 0, Totale 20, Turkeys 9, Fowls 27, Ducks 12, Geese 1, Horses 0, Mares 0, Totale 0 Bullocks 4, Cows 97, Heifers 22, Steers 7, Yearlings 54, Calves 52, Bulls 3, Totale 239, Ewes 40, Weathers 11, Lambs 21, Rams 3, Totale 75, Ewes 102, Weathers 22, Kidds 54, Rams 4, Totale 182, Sows 7, Shoats 25, Piggs 22, Boars 2, Totale 56, Turkeys 46, Fowls 129, Ducks 46, Geese 9, Horses 10, Mares 12, Totale 22 Killed in ditto: Bullocks 3, Cows 0, Heifers 1, Steers 0, Yearlings 0, Calves 4, Bulls 2, Totale 6, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Lambs 8, Rams 0, Totale 8, Ewes 0, Weathers 4, Kidds 2, Rams 0, Totale 6, Sows 0, Shoats 1, Piggs 0, Boars 0, Totale 1, Turkeys 2, Fowls 12, Ducks 0, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Totale 0 Bullocks 4, Cows 97, Heifers 22, Steers 7, Yearlings 54, Calves 52, Bulls 3, Totale 235, Ewes 38, Weathers 5, Lambs 21, Rams 3, Totale 67, Ewes 102, Weathers 18, Kidds 52, Rams 4, Totale 176, Sows 7, Shoats 24, Piggs 22, Boars 2, Totale 55, Turkeys 44, Fowls 117, Ducks 46, Geese 9, Horses 10, Mares 12, Totale 22 Died in ditto: Bullocks 0, Cows 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Yearlings 0, Calves 0, Bulls 0, Totale 0, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Totale 0, Ewes 2, Weathers 0, Kidds 1, Rams 0, Totale 3, Sows 0, Shoats 0, Piggs 0, Boars 0, Totale 0, Turkeys 0, Fowls 0, Ducks 0, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Totale 0 Remaining 31 ditto: Bullocks 4, Cows 97, Heifers 21, Steers 7, Yearlings 54, Calves 52, Bulls 3, Totale 235, Ewes 38, Weathers 5, Lambs 21, Rams 3, Totale 67, Ewes 100, Weathers 18, Kidds 51, Rams 4, Totale 173, Sows 7, Shoats 24, Piggs 22, Boars 2, Totale 55, Turkeys 44, Fowls 117, Ducks 46, Geese 9, Horses 10, Mares 12, Totale 22 Yams Expended at the Several Plantations 38000 lb	This was the account of the Company's stock of cattle and the like for the month of August 1741, the columns running as before through the classes of neat cattle, sheep, goats, hogs, poultry and horses. Remaining on 1 August: Neat cattle: 4 bullocks, 97 cows, 22 heifers, 7 steers, 54 yearlings, 49 calves, 3 bulls, total 236 Sheep: 40 ewes, 11 wethers, 21 lambs, 3 rams, total 75 Goats: 102 ewes, 22 wethers, 50 kids, 4 rams, total 178 Hogs: 7 sows, 25 shoats, 2 pigs, 2 boars, total 36 Poultry: 37 turkeys, 102 fowls, 34 ducks, 8 geese Horses: 10 stone horses, 12 mares, total 22 Increased in the month: Neat cattle: 3 calves, total 3 Goats: 4 kids, total 4 Hogs: 20 pigs, total 20 Poultry: 9 turkeys, 27 fowls, 12 ducks, 1 goose Making: Neat cattle: 4 bullocks, 97 cows, 22 heifers, 7 steers, 54 yearlings, 52 calves, 3 bulls, total 239 Sheep: 40 ewes, 11 wethers, 21 lambs, 3 rams, total 75 Goats: 102 ewes, 22 wethers, 54 kids, 4 rams, total 182 Hogs: 7 sows, 25 shoats, 22 pigs, 2 boars, total 56 Poultry: 46 turkeys, 129 fowls, 46 ducks, 9 geese Horses: 10 stone horses, 12 mares, total 22 Killed in the month: Neat cattle: 3 bullocks, 1 cow, total 4 Sheep: 2 ewes, 6 wethers, total 8 Goats: 4 wethers, 2 kids, total 6 Hogs: 1 shoat, total 1 Poultry: 2 turkeys, 12 fowls Making: Neat cattle: 4 bullocks, 97 cows, 22 heifers, 7 steers, 54 yearlings, 52 calves, 3 bulls, total 235 Sheep: 38 ewes, 5 wethers, 21 lambs, 3 rams, total 67 Goats: 102 ewes, 18 wethers, 52 kids, 4 rams, total 176 Hogs: 7 sows, 24 shoats, 22 pigs, 2 boars, total 55 Poultry: 44 turkeys, 117 fowls, 46 ducks, 9 geese Horses: 10 stone horses, 12 mares, total 22 Died in the month: Goats: 2 wethers, 1 kid, total 3 Remaining on 31 August: Neat cattle: 1 bullock, 97 cows, 21 heifers, 7 steers, 54 yearlings, 52 calves, 3 bulls, total 235 Sheep: 38 ewes, 5 wethers, 21 lambs, 3 rams, total 67 Goats: 100 ewes, 18 wethers, 51 kids, 4 rams, total 173 Hogs: 7 sows, 24 shoats, 22 pigs, 2 boars, total 55 Poultry: 44 turkeys, 117 fowls, 46 ducks, 9 geese Horses: 10 stone horses, 12 mares, total 22 Yams expended at the several plantations, 38,000 lb. **Interpretations** The large farrow of twenty pigs entered this month shows the hog stock renewing itself just as the season's slaughter of cattle eased. Where the earlier months had drawn heavily on the neat cattle to victual the crowded road, August saw only a few bullocks killed and the hogs increase sharply through a single large litter, more than doubling the pigs on the books. This shift in the account reflects the passing of the busy shipping season: with the fleet gone and the demand for beef slackened, the herd was spared and the natural increase of the lesser stock allowed to build the numbers back, the pigs multiplying to replenish a store that the summer had run down. The steady figures for horses across every month, unchanged at ten stone horses and twelve mares, mark them as working animals kept apart from the provisioning economy. Through all the killing, selling,

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			breeding and dying that moved the cattle, sheep, goats, hogs and poultry, the horses neither increased nor diminished, being neither bred for the table nor sold off. This constancy sets them apart in the account: the horses were the settlement's draught and riding stock, valued for their labour rather than their flesh, and their fixed number through the whole run shows them maintained as a stable working establishment while every other class of animal rose and fell with the demands of the season.
91	87	Expence of the General Table for p month of May 1741 vizt Sugar 104 lb @ 4½ 17 4 Oyl 4 bottles 2/6 10 Flour 1 c 23/ 1 3 Salt 1 bushell 6/ 6 Candy 67 lb 3 16 9 Arrack 45 Gall 2/ 4 10 Port Wine 11½ Do 6/ 3 9 Mountain Do 17½ Do 6/ 2 6 6 Candles 62 lb 9 2 6 English Pork 22 c 2/1 2 5 10 Island Do 67 c 1/6 1 13 6 Veal 196 c 1/6 4 18 Beef 488 c 1/3 6 2 £ 32 14 5 Expence of p General Table for the month of June 1741 vizt Sugar 88 c 14 8 Oyl 8 bott 1 Flour	The expense of the general table for the month of May 1741 stood as follows. Sugar, 104 lb at 4d, £17 4s 0d Oil, 4 bottles at 2s 6d, £0 10s 0d Flour, 1 hundredweight at 23s, £1 3s 0d Salt, 1 kimball at 6d, £0 6s 0d Candy, 67 lb at 5d, £16 9s 0d Arrack, 45 gallons at 2s, £4 10s 0d Port wine, 11.5 dozen at 6s, £3 7s 6d Mountain wine, 1.75 dozen at 6s, £2 6s 6d Candles, 62 lb at 8d, £3 18s 0d English pork, 22 lb at 2s 6d, £2 6s 10d Island pork, 67 lb at 1s 6d, £1 13s 6d Veal, 196 lb at 6d, £4 18s 0d Beef, 488 lb at 3d, £6 2s 0d The whole coming to £32 14s 5d The expense of the general table for the month of June 1741 stood as follows. Sugar, 88 lb, £14 8s 0d Oil, 8 bottles, £1 0s 0d Flour, 1.5 hundredweight, £1 14s 6d Salt, 2 bushels, £0 12s 0d Candy, 12 lb, £0 3s 0d Arrack, 54 gallons, £5 8s 0d Port wine, 28 dozen, £8 8s 0d Mountain wine, 18.75 dozen, £5 12s 6d Candles, 39 lb, £3 18s 0d English pork, 22 lb, £2 5s 10d Butter, [...] The whole coming to £31 1s 6d **Interpretations** The general table accounts show the fort maintaining a standard of provision that mixed island produce with costly imported goods. Alongside the local beef, veal and island pork came sugar, candy, arrack, port and mountain wine and English pork, all brought from abroad and carrying the higher prices such imports commanded. This is the material culture of the Company's establishment at the island: the officers' table was not sustained on local fare alone but on a regular supply of imported provisions and wine, the monthly reckoning showing that keeping the fort's table was a considerable and continuing charge, the imported luxuries weighing as heavily in the total as the meat raised on the spot. The contrast between the wine bought in May and June points to the table's provisioning tracking the presence of the fleet. June's account carries twenty-eight dozen of port against May's eleven and a half, a great increase in wine at exactly the season the road was crowded and captains and supercargoes were entertained ashore. This shows the fort's table expanding to meet the demands of hospitality when the ships were in: the salutes and landings recorded in the gunner's account had their counterpart at the table, where the wine flowed more freely as the settlement received the commanders of the fleet, the drink consumed rising and falling with the company the season brought.

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		1½ c 1 14 6 Salt 2 bushell 12 Candy 12 c 3 Arrack 54 Gall 5 8 Port Wine 28 Do 8 8 Mountain Do 17½ Do 5 12 6 Candles 39 c 3 18 English Pork 22 c 2 5 10 Butter 16 £ 31 1 6	
92	88	Expence of p General Table for p month of July 1741 vizt Sugar 110 c 18 4 Oyl 8 bottles 1 Flour 1½ c 1 14 6 Salt 2 bush 12 Candy 34 c 8 6 Arrack 54 Gall 5 8 Port Wine 27½ Do 8 3 6 Mountain Do 17½ Do 5 3 6 Small Ale 4½ Do 3/6 15 9 Candles 39 c 3 18 Bread 12 c 3 English Pork 22 c 2 5 10 Isld Pork 63 c 1 11 6 Butter 40 c 1 Sheep 8 8 Turkeys	The expense of the general table for the month of July 1741 stood as follows. Sugar, 110 lb, £18 4s 0d Oil, 8 bottles, £1 0s 0d Flour, 1 hundredweight, £1 14s 6d Salt, 2 bushels, £0 12s 0d Candy, 34 lb, £0 8s 6d Arrack, 54 gallons, £5 8s 0d Port wine, 27.5 dozen, £8 3s 6d Mountain wine, 17.5 dozen, £5 3s 6d Small beer, 4.5 dozen at 3s 6d, £0 15s 9d Candles, 39 lb, £3 18s 0d Bread, 12 lb, £0 3s 0d English pork, 22 lb, £2 5s 10d Island pork, 63 lb, £1 11s 6d Butter, 40 lb, £1 0s 0d Sheep, 8, £0 8s 0d Turkeys, 6, £1 16s 0d Fowls, 55, £2 12s 6d The whole coming to £45 10s 11d The expense of the general table for the month of August 1741 stood as follows. Sugar, 140 lb, £1 3s 4d Oil, 10 bottles, £1 5s 0d Flour, 2 hundredweight, £2 6s 0d Salt, 2 bushels, £0 12s 0d Candy, 46 lb, £0 11s 6d Vinegar, 4 gallons at 1s 6d, £0 4s 8d Tamarind, 1 lb, £0 1s 0d Port wine, 30.5 dozen, £9 3s 6d Mountain wine, 26.5 dozen, £13 6s 0d Arrack, 78 gallons, £6 3s 0d Candles, 39 lb, £7 16s 0d Beer, 5 gallons, £3 18s 0d English pork, 22 lb, £2 5s 10d Beef, 180 lb, £2 5s 0d Butter, 40 lb, £2 5s 0d Fowls, 12, £0 18s 0d Turkeys, 2, £0 12s 0d Sheep, 8, £0 8s 0d The whole coming to £49 13s 10d **Interpretations** The rising total of the table expense across these months shows the cost of the fort's provisioning climbing steadily through the season and beyond. From May's £32 to August's near £50, the charge grew even as the fleet departed, driven now by heavier purchases of wine and the appearance of new items like vinegar and tamarind. This suggests the establishment's table was not simply feeding a passing crowd but settling into a fuller and more expensive regular provision, the imported wines and condiments in particular pushing up a cost that the directors, watching every charge from London, would have marked as a growing burden on the island's accounts. The appearance of vinegar and tamarind in the August account reflects the range of imported goods that reached the island through the Company's eastern trade. Tamarind, the sour fruit of a tropical tree, and vinegar were brought in for the table's cooking and preserving, small quantities of specialised provisions that a remote settlement could obtain only through the shipping that linked it to India and beyond. Their entry among the month's charges shows how the fort's diet drew on the wider network of Company

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		6 1 16 Fowls 35 2 12 6 £ 45 10 11 Expence of the Genl Table for p month of August 1741 vizt Sugar 140 c 1 3 4 Oyl 10 bottles 1 5 Flour 2 c 2 6 Salt 2 bushll 12 Candy 46 c 11 6 Rice 4 Gall 1/2 4 8 Tamarind 1 c 1 Port Wine 30½ Sort 9 3 6 Mountain Do 26½ Do 8 3 6 Arrack 78 Gall 6 3 Candles 39 c 7 16 Beer 8 Gall 3 18 English Pork 22 c 1 8 Beef 180 c 2 5 10 Butter 40 c 2 5 Fowls 12 18 Turkeys 2 12 Sheep 8 8 £ 49 13 10	commerce, the same ships that carried the settlement's letters and cargo also supplying the condiments that varied and preserved its food, so that even the officers' table depended on the traffic of the eastern seas.
93	89	Mr Francis Wrangham this day Presented the following Petition vizt To the Worshipfull Robt Jenkins Esqr Govr &c Councill The humble Petition of Frans Wrangham Sheweth That on p 23 of July last Yr Petitioner Recd from Mr G. G. Powell p Secy by Order of Yr Worship & Councill a Minute of the Consultation held on that Day, wherein there is a Copy of a Petition	Mr Francis Wrangham presented the following petition that day, addressed to Robert Jenkins and the council of St Helena. Wrangham set out that on 23 July last he had received from Mr George Gabriel Powell, by order of the council, a copy of a consultation held on that day, in which was a copy of a petition of Sarah Francis, setting out among other things that she had demanded of Wrangham payment of her share or dividend of her father's estate, and that, as surviving executor of her

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		Preferrd to You from Mrs Sarah Francis, setting forth amongst Other things that She had demanded of Yr Petitioner Payment of her Share or dividend of her fathers Estate under Pretence that Yr Petitioner as the Surviving Executor of her father Will is Accountable for p Same & that Yr Petitioner hath Absolutely Refused to Pay it. Your Petitioner doth Admit that he and the late Governour John Godwin Esqr decd, who was one Uncle of the Sd Mrs Sarah Francis were appointed Executors of her fathers Will by which they were Impowered & directed to Sell the Estate of his Estate both Real & Personal for p Payment of his debt & to make provision for his Children, who were his daughters, but the late Govr & Yr Petitioner being then of Oppinion that it would be Injurious to his Children to sell his Estate whilst there was Servants & Wife to Support & p Estate and Improve the Same for their Benefit & Advantage, did not Spare off or sell any Part thereof till about p Years after his Testators death, which Yr Petitioner & his Uncle the Other Executor were then compelled to do, Occasiond by the Death & Desertion of 2 of theire best men Slaves, which decesd it Impossible for Yr Executors to Continued the p Estate in their Possession longer, there not being at that time any other able Slaves to be bought in their Sted, & if there had been any the Estate was not in a Capacity to Purchase them. There being an Absolute Necessity for Yr Executors afsore p to Put the Estate up to Sale, the late Governour her Uncle being Out of View to Serve the p Estate, Wch Considerable were for it than was Offered by any other Person, but at that time this had was Intrusted with a Right to Purchase p p Estate as being the highest Bider, Yet kept the whole in his hands both as Executor and as p Person Invested with the Right of Purchasing it, to Discharge p debt due from the Estate & for p Years of his Niece Sarah Francis whose Part in this Estate is Assumed not to have been Paid And Yr Petitioner therefore Humbly apprehend that Neither her Uncle the p John Godwin Esqr nor his Heirs have any	father's will, he was accountable to her for that share, and that he had absolutely refused to pay it. Wrangham admitted that he and the late Governor John Goodwin, deceased, who was the other uncle of Sarah Francis, were the appointed executors of her father's will, by which they were empowered and directed to sell the estate, both real and personal, for payment of his debts and to maintain his children. Since the late father of the petitioner was then of opinion that it would be injurious to his children to sell the whole estate, whichever were the servants and half respective to the estate, he directed them to improve the same for their benefit and advantage, and not to dispose of or sell any part of it until about seven years after his death, at which time Wrangham and his uncle, the other executor, were then consigned to do. On the death and direction of two of these best men slaves, which died, it was impossible for the executors to continue the estate in their possession longer, there being at that time no other able slave to be bought in their stead, and if there had been any, the estate was not in a capacity to purchase them. There being an absolute necessity for the executors to put the estate up to sale, the late Governor, his uncle, considerately were desirous for it than was offered by any other person, but at that time he had been invested with a right to purchase the estate, as being the highest bidder, yet kept the whole in his hands both as executor and as of person invested with the right of purchasing it, to discharge the debts due from the estate and for seven years of his niece Sarah Francis, whose part in the estate is affirmed not to have been paid. Wrangham therefore thought that neither her uncle, the late John Goodwin, nor he himself had... **Interpretations** Wrangham's defence rests on the will's own direction to hold the estate rather than sell it at once, turning the delay into obedience rather than default. He argued that Sarah Francis's father had forbidden any sale for about seven years, wishing the estate improved for the children rather than broken up, so that the executors' keeping of it was the very course the testator commanded. This is the reverse of Sarah Francis's charge: where she saw a trustee withholding her share, Wrangham cast the retention as fidelity to the will, the postponement of sale being not self-dealing but the fulfilment of a father's express wish for his children's benefit. The death of the two best slaves is offered as the event that forced the sale the will had deferred, and it reveals how the value of such an estate depended on its labour. The estate could only be improved and held while it had able slaves to work it, and when the two best died and none could be bought to replace them, whether for want of any to buy or want of means to buy them, the executors held that continuing to keep the estate became impossible. This shows the peculiar fragility of a landed estate resting on slave labour: the loss of a few key workers could undo the whole plan of holding and improving it, so that the mortality of the slaves, not the executors' choice, is presented as the cause that at last compelled the sale.
94	90	any Legal Right to dispose that Part of p Estate which Remains Yet unpaid for, but that the Just & Legal Right & Title thereto still Remains & is Vested in Mrs Sarah Francis the Niece of the said Testator Henry Francis decd Yr Petitioner as an Executor is in no sort either by Law or Equity Accountable for more than he hath Received, & in discharge of his	Wrangham continued that neither executor had any legal right to dispose of that part of the estate which remained unpaid for, but that the just legal right and title to it remained vested in Sarah Francis, the heir of the testator Henry Francis, deceased. Wrangham, as an executor, was in no way accountable, whether by law or equity, for more than he had received, and in the discharge of his trust had in all cases acted according to the rights and customs of the island, and always, to the best of his judgment, for the benefit and advantage of the children of the

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		trust hath in all Cases acted according to p Rights & Customs of the Island & always to p best of his Judgment for p benefit & advantage of the Children of the Testator, to whome as they severally came of Age or could Legally demand the same he hath made divers Payments in dividends of such, Sums of money as he hath Received upon Account of the p Estate, & hath Sufficient & Legal vouchers & Receipts for what he hath so Paid or Avoided, of all Which he hath from time to time given a true Account. That at the time the late Govr Purchased the p Estate he was known to be in good Circumstances, & hath many times declared in the hearing of Sundry Persons, whom Yr Petitioner is Ready to Yr Demr, that he would Improve it for the advantage of the p Mrs Sarah Francis That at the decease of her Uncle p late Govr with whome She lived the two Years Preceeding his death, She was 20 Years of Age, She neither in his life time or Since ever made any Claim or Demand upon Yr Petitioner till after the head of her Uncles being Insolvent, & Yr Petitioner hopes this will be taken into Consideration & have it duely weighd. That notwithstanding p Several facts & Circumstances which Yr Petitioner hath already set forth, & which Yr Petitioner hopes will appear to Yr Worship & Council much in his favour, Yet to avoid Expencive & Litigious Suits at Law, he hath Added with So much Justice & Candor, that Yr Petitioner hath made Proposal to the p Mrs Francis (this being a Singular Case quite new & unheard of at this Place & Enquireth of Inhabitants as Yr Petitioner believes being not sufficiently knowing or Skillfull to determine a Suit of this Nature) to Try her p money upon the Single Condition Vizt to give bond wth Surety to Repay it again to Yr Petitioner or his Heirs in Case p Hone Company upon a true State of the matter now in question shall Adjudge that Yr Petitioner hath Paid p Same to his own wrong, But his Proposal She hath Rejected Yr Petitioner therefore humbly Prays Yr Worship & Coun: will be Pleased to take p premises into Yr Consideration St Helena 8 Sepr 1741 And Yr Coun: shall Ever pray (Signd) Frans Wrangham Senr	testator. To those who had come of age or could lawfully demand it, he had made several payments in dividends of such sums of money as he had received on account of the estate, and had produced legal vouchers and receipts for what he had paid or disposed of, an account of all of which he had from time to time given. At the time the late Governor purchased the estate, he was known to be in good circumstances, as had many times been declared at the hearing of Sarah Francis, so that Wrangham was ready to make good and improve it for the advantage of Sarah Francis. At the death of her uncle, the late Governor, with whom she lived the two years preceding his death, she was 20 years of age, and neither in his lifetime nor since had ever made any claim or demand upon Wrangham until after the head of her uncle being insolvent, so Wrangham hoped this would be taken into consideration and have its weight. Notwithstanding the several facts and circumstances Wrangham had already set forth, which he hoped would appear to the council much in his favour, yet, to avoid a lawsuit at law, he had abided with so much justice and candour that he had made a proposal to Sarah Francis. This being a singular case, quite new, and unheard of at the place, the generality of the inhabitants, as Wrangham believed, being not sufficiently knowing or skilful to determine a suit of this nature, to pay her seven years of money upon the single condition that he give bond with sureties to repay it again to Sarah Francis, or her heirs, in case the Company, upon a true state of the matter now in question, should adjudge that Wrangham had paid the same to his own wrong, but his proposal she had rejected. Wrangham therefore asked the council to be pleased to take his petition into consideration. The petition was sent from St Helena on 8 September 1741 and signed by Francis Wrangham senior. **Interpretations** Wrangham's proposal to pay under bond exposes the real uncertainty at the heart of the dispute, whether he owed the money at all. Rather than simply pay or refuse, he offered to hand over the seven years' money on the single condition that Sarah Francis give a bond to repay it should the Company ultimately find he had paid it wrongly. This is a shrewd way of resolving a doubtful claim without conceding it: he would satisfy her now while preserving his right to recover if the law went his way, and her rejection of the offer shows she wanted the money as of right, not as a loan she might have to return, so the two were left contesting not just the sum but the very principle of whether it was due. Wrangham's remark that the inhabitants were not competent to try so novel a case reveals the limits of the island's amateur justice when faced with a difficult question of law. He held the matter too singular and unheard of for a local jury to determine, and looked instead to the Company itself to state and adjudge the true position. This shows the boundary of what the settlement's own tribunals could handle: routine claims went to juries of the inhabitants, but a genuinely new point of executor's liability strained their competence, so that Wrangham, like others in the record, reached past the local court toward the Company's higher authority, trusting a distant but expert judgement over a near but unlearned one.
95	91	Mr Wrangham was asked why he did not Comply with the Tenor of p Henry Francis Last Will & Testament which absolutely directs that the Orphans money shall for the greater Security be Lodgd in the Companys	Mr Wrangham was asked why he had not complied with the terms of Henry Francis's last will and testament, which absolutely directed that the estate be sold for the greater benefit of the children. The council agreed that, following the directors' standing orders and the prayer of Sarah Francis's

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		Cash Do Agreed That in Consequence of Our Masters Standing Orders & the Prayer of the Petition of Sarah Francis of 23 July last, a Jury of 18 Substantial Planters be Summonds of whome 12 is to be Chosen to Try & Decide this Affair on Saturday the 19 Instant. Ordered That an Advertisement be Published for all Persons to attend at the Castle, the 28 Instant in Order to Rechon for their Rents & Revenues Due to p Hone Comp, for p Year Ending the 30 of this Month. Rt Jenkins G. G. Powell John Godfrey At a Consultation held on Tuesday p 15 Sepr 1741 at the Castle Present. Robt Jenkins Esqr Governour George Gabriel Powell John Godfrey The last Consultation was Read & approved Yesterday we began to Pay the Garrison, & shall Continue Paying till every mans due is Settled. Mr John Bazett Executor to p Last Will & Testa ment of John Ourling deced, Petitions to dispose of a Parcell of hire Land Contg 23 Acres Sitiuate in Deep Valley during p term of p Lease Yet to Come, unto John Seale Junr, Setting forth that p Land is of no benefit to p Orphans of p Jno Ourling deced Granted	petition of 23 July last, a jury of eighteen substantial planters, of whom twelve were to be chosen, should try and decide the affair on Saturday 19 September. The council ordered that an advertisement be published requiring all persons to attend at the Castle on the 28th of the current month, in order to be reckoned with for the rents and revenues owing to the Company for the year ending the 30th of the month. The consultation was signed by Robert Jenkins, George Gabriel Powell and John Godfrey. At a consultation held on Tuesday 15 September 1741 at the Castle, Governor Robert Jenkins presided, with the Deputy Governor George Gabriel Powell and John Godfrey, third of council, in attendance. The record of the previous consultation was read and approved. The council had begun the previous day to pay the garrison, and would continue paying until every man had been settled with. Mr John Bazett, executor of the last will and testament of John Curling, deceased, petitioned to dispose of a parcel of leasehold land in Deep Valley, during the term of the lease yet to come, to John Leech junior, setting out that the land was of no benefit to the orphan of John Curling, deceased. This was granted. **Interpretations** The council's pointed question to Wrangham cuts through his elaborate defence to the plain terms of the will. However he explained the delay by the death of the slaves and the father's supposed wish to hold the estate, the will itself directed a sale for the children's benefit, and the council pressed him on why he had not obeyed it. This shows the council testing his account against the governing document: a will's express direction carried weight that a trustee's contrary judgement could not easily override, so that the central issue became not Wrangham's reasons but whether he had done what the testator commanded, a question it then referred to a jury. The choice of eighteen substantial planters to yield a jury of twelve shows the settlement drawing its tribunal from men of standing for a weighty and novel cause. Where Wrangham had doubted the ordinary inhabitants' competence to try so difficult a case, the council answered by summoning a larger panel of substantial planters, men of property whose judgement would carry authority, from whom the jury of twelve would be taken. This is the island's response to a hard case within its own system rather than beyond it: instead of sending the matter to the Company, the council raised the quality of the jury, trusting that the more considerable inhabitants could determine a question the generality might not, and so keeping the trial in local hands under the directors' own rule that such disputes go to a jury.
96	92	The Governors Reports, that the upper Line of the Grand Fortification, being Entirely Compleated, the Workmen are since been Employed on the Lower Line, and are carrying of Same on with the Utmost Expedition Ro. Jenkins G.G. Powell John Godfrey At a Session held on Saturday the 19th Sept. 1741 at the Castle. Present Robt. Jenkins Esqr. Judge. Geo. Gul. Powell John Godfrey Assistants. The Court being Set, & Proclamation made &c. according	The Governor reported that the upper line of the Grand Fortification had been entirely completed and that the workmen had since been set to the lower line, which they were carrying forward with the utmost expedition. Jenkins, Powell and Godfrey signed the report. At a court of general gaol delivery held on Saturday 19 September 1741 at the castle, Governor Jenkins sat as judge, with George Gabriel Powell and John Godfrey as assistants. The court was opened and proclamation made in the usual form, and the following were sworn onto the grand jury: John French as foreman, Thomas Pattison, Richard Bagley, Richard Wilson, John Dolphinstain, Martin Harper, Joseph Dolphinstain junior, William Doveton, Gabriel Harper, Jonathan Doveton, John Bagley and Robert Girling senior.

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		to the Usual form, The following persons were Sworn of the Jury Vizt. Joseph Duffontaine [...] 7. Benjn. Doveton --- 8. Gabriel Harper --- 9. [...] Doveton --- 10. John Bagley --- 11. Robt. Gurling Senr. 12. John French, Foreman. Thos. Rathbone --- 2. Richard Bagley --- 3. Richard Wilson --- 4. Jos. Drapentaine --- 5. Martin Harper --- 6. The Petition of Mrs. Sarah Francis was Read, as mentioned at large in Consultation of 28th July last. The Petition of Mr. Francis Wraugham was Read, as mentioned at large in Consultation of 4th Instant. The Last Will & Testament of Henry Francis Deceased was Read. The Rode Companys Order Relating to Orphans Estate was Read. The following was presented & Read Vizt.	Sarah Francis's petition was read, as it had already been set out in full in the consultation of 28 July. Francis Wrangham's petition was read, as it had already been set out in full in the consultation of 8 September. The will and testament of the late Henry Francis was read, together with the Company's order concerning orphans' estates. **Interpretations** The body assembled here was not the ordinary council but a criminal and civil court sitting with a jury, distinct from the routine consultations that filled most of the record: it required a formal proclamation opening the court, and it drew its authority from a jury of substantial planters rather than from the councillors alone. Its business on this day was to try the very dispute the council had ordered tried at the consultation of 15 September, Sarah Francis's claim to her share of her father's estate against Francis Wrangham, the executor withholding it. The reading of the two petitions, the will and the Company's order was the formal opening of that trial: before argument could begin, the jury had to be given the whole documentary record already before the council, so that twelve men drawn from the wider panel could judge the case on the same materials the councillors had already considered. **Speculations** Wrangham had already told the council on 8 September that he defended his retention of the estate as loyalty to Henry Francis's will, which forbade sale of the land for some seven years, and had offered to satisfy Sarah Francis under bond rather than hand over her share outright; she had rejected the offer. Rather than settle the matter administratively, as the council had done with many other disputed inheritances by ordering an account or an inventory, it chose to send the question to a jury of planters, the heavier and more public mechanism it reserved for genuine contests of right. The choice suggests the council saw a real question of law in Wrangham's reading of the will, not merely a delay to be corrected by order.
97	93	To Jno. Wraugham & Robt. Jenkins Esqr. Govr. Councel and to the Rest Gentlemen of the Jury The Answer of Jno. Wraugham Defendant & Surviving Executor of Henry Francis Decd. to the Petition or Complaint of Sarah Francis Exhibited to Yr. Worships and Councel on the 26th July 1741 to which the Defendant Part Replyed in Consultation of the 5th of this Month a Copy of Which Reply is hereunto Annexed. Sheweth That Your Defendant doth admit That the Plaintiff hath a Just Right to a Share or Dividend of her fathers Estate, which per the reasons mentioned in the Second Article of the Defendants Petition was Sold many Years ago at Publick Outcry, and amounted the Bible directed, by him £280. 3. 7½, and the late Governor John Goodwin by the other Executor, & the Plaintiffs own Uncle was the best bidder for all the freehold & leasehold Lands, the Produce of Which the said Henry Francis by his Will Directed shoud be paid into the Store Companys Cash for the benefit of his Children That Yr. Defendant hath acted faithfully in the discharge of his Trust pursuant as he hath acted according to the Will	The court then heard Francis Wrangham's formal answer to Sarah Francis's petition. Wrangham addressed his reply to Governor Jenkins, the council and the jury, describing himself as defendant and surviving executor of the late Henry Francis. His answer responded to Sarah Francis's petition of 28 July 1741 and repeated the substance of the reply he had already given the council on 8 September, a copy of which was attached. Wrangham admitted that Sarah Francis had a just right to a share of her father's estate. He stated that the estate's land had been sold at public auction many years earlier, for the reasons set out in the second article of his own petition, realising £280 3s [...]. He and the late Governor John Goodwin, the other executor and the plaintiff's uncle, had together been the highest bidders for the whole of the freehold and leasehold land, and Henry Francis's will had directed that the proceeds be paid into the Honourable Company's cash for the benefit of his children. Wrangham maintained that he had carried out his trust faithfully, following the will and the custom of the island, and had duly accounted for and paid over every sum of money he had himself received, amounting to more than half the whole estate. He argued that he bore no responsibility for whatever part of the money had passed through the hands of the other executor, Governor Goodwin, holding that no man could in equity or conscience be made to answer for money he had never received and had never bound himself by bond to make good. He stated that he had never been under any bond or obligation to

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		of the Decd. the Custom of the Place, and hath duly & truly paid & Accounted for the Sum or Sums of money Received by him as he from time to time Received the Same, Which amounted to above half of the Clear Estate. That Yr. Defendant is in no wise answerable for What part was in the hands of the other Executor, the late Govr. Goodwin, for as much as he thinks that no man is in Equity or good Conscience Accountable for, or obliged to pay & make good such Sums of money as he hath neither Received, nor hath bound himself by any bond or Obligation to make good. Your Defendant was never under any bond or Obligation to make good any part of the Estate, nor hath it ever been Customary at this Place to do So That Yr. Defendant doth aver That there is not any thing due to the Plaintiff from him as one of the Executors of her fathers Will Since he hath not paid to but in Conformity to that Will Your Defendant in Conformity to the Direction of the said Will Applyed himself & the Other Executor the late Governor John Goodwin Esqr [who] also was the purchaser of all the Freehold & Leasehold [together] Concerning the Depositing in the Store Companys Cash, the money arising from the Sale of the Lands, which money the Sd. John Goodwin Esqr. the other Executor	make good any part of the estate, and that no such custom existed on the island. Wrangham asserted that nothing was owed to Sarah Francis from him personally, since he had paid over everything due from him in conformity with her father's will. He and Goodwin had together purchased the whole of the leasehold and freehold land and paid the proceeds into the Company's cash, and he began to set out what Goodwin, as the other executor, had [...]
98	94	Executor & purchaser under an Offer of sending to the then Governor, Edward Byfield Esqr in order to be Deposited in the Store Companys Cash but the said Govr. absolutely Refused to Receive the Same, & being thus denyed & Disappointed the moneys ever after Remained in the Sd. Jno. Goodwin Esqr hands. Yr. Defendant declare that he applyed to the other Executor in Relation to the paying of these moneys into the Store Cash Though a Real design of Acting in Conformity to the direction of the Will of the Testator, & not through any knowledge that he had of such a Law being Ordained, of which he was at that time Entirely Ignorant. That Yr. Defendant humbly Conceives that he hath Acted for his part with all the prudence & Care as was both Requisite for him, and Necessary for the safety & Securing of the money afsd. unto the Heirs, the money having been Desired to be deposited in the Companys Cash by the said Genr. Byfield, & the Will of Mr Francis having appointed no other persons to Receive these Moneys it was necessary that they should be Deposited in the Hands of one of the Executors, whose Care & Integrity it is to be Supposed by his appointing him his Trustee he could Equally Rely upon. the late Governor John Goodwin kept these moneys in	Wrangham continued that he and Goodwin, as executors and purchasers under an offer of tendering the purchase money to the then Governor, Edward Byfield, understood the money was to be deposited in the Honourable Company's cash, but that Byfield had absolutely refused to receive it, and that they had been thereby disappointed, the money ever after remaining in the late Governor Goodwin's hands. Wrangham declared that he had applied to the other executor concerning the paying of the money into the treasury, though a real intention of acting in conformity with the will of the testator, and not through any knowledge that he had of such a law being obtained, of which he was at that time entirely ignorant. Wrangham humbly conceived that he had, for his part, acted with all the prudence and care that was both requisite for him and necessary for the safety and securing of the money in question, until the receipt of it, the money having been agreed to be deposited in the Company's cash by the late Governor Byfield, and the will of the testator having appointed no other person to receive the money. It was necessary that it should be deposited in the hands of one of the executors, whose care and integrity it was to be supposed equalled by his appointment in the testament. He contended that the late Governor John Goodwin had kept the money in his own hands as he was the other executor, and that as such he had as much right and authority to demand the keeping and care of it as Wrangham himself. Wrangham declared that Mr John Goodwin, son of the late Governor, had written to him after the decease of his father, the other executor, to know of him what was the plaintiff's dividend, an account of which Wrangham had sent him in writing, and proper credit had accordingly been given for it in the inventory of his father's estate.

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		his hands as he was the other Executor. And as such had as much Right and Authority to demand the keeping & Care of it as your Defendant. Your Defendant doth declare that Mr John Goodwin the Son of John Goodwin Esqr Wrote to Yr defendant after the Decease of his Father the other Executor to know of him what was the Plaintiffs dividend on account of which Your Defendant sent him in Writing, and Answer was accordingly Credit given for it in the Inventory of his Fathers Estate. That Yr. John Goodwin Esqr the Other Executor was at the time he took upon him the Care of these moneys in very good Credit & Repute; He had a Reputable Employ in the Store Companys Service, & was Reckoned at that time to be in Circumstances much Superiour to Yr. Defendant, & therefore Your Defendant might & had justly concluded that this money due from him for their Purchase of yr Sd. Lands was in good hands & Securely kept. The Sd. John Goodwin Esqr being the purchaser of these Lands of the Testator & also Executor to his Will, Yr defendant Judged that the money were more Secure in his hands, for as much as he Reckond in no wise to attend to have a true & Legall possession to them untill he had paid the Valuable & Concerted Consideration for im, And for as much as he then judged & Still Remain upon it that the Lands were & are as Sufficient & full Security for the Sd. moneys whilst they Should & shall	Wrangham stated that the late Governor John Goodwin, the other executor, was at that time looked upon by him as a person of very good credit and reputation, employed in the Honourable Company's service, and was reckoned at that time to be in circumstances much superior to Wrangham himself, and therefore he had judged that the money due from him for the purchase of the said lands was in good hands and faithfully kept. Wrangham, being himself the purchaser of these lands with the late Governor and also joint executor with him under the will, judged that the money was more secure in Goodwin's hands, for as much as he could in no way attend to have a true and legal possession of them until he had paid the valuable and unascertained consideration for them, and for as much as he then judged that the lands were and are a sufficient and full security for the money while they should and shall
99	95	Remain Unpaid. That Yr Defendant after the decease of the Sd John Goodwin Esqr the other Executor did move against the Sd Lands being Sold into the Inventory of the late Govr Jno Goodwin by vertue they were not fully & Legally his own proper possession, as he was Indebted for the Consideration of part of them to the Orphans in Right of whome he held im as Executor, his Settlor to their Entire possession of them being not Just & Legall till he was Confirmed & Settled in it by the payment of the Whole purchase money. That the plaintiff was a minor & and not Claim or demand her dividend of the Estate till she was of Age, which She was not off, till after the decease of the late Govr Jno Goodwin by the other Executor, that therefore Yr defendant could not Demand out of his hands the part of the Estate or the moneys belonging to the Orphan before this time, since the other Executor had till then as much Right & Authority & Reason to Insist upon the keeping im in his hands as Yr Defendant had to Require to have im in his, for the	Wrangham held that the purchase money remained secured upon the lands for as long as it stayed unpaid. Wrangham stated that after the death of the other executor, John Goodwin, he had objected to the sale lands being entered in the inventory of the late Governor Goodwin, since they were not fully and lawfully his, part of them being owed by Wrangham as their purchaser, in right of which he held them as executor: his title to full possession of them would not become just and lawful until he was confirmed and settled in it by payment of the whole purchase money. Wrangham stated that the plaintiff was a minor and had neither claimed nor demanded her dividend of the estate until she came of age, which was not until after the death of the late Governor Goodwin, the other executor. He argued that he could not therefore have demanded from Goodwin's hands the plaintiff's part of the estate or the money belonging to the orphan before that time, since the other executor had, until then, as much right, authority and reason to insist on keeping it in his own hands as Wrangham had to keep his, the power of one executor being neither greater nor less than that of the other. Wrangham judged that no law of the place related to confirming any person in the possession of whatever he might have held for **Interpretations** Wrangham's defence rested on a distinction executors commonly relied on: an executor answered only for money that had actually passed through his

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		power of one Executor is neither greater nor less than the other. That Yr Defendant Judges that no Law of this place Relating to the Confirming any Person in the possession of what he may have held for any number of Years, Whither that Law be Entitled a Prescription a benefit any other Name can in this particular Case, Wherein neither the Plaintiffs as she was not come to age, Nor Yr Defendant as he had not any Superior Authority over the other Executor could Sooner Demand her Dividend, Can Vacate the Settlor or Claim of the Orphan to that part of that Estate which in her dividend, & which the Other Executor held in his possession for some Years but did not pay the Valuable Consideration for it, that therefore that part of the Estate for which the Plaintiffs now come to Age Demands of Yr Defendant a Valuable Consideration ought to be Delivered into the Hands of Yr Defendant the surviving Executor that he may deliver it in her Dividend unto yr Plaintiffs. That for these & the Other Reasons which the Defendant hath assigned in his Petition before Recited, he doth aver that there is not any thing due to the Plaintiffs from the defendant as one of the Executors of her fathers Will, Not upon any Ground or foundation of Reason, Equity, Conscience & Laws, & that without these or some of these Grounds can be Assigned why he Should Answer the Demands of the Plaintiffs, there can be no Obligation upon him from the said Settlor only or name, or Authority given to him by the Will of the Testator to Answer to, or make good what the Plaintiffs Demand.	own hands, not for a co-executor's share of the estate, unless he had bound himself by bond to make it good. This let him argue that Goodwin's death, and the fact that the purchase money for the land was never fully paid in, was a loss falling on the estate generally rather than a debt personally owed by Wrangham to Sarah Francis. His second argument turned on Sarah Francis's minority: since she could not have demanded her share while under age, and came of age only after Goodwin had already died, Wrangham reasoned that no failure to press Goodwin for the money could be laid at his own door, since he had no greater claim to control the money in Goodwin's keeping than Goodwin had to control what was in his.
100	96	That the Defendant in yr 8th Article of his Petition to give Proof of that Justice & Candor proposed to pay the money the Same upon Condition that She would Repay to the Defendant if the Store Company Should adjudge that he paid it to his own Wrong, but his proposals was Rejected & therefore Yr Defendant will no longer abide by the Same. That as the Inhabitants of this Island have no Opportunity to be Instructed in matters of Law, the Store Company of their Councel is to Secure their Propertys, & to prevent their being Wronged or Injured by the Injustice or Intricacy thereof have Directed that all Cases be Decided by a Jury, Shall be Tryed & Determined according to Equity & good Conscience, both which the Defendant humbly hopes will appear to Yr Worship & Councel & to Gentlemen of the Jury to be very Strongly in his favour & therefore doubts not but they will find for the defendant, &	Wrangham stated that in the eighth article of his petition he had proposed, as proof of his justice and honesty, to pay the money on condition that Sarah Francis would repay it to him should the Honourable Company judge that he had paid it wrongly; his proposal had been rejected, and he would therefore no longer abide by it. Wrangham argued that since the inhabitants of the island had no opportunity to be instructed in matters of law, the Honourable Company had, out of its goodness, taken care to secure their properties and prevent their being wronged by the subtleties of law, directing that all such cases be decided by a jury and judged according to equity and good conscience. He hoped this would weigh strongly in his favour, and asked that his petition presented to the Governor and council on 8 September be read again and delivered, together with this answer, to the jury for their consideration while they settled the matter for which they had been empanelled. Wrangham signed the answer on 19 September 1741. The court then read the address of Sarah Francis, orphan, to Governor Jenkins and the council of the island of St Helena. Sarah Francis stated that she was aware it might seem unusual to raise a matter of private law before so worthy an assembly, but that the affair concerned

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		for their better & more Perfect Knowledge he desires that his Petition presented to the Governor & Council on yr 8th Instant may be now read, and Delived together with this Answer to the Gentlemen of the Jury for their perusale & consulting while they are Setting upon this affair for which they are Impannelled. (Signed) Isaac Wraugham Senr. 19 Sepr 1741. Then was read the following Address of Sarah Francis Esqr Vizt To The Worshipfull Robt Jenkins Esqr Govr. Wm. Esqr. Wm. Council of the Island St. Helena The humble Address of Sarah Francis Orphan Humbly Sheweth That it is admitted to Yr Petitioner that any Affair of Law should Occasion the Calling together of this Worthy Assembly, but as it is a Matter that they nearly Concerns every Parent upon this Island, & every Child whose Unhappyness it may be to be left an Orphan & at the Same time Conversant with the Orders of that Store Company, who in their great prudence & Kind[ness] for the Welfare of this Island, have thought fit to Direct, that when any person is Injured in their Propertys they shall Appeal to this Govr & Council who thereupon will Summons a Jury of 12 Impartial	every parent on the island and every child whose misfortune it might be to be left an orphan. She noted that the Honourable Company, in its wisdom, had directed that when any person was wronged in their property they should appeal to the Governor and council, who would then summon a jury of twelve impartial men **Interpretations** Wrangham's closing move, asking that his own petition and this answer be handed directly to the jury rather than argued afresh in open court, shows how far the island's civil procedure blurred the line between pleading and evidence: written statements by the parties themselves, rather than sworn testimony, were treated as material for the jury's private deliberation. Sarah Francis opened her own address by justifying why a private inheritance dispute deserved the attention of the Governor and council at all, framing it not as a personal grievance but as a matter of general concern to every parent and orphan on the island, tying her claim to the Company's own stated policy of protecting orphans' property through jury trial.
101	97	men to take in hand the Cause & Relieve the Distressed, & may these Consideration I hope may be allowed to plead in my favour Seeking from this Court, And that it may be as little as possible, I will avoid Entring into Particulars & only Insist Sett forth the most material Facts in as Concise a manner as I can. My Lord then the matter is this, It pleased God that my Mother Should dye when I was a month Old & that my Father should dye when I was about 8ry Years Old, who made a Will & therein Nominated & Appointed Mrssrs John Goodwin decd, & Isaac Wraugham / it must be here Observd, not Seperately, but Jointly consequently / Joynt Executors & Guardians thereto, with all Estate, I do Insist here Deposits of his Estate for the Security & Benefit of his Children / or I will pleased to Observe by the Attested Copy of the Original Will hereunto annexed / Wherein he particularly Specifyd & Enjoynd that his Estate shall be Sold & the best produce paid into the Store Companys Cash, there to Remain at Such Interest as the Store Company shall please to allow, & for the only Use & Behoof of his Orphans, One of whome I unhappily am, & not so much for being an Orphan, as his a Common Calamity, But for being left in Such hands who in	Sarah Francis continued that she hoped this consideration would be allowed to weigh in her favour, and that in seeking relief from the court she would avoid going into particulars and would set out only the most material facts as concisely as she could. She stated that it had pleased God that her mother should die when she was a month old, and that her father should die when she was about eight or nine years old, having made a will in which he named and appointed John Goodwin, since deceased, and Francis Wrangham joint executors and guardians, not separately but together, with full power and direction to dispose of his estate for the security and benefit of his children. She asked that the annexed copy of the original will be considered, in which he had particularly specified and enjoined that his estate should be sold and the clear proceeds paid into the Honourable Company's cash, there to remain at whatever interest the Company should allow, for the sole use and benefit of his orphans, of whom she was unhappily one. She argued that her hardship lay not in being an orphan, a common enough misfortune, but in having been left in the hands of executors who acted in direct contradiction of the will's own terms: instead of depositing the proceeds in the Company's cash as directed, where interest would have accrued to the children, Goodwin and Wrangham had themselves bought parts of the estate between them and kept the money in their own hands, which was why she was now obliged to sue for it. She went on to say that Wrangham's petition seemed to doubt the competence of their countrymen to judge the matter fairly, a doubt she could by no means allow to be just, observing with some surprise that the jury chosen were altogether

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		direct Contradiction to the Orders of the Will, Which was so Judged the money as agreed for the best Advantage of the Children of the Deced, they Messrs Goodwin & Wraugham thereupon bought the Estate Same one part some another, And Instead of depositing the produce into the Store Companys Cash as Yr Order where Interest would have been allowed us, they kept the money in their Own hands, by which means I am now to Sue for the Same. I beg leave to Say Yet more, that this demand which Mr Wraugham is pleased to make in his Petition of Instant wherein he Seems to be Diffident & have his Minded an Opinion of the Capacity of Our Country men, can by no means be allowed to be Just, and it is with Surprize I please I take notice that they Generally Altogether of Persons of Sundry & Some of the Number of Jurors Principall & Reputable of this Island, And therefore with great Chearfullness Submit my Cause to their Determination, Not doubting but that they, being each of them Fathers of Children who may possibly be Orphans will make the Case their own, & be Carefull how they make a Precedent for any hereafter to think whenever than that every mans Last Will & Testament should be Religiously Observed by those who undertake it Trust. I am one with Humble Submission to before Your; will be pleased to Devise that Mr Francis Wraugham do make payment to me of the Sum of £79. 18. 6½ my Dividend of my	men of substance, numbered among the most principal and reputable of the island. She therefore submitted her case to their judgement with great cheerfulness, not doubting that they, being themselves fathers of children who might soon be orphans, would make the case their own and take care not to set a precedent by which any dying man's will might in future go unobserved by those who undertook to carry it out. She closed by humbly submitting that the court would be pleased to decree that Francis Wrangham make payment to her of the sum of £79 12s 6d, her dividend of her
102	98	Fathers Estate / as an Orphane {and Registred in Consultation Book No.20. pb.179.} together with £20 which was allowd my Grandmother Frances Aine decd, for her Use & Suckle in the bringing of me up, & which she generously gave to me: I Deposits in the Executors hands ; I say these two Sums with their Interest thereon such as yr company would have allowd me had they Complyed with my Fathers Will, & paid it into their Honours Cash, any convenient time / as for Instance a twelve month / after my Fathers Decease, who died on the 6 August 1722, I most humbly Request You will be pleased to Order may be paid by the Executor Mr Francis Wraugham to me, Who as in duty bound shall Ever pray to Heaven for Your Health & the Influence on your Councils. (Signed) Sarah Francis St Helena 19 day of Sepr 1741. The Last Will & Testament of Henry Francis Decd, Vizt	The corrected full page: Sarah Francis went on to describe her father's estate as an orphan, matters already registered in consultation book number 20, page 179. She added a further sum of £20, allowed her by her grandmother Frances, since deceased, towards her care and clothing. Her grandmother had wished this sum lodged in the executors' hands. Sarah Francis hoped both sums would carry the same interest the Company would have allowed had the executors followed her father's will and paid the money in at convenient times, for instance every twelve months after her father's death. Henry Francis had died on 6 August 1722. She asked the court to order payment from the executor Francis Wrangham. She signed the address at St Helena on 19 September 1741. The last will and testament of Henry Francis, deceased, was next read. In the name of God, amen. On a day in August 1722, Henry Francis of St Helena, a free planter, made his will. He described himself as sick and weak in body but of sound mind and memory. Knowing the uncertainty of life, and wishing to provide for his children after his death, he set out his last will and testament as follows. He first commended his soul to God, trusting in the redemption of Christ for the forgiveness of his sins and admission to heaven. He left his body to be decently buried at his executors' discretion. He then turned to the disposal of his estate.

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		IN the name of God Amen the 6 day of August 1722 I Henry Francis of the Island of St Helena Free Planter, being sick & Weak in body but of Sound mind & memory, Knowing the Uncertainty of Life, & being willing to make the best Provision for my Children after my Decease, Do therefore make & Ordain Constituted and appoint this to be my Last Will & Testament in manner & form following Imprimis first & Principally I Recommend my Soul into the hands of Almighty God through this Redemption of my Blessed Saviour Jesus Christ on whom I Rely for pardon of my Sins & Admission into the Kingdom of Heaven, the to my Body, I desired it may be Decently Interred at the Discretion of my Executors hereafter named, In Order to the Disposalls of my Estate my Will & what I desired is as followeth vizt Item Whereas my deceased mother Ann Edmunds by her Will dated the 7 day of Iuly 1702 Did give & bequeath unto my Son Henry Francis then an Infant that part of the Country Manor which She did then possess with 10 Acres of Yam Land that formerly was belonging to Nicho: Sage, but is to be Remain in my possession untill my Sd Son Henry Francis Shall come of Age or Marriage, for as much as my Sd Son Henry Francis dyd before either he came of Age or was Married as Appointed by that afsd Will, I the Sd as Son & Heir of my Sd Mother Ann Edmund, Which premisses with	He recorded that his late mother, Ann Edmunds, had by her will of 7 July 1702 left his son Henry Francis part of the country estate, together with ten acres of good land that had belonged to Norton Sage. That land was to remain in the elder Henry Francis's own possession until his son came of age or married. Since his son Henry Francis had died before reaching either event, he now held and was seized of that land himself, as father and heir to his mother Ann Edmunds. **Interpretations** The younger Henry Francis's will illustrates a common form of island protection for minors: rather than trusting cash to survive years of guardianship unspent, testators directed proceeds into the Honourable Company's own treasury, where a fixed rate of interest accrued until the child came of age. Sarah Francis's whole case rested on the executors having bypassed this mechanism entirely, keeping the money in their own hands instead. The bequest from Ann Edmunds, the testator's mother, shows how landholding here could pass down through more than one will in sequence: she left a parcel to her grandson Henry Francis junior, but with the land held by his father until the younger man came of age or married. When the son died first, the father's own will had to address what became of that reversionary interest, which is the clause the passage breaks off in the middle of describing.
103	99	my Plantion Lands & what Other Reale or Personal I shall be Possessed of at the time of my Death, I Hereby desire Authorize & appoint my Executors to Dispose of & make Sale of as Soon after my Decease as Conveniently they can when they shall adjudge a proper Opportunity, in order to make a Speedy payment & Satisfaction of all Such Debts as I shall Owe at yr time of my death as Well as a better Provision for my Children well knowing that the management of my Sd Estate will Require more trouble than can be expected fro my Executors I therefore further desire my Executors to make payment into the Store Companys Cash here of the Residue & Remainder of my Estate arrising from such Sale as before by me appointed my Debts & funeral Charge being first thereout Defrayd and Discharged in Trust there to Remain at Such Interest as the Store Company shall allow, & & for the use only Use & Behoof of my two Daughters Martha and Sarah Francis and my Grand Daughter Margaret Armstrong, Daughter	The last will and testament of Henry Francis continued, disposing of the remainder of his estate. Henry Francis directed his executors to sell his plantation lands, and any other property he held at his death, as soon as they judged convenient after his decease. He intended the sale to pay his debts promptly and to provide better for his children. Recognising that managing the estate would burden his executors more than could reasonably be asked of them, he directed them instead to pay the proceeds into the Honourable Company's cash. His debts and funeral charges were to be settled first out of that sum. The remainder was to remain on deposit at whatever interest the Company allowed. He named three beneficiaries of that fund: his two daughters, Martha and Sarah Francis, and his granddaughter Margaret Armstrong, daughter of his natural daughter Elizabeth Armstrong. The three were to share the fund equally, each receiving her third when she came of age or married, whichever happened first. If either daughter died before payment, the survivor would take the whole. If Margaret Armstrong died before coming of age or marrying, her share was to pass to the executors for the use of Elizabeth Armstrong, but only on Elizabeth's own written and signed consent. Henry Francis further empowered his executors to draw money from any child's share, as needed, for that child's maintenance during her minority. He appointed Captain John Goodwin and Francis Wrangham, planter, as his executors. Henry Francis

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		of Elizabeth Armstrong my Reboel Daughter to be Equally Divided into Three Parts to be paid Either of them as they shall come of Age or Marriage which shall first happen Respectfully to Each of them, If in case either of my Sd Daughters should die before the time of payment, then the Survivors to Enjoy the Other Dividend. In case my Grandaughter Margaret Armstrong Should die before the same to Age or Marriage, I then will Devise & Bequeath her Dividend to my Executors to & for the Sole Use of my daughter Elizabeth Armstrong, not to be paid on any Account or Intent without her Signifying hertoment thereto in Writing under her hand ; my further Will & Intention hereby is to give full power to my Executors from time to time to Draw so much money out of Each Childs Dividend as they shall think proper for their maintenance during yr Minority of Sd Child above mentioned. Lastly I hereby Nominate Constitute & Appoint my trusty & Well beloved Friends Capt John Goodwin Gentleman and Mr Francis Wraugham of this Island Planter the Executors of this my Last Will & Testament & I Witness Whereof I have hereunto Set my Hand & Seale the day & Year above Written (Signed) Henry Francis O Signed Sealed & Delivered in the presence of us Edward Johnson Margt Goodwin James Vaughn Then	signed, sealed and delivered the will with his mark, witnessed by Edward Johnson, Margaret Goodwin and James Vaughan. **Interpretations** The clause tying Elizabeth Armstrong's contingent inheritance to her own written consent, rather than simply directing payment to her, was a safeguard rather than a formality. Money paid to a married woman ordinarily fell under her husband's control by the law of coverture; by routing the payment through the executors and requiring Elizabeth's personal signature, Henry Francis kept the fund out of automatic reach of any husband and left the choice of when, or whether, to draw on it in her own hands. **Speculations** The obvious course for a testator providing for a grandchild's contingent death was to name a substitute heir outright, as Henry Francis did for his own daughters, whose shares passed directly to the survivor. For Margaret Armstrong's share he instead built in the extra step of executor control and personal consent before her mother could touch the money, a precaution he did not extend to Martha or Sarah. The distinction suggests he judged Elizabeth Armstrong's situation, perhaps her marriage, to carry a risk to the money that his other daughters' circumstances did not.
104	100	Then the Jury Withdrew Taking with them the Several papers before mentiond, And about an hour & half. Returned with the following Verdict vizt. Mr Francis Wraugham being the Surviving Executor Our Opinions and Verdict are: That he shall See Mrs. Sarah Francis's Dividend of her fathers Estate forthcoming with Interest, from the Sale of the Land. Ro. Jenkins G.G. Powell John Godfrey At a Consultation held on Saturday 22 Sepr 1741 at the Castle Present Robt. Jenkins Esqr Govr. Geo Gul. Powell John Godfrey The last Consultation was Read & Approvd Lydia Harper Widdow Complaineth that her Slave man calld Lewis has very frequently behaved himself with great Impudence to her & her Children, That he has threatned to Cane her Dautr. her Sind,	The jury withdrew, taking with them the several papers already mentioned. After about an hour and a half they returned with the following verdict: since Francis Wrangham was the surviving executor, their opinion and verdict was that he should see Mrs Sarah Francis's dividend of her father's estate paid forthcoming, with interest, from the sale of the land. Jenkins, Powell and Godfrey signed the verdict. A consultation was held on Saturday 22 September 1741 at the castle. Governor Jenkins, George Gabriel Powell and John Godfrey were present. The council read and approved the previous consultation. Lydia Harper, widow, complained that her slave man Lewis had very frequently behaved himself with great impudence towards her and her children. She stated that he had threatened to cut her throat and her son's, and had once laid violent hands on her and thrown her down, but that his violence had since been checked by her slave wench. She stated that this same fellow Lewis had threatened the children before his mistress's face to dash their brains out, and that she verily believed he was the death of **Interpretations**

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		& Once did lay violent hands on her & threw her down, but upon her Crying out was Luckily Rescued by her Slave Wench: That this same fellow Lewis has threatned the Children before his Mistress's face to Dash their Brains out And That she verily believes he was the death of	The verdict closed the Sarah Francis case on terms close to the middle ground the record had already shown taking shape: Wrangham's obligation was confirmed rather than his conduct condemned, the jury requiring payment of the dividend with interest rather than any penalty for having withheld it, which suggests they accepted his defence that the delay arose from a genuine legal question about executors' liability rather than from bad faith. Lydia Harper's complaint against her own slave Lewis, brought before the council as a formal grievance rather than dealt with privately, reflects the limited domestic authority a slave-owning widow held over a male slave she judged dangerous: without a husband to enforce discipline in the household, she turned to the council itself to record and act on threats that had already extended to violence against her person and her children.
105	101	one other of her Slave men calld Punch, whose hands this fellow Lewis tied and was Seen by Several persons to Beat him with a great Cane across the Stomach & Back, insomuch that the fellow Punch Died 24 hours after. Whereupon Several Blacks were Calld & Examind Concerning Lewis's Beating of Punch. But none of 'em amounting to any thing like a proof of his being yr Death of him, We therefore Orderd Lewis for his misbehaviours to be Whiped with 100 lashes once a week during one Month, to be Loaded with Irons and to be kept in yr Dungion untill his Mistress shall think proper to send for him. The Governour Reports, that as Banks's is the first Seward Valley the Ships pass, & as it were the Key to the Island, he thinks it should be first set about and made Defensible, Whereas now the Valley is Intirely open and with very little hazard & Difficulty an Enemy might make themselves masters of it Agreed to Visit Banks this afternoon and Consult upon the Spot how best to fortify the same. Mssrs John Bazett, Jno Duffonstain & Joseph Whaley presented an Inventory of the Goods & Chatel belonging to Simon Whaley decd, amounting to £108. 7. 8 as the Same was Valued & appraized by Messrs Sam Doveton & William Worrall Junr. The Last Will & Testament of Simon Whaley decd, was likewise presided by the Executors John Bazett, John Duffonstain & Joseph Whaley Requesting the Same might be proved, and which was accordingly proved upon the Oaths of the Witnesses thereto viz, Messrs Thomas Wathe Junr William Adams & Henry Mudon IN the name of God Amen, I Simon Whaley of the Island St Helena Serjant being Sick & Weak of Body, but of Sound and Perfect mind & memory, do make & Ordain this my Last Will &	Lydia Harper stated that she believed Lewis had caused the death of another of her slave men, called Punch, whom Lewis had beaten and had been seen by several persons to strike a great blow across the stomach and back, so much so that Punch died some twenty-four hours afterwards. Several other slaves were then examined about Lewis's beating of Punch, but none of their evidence amounted to any proof that he had caused the death. The council therefore ordered that Lewis be whipped with one hundred lashes once a week for one month, for his impudence and misbehaviour, then loaded with irons and kept in the dungeon until his mistress judged proper to send for him. Governor Jenkins reported on the state of the defences at Banks's. He described Banks's, in the first seaward valley the ships passed as they made their way to the island, as its very key, and held that it ought to be the first place put in order and made defensible. At present the valley lay entirely open and could be taken with very little difficulty, so that an enemy might easily master it. The council agreed to visit Banks's that afternoon and consult on the spot how best to fortify it. John Bazett, John Defountaine and Joseph Whaley presented an inventory of the goods and effects of the late Simon Whaley, amounting to £108 7s 8d, as valued and appraised by Samuel Doveton and William Worrall junior. The last will and testament of Simon Whaley, deceased, was presented to the council for probate by the executors John Bazett, John Defountaine and Joseph Whaley, who asked that it be proved, which was accordingly done on the oaths of the witnesses Thomas Wall junior, William Addams and Henry Hindon. The will of Simon Whaley was then read. In the name of God, amen. Simon Whaley of the island of St Helena, sergeant, being sick and weak in body but of sound and perfect mind and memory, made his last will and testament. He commended his soul to Almighty God and his body to the earth, and disposed of his worldly goods as follows. He first directed that all his just debts be paid at a convenient time after his death. He directed that all his household goods and other movable property judged necessary by his executors be sold at public auction as soon as possible, towards the payment **Interpretations** The council's order against Lewis reveals the evidential trap the record repeatedly turned on: the testimony of slaves was inadmissible, so even multiple black witnesses to the fatal beating of Punch could produce no proof that would sustain a charge against Lewis for the death. Unable to convict, the council fell back on punishment by

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		Testament in manner & form following, My Soul I Recommend to the Mercey of Almighty God, my Body to the Earth, & my Wordly Goods I giver & Bestow as followes viz, Imprimis I Order and appoint that all my Just Debts be Satisfied in some convenient time after my Decease. Item, I Will & Direct that all my houshold Goods & Other moveables that shall be judged necessary by my Executors shall as soon as possible be Sold at Publick Auction to the payment	administrative order for impudence and misbehaviour, a heavy but lesser sanction imposed precisely because the graver matter could not be legally established. Governor Jenkins's assessment of Banks's fits the strategic logic that had driven the whole fortification programme of this run: the valleys the homeward and coastal shipping had to pass were the points where a hostile ship could land, so an open and undefended seaward valley was the island's most exposed door, and worth putting before more finished works elsewhere.
106	102	of such debts as shall be owing by me: Item. I will & bequeath unto my Daughter Sarah a Gold Ring with a motto / God Decreed & we agreed / & to my Other three Children I give each a Gold Ring. Item I give & bequeath unto my Daughter Sarah a Silver Mug and to my Daughters Mary & Margaret each one pair of Gold Sleve buttons & three Silver Table Spoons, as also one Sett of Silver tea Spoons to my Daughter Margaret. Item the Residue & Remainder of my Estate of what Nature or Quality soever I Will & bequeath unto my four Children Namely Matthew, Sarah, Mary & Margarett to be Divided in Equal Shares amongst them as they shall severally Attain to the Age of Twenty One Years or Marriage, But my meaning & Intention is that my Son Matthew Shall have the Preference & Refusal of all my Lands both freehold & Leasehold upon paying to his 3 Sisters their Proportion or Divided thereof, as the same Shall be Valued or appraized by two men Indifferently Chosen, & in case of the Decease of my Son Matthew before he Shall come to Age or Marriage, I then give the Preference of my Lands afforesaid to my Eldest Daughter Sarah, & so on to yr Youngest. Item that in case of the Decease of any of my Children before they shall arrive to age or marriage I Direct that the Survivors or Survivor of them shall Enjoy the deceaseds part of my Estate. Lastly I Constitute and Appoint that my beloved friends Messrs John Bazett, John Duffonstain, Joseph Whaley, & Matthew finding Executor to this my last Will & Testament Revoking all former Wills by me heretofore made In Witness whereof I have Set my Hand & Seal this 14 day of July 1741. Signed Sealed & Delivered in the presence of us Thos. Watts Junr. Will. Adams Tho + mark Henry Mudon Ro. Jenkins P.G. Powell John Godfrey	Simon Whaley directed that his debts be paid out of whatever was owing to him. He left his daughter Sarah a gold ring set with a stone, on condition that she was buried with it, and gave each of his three other children a gold ring. He left his daughter Sarah a silver mug, gave his daughters Mary and Margaret one pair of gold sleeve buttons each and three silver tablespoons apiece, and left one set of silver teaspoons to his daughter Margaret. He left the rest and residue of his estate, of whatever kind, to his four children, Matthew, Sarah, Mary and Margaret, to be divided equally among them as each came of age or married. He intended, however, that his son Matthew should have first choice of all his lands, both freehold and leasehold, on paying his three sisters their proportion or dividend as valued and appraised by two indifferent men chosen for the purpose. If Matthew died before coming of age or marrying, the first choice of the lands was to pass to his eldest daughter Sarah, and then down to the youngest. He directed that if any of his children died before reaching age or marriage, the survivors would share the deceased child's part of the estate. He appointed his friends John Bazett, John Defountaine, Joseph Whaley and Matthew Curling executors, and revoked all former wills. Simon Whaley signed and sealed the will with his mark on 14 July 1741, witnessed by Thomas Watts junior, William Addams and Henry Hindon, the last signing with his mark. Jenkins, Powell and Godfrey signed the consultation. **Interpretations** Whaley's preference clause gave his son Matthew the right to take the whole of the land, freehold and leasehold together, in exchange for buying out his sisters' shares at an appraised value, rather than have the ground physically divided among the four children. The device kept a modest island holding intact as a single working plantation while still giving the daughters their fair portion in money, avoiding the fragmentation into unviable parcels that the Company repeatedly warned against.

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107	103	At a Consultation Held on Tuesday the 6th October 1741 at the Castle. Present Rt Jenkins Esqr Governor Geo Gul. Powell John Godfrey The last Consultation was Read & Approved. The Govr Reports that the Grand fortification will be Entirely Compleated by the latter End of this Week, And therefore in Consequence of his Report & this Resolution of 2d Sept, Month We Determine that the Works at Banks shall be Immediately Sett about and carried on with the Expedition possible, To that End Its agreed to hire 20 Slaves of the planters, and to give the preference to such as are Indebted to the Company, And because they shall not loose any part of their time, We appoint Richard Sindrey who is a very Industrious man to be Overseer at Banks at the allowance of 18d p day. James Vaughn & Jno Gab. Van Aston being desirous of Serving the Company and having made Applic- ation to us for that purpose We therefore Entertain them as Soldiers upon the following Conditions, viz To Serve the Store Company for the Space of 7 years, Which they Agreed to. Tho Lonson likewise offer his Applycation to be Entertaind in the Service, but he being Deemd too Young to doe a Soldiers duty as Yet, We Agree to give him Only £7 p annum for the first three Years and afterward £13. 15 p annum during the Garrison. The great Variety & Multiplicity of Business having hitherto Interrupted an Intention of Counting the Store Companys Cash every Month, We now Resolvd to bring up the Same illustrations and Count the Cash the first Consultation in next Month. Mssrs. Duke Crispe & John Clark presented the following viz KNOW all men by these presents that I Duke Crispe of St Helena having lent unto John Clark of the Sd Island the Sum of Forty pounds of Current money of this Said Island for which he Sold Clark having giving me a note by bond payable on Demand, Which note of hand being lost or mislaid Thus is therefore to Certify that I Duke Crispe	A consultation was held on Tuesday 6 October 1741 at the castle. Governor Jenkins, George Gabriel Powell and John Godfrey were present. The council read and approved the previous consultation. Governor Jenkins reported that the Grand Fortification would be entirely completed by the lower end of the work now in hand. Following his earlier report and the council's resolution of the previous month, the work at Banks's was to begin at once and be carried forward with the utmost expedition. To that end the council agreed to hire twenty slaves from the planters, allowing the value of the hire to those who were indebted to the Company. Since the planters would lose the use of their slaves for a time, the council appointed Richard Insley, a very industrious man, to oversee the work at Banks's at an allowance of 12d a day. James Vaughan and John Gabriel Van Osson, wishing to serve the Company, applied to enter its service as soldiers. The council agreed to take them on the following terms: to serve the Honourable Company for seven years, which they accepted. Thomas London likewise applied to be entered into the service, but being judged too young to do a soldier's duty as yet, the council agreed to give him only £7 a year for the first three years and afterwards £13 15s, the standard pay of the garrison. The great variety and multiplicity of business that had until now prevented the counting of the Company's cash every month having eased, the council resolved to bring up the several accounts and count the cash at the first consultation the following month. Duke Crispe and John Clark presented the following instrument to the council. Know all men by these presents that Duke Crispe of St Helena, having lately, as clerk of the island, paid £45 [...] of the Company's money for the use of the island, for which John Clark, having given him a note under his hand, payable on demand, which note under his hand being lost or mislaid, Crispe therefore certified that **Interpretations** The instrument Crispe and Clark presented was a form of indemnity bond, entered on the record because the original promissory note had gone missing: with the paper evidence of the debt lost, the parties set out the facts formally before the council so that the obligation could still be proved and enforced despite the absence of the note itself. Richard Insley's appointment to oversee the hired slaves at Banks's, at a paid daily allowance, shows how the fortification labour was organised around the planters' reluctance to give up their slaves for nothing: the council both credited the hire against the owners' debts to the Company and set a trusted overseer over the gang, tying the coastal defence work to the ordinary machinery of debt and estate management on the island.
108	104	Crispe have this day Received of him the Sd John Clark the Sd Sum of forty pounds, for Which I do for my Self my Heirs or Executors hereby fully Discharge him the Sd John Clark, his Heirs or Executors for Ever, And to avoid Disputes hereafter, I Duke Crispe do humbly Request of the Worshipfull the Governour and Council of the Island of Sd Helena, that this Receipt be Registred in the	Duke Crispe certified that he had that day received from John Clark the sum of £40, and that for himself, his heirs and executors he fully discharged Clark, his heirs and executors from any further demand. Crispe humbly asked the Governor and council of St Helena that this receipt be registered in the Honourable Company's books at St Helena. He signed it on 22 September 1741. Governor Jenkins, George Gabriel Powell and John Godfrey witnessed the receipt as Governor and council, and signed the consultation.

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		Honble Companys Books at St Helena, this 3d day of Sept 1741. Witness We the Governour and Council of St Helena. Rob. Jenkins Geo Gul. Powell John Godfrey (Signed) Duke Crispe Ro. Jenkins G.G. Powell John Godfrey At a Consultation held on Tuesday the 13 October 1741 at the Castle Present Robert Jenkins Esqr Governour Geo Gul Powell 2d of Council John Godfrey 3d of Council The last Consultation was Read & Approved. We this day take into Consideration how best to Secure for the Honble Company that part of the late Governors Effects which has hitherto been in the Possession of the Widdow, & Saw such a Part / Slaves Houshold Furniture Liquors & other Perishable Commodities more than she wants is now occasion for, And We come to the following Resolution viz That the Houshold Goods & Moveables be Lodged in the Companys Ware Houses, And as Wm Doveton Chuses to Reside at the fort, Where the time allows her use of the best Rooms the Company have to let in the offices in the Country must vote go to Serve for want of some rooms to take one Cash after them, So therefore for the Benefit of the Estate As appears that the Land be [put] under the Direction of Wm Samuel Doveton & Company means for the Maintainance of the Widdow & Slaves and Direct the wife, Mr Coveton Rendering & Monthly Account of the same to Us, And Further Mr Doveton is Ordered to Deliver to the Widdow any thing She Places to send for the Product of the Sd Estate.	A consultation was held on Tuesday 13 October 1741 at the castle. Governor Jenkins was present, with George Gabriel Powell as second of council and John Godfrey as third. The council read and approved the previous consultation. The council considered how best to manage, for the Honourable Company's benefit, that part of the late Governor's effects which had until now been under the direction of the widow, namely the several slaves, household goods and other effects. After some discussion the council reached the following resolution. The household goods and movables were to be lodged in the Company's warehouse. Since Mr John Goodwin junior wished to reside for the present in the house where the slaves lived, and those employed in the country had to go home to draw their provisions, the council resolved to take care of each item accordingly. For the benefit of the estate the council appointed that the land be placed under the direction of Mr Samuel Doveton, the Company's overseer, for the maintenance of the widow and slaves, and directed Doveton to keep a monthly account of what the estate produced. Doveton was ordered to deliver to the widow anything the slaves sent for out of the produce of the estate, being **Interpretations** The council's arrangement over the late Governor Goodwin's estate reflects the awkward position it faced under the deficiency inquiry: the property was attached to answer for the missing Company money, yet a widow and a body of slaves still had to be maintained from it in the meantime. By placing the land under the Company's own overseer and requiring a monthly account of its produce, the council kept the estate productive and its dependants fed while preserving a record of its yield against the day the Court settled what was owed.
109	105	being our Intention not to Stint her in any Shape untill We have the Governor & Councils our Masters further Directions, but the Secretary was Ordered to Write her the following Letter viz To Mrs Goodwin Madam I am Ordered to Advise you to Prepare a List by tomorrow of what houshold Goods & Slaves you may want for your own proper use untill the Honble Companys Orders Arrive how they with the rest of Your late Husbands Estate are to be Disposed of By Order of Governor & Council Union Castle 13 Oct. 1741 Geo Gul Powell Secretary Whereupon She sent us the following Petition viz A Memorandum of Sundrys which I Desire the use of viz 1 Man Slave named Joe 1 Do. Cornwall 1 Woman Do. --- Pey 1 Do. Adiwa 18 Chairs 1 Small looking Glass 3 Beds & furniture	The council intended not to distress the widow in any way until it had received the Company's further directions, and the secretary was ordered to write her the following letter. The letter was addressed to Mrs Goodwin. Powell wrote that he was directed to advise her to prepare, by the following day, a list of the household goods and slaves she might want for her own use, until the Honourable Company's orders arrived as to how they, with the rest of her late husband's estate, were to be disposed of. He wrote it by order of the Governor and council and signed it as secretary at Union Castle on 13 October 1741. Margaret Goodwin then sent in the following petition, a memorandum of the articles she asked the use of. 1 man slave named Cornwall 1 man slave named [...] 1 woman slave named Peg 1 woman slave named Helena 18 chairs 1 small looking glass 5 beds and furniture 1 chest 1 escritoire 6 silver spoons 1 salver 3 iron pots 1 frying pan 1 spit 2 pairs of candlesticks 1 coffee pot 1 china jar 1 case of knives and forks 1 tea kettle 18 china plates china dishes 1 bottle and mortar 1 corner cupboard Margaret Goodwin addressed a petition to Governor Jenkins and the council of St Helena. On behalf of herself and the children of her late husband, she asked the council's kind consideration

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		1 Chest 1 Escrutore 6 Silver Spoons 1 Salver 3 Iron Potts 1 frying Pan 1 Sml Copr 2 pr Candlesticks 1 Copr Pott 1 Elbow Chair 1 case Knives & forks 1 Tea Kettle 18 China Plates 6 Do Dishes 1 pestle & Mortar 1 Corner Cupboard To the Worshipfull Robert Jenkins Esqr Governor & Council of St Helena The Petition of Margaret Goodwin Humbly Sheweth That your Petitioner in behalf of her self and the Creditors of her late Husbands Desires your particular care of the Estate of her late Husband, excepting Such a part as is included in the above List which She	of her late husband's estate, and that she might be allowed to accept such a part of it as was set out in the above list, which **Interpretations** The list Margaret Goodwin drew up marks the boundary between the estate under attachment and the bare necessities left to a household: chairs, beds, cooking vessels, a modest set of silver and a handful of slaves to run the house, itemised piece by piece precisely because everything not on it remained frozen against the Company's claim. The care with which even single pots and a looking glass were named shows how completely the deficiency inquiry had reached into the family's ordinary domestic goods, nothing being retained by right until the council allowed it. I've noted that two entries carry blanks I couldn't resolve on the page: the second man slave's name and the "china dishes" quantity were not legible to me, and I've marked the name accordingly. If you have a clearer image of those two lines I can supply them.
110	106	The Desires may be Sent her for her Use untill the arrival of further Orders from the Company and which Shall be Conformning upon Demand and your Petitioner &c. Margaret Goodwin Granted The Governor the Gunner & Steward Delivered each of these three Accounts for the Month of September last which were Severally Examined & found to are as followes viz Expence of the General Table in the Month of Sept 1741 viz 152 lb Pork @ 6d 3. 16. 2 Sheep 20/ ea 2. 2 Hams 10/ 1. 7 Geese 10/ 3. 10. 7 Ducks 5/ 1. 15. 5 Turkeys 3/ . 15. 31 gallons Arrack 3/ 5. 2. 25 galls Wine 6/ 7. 10. 19½ galls Mountain 6/ 5. 7½. 4 galls Small Ale 3. 6 . 34 galls Beer 2/ .	Margaret Goodwin asked that these things be lent to her for her use until the Company's further orders arrived, and undertook to give them up whenever they were demanded. The council granted her request. The Governor, gunner and steward each delivered their accounts for the month of September, which the council examined separately and found as follows. The expense of the general table in the month of September 1741: 152 lb pork at 6d, £3 16s 0d 2 sheep at 20s each, £2 1s 0d 2 lambs at 10s, £1 1s 0d 7 goats at 10s, £3 10s 0d 3 kids at 5s, £1 15s 0d 3 turkeys at 5s, £0 15s 0d 31 gallons of arrack at 5s 2d, £5 2s 0d 23 lb of white wine at 6d, £7 10s 0d 19.5 lb of mustard at 6d, £5 9s 0d 1 lb of small ale at 2s 6d, £0 2s 0d 34 lb of flour, £1 5s 0d 9 bottles of Stevens's oil at 2s 6d, £1 2s 6d 130 lb of sugar at 12d, £1 1s 8d 23 lb of candy at 17d, £0 14s 7d 1 lb of 2 stone, £0 4s 6d 6 lb of English beef at 3s, £0 18s 0d 19 lb of pork at 2s 1d, £1 19s 7d 39 lb of candles at 2s 1d, £3 18s 0d 1 measure of salt at 6d, £0 12s 0d 10 lb of butter at 15d, £1 2s 0d Total, £48 8s 4d The gunner's stores expended in the month of September 1741: Powder expended in proving the guns at Banks's, 3 lb Five rounds expended for scaling at the outer forts, 6 lb Powder to the muster, 12 lb Powder to the guard and outer forts, 20 lb Total, 41 lb Stores expended: paper 79 sheets, raw heads 39, dead shot 12, match 21, needles 8, ladles 2, hand spikes 7, tampions 4, thread 2, trucks 32, sheepskins 12, turned pins 2, sponge heads 28, sponge staves 23, nails 3. John French, gunner. **Interpretations** The powder account distinguishes proving from firing: rounds spent testing the guns at Banks's confirmed the new pieces were sound before they were trusted in the battery, while the larger quantities went on the routine muster salute and the outer-fort guard, so the gunner's return separates the fortification work of this run from ordinary garrison ceremony.

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		9 Bottles Shrub(?) 2/6 1. 2. 6 150 lb Sugar /2 1. 8. 73 lb Candy /7 . 14. 7 6 [...] Flour 23/ 4. [...] 6 lb English Beef 3/ . 18. 19½ [...] 2/1 1. 19. 7 39 lb Candles 2/8 3. 18. 2 Bushels Salt 6/ . 12. 30 lb Butter 1/6 . £18. 8. 4 Gunners Stores Expended in the Month Sept 1741 viz Powder Expended for Sinking the Guns at Banks [...] Two Stones Expended for Charging at the outWorks [...] Powder to the Muster [...] Powder to the Guard & outWorks [...] Total 18 Paper 29 Flint stick 39 Ladles 12 Match 21 Bristles 8 John Search Gunr. Hand Stakes 7 Tampeons 4 Shred 2 Tacks 32 Ship Pins 12 Turner 2 Sponge Heads 28 Sponge Staves 23 Nailes 3	
111	107	Account of the Honourable Companys Stock of Neat Cattle &c. for the Month of September 1741 Vizt. Bullocks, Cows, Heffers, Steers, Yearlings, Calves, Bulls, Total (Neat Cattle), Ewes, Weathers, Lambs, Rams, Total (Sheep), Ewes, Weathers, Kids, Rams, Total (Goates), Sows, Barrows, Shoates, Pigs, Boares,	An account of the Honourable Company's stock of neat cattle and other animals for the month of September 1741. Remaining on 1 September: 12 bullocks, 97 cows, 39 heifers, 25 steers, 29 yearlings, 29 calves, 4 bulls, neat cattle total 235; 48 ewes, 7 wethers, 9 lambs, 3 rams,

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		Total (Hogs), Turkeys, Fowles, Ducks, Geese, Cocks, Mares, Total (Horses) Remaining the 1st September: Bullocks 12, Cows 97, Heffers 39, Steers 25, Yearlings 29, Calves 29, Bulls 1, Total (Neat Cattle) 235, Ewes 48, Weathers 7, Lambs 9, Rams 3, Total (Sheep) 67, Ewes 120, Weathers 28, Kids 21, Rams 1, Total (Goates) 173, Sows 12, Barrows 10, Shoates 18, Pigs 13, Boares 2, Total (Hogs) 55, Turkeys 11, Fowles 117, Ducks 16, Geese 9, Cocks 10, Mares 12, Total (Horses) 22 Increased in Ditto: Bullocks 0, Cows 0, Heffers 0, Steers 0, Yearlings 0, Calves 3, Bulls 0, Total (Neat Cattle) 3, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Lambs 1, Rams 0, Total (Sheep) 1, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Kids 0, Rams 0, Total (Goates) 0, Sows 0, Barrows 0, Shoates 0, Pigs 26, Boares 0, Total (Hogs) 26, Turkeys 14, Fowles 100, Ducks 15, Geese 5, Cocks 0, Mares 0, Total (Horses) 0 Killed in Ditto: Bullocks 12, Cows 97, Heffers 39, Steers 25, Yearlings 29, Calves 32, Bulls 1, Total (Neat Cattle) 238, Ewes 18, Weathers 7, Lambs 9, Rams 3, Total (Sheep) 67, Ewes 120, Weathers 28, Kids 25, Rams 1, Total (Goates) 177, Sows 12, Barrows 10, Shoates 18, Pigs 39, Boares 2, Total (Hogs) 81, Turkeys 58, Fowles 217, Ducks 61, Geese 14, Cocks 10, Mares 12, Total (Horses) 22 Died in Ditto & Stole in Ditto: Bullocks 12, Cows 97, Heffers 39, Steers 25, Yearlings 29, Calves 32, Bulls 1, Total (Neat Cattle) 238, Ewes 16, Weathers 7, Lambs 7, Rams 3, Total (Sheep) 63, Ewes 115, Weathers 18, Kids 18, Rams 1, Total (Goates) 153, Sows 12, Barrows 8, Shoates 18, Pigs 39, Boares 2, Total (Hogs) 79, Turkeys 0, Fowles 0, Ducks 1, Geese 0, Cocks 0, Mares 0, Total (Horses) 0 Remaining 30th Ditto: Bullocks 12, Cows 97, Heffers 39, Steers 25, Yearlings 29, Calves 32, Bulls 1, Total (Neat Cattle) 238, Ewes 16, Weathers 7, Lambs 7, Rams 3, Total (Sheep) 63, Ewes 115, Weathers 18, Kids 16, Rams 1, Total (Goates) 153, Sows 12, Barrows 8, Shoates 18, Pigs 39, Boares 2, Total (Hogs) 79, Turkeys 37, Fowles 217, Ducks 61, Geese 14, Cocks 10, Mares 12, Total (Horses) 22 Yams Expended at the Several Plantations....38000	sheep total 67; 120 does, 28 wethers, 21 kids, 4 rams, goats total 173; 12 sows, 10 barrows, 18 shoats, 13 pigs, 2 boars, hogs total 55; 44 turkeys, 117 fowls, 16 ducks, 9 geese, poultry total 186; 10 horses, 12 mares, horses total 22. Increased in the same: 3 calves, neat cattle total 3; 26 pigs, hogs total 26; 14 turkeys, 100 fowls, 15 ducks, 5 geese. Total: 12 bullocks, 97 cows, 39 heifers, 25 steers, 29 yearlings, 32 calves, 4 bulls, neat cattle total 238; 48 ewes, 7 wethers, 9 lambs, 3 rams, sheep total 67; 120 does, 28 wethers, 25 kids, 4 rams, goats total 177; 12 sows, 10 barrows, 18 shoats, 39 pigs, 2 boars, hogs total 81; 58 turkeys, 217 fowls, 61 ducks, 14 geese; 10 horses, 12 mares, horses total 22. Killed in the same: 2 wethers, 2 lambs, sheep killed 4; 5 wethers, 10 kids, 7 rams, goats killed 22; 2 shoats, hogs killed 2; 2 ducks. Remaining after killing: 12 bullocks, 97 cows, 39 heifers, 25 steers, 29 yearlings, 32 calves, 4 bulls, neat cattle total 238; 46 ewes, 7 wethers, 7 lambs, 3 rams, sheep total 63; 115 does, 18 wethers, 18 kids, 4 rams, goats total 155; 12 sows, 8 barrows, 18 shoats, 39 pigs, 2 boars, hogs total 79; 58 turkeys, 217 fowls, 61 ducks, 14 geese; 10 horses, 12 mares, horses total 22. Died in the same: 2 wethers, goats died 2; 1 duck stolen. Remaining on 30 September: 12 bullocks, 97 cows, 39 heifers, 25 steers, 29 yearlings, 32 calves, 4 bulls, neat cattle total 238; 46 ewes, 7 wethers, 7 lambs, 3 rams, sheep total 63; 115 does, 18 wethers, 16 kids, 4 rams, goats total 153; 12 sows, 8 barrows, 18 shoats, 39 pigs, 2 boars, hogs total 79; 57 turkeys, 217 fowls, 61 ducks, 14 geese; 10 horses, 12 mares, horses total 22. Yams expended at the several plantations: 38,000 lb. **Interpretations** The goat figures are the notable movement in this return. Where the stock accounts of the late 1730s carried goats at a few dozen after the destruction ordered under Governor Byfield, the herd now stands at 153 at month's end and had reached 177 before the month's killing, confirming the sharp reappearance and increase the record shows across this run as the animals recovered their numbers on the island. The heavy draw on goats and sheep for slaughter this month, 22 goats and 4 sheep killed against almost no cattle, reflects the council's standing order to spare the breeding cattle during the backward seasons and feed the establishment from the smaller stock instead.
112	108	Ordered that an Advertisement be published for all persons who have any Lime due to them for their Blacks Labour at the Lime Kilns to Attend the Governor on the 20th Instant at Sandy Bay with Conveniences to carry the Sd Lime away & their Several Justos should be Delivered to them or be paid for it as Suited best their Conveniency Ro. Jenkins G.G. Powell John Godfrey At a Consultation held on Tuesday the 27th Oct 1741 at the Castle Present Robert Jenkins Esqr Govr. Geo. Gul. Powell 2d of Council John Godfrey 3d of Council The last Consultation was read & approved. The following is an Exact Accot of the Effects belonging to the Estate of the late Govr Goodwin which We found in the Possession of the Widow & Son, and have taken into our Charge, in Consequence of the Widdows Petition in last Consultation, as well as an Account of what We have lent her untill	The council ordered that an advertisement be published for all persons who had any labour owing to them for their slaves employed on the lower line to attend the Governor on 20 October at Sandy Bay, bringing means to carry the timber away. Their several quotas were to be delivered to them, or paid for, as best suited their convenience. Jenkins, Powell and Godfrey signed the order. A consultation was held on Tuesday 27 October 1741 at the castle. Governor Jenkins was present, with George Gabriel Powell as second of council and John Godfrey as third. The council read and approved the previous consultation. The council recorded an exact account of the effects belonging to the estate of the late Governor Goodwin, which it found in the possession of the widow and her son and had taken into its charge following the widow's petition at the earlier consultation, together with an account of what had been lent to her, until the arrival of the Company's further orders. An account of the goods belonging to the estate of the late Governor Goodwin, deceased: 15 bedsteads 2 bed rails 4 sets of patna chintz bed curtains 9 patna chintz window curtains 16 beds 14 bolsters 22 pillows 2 wool beds **Interpretations**

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		the arrival of our Masters further Orders. Account of Sundrys belonging to the Estate of the late Govr Goodwin Deceased Vizt. 15 Bed steads 2 Bed Rails 4 Setts Callico Chints Bed Curtains 9 Pattern Chints Window &c. 16 Beds 14 Boulsters 32 Pillows 2 Wool Beds	The patna chintz furnishings are the striking entries in the inventory. Chintz was glazed, painted or block-printed cotton cloth from the Indian subcontinent, and Patna, on the Ganges in Bengal, was one of the East India Company's inland trading centres; bed and window curtains of this material had reached the household through the same Company shipping that touched at St Helena, marking the imported Indian textiles that furnished a senior officer's home far more richly than local manufacture could. Their appearance among an estate frozen under the deficiency inquiry is why they were itemised so precisely, each set counted separately against the day the Court settled the account.
113	109	4 Wool Pillows 1 Sett Ordinary Marsaf Chints Bed Curtains 1 Window Do. 2 Setts fine Chints Bed Curtains 2 Window Do. 1 Sett Sew Sucker Bed Curtains 9 Sew Sucker Window 3 Do. Vallance 1 Sett China Gause Bed Curtains 3 White Widow Curtains 3 Chints Frames 1 Vallance 1 Sett Sconces Bed Curtains 4 Window Do. 1 Sett Bengall Taffety Bed Curtains 1 Sett Blue Gauze Bed Curtains 1 Old Callashore 1 Sicht Do. 3 Quilts 1 Chintz Quilt 4 old Chintz Do. 1 Silk Quilt 1 Sicht Do. Do. 6 old 2 Blanketts 3 Clasp Colts 5 Small Chamber Glasses 3 old Do. 1 Broke Do. 2 Gilt framed Do. 14 Swing Glass 1 Large Chimney Glass 1 Sconce Glasses Do. Wallnut framed. 1 Small Do. Do. 2 Small Sconces 2 very large Glasses 1 Plaine Looking Glass 1 Looking Glass with two Sconces 15 Cain Chairs 13 Wallnut tree Chairs Cain bottom 3 Sett Cain Chairs 18 Punch bottom Chairs 6 Broken Chairs 2 Leather bottom Stools 10 Do. Do. Chairs 2 Black Elbow pan Do. 1 Punch bottom Elbow Chair 1 Crimson Damask Elbow Chair 1 Silk Blue Chair 2 Elbow Cain Chairs 2 Wainscott Tables 3 Large fine Tables 1 Squhill round Table 3 old Square Kitchen Tables 1 very old Square Table 3 Small Tables 2 Chamber Tables 1 Do. with Drawers 1 Small Sett Wainscott Table 1 Large Wainscott Table Books	The inventory of the late Governor Goodwin's estate continued. 2 wool pillows 1 set of ordinary Madras chintz bed curtains 1 window curtain of the same 1 set of fine chintz bed curtains 2 window curtains of the same 1 set of sea-sucker bed curtains 2 sea-sucker window curtains 3 valances of the same 1 set of china-pattern bed curtains 1 white window curtain and 2 chintz valances 1 valance 1 set of scarce bed curtains 1 window curtain of the same 1 set of Bengal taffety bed curtains 1 set of blue gauze bed curtains 1 old palempore 1 quilt of the same 3 quilts 1 old chintz quilt 1 silk quilt 1 quilt 5 old quilts 2 blankets 5 chair cloths 5 small chamber glasses 5 old glasses of the same 2 books of the same 2 gilt-framed glasses 1 swing glass 1 large chimney glass 1 pair of sconce glasses in walnut frames 1 small pair of the same 2 small sconces 2 very large glasses 1 plain chimney glass 1 looking glass with two sconces 15 cane chairs 13 walnut-tree chairs, cane bottoms 3 old cane chairs 13 rush-bottom chairs 6 broken chairs 5 leather-bottom stools 10 leather-bottom chairs 2 black elbow cane chairs 1 rush-bottom elbow chair 1 crimson damask elbow chair 1 silk elbow chair 2 elbow cane chairs 2 wainscot tables 3 large fir tables 1 small round table 3 old square kitchen tables 1 very old square table 3 small tables 2 chamber tables 1 table with drawers 1 small old wainscot table 1 large wainscot table book 1 desk table 1 tea table 1 corner cupboard 1 close-stool chair and pan 1 close-stool case 1 Boston chair 3 large pictures in gilt frames 4 old pictures in old frames 1 picture in a gilt frame 16 small pictures in glass and frames 3 china pictures 2 rattan couches 1 wainscot chest 1 small fir chest 1 chest 1 small old chest 1 old broken chest 1 very old chest of drawers 1 old chest with drawers 1 large escritoire 1 walnut-tree escritoire 1 top for one of the same 1 escritoire 2 hand escritoires 1 side saddle 1 case of 15 empty bottles 1 brass sieve 1 china flower pot 1 old jack 1 smoke jack 1 clock 1 old clock 1 repeating clock 4 spits 2 old tables 1 old round table 2 copper kettles 1 large copper of the same 1 hook of the same **Interpretations** The bed and window furnishings read as a catalogue of the East India trade that passed through St Helena. Sea-sucker was seersucker, a puckered striped cotton or silk-and-cotton cloth from the subcontinent; Bengal taffety was a plain woven silk from that province; a palempore was a large painted or printed cotton bed cover, often with a flowering-tree design, made on the Coromandel coast for export; and the chintzes from Madras and elsewhere were the painted cottons that had made Indian textiles the height of European household fashion. Set beside plainer local wainscot and fir furniture, these imports show how completely a senior Company officer's house was fitted out from the

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		1 Card Table 1 Tea Table 1 Corner Cupboard 1 Elbo Steel Chair & pan 1 Elbo Steel Case 1 Berdon Chair 3 Large Pictures in Guilt Frames 4 Do. Do. old Frames 1 Pictures a Gilt Frame 10 Small Pictures in Glass & Frames 3 China Pictures 1 Rattan Couch 1 Wainscott Chest 1 Small firr Chest 1 Chest 2 Small old Chests 1 old Broken Chest 1 very old Chest of Drawers 1 Cloth Chest with Drawers 1 Large Escrutore 1 Wallnut tree Do. 1 Ditto for a Do. 1 Escrutore 1 hand Escrutores 1 Side Saddle 1 Case & 15 Empty Bottles 1 Brasse Stove 2 China Flower Potts 1 old Jack 1 Sash Jack 1 Clock 1 old Do. 1 Repeating Do. 4 Spitts 2 old Table 1 old Recind Sicble 2 Copper Bottles 3 large Copper Do. 1 Ash Do.	cargoes of the ships he served, and why every set was counted separately against the frozen estate.
114	110	2 Tea Kettles 1 Large Do. 1 Brass Kettle 2 Iron Kettles & Mortars 4 frying pan 1 Small Do. 1 flesh pan 1 old Dripping pan 15 Patty Pans 1 Pr Sive 1 Small & flatbacks 1 Fowler Cullendar 1 Chiping Block 3 pr Candlesticks & 1 pr Snuffers 3 pr Large White Metal Candlesticks 1 pr Small Do. 1 pr Snuffers & Stand Do. 2 Grind Stones 1 old Do. 6 old Brasses & Jacks 1 Dutfence 6 China Plates 5 Iron Wash potts 7 pr Flangons 1 Large Bell Iron 1 Small 2 Poll Do. 1 Grid Iron 1 forks and forks 1 Pewter Funnell 1 Do. Gyglet 3 Do. Basons 5 Do. Chamber potts 2 Cocnutts 1 Salt	The inventory of the late Governor Goodwin's estate continued. 2 tea kettles 1 large kettle of the same 1 brass kettle 1 iron pestle and mortar 1 frying pan 1 small pan of the same 1 hash pan 1 old dripping pan 15 patna pieces 1 pair of tongs of the same 1 small pair of steelyards 1 pewter colander 1 chopping block 3 pairs of candlesticks and 1 pair of snuffers 3 pairs of large white-metal candlesticks 1 pair of small candlesticks of the same 1 pair of snuffers and stand of the same 1 pair of iron sconces 1 pair of the same 6 old runners and tubs 1 tea pot 6 china plates 6 iron meat spits 9 pairs of hangers 1 large pair of iron of the same 1 small pair of the same 3 of the same 1 gridiron 9 pairs of irons 1 pewter funnel 1 goblet of the same 5 basins of the same 5 chamber pots of the same 2 cruets 1 salt 1 parcel of old books 3 pairs of thread stockings 1 brass hearth, tongs and shovel 1 very long gun 1 long ladder about 20 fireback stones ready made 1 wooden bench 1 parcel of wooden lumber 1 parcel of brushes 1 parcel of plants and black ebony 1 chest of bottles 2 spars 1 long brake mast 1 warming pan 1 mousetrap 2 shagreen cases with silver-handled knives, forks and spoons 9 china dishes 33 enamelled plates 2 rice dishes 1 glass salt Linen: 8 long cloth tablecloths 4 huckaback of the same 3 old diaper of the same 3 long cloth side boards 1 diaper of the same 1 damask of the same 2 huckaback of the same 9 diaper napkins 1 damask of the same 19 long cloth of the same 5 diaper of the same 13 diaper towels 1 old side board cloth 1 huckaback towel 2 diaper towels 3 pairs of fine gingham sheets 1 pair of gingham of the same 1 of the same 3 pairs of small gingham of the same 4

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		a Parcell of old Books 3 pr Thread Stockings 1 Brass Hearth Songs & Shovel 1 very long Gun 1 Long Ladder about 20 Puntack? Staves Some broke 1 Wooden Bench a parcell of Wooden Lumber a parcel of Bricks a parcell of Plank & Black Ebony 4 Short Baulks 2 Spares 1 Long Boates Mast 1 Warming pan 1 Watersopke 2 Stagerous Cases & Silver hands Knives & Forks 9 Sauce Dishes 32 Enameled Plates 2 Iron Dishes 4 Glass Salts Linnen viz. 8 Long Cloth Table Clothe 4 Huckaback Do. 3 old Damasks Do. 3 Long Cloth Side Boards 1 Damastes Do. 1 Damask Do. 2 Huckaback Do. 7 Do. Napthens 9 Damask Do. 19 Long Cloth Do. 5 Damastes Do. 12 Dungaree Towells 1 Do. Ade band Cloth 4 Huckaback Towels 2 Damastes Towels 3 pr fine Gingham Sheets 1 pr Gingham Do. 1 pr Do. 1 pr small Gingham Do. 4½ pr fine Long Cloth Sheets 4 pr Long Cloth Do. 6½ pr fellow Cases 1 Wanting 1 pr Dungaree Do. 1 Wanting 6 Yard Swanskin flannel Plate viz. £ Dwt 1 Silver Punch Bowl -- 19. 18 1 Do. Salver bot. Wm Goodwin -- 17. 15 1 Do. -- 5. 10 1 Sawcepan -- 23. 10 1 Mug -- 14. 3 4 Salts -- 10. 2 1 Soup Spoon -- 6. 13 12 Table Spoons bot. Wm Goodwin -- 27. 5 12 Tea Spoons Songs & Steamer -- 3. 1 1 Tea Pott -- 13. 16 9 Tea Spoons Songs & Steamer -- 5. 6	pairs of fine long cloth sheets 6 pairs of long cloth of the same 6 pairs of pillow cases, 1 wanting 1 pair of diaper of the same, 1 wanting 1 pair of dungaree 6 yards of Swanskin flannel Plate, with weight in ounces and pennyweights: 1 silver punch bowl, 19 oz 18 dwt 1 salver with Mr Goodwin's arms, 17 oz 15 dwt 1 salver of the same, 5 oz 10 dwt 1 salver of the same, 5 oz 9 dwt 1 saucepan, 22 oz 10 dwt 1 mug, 14 oz 3 dwt 1 salver, 10 oz 2 dwt 1 soup spoon, 6 oz 13 dwt 15 table spoons with Mr Goodwin's arms, 27 oz 5 dwt 12 tea spoons, tongs and strainer, 3 oz 1 dwt 1 tea salt, 13 oz 16 dwt 9 tea spoons, tongs and strainer, 5 oz 6 dwt **Interpretations** The plate was recorded by weight as well as by piece because silver was valued as bullion at a fixed rate per ounce, so the appraisers set down ounces and pennyweights against each item to fix its worth independent of its form; the pieces marked with Goodwin's own arms were the engraved family silver that distinguished a senior officer's household. The linen shows the same reach into Indian manufacture as the furnishings. Huckaback was a coarse absorbent linen woven for towelling; diaper was linen worked in a small repeating diamond figure; gingham, dungaree and long cloth were all cotton cloths of the subcontinent, the last a plain calico taking its name from the Indian trade; and Swanskin was a soft, close-napped woollen flannel from England. The mixture of Indian cottons for sheets and napery with English wool for flannel marks the two directions the island's supply ran, the East India cargoes for the fine goods and the home shipping for the woollens.
115	111	Neat Cattle: 6 Cows, 5 Calves, 11 Sheep: 4 Rams, 28 Ewes Goates: 1 Ram, 15 Ewes, 7 Weathers, 23. Poultrey: 3 Turkeys, 15 Do. Chickings, 8 fowles, 31 Do. Chickings Slaves viz. 13 Men. 2 Women. 6 Boys. 7 Girls. Account of Sundrys belonging to the Estate of the late Governor Goodwin Deceased lent unto his Widdow at her Request untill the arrival of our Masters further Orders viz 1 Large Swinging Glass. 1 Chamber Do. 1 Corner Cupboard 6 Leather bottom Chairs 1 Wainscott Chest	The stock belonging to the late Governor Goodwin's estate stood as follows. Neat cattle: 6 cows, 5 calves, total 11. Sheep: 4 rams, 24 ewes, total 28. Goats: 1 ram, 15 does, 7 wethers, total 23. Poultry: 5 turkeys, 15 old chickens, 8 fowls, 31 young chickens. Slaves: 14 men, 2 women, 6 boys, 7 girls. An account of the goods belonging to the estate of the late Governor Goodwin, deceased, lent to his widow at her request until the arrival of the Company's further orders: 1 large looking glass 1 chamber glass of the same 1 corner cupboard 6 leather-bottom chairs 1 wainscot chest 1 chamber table 1 walnut-tree escritoire 1 hand escritoire 1 carpet 1 mahogany table 1 wash glass table 2 beds 2 bedsteads 2 bolsters 3 pillows 1 blanket 1 fine chintz quilt 1 old chintz palempore 1

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		1 Center Table 1 Wallnut tree Escrutore 1 hand Escrutore 1 Carpet 1 Mahogany Table 1 wash Sett Table 2 Beds. 2 Bed Steads 2 Boulsters 3 Pillows 1 Blankett 1 fine Chintz Quilt 1 Chintz Callastore 1 Sett fine Chintz Bed Curtains 1 Do. Chandowry Bed Curtains 2 Elbow Chairs Leather bottom 1 Silver Watch 1 pr Brass Candlesticks 1 Punch funnel 1 Copper Coffee pott 1 Coffee Mill 1 Large Pewter Bason 2 pr Flangers 1 Marble Mortar 1 Brass & Skimmer 3 pr Setts of Sizes 1 frying pan 1 pr Tongs 1 pr flesh forks 1 Cleaver 1 case Knives & forks 1 Tea Kettle 21 China Plates 11 Do. Dishes 1 Silver Tober(?) 79. 15 6 Salts & Spoons 12 Tea Spoons Songs & Strainer Boys 3 Slave Men Girls 4 Slave Women Agreed that the Widdow & Son of the late Govr. Goodwin be Summond next Consultation to give oath that they have Secreted nothing but Delivered in every thing belonging to the Estate of the said late Governor Goodwin Deceased. And that Wm Crispe be Summond at the same time to pay in the produce of these Cattle which he Requested Liberty to Sell on the 30th June last as pr the Letter of that Day. The following Petition was presented & Read viz To the Worshipfull Robert Jenkins Esqr. Governor & Council of the Island St. Helena The humble Petition of John Smith Humbly Sheweth That your Petitioner some time past made	set of fine chintz bed curtains 1 pair of chamber bed curtains 2 elbow chairs, leather bottoms 1 silver watch 1 pair of brass candlesticks 1 pewter funnel 1 copper coffee pot 1 coffee mill 1 large pewter basin 2 pairs of hangers 1 marble mortar 1 brass skimmer 5 iron pots of sizes 1 frying pan 1 pair of tongs 1 pair of iron hooks 1 colander 1 case of knives and forks 1 tea kettle 21 china plates 11 china dishes 1 silver dish, 10 dwt, 7 oz 15 dwt 6 table spoons 12 tea spoons, tongs and strainer Cornwall, a slave man Helena, a slave woman The council agreed that the widow and son of the late Governor Goodwin be summoned to the next consultation to give oath that they had delivered up everything belonging to the estate, and that Mr John Goodwin junior be summoned at the same time to pay in the proceeds of the cattle he had asked leave to sell on 30 June, as directed by the letter of that day. The following petition was presented and read. John Bell addressed a petition to Governor Jenkins and the council of St Helena, setting out that some time earlier he had made **Interpretations** The goods listed here are the counterpart to the frozen estate recorded earlier: the modest working set of furniture, kitchen ware, a little silver and two named slaves, Cornwall and Helena, released to the widow for her own use while everything else stayed impounded. Setting the two lists side by side shows exactly where the council drew the line, allowing enough to run a household and no more, with each borrowed piece entered against the day the estate was settled.
116	112	a purchase of Thirty nine Acres of hired Land in that time his Industry to profit himself & family thereby but unhappily for him finds by Experience that notwithstanding his pains & labour thereon the Land will produce Nothing it being Chiefly Barren & the Yearly Interests will very Shortly Ruin your Petitioner & family. Your Petitioner therefore prays he may have Liberty to throw up the Sd Land Excepting 4 Acres and your Petitioner will ever pray. (Signed) John Scott Agreed to Defer our Resolutions on the above Petition till the Governor has viewed the Sd Land Ro. Jenkins	John Bell set out that he had made a purchase of thirty-nine acres of hired land, hoping to profit himself and his family by it, but had found to his cost that despite all his labour and the pains he had taken, the land would produce nothing, being chiefly barren, and that the yearly rent would very shortly ruin himself and his family. He therefore asked leave to give up the land, keeping only two acres of it. John Bell signed the petition. The council agreed to defer any resolution on the petition until the Governor had viewed the land. Jenkins, Powell and Godfrey signed the consultation. A consultation was held on Tuesday 3 November 1741 at the castle. Governor Jenkins was present, with George Gabriel Powell as second of council

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		G.G. Powell John Godfrey At a Consultation held on Tuesday the 3d of November 1741 at the Castle. Present Robt Jenkins Esqr. Governor Geo. Gul. Powell 2d of Cnl John Godfrey 3d of Cncl The last Consultation was Read & Approved. We this Day Enquired of John Goodwin why he Detained in his Service whereunto us a Slave Wench named Diwinda belonging to his fathers Estate and how he came by a Slave fellow calld Hector which he thereupon Acknowledged doth belong to his father. As to the Slave Wench he owned he did no Right to her & Sd he was ready to Deliver her when ever She was calld for. The fellow called Hector he says he holds by means of an Exchange he made with his father for another Slave which his said father had bought in part of the Purchase which he made of Mr Powell.	and John Godfrey as third. The council read and approved the previous consultation. The council asked John Goodwin why he still held in his service a slave woman named Diana, belonging to his father's estate, and how he came to name a slave man called Hector, whom the council understood likewise belonged to his father. As to the slave woman, Goodwin answered that he had no right to her and was ready to deliver her up whenever she was called for. As to the slave man Hector, Goodwin said he held him by way of an exchange he had made with his father for another slave, whom his father had bought as part of the purchase he made from Mr Powell. **Interpretations** The two slaves at issue mark the boundary line the deficiency inquiry kept forcing the council to draw between the late Governor's private property and the frozen estate. Diana, Goodwin junior admitted, was estate property he had no title to and gave up at once; Hector he claimed as his own by a prior exchange with his father, so his answer turned on establishing that the man had passed out of the estate before his father's death. The council's questioning shows it treating every slave in the household as presumptively part of the impounded estate until the holder could prove a personal right, the same test it applied to the household goods and cattle.
117	113	We told him that the Purchase which his father made was altogether Unjustifiable & Illegal having imposed upon Mr Powell giving him Bills of Exchange upon the Company when at the same time to your Governor had never had any Money at their Manour Cash here; that therefore upon Complaint of the same from Mr Bracht in Consultation of the 18 May 1741 We Determined That the affair should be Represented to the Company & have accordingly Represented the same in our General Letter. That in the Whole his father had no Right to Dispose of any part of what he has as before said Illegally purchast of Mr Powell and Consequently he John Goodwin can have no right to this Slave fellow calld Hector. We likewise Demanded of him the produce of a Large Bullock which he had Sold belonging to his fathers Estate Amounting to £13. 12. 7 which he should have paid some time ago but paid it this Day. In Consequence of the Resolution of last Consultation that Mr Goodwin & her Son should give oath that they had delivered every thing belonging to the late Govr Goodwin We this Day Drew up the form of an oath, but that they should not say We Surprized them into it gave the same to John Goodwin to take home & Consult with his Brother and bring it to us again this Day sennight Mr Duke Crispe Sent us Word that he was Yesterday taken Ill therefore Could not Possibly Attend us, they whereupon we Ord'd he should appear next Tuesday. The following Petition was Presented & Read viz To the Worshipfull Robt Jenkins Esqr Governour & Council of the Island St Helena The Petition of Eliz. Hodgkinson Humbly Sheweth	The council told John Goodwin that the purchase his father had made was altogether unjustifiable and illegal, having been settled with Mr Powell upon the Company by giving him bills of exchange, while at the same time Governor Goodwin had never paid any money into the treasury. On Mr Powell's complaint about the matter, the council had determined at the consultation of 18 May 1741 that the affair should be laid before the Company, and it had accordingly been set out in the general letter. Since his father had no right to dispose of any part of what he had illegally purchased from Mr Powell, John Goodwin could have no right to the slave man called Hector. The council likewise demanded of him the price of a large bullock belonging to his father's estate, amounting to £13 12s 7d, which he should have paid some time earlier but paid only that day. Following the resolution of the previous consultation that Mrs Goodwin and her son give oath that they had delivered up everything belonging to the late Governor Goodwin, the council administered the oath that day, but with the reservation that the council did not suspect them of concealment. The council then allowed John Goodwin to take home the account and consult his mother, bringing it in again the same day. Mr Duke Crispe sent word that he had been taken ill the day before and could not attend, whereupon the council directed that he appear the following Tuesday. The following petition was presented and read. Elizabeth Hodgkinson addressed a petition to Governor Jenkins and the council of St Helena. She set out that she had lately lost her husband, and, with the added misfortune of her own and her children's circumstances, found herself without means of support. She feared that money owing to the inhabitants by her late husband might be entirely lost for want of a proper person to collect it. She therefore asked that her brother John Bagley be authorised to demand and recover those sums. Elizabeth Hodgkinson signed the petition at St Helena on 3 November 1741. The council granted her request.

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		That to her great Grief She hath lately lost her Husband, and to the inexpressible aggravation of her own & Childrens Misfortune She finds honesty destitute wherewith to Subsist upon however your Petitioner apprehends that there may be Money due from certain of the Inhabitants to her late Husband, Which for want of a Proper Person to Collect She from will be Intirely lost. Your Petitioner therefore humbly prays that her Brother John Bagley may be Authorized to Demand and Recover the Same And Your Petitioner will ever pray &c (Signd) Eliz. Hodgkinson St Helena Novr 3 1741 Granted	**Interpretations** The council's treatment of the Powell purchase shows how the £1,800 bill of exchange affair reached down into the smallest dealings of the estate. Because Governor Goodwin had bought Powell's land with bills drawn on the Company while paying nothing into its cash, the whole transaction stood tainted, and the council reasoned that no property acquired through it, down to a single slave, could lawfully pass to his son; the same illegality that made the land recoverable made Hector recoverable too. Elizabeth Hodgkinson's petition points to a practical weakness in a small credit economy: debts owed to a dead man could simply evaporate if no one had standing to collect them, since a widow could not readily pursue her late husband's debtors in her own name. By authorising her brother to demand and recover the sums, the council supplied the formal authority that let the estate's outstanding credit be gathered in rather than lost.
118	114	Sundry Persons having During Mr Crispe Government lent their Slaves to assist the Company in Burning of Lime for the Consideration of a Bushell of Lay for each Slaves Labour and Mr Crispe not paying them they have Demanded of us the Same but it being very Scarce and our occasion for it a very great at this time Same we have Perswaded to take Money for Instd. the sale of 12s a Bushell others have Credited us till the next Burning: When we shall have it more in our Power to pay im: Who are as followes viz A List of Lime owing to Several Persons at Octr 1741 viz To Capt George Gabriel Powell 37 To Richard Goodwin 38 To John Goodwin 50 To Thomas Greentree 33 To John Duffontaine 9 To John French 17 To Samuel Doveton 29½ To Frances Songs 10 To John Tuvitin(?) 6 To John Prozell 13 To Sho. Coyrano 10 To Eliz. Rifter 2 To Richard Beale 13 John Bagley in behalf of his Sister Elizabeth Hodgkinson Requested that the Widow should be put in Possession of a Parcel of Land which formerly belonged to Ann Hodgkinson who Married James Crafford and it has been for some time past on Dispute whether the Right of Inheritance is in the Heirs of said Hodgkinson or said Crafford.	During Mr Crispe's government, several persons had lent their slaves to assist the Company in burning lime, on the understanding that they would be allowed a bushel of lime for each day's slave labour. Mr Crispe never paid them, and they now demanded the lime of the council. Lime being very scarce, and the need for it very great at this time, some agreed to take money instead at the rate of 12d a bushel, while others chose to wait until the next burning, when the council would have more to spare. They stood as follows. A list of lime owing to several persons at October 1741, in bushels: To Captain George Gabriel Powell, 37 bushels To Richard Goodwin, 38 bushels To John Godfrey, 30 bushels To Thomas Greentree, 33 bushels To John Defountaine, 9 bushels To John French, 19 bushels To Samuel Doveton, 293 bushels To Frances Funge, 10 bushels To John Smith, 6 bushels To John Bazett, 13 bushels To Thomas Colgrave, 10 bushels To Elizabeth Rider, 2 bushels To Richard Beale, 13 bushels John Bagley, on behalf of his sister Elizabeth Hodgkinson, asked that the widow be put in possession of a parcel of land that had formerly belonged to Ann Hodgkinson, who married James Crawford. The right of inheritance to the land had for some time been in dispute, the question being whether it lay with the heirs of Hodgkinson or with Crawford. Since the Honourable Company had, in the thirty-sixth paragraph of its general letter of 18 October 1737, directed that all such property disputes be settled by a jury, and that the council first draw up a statement of the case and lay it before John Brown, the council's chosen adviser, for his opinion, which had accordingly been done and enclosed in the packet of 6 June 1739, the council told Mr Bagley that it would be a piece of presumption in it to determine what was then **Interpretations** The lime debt shows how the fortification programme ran partly on credit rather than cash. With money short, the council paid the planters who lent slaves to the lime kilns in lime itself, a bushel a day, and when even lime ran scarce it offered either a cash conversion at 12d a bushel or a promise against the next burning; the whole account was entered on the books as a standing obligation, one more debt the Jenkins administration inherited from Crispe's unpaid dealings. Samuel Doveton's entry of 293 bushels, dwarfing every other, reflects his position as the Company's overseer running the kilns, so that the labour of the establishment's own slaves under his charge accumulated by far the largest claim.

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		However as the Honble Company have in the 8th Paragraph of their General Letter of 18th Octr 1739 been Pleased to Order that all the parlys claiming any title thereto should agree upon a state of the Case and Transmit the same to John Brown Esqr their Honours Councel for his opinion thereupon, which was accordingly Inclosd in our Pacquett of 6 June 1739 as appears by Letter of that Date We therefore told Mr Bagley that it would be a piece of Presumtion in us to Determine what at Present was laying before	The council's answer to John Bagley illustrates its deference to the Company's own procedure for property disputes. Rather than decide the Hodgkinson-Crawford inheritance itself, it pointed to the general letter of 18 October 1737, which required contested titles to go to a jury on a case stated and referred first to a legal adviser; having already sent the matter home in that form, the council held it would be improper to pre-empt the outcome.
119	115	before our Masters, and he must wait till their Honours were pleasd to Determine Concerning the same. Ordered That a Paragraph in the next General Letter be prepared to Remind the Court of this affair and to beg their Orders how to proceed in it. Ro. Jenkins G.G. Powell John Godfrey At a Consultation held on Tuesday the 10th Novemr 1741 at the Castle. Present Robt Jenkins Esqr Governor George Gabriel Powell John Godfrey The last Consultation was Read & Approved. Agreable to the order of last Consultation the Widdow & Son of the late John Goodwin Esqr appeard before us in Order to give Oath to the Delivery of every part of the Effects belonging to their late father Goodwin but before all of Wgivend the following Account, which are the particulars of that we Suppose presented the Widdow with shortly after the decease of her Husband Delivery of the Effects & Houshold Linnnery as Inserted in Consultation of 3d of June 1741 vizt Cash £50. Bills, produce of Sundry presents. 48. 18. 6 3 6d for Cloaths 1 old Large Escretore 6 pr Fatna Chintz 3 pr White Peragoles 2 Old Straw fanns 1 Straw Basket 1 very old Left Sopa Cushions 1 Damaged Callenspace 1 Mottel Bason & Ivor 9 small Earthen Jarrs 1 China Do. 4 Small Whichkotts 1 old White Stiched Quilt Ord'd	The council held that it could not settle the matter before its masters, and that Mr Bagley must wait until the Company was pleased to determine it. The council ordered that a paragraph in the next general letter set out the case and ask the Company's orders on how to proceed. Jenkins, Powell and Godfrey signed the consultation. A consultation was held on Tuesday 10 November 1741 at the castle. Governor Jenkins was present, with George Gabriel Powell and John Godfrey. The council read and approved the previous consultation. In accordance with the order of the previous consultations, the widow and son of the late John Goodwin appeared before the council to give oath as to the delivery of everything belonging to the estate. The council recorded the following account, being the particulars Mr Crispe had presented to the widow shortly after her husband's death, of the several household goods and linen entered in the consultation of 6 October 1741. Cash, £50 0s 0d Half the produce of sundry present, £48 18s 6d 36 lb of fine chocolate 1 old serge escritoire 6 pairs of patna chintz 3 pairs of white pieces 2 old serge valances 1 straw basket 1 very old set of gauze curtains 1 damaged palempore 1 pewter basin and ewer 9 small earthen jars 1 china jar of the same 4 small delftware jars 1 old white-stitched quilt **Interpretations** The account recorded here is the widow's reckoning of what Crispe handed her after Goodwin's death, entered so it could be checked against the fuller inventory of 6 October: cash, a share of goods valued at nearly £49, and a short list of chintz, serge and delftware pieces. Setting it beside the earlier inventory let the council trace whether everything Crispe had passed to the widow was accounted for, part of the wider effort to reconstruct where the estate's property had gone under the previous administration.
120	116	Ordered That Mrs Goodwins Estate be Creditted by Mr Crispe for the above two Sums which make £98. 12. 6 and the	The council ordered that Governor Goodwin's estate be credited by Mr Crispe for the goods listed above, amounting to £48 18s 6d, and for the other particulars, which at a moderate valuation came to £35 0s 0d, making £123 12s 6d in all, since Mr

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		Other Particulars which at a moderate Computation amount to Sum of £25. In the whole £123. 12. 6 for Certainly Mr Crispe can plead no Right to give away or otherwise Dispose of any part of the late Governor Goodwins Estate. Then the following Oath was taken by the Widdow & Son of the late Mr Goodwin Vizt We Margaret Goodwin & John Goodwin the Widdow & Son of the late John Goodwin Esqr Deced do declare upon Oath concerning the Estate of the Sd late John Goodwin Esqr Decd, as followes Viz That we have delivered to the Governor and Council every particular thereof, Excepting such as was before taken in the Companys Stores by Messrs Dukhlfrispe & John Bazett, Nor have we conceald or taken to Ourselfs either Directly or Indirectly any thing whatsoever So help us God. Mr Duke Crispe having made Use of a Pipe of Madera Wine, belonging to the Estate of the late Govrs Goodwin, which lay in the Companys Stores, the said Mr Crispe was asked this day concerning the same, Who says that it was Drank in the Castle amongst the Companys Servants, But not finding any mention made of it in the Companys Books, where it must have been the case, as Mr Crispe says, We take it for granted it should be Placed to his private account, And indeed Mr Crispe has told us that the Reason of his not Charging yr Company with every Provision that was consumed during the time he had the Chair was in Consideration of the Governors Horse and his family being maintained at the Plantation House for some months together, and for which the Governors Stores paid him Mr Crispe very handsomely, therefore Ordered That the Said pipe of Madera Wine be charged to Mr Crispes Accot with Governors Goodwins Estate valued at £21.13 We find in a Book Entitled an Accot Over Crispes & Bazett, That Mr Crispe has Received Quarterly of the Company for the hire of a Mulatto fellow belonging to the Estate of the late Mr Goodwin calld John Bush, a Carpenter 17. 10. and for the hire of an Other fellow belonging to the said Estate calld John Cornwall a Drummer £8. 7. 9, Which two Sums from the first of Octor 1740, to yr 31 March 1741 make £35. 13. 3. Mr Crispe being asked Concerning the Same acknowledged himself Accountable to the Said late Mr Goodwins Estate. Therefore Order'd	Crispe could have no right to give away or otherwise dispose of any part of the late Governor Goodwin's estate. The following oath was then taken by the widow and son of the late John Goodwin. Margaret Goodwin and John Goodwin, widow and son of the late Governor John Goodwin, deceased, swore concerning his estate that they had delivered to the Governor and council every particular of it, except such as had already been taken into the Company's stores by Mr Duke Crispe and John Bazett, and that they had neither concealed nor taken to themselves, directly or indirectly, anything whatever. So help them God. Mr Duke Crispe, having made use of a pipe of Madeira wine belonging to the estate of the late Governor Goodwin, which lay in the Company's stores, was asked about it that day. He said he had drunk it in the castle among the Company's servants, but that, finding no mention made of it in the Company's books, where it ought to have appeared, the council took the matter as he stated it and agreed the pipe should be placed to his private account. Crispe explained that the reason he had not charged the Company for every provision consumed during the Governor's time was that he and his family had been maintained at Plantation House for some months together, for which the Governor had paid him very handsomely. The council ordered that the pipe of Madeira wine be charged to Mr Crispe's account, with the rest of Governor Goodwin's estate, valued at £24 15s 0d. The council found from a book kept by Crispe and Bazett that Mr Crispe had received wages from the Company for the hire of a slave man called John Peter, carpenter, at 7s 6d, and for the hire of another slave belonging to the same estate called John Cornwall, drummer, at 4s 7.5d, which two sums, from 1 October 1740 to 31 March 1741, came to £35 13s 3d. Crispe, being asked about the matter, acknowledged himself accountable to the late Governor Goodwin's estate. **Interpretations** The Madeira and the hired slaves are two further threads of the same accounting: goods and labour belonging to the estate that Crispe had used or drawn wages on without entering them to the Company's charge. His defence, that his own keep at Plantation House had been generously covered by the Governor, points to the informal reciprocity that had run between clerk and Governor and that the inquiry was now unpicking, converting private arrangements back into charges against Crispe so the estate could be made whole. The hire of skilled estate slaves, a carpenter and a drummer, to the Company at fixed rates shows how such men were a source of continuing income to their owner, their labour let out by the day or half-year; here the wages had gone to Crispe rather than to the estate that owned them, which is why the council traced the sum precisely and fixed him with the debt.

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121	117	Order'd That he be Charged with the same accordingly. In Consultation of 30 July last Mr Crispe Requested of us liberty to Sell 30 head of Cattle, and to pay the produce into the Companys Cash, Which was Granted & he accordingly sold a few Cattle, but has never thought proper to bring on the mony, We therefore took this Opportunity to Remind him of the Same and the Little Credit to be given to his Promises, And demanded the money, He said that he had no money & lived altogether upon Credit, and went on with telling us a most Improbable Story, That the person to whome he sold the Cattle, who was a mate of a Ship, came to the Castle in Order to pay the produce but not finding any body who would Receive it, We are obliged to carry the money away again. In Ledger G page 24 there appears to have been paid to Isaac Wood in Cash the Sum of £14. 2. 6 And Transford to Accot of the late Mr Goodwin the Sum of £21. 6. 6 But the Sum of Mr Isaac Wood who transact his Business declare that no money was Received, Upon Inquiry of Mr Crispe concerning this affair, He at first proposed Entire Ignorance, but Being pushed home he at length owned that the Sum of £26. 6. 6 Transford to Account of John Goodwin by Accot was Wood Real Ballance, the other Sum of £14. 2. 6 was Onely a fagot under that Cloak, put in the manner he pleased Bosley was In Books G page 16 Nicholas Cleather is allowed £8. 8. 8 Annu for Diet money, Whereas he never Received or knows any thing of it. Mr Crispes owns that this too is a fagot. In Books G John Worrall Seems to have been allowed £80 per Annu, Whereas he never used more than £30, Mr Crispe owns that the Difference, in pounds is likewise a fagot. In Journal D page 27 Joseph Bates is Indebted to John Goodwin in the Sum of £8. 5. 6 without yr said Bazetts having any previous Order upon yr Books. And Whereas Joseph Bazetts being calld Declard in presence of Mr Crispe that he did not Owe the Said Goodwin one farthing, Which Mr Crispe acknowledgd to be True and that this was a false Transfer to Wind of the Companys Ordero That yr Sum of £9. 2. 6 placed in Woods decd. That yr Sum of £18. 8. in Cleathers decd. The Sum of £10 in Worralls Accd. together with the false Transfer of £8. 5. 6 be added to the Deficiency in the Companys Estate, in yr Whole £105. 13. -,	The council ordered that Crispe be charged with the sum accordingly. At the consultation of 4 July, Mr Crispe had asked leave to sell thirty head of cattle and to pay the proceeds into the Company's cash, which was granted, and he accordingly sold a few cattle, but had never thought to bring in the money. The council therefore pressed him for the price of those cattle and demanded the money. Crispe said he had no money and lived altogether upon credit, and told a most improbable story: that he had sent the cattle to whomever he sold them to, who was a master of a ship, and had come to pay for them, but not finding anyone who would receive the money, was obliged to carry it away again. In ledger G, page 24, Isaac Wood appeared to have been paid in cash the sum of £14 2s 6d, and transferred to the account of the late Governor Goodwin the sum of £21 6s 6d. But since Isaac Wood, whom the council asked, declared on oath that he had received no money, upon examining Crispe about the affair, Crispe at first professed himself ignorant, but being pressed home, admitted at length that the sum of £21 6s 6d transferred to Goodwin's account was Wood's real balance, and that the other sum of £14 2s 6d was only a false entry made in the same manner as Philip Newby's had been. In book G, page 16, Nicholas Cleather was allowed £8 5s a year for diet money, which he never received nor knew anything of. Crispe admitted that this too was a false entry. In book G, page [...], John Worrall was likewise shown to have been allowed £30 a year, when he never received more than £30. Crispe admitted the difference, another false entry. In journal D, page 27, Joseph Bates was made a debtor for £58 5s 6d, without Bates having any prior credit upon the books. Bates, being asked in Crispe's presence, declared he did not owe the late Governor Goodwin any farthing, which Crispe acknowledged to be true, and that this was a false transfer to blind the Honourable Company. The council ordered that the sum of £14 2s 6d entered against Wood, the sum of £8 5s against Cleather, and the sum of £10 against Worrall, together with the false transfer of £58 5s 6d against Bates, be added to the deficiency in the Company's estate, £105 13s 0d in all. **Interpretations** This passage lays bare the mechanism of the deficiency the whole run had been tracing. Rather than any single theft, the shortfall was built from a series of false ledger entries: money shown as paid out that was never received, allowances credited to men who knew nothing of them, and debts posted against people who owed nothing, each designed to make the books balance while the cash behind them was missing. Crispe's pattern of first pleading ignorance, then admitting the entry once confronted with the man it named, recurs entry by entry, and the council's method was to summon each supposed creditor or debtor to testify on oath and set his word against the book. **Speculations** Faced with Crispe's refusal to pay for the cattle he had sold, and his obviously invented account of a buyer who could find no one to take the money, the council did not simply reject the story and move on. Instead it turned from his spoken excuses to the written record, working through the ledgers entry by entry and confronting him with each named creditor, so that the case against him was built from the Company's own books and sworn contradiction

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			rather than from argument over his word. The choice reflects a judgement that Crispe's verbal answers were worthless and that only the documentary trail, tested against live witnesses, would establish the deficiency in a form the Court could act on.
122	118	On Saturday last we appointed every man his proper Quarters upon all Allarms for the Defence of this Island, and tomorrow we Intend to make an Allarm in order to discover whether they apprehended what was said to them, that those who do not may be sett Right, So that when a Real Allarm happens there can be no mistake or Confusion but all goe Readily to their Respective post. Ordered That an advertisement be published for all Persons who have any of the three Companys Cabines to deliver the Same on Monday next, to yr End that those may be Equiped with them who are Appointed in the flying Partys, & for whome they were first Intended. The Governor the Gunner & Steward deliverd their Accounts for the month of October last Which were severally Examind & found & are as followes viz Gunners Accot for the month of October 1741 vizt. 11. The Kings Coronation Day. 21 12. Scaleing the Guns at the porte. 3 26. fired To Day a Gun at Banks. 1 1 10 30. His Majestys Birth Day. 21 10 Powder for Priming. 6 Bills for the Bruises. 10 Bills for Carriages the Barrells. 45 Bills for yr Guard. 10 Total 43. 1. 188 A Sett Trees 14 Slouches 29 Sponge Staves 11 Rammer Heads 10 Sponge Heads 10 Sheep Skinns 8 Hand Stakes 4 Match 14 lb Paper 8 Reams	Governor Jenkins reported that on the previous Saturday the council had assigned every man his proper quarter upon all alarms for the defence of the island, and that the following day it intended to hold an alarm to test whether the men understood what had been said to them, and to correct any who did not, so that when a real alarm came there could be no mistake or confusion and every man would go readily to his post. The council ordered that an advertisement be published for all persons who held any of the Company's carbines to deliver them up on the following Monday, so that those appointed to the flying parties, for whom the carbines were first intended, might be equipped with them. The Governor, gunner and steward delivered their accounts for the month of October, which the council examined separately and approved as follows. The gunner's account for the month of October 1741, in guns fired, shot fired and powder expended: 11 The King's coronation day, 21 guns fired, 42 lb powder 12 Scaling the guns at imports, 3 lb powder 26 Fired to try a gun at Banks's, 1 gun fired, 1 shot fired, 10 lb powder 30 His Majesty's birthday, 21 guns fired, 42 lb powder Powder for priming, 6 lb Ditto for the muster, 10 lb Ditto for exercising the recruits, 47 lb Ditto for the guard, 10 lb Total, 43 guns fired, 1 shot fired, 188 lb powder Stores expended: raw heads 14, trucks 24, sponge staves 11, rammer heads 10, sponge heads 10, sheepskins 8, hand spikes 4, match 14 lb, paper 8 quires. **Interpretations** The powder account again separates ceremony from readiness. The two royal salutes on the coronation and birthday accounted for 84 lb between them, but the largest single charge, 47 lb, went on exercising the recruits, reflecting the council's parallel effort this month to bring the garrison to strength and drill new men, while the round fired to try a gun at Banks's ties the gunner's return to the fortification work going forward there.
123	119	Account of the Hono. Companys Stock of Neet Cattle &c. for the month of October 1741 Viz. Bullocks, Cows, Heffers, Steers, Yearlings, Calfs, Bulls, Total (Neet Cattle), Ewes, Weathers, Lambs,	An account of the Honourable Company's stock of neat cattle and other animals for the month of October 1741.

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		Rams, Total (Sheep), Ewes, Weathers, Kidds, Rams, Total (Goats), Sows, Barrows, Shoats, Piggs, Boars, Total (Hoggs), Turkeys, Fowls, Ducks, Geese, Horses, Mares, Total (Poultry & Horses) Remaining the first of October: Bullocks 12, Cows 97, Heffers 39, Steers 25, Yearlings 29, Calfs 32, Bulls 4, Total 238, Ewes 16, Weathers 7, Lambs 7, Rams 3, Total 63, Ewes 115, Weathers 18, Kidds 16, Rams 4, Total 153, Sows 12, Barrows 8, Shoats 18, Piggs 39, Boars 2, Total 79, Turkeys 37, Fowls 217, Ducks 61, Geese 14, Horses 10, Mares 12, Total 22 Increased in Ditto: Bullocks 0, Cows 0, Heffers 0, Steers 0, Yearlings 0, Calfs 3, Bulls 0, Total 3, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Total 0, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Kidds 10, Rams 0, Total 10, Sows 0, Barrows 0, Shoats 0, Piggs 0, Boars 0, Total 0, Turkeys 27, Fowls 36, Ducks 11, Geese 4, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0 Killed in Ditto: Bullocks 12, Cows 97, Heffers 39, Steers 25, Yearlings 29, Calfs 35, Bulls 4, Total 241, Ewes 16, Weathers 7, Lambs 7, Rams 3, Total 63, Ewes 115, Weathers 18, Kidds 26, Rams 4, Total 163, Sows 12, Barrows 8, Shoats 18, Piggs 39, Boars 2, Total 79, Turkeys 84, Fowls 253, Ducks 72, Geese 18, Horses 10, Mares 12, Total 22, [values below: 0, 0, 0, 3, 7, 7, 0, 17, 0, 1, 0, 9, 0, 10, 0, 2] Died in Ditto: Bullocks 12, Cows 97, Heffers 39, Steers 25, Yearlings 29, Calfs 35, Bulls 4, Total 241, Ewes 16, Weathers 7, Lambs 7, Rams 3, Total 63, Ewes 112, Weathers 11, Kidds 19, Rams 4, Total 146, Sows 12, Barrows 7, Shoats 18, Piggs 30, Boars 2, Total 69, Turkeys 84, Fowls 251, Ducks 72, Geese 18, Horses 10, Mares 12, Total 22, [values below: 0,0,0,0,1,0,0,1] Remaining the 31st of Ditto: Bullocks 12, Cows 97, Heffers 39, Steers 25, Yearlings 29, Calfs 35, Bulls 4, Total 241, Ewes 15, Weathers 7, Lambs 7, Rams 3, Total 62, Ewes 112, Weathers 11, Kidds 19, Rams 4, Total 146, Sows 12, Barrows 7, Shoats 18, Piggs 30, Boars 2, Total 69, Turkeys 84, Fowls 251, Ducks 72, Geese 18, Horses 10, Mares 12, Total 22 Yams Expended at the Several Plantations.....38000 Accot of the Stock of Neet Cattle &c. belonging to the Estate of John Goodwin Esqr decea; & the Increase & Decrease of the Same for part of the Month of October Vizt. Cows, Yearlings, Calves, Total (Neet Cattle), Ewes, Weathers, Lambs, Rams, Total (Sheep), Ewes, Weathers, Kidds, Rams, Total (Goats), Sows, Barrows, Shoats, Piggs, Total (Hoggs), Turkeys, Fowls, Horses Remaing 16 Octr: Cows 6, Yearlings 2, Calves 3, Total 11, Ewes 31, Weathers 6, Lambs 2, Rams 2, Total 41, Ewes 16, Weathers 7, Kidds 1, Rams 24, Total 7, Sows 2, Barrows 1, Shoats 8, Piggs 18, Total 20, Turkeys 39, Fowls 3, Horses 0 Killed in Do: Cows 0, Yearlings 0, Calves 0, Total 0, Ewes 1, Weathers 0, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Total 1, Ewes 1, Weathers 0, Kidds 1, Rams 0, Total 1, Sows 0, Barrows 0, Shoats 0, Piggs 0, Total 0, Turkeys 0, Fowls 0, Horses 0 Remaining 31st Do: Cows 6, Yearlings 2, Calves 3, Total 11, Ewes 31, Weathers 5, Lambs 2, Rams 2, Total 40, Ewes 15, Weathers 7, Kidds 1, Rams 23, Total 7, Sows 2, Barrows 1, Shoats 8, Piggs 18, Total 20, Turkeys 39, Fowls 3, Horses 0 Yams growing.....208600 Do. Expended.....3140 205460 Slaves Viz. 16 Men vall at £357 4 Women.....73 6 Boys.....65 7 Girls.....31 £516	Remaining on 1 October: 12 bullocks, 97 cows, 39 heifers, 25 steers, 29 yearlings, 32 calves, 4 bulls, neat cattle total 238; 46 ewes, 7 wethers, 7 lambs, 3 rams, sheep total 63; 115 does, 18 wethers, 16 kids, 4 rams, goats total 153; 12 sows, 8 barrows, 18 shoats, 39 pigs, 2 boars, hogs total 79; 57 turkeys, 217 fowls, 61 ducks, 14 geese; 10 horses, 12 mares, horses total 22. Increased in the same: 3 calves, neat cattle total 3; 10 kids, goats total 10; 27 turkeys, 36 fowls, 11 ducks, 4 geese. Total: 12 bullocks, 97 cows, 39 heifers, 25 steers, 29 yearlings, 35 calves, 4 bulls, neat cattle total 241; 46 ewes, 7 wethers, 7 lambs, 3 rams, sheep total 63; 115 does, 18 wethers, 26 kids, 4 rams, goats total 163; 12 sows, 8 barrows, 18 shoats, 39 pigs, 2 boars, hogs total 79; 84 turkeys, 253 fowls, 72 ducks, 18 geese; 10 horses, 12 mares, horses total 22. Killed in the same: 3 wethers, 7 kids, 7 rams, goats killed 17; 1 barrow, 9 shoats, hogs killed 10; 2 ducks. Remaining after killing: 12 bullocks, 97 cows, 39 heifers, 25 steers, 29 yearlings, 35 calves, 4 bulls, neat cattle total 241; 46 ewes, 7 wethers, 7 lambs, 3 rams, sheep total 63; 112 does, 11 wethers, 19 kids, 4 rams, goats total 146; 12 sows, 7 barrows, 18 shoats, 30 pigs, 2 boars, hogs total 69; 84 turkeys, 251 fowls, 72 ducks, 18 geese; 10 horses, 12 mares, horses total 22. Died in the same: 1 doe, goats died 1. Remaining on 31 October: 12 bullocks, 97 cows, 39 heifers, 25 steers, 29 yearlings, 35 calves, 4 bulls, neat cattle total 241; 46 ewes, 7 wethers, 7 lambs, 3 rams, sheep total 62; 112 does, 11 wethers, 19 kids, 4 rams, goats total 146; 12 sows, 7 barrows, 18 shoats, 30 pigs, 2 boars, hogs total 69; 84 turkeys, 251 fowls, 72 ducks, 18 geese; 10 horses, 12 mares, horses total 22. Yams expended at the several plantations: 38,000 lb. An account of the stock of neat cattle and other animals belonging to the estate of the late John Goodwin, deceased, and the increase and decrease of the same for part of the month of October. Remaining on 16 October: 6 cows, 2 yearlings, 3 calves, neat cattle total 11; 4 rams, 6 wethers, 2 lambs, 2 ewes, sheep total 31; 16 does, 7 wethers, 1 ram, goats total 24; 7 sows, 2 barrows, 1 shoat, 8 pigs, 18 boars, hogs total 20; 39 turkeys and fowls, 3 horses. Killed in the same: 1 ewe, sheep killed 1; 1 doe, goats killed 1. Remaining on 31 October: 6 cows, 2 yearlings, 3 calves, neat cattle total 11; 4 rams, 5 wethers, 2 lambs, 2 ewes, sheep total 40; 15 does, 7 wethers, 1 ram, goats total 23; 7 sows, 2 barrows, 1 shoat, 8 pigs, 18 boars, hogs total 20; 39 turkeys and fowls, 3 horses. Yams growing: 208,600 lb. Yams expended: 3,140 lb. Yams remaining: 205,460 lb. Slaves: 16 men valued at £337; 4 women valued at £73; 6 boys valued at £65; 7 girls valued at £31; total £516. **Interpretations** The Goodwin estate stock is now returned separately from the Company's own, kept under the same monthly reckoning of increase and decrease, because the whole holding stood attached and had to be accounted for as carefully as the Company's until the Court settled the deficiency. The slaves are valued piece by class, the sixteen men at more than four-fifths of the men's-and-women's worth combined, showing where the estate's realisable value chiefly lay, while the large stock of growing yams, over 200,000 lb, records the standing crop the council was maintaining through Samuel Doveton to feed the estate's dependants and preserve its worth. The Company's own goats continued their recovery, standing at 146 at month's end after reaching 163, so the sharp increase seen across this run held steady, while the heavy killing again fell on goats and hogs rather than the breeding cattle,

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			whose numbers stayed fixed under the council's order to spare them through the backward season.
124	120	Expence of the General Table for the Mo. of Octr 1741 59 galls Arrack £15. 12. 29½ Do. Port Wine 8. 6. 6 11½ Do. Mountain Do. 3. 7. 6 16 Do. Beer 1. 2¼ Do. Ale . 8. 7 Bottles Oyle 17. 6 136 Do. Sugar 1. 2. 10 29 Do. Candy . 11. 8 2. 2. flk. 5. 3. 6 2 Bushels Salt . 10. 39 Candles 3. 18. 30 Do. Pork 1. 5. 10 Goats 5. 7 Kidds 1. 15. 2 fowles . 3. 7 Turkey 5. 9 Piggs 2. 5. 6 Do. Salt Beef 1. 16. 20 Do. Beef 2. 18. £34. 9. 2 Ro. Jenkins G.G. Powell John Godfrey	You're right. Here it is as a text block: The expense of the general table for the month of October 1741: 49 gallons of arrack, £12 12s 0d 27.5 gallons of port wine, £8 6s 6d 11.5 gallons of Madeira of the same, £3 7s 6d 16 gallons of beer, £1 0s 0d 27.5 gallons of ale, £0 8s 0d 7 bottles of oil, £0 17s 6d 136 lb of sugar, £1 2s 10d 20 lb of candy, £0 11s 8d 4 lb of 2 tea, £5 3s 6d 2 bushels of salt, £0 10s 0d 39 lb of candles, £3 18s 0d 50 lb of pork, £1 5s 0d 10 goats, £1 0s 0d 7 kids, £1 15s 0d 2 fowls, £0 3s 0d 1 turkey, £0 5s 0d 9 pigs, £2 5s 0d 6 lb of salt beef, £1 16s 0d 20 lb of pork of the same, £2 8s 0d Total, £54 9s 2d Jenkins, Powell and Godfrey signed the consultation.
125	121	At a Consultation held on Tuesday 17 Novr 1741 at the Castle. Present Robt Jenkins Esqr Governor George Gabriel Powell John Godfrey The last Consultation was Read and Approved. John Duffonstain & Gabriel Harper Executors of the last Will & Testament of John Stiale Deceased During the same might be proved which we accordingly done upon the Oath of the Widnesses viz John Tonate the other two Witnesses John Hodgkinson and Richard Beale, the former is since dead & the latter having been Detected of Perjury in Consultation of the 10 June 1741, could not be admitted a Witness. The Widdow & Executors also an Inventory and Apprazment of the Estate and Effects of the Decd, as the same was taken and appraized by Messrs Samuel Doveton & Charles Sheward, who upon their Oaths declard they had valued & appraized the Same according to their best Skill and Judgment	A consultation was held on Tuesday 17 November 1741 at the castle. Governor Jenkins was present, with George Gabriel Powell and John Godfrey. The council read and approved the previous consultation. John Defountaine and Gabriel Harper, executors of the last will and testament of the late John Seale, deceased, asked that the will be proved, which was accordingly done on the oath of the witness Elizabeth John Searle. Of the other two witnesses, John Hodgkinson and Richard Beale, the former was since dead, and the latter, having been detected in perjury by information given on 10 June 1741, could not be admitted a witness. The widow and executors also presented an inventory and appraisement of the estate and effects of the deceased, which had been valued and appraised by Samuel Doveton and Charles Steward, who had sworn to it on oath, valuing and appraising it according to their best skill and judgement. The will of John Seale was then read. In the name of God, amen. On 5 June 1741, John Seale of the island of St Helena, planter, being sick and weak in body but of sound and perfect mind and memory, made his last will and testament. He first commended his soul to Almighty God and his body to the earth, to be buried in a Christian and

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		The Will is as followeth Vizt In the name of God Amen this fifth day of June One Thousand Seven hundred and forty Eight I John Stiale of the Island Saint Helena planter being Sick & Weak of Body but of Sound mind and memory do make appoint an Ordain this my Last Will & Testament, And first of all I give and Recommend my Soul into the hands of Almighty God, my Body I commit to the Earth to be buried in a Christianlike and Decent manner at the Discretion of my Executors hereafter named, my Wordly goods wherewith it hath pleasd God to Blesse me, I give, Devise & dispose of in manner and form as followeth vizt Imprimis I give and bequeath to my well beloved Wife the one half of my Real Estate during the Term of her Natural Life and also the one third of my Personal Estate to be Entirely at her Dispose Item I give to my Daughter frances at Age or Marriage one Black filly named Margaret, but the same not to be Reckond into her part or fortune Item all the Rest Residue and Remaining part of my Estate be it in what kind Soever, I give and bequeath and to be Equally divided as well the half of my five held Sundry possest by my Said Wife at his death amongst my five Children, Namely John, William George, Frances and Caroline to be delivered them as they come of Age or marriage, But it is my very great Desire to my Said Wife So long as She shall keep unmarried that the Will not Withdraw her part And otherwise, my Special Charge to my Sd Children that albe it shall become Due & in their power to Command, that they keep the whole Estate together as long as possible being as it is but small for the Good & benift of them all, Especially the Younger Children. And I hereby give	decent manner at his executors' discretion, and disposed of his worldly goods as follows. He left his wife a life interest in half of his real estate during her natural life, together with a third of his personal estate outright, entirely at her disposal. He left his daughter Frances, on coming of age or marrying, one slave girl named Margaret, but the girl was not to be reckoned into her portion or fortune. He left the rest and residue of his estate, in whatever kind, to be equally divided, together with the other half of his freehold lands after his wife's death, among his five children, John, George, William, Frances and Caroline, each to receive their share as they came of age or married. He earnestly desired that his wife not remarry, and specially charged all his children that should she remarry, or should they come into their own power to command, they keep the estate together as far as possible, it being but small for the good of all, and especially of the younger children. He then began to make a further gift. **Interpretations** The refusal to admit Richard Beale's witnessing of the will turns on the false-oath finding of 10 June 1741, when Beale confessed he had sworn falsely against Martin Harper at Crispe's direction; a man convicted of perjury lost his competence to testify, so his attestation of the will was void and probate had to rest on the single surviving honest witness. The point ties the estate business of this run directly to the deficiency inquiry, the same corruption of the record that produced the false ledger entries also tainting the ordinary machinery of proving a will. John Seale's charge that his children keep the estate together rather than divide it reflects the recurring problem of an island holding too small to survive fragmentation: split five ways among the children, and halved again by the widow's life interest, the land risked being reduced to parcels that could support no one, so the testator's instruction to hold it whole was a practical safeguard for the younger children who would otherwise inherit least.
126	122	give to my Eldest Son the Refusal of Purchasing my freehold Lands as it shall be Valued by the Direction of my Executors, he paying my other Children their Proper parts or Equal Share, And also to my said Wife Do I give the Refusal of my Mansion House and Lands I now possess by Lease from the Honble Company to be Valued & paying the Proper Shares as afforesaid, Lastly I Nominate and Appoint my good friends Mr John Duffonstain and Mr Gabriel Harper Executors to this my Will, Revoking and Annulling all former Wills by me made Ratifying & Confirming this & no other to be my Last Will and Testament. (Signed) John Steale O Signd Seald & Delivered,	John Seale gave his eldest son first choice of buying his freehold lands, as valued by the direction of his executors, on paying his other children their proper shares in equal portions. He gave the same first choice of his mansion house and the lands he held by lease, valued in the same way and on paying the proper shares as before. He named his good friends John Defountaine and Gabriel Harper executors, revoked all former wills, and confirmed this as his last will and testament. John Seale signed and sealed it with his mark, witnessed by John Hodgkinson, John Sparks and Richard Beale. The Honourable Company, having at this time twenty-two horses and mares which, at the usual reckoning of one horse eating as much grass as two head of cattle, would require the grass that would maintain forty-four bullocks, cows, wethers and heifers, and having no immediate interest in keeping horses, resolved to dispose of them at public outcry

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		in the presence of us John Hodgkinson John Toate Rich, Beale. The Hono Company having at this time Twenty two Horses and Mares which at the Usual Consumption allowing one Horse to Eat as much Grass as two Head of Cattle, Wisely what would maintain fatt, four Bullocks, Which, and not Horses being our Masters Interest to keep here, We came to a Resolution to dispose of im at Publick Outcry on Tuesday next, leaving only just what is Necessary for the fishery then, And with the produce to purchase Cattle the first Opportunity. Orderd, that an Advertizment be Published accordingly We then Ingcounted the Store Companys Cash and find the Same in good order amounting to the Sum of £2024. 2. 6 in the following Species vizt. Dollars 104 £91. 7. 6 half Dollars 116 58. Double Rials 3168 791. 2. Ryals 19929 2491. 1. half Ryals 12064 753. 3. Dollrs new Recd. 4197. 6. 3821. 2. 7719. 8 £1929. 18. 202. 2. 6 Ro. Jenkins G.G. Powell John Godfrey	the following Tuesday, keeping only what was needed for the Company's business, and to use the proceeds to buy cattle at the first opportunity. The council ordered that an advertisement be published accordingly. The council counted the Honourable Company's cash and found it in good order, amounting to £2,024 2s 6d, in the following species: Cash notes, £94 7s 6d Dollars, 104, £34 8s 0d Half dollars, 116, £34 8s 0d Double reals, 3,168, £791 2s 0d Reals, 4,929, £2,491 1s 0d Half reals, 12,064, £753 3s 0d Total in dollars, 4,197 6s 0d Total, 3,821 2s 0d Sterling, £1,929 15s 0d Total, £2,024 2s 6d Jenkins, Powell and Godfrey signed the consultation. **Interpretations** The cash count sets out the mixed silver coinage the island actually ran on, alongside its own paper cash notes. The dollars, half dollars, double reals, reals and half reals were Spanish American silver, the standard hard currency of the Atlantic and Indian Ocean trade, tallied here by piece and then reduced to a dollar total and finally to a sterling equivalent; the exercise was the first full count the council had managed since the deficiency came to light, and establishing exactly what silver the treasury held was central to fixing the true shortfall against the books. **Speculations** The council could have kept its twenty-two horses, animals ordinarily useful and hard to replace, but chose instead to sell them off at public outcry. The reasoning is set out on the page: at two head of cattle's worth of grass apiece, the horses were consuming the equivalent of forty-four cattle's grazing on an island whose pastures were already strained by the backward seasons, and the Company had no pressing use for them. The decision to convert idle horses into cattle that would feed the shipping and the establishment reflects the pressure on forage rather than any ordinary preference, a real asset given up because the grass it ate was needed more than the animal itself.
127	123	At a Consultation held on Tuesday the 8th of December 1741 at the Castle Present Robert Jenkins Esqr Governor George Gabriel Powell John Godfrey The last Consultation was Read & Approved. Agreable to the Order of the preceding Consultation We sold 12 of the Store Companys Horses at Publick Outcry on Tuesday the 24 of last Month to the following persons at the price hereunder Specified to be paid on the 30 day of September 1742 Decd. To Charles Sheward 1 Mare £9. 5. 1 Do. 8. 15 1 Colt 5. 5. £18. 10. Robert Jenkins Esqr. 1 Horse 7. 10. Richard Goodwin 1 Mare	A consultation was held on Tuesday 8 December 1741 at the castle. Governor Jenkins was present, with George Gabriel Powell and John Godfrey. The council read and approved the previous consultation. In accordance with the order of the previous consultation, the council sold twelve of the Honourable Company's horses at public outcry on Tuesday 24 November to the following persons, at the prices set out below, to be paid on 30 September 1742: To Charles Steward, 1 horse, 1 of the same and 1 colt, £14 10s 0d To Robert Jenkins, 1 horse, £7 10s 0d To Richard Goodwin, 1 mare, £8 0s 0d To James Deneur, 1 of the same, £11 15s 0d To Thomas Greentree, 1 horse, £7 0s 0d To James Greentree, 1 of the same, £8 5s 0d To Thomas Hodgkinson, 1 of the same, £8 0s 0d To John Clark, 1 of the same, £8 10s 0d To John Alexander, 1 of the same, £5 5s 0d To James Cowell, 1 mare, £5 5s 0d Total, £82 0s 0d Governor Jenkins reported that the tea crane, being almost totally decayed, needed to be taken down and replaced, and that a new crane had been

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		8. James Dufonez 1 Do. 11. 15. Thomas Greentree 1 Horse 7. 5. James Greentree 1 Do. 6. Thomas Larkhopes 1 Do. 8. 10. John Clark 1 Do. 5. 5. John Alexander 1 Do. 5. 5. James Powell 1 Mare £82. The Governor Reports, that the Sd Crane being almost totally decayed it was absolutely Necessary to take the same down and give the new one which was Sent hither by Store Company the which is accordingly bent The Storekeeper Reports that the Honble Companys Arrack has been for these few days past all Expended, and the late Mr Godwin having 12 Casks of Arack in the Stores We think it for the Benefit of the Creditors to Save the same out at the Rate of 6/6 p Gallon, but however it was thought Necessary first to send for the Son of the sd late Mr Godwin that he might be Present at the Gaging of the same not doubting but that Notwithstanding the Care taken of it, it must have already Considerably Sower it was first Discovered, And upon a Survey of the same We find that it seems out as followes Viz. Arrack 12 Casks viz. No.1 Gageth --- galls 127 When Ye Vessell arrived --- 33½ 0 And upon this Survey are 63 --- 5. 4½ 2 Do. --- 129 Do --- 33½ 0 4½ 3 Do. --- 130 Do --- 34½ 0 4½ 4 Do. --- 125 Do --- 33½ 0 7½ 5 Do. --- 129 Do --- 33½ 0 5 6 Do. --- 133 Do --- 44½ 0 4½ 7 Do. --- 123	sent out by the Company, which was accordingly done. The storekeeper reported that the Honourable Company's arrack had been in the stores for the last four days and all inspected. The late Governor Goodwin having had twelve casks of arrack in the stores, the council judged it for the benefit of his creditors to serve the arrack out at the rate of 6s a gallon, but since it was thought necessary to establish first the state in which the late Governor Goodwin had left it, and that it ought to be present at the gauging, the same was accordingly done. Notwithstanding the care taken of it, the arrack was found considerably short, and upon a survey of the same the council found it stood as follows. Arrack, twelve casks, gauged, with the deficiency noted where Mr Bazett showed it to Mr Goodwin's late overseer: No. 1 gauged, 127 gallons, deficiency 5, and upon the survey found 4.5 short No. 2 gauged, 129 gallons, deficiency 4.5 No. 3 gauged, 130 gallons, deficiency 4.5 No. 4 gauged, 125 gallons, deficiency 4 No. 5 gauged, 129 gallons, deficiency 4.5 No. 6 gauged, 129 gallons, deficiency 4.5 No. 7 gauged, 132 gallons, deficiency 4.5 No. 8 gauged, 128 gallons, deficiency 4.5 No. 9 gauged, 130 gallons, deficiency 4.5 No. 10 gauged, 133 gallons, deficiency 4.5 No. 11 gauged, 126 gallons, deficiency 10.5 No. 12 gauged, [...] gallons, deficiency [...] Total, 1,545 gallons **Interpretations** Arrack was a strong spirit distilled in India and the East Indies, usually from fermented palm sap or molasses, and it was the staple liquor of the garrison and the shipping, appearing month after month as the largest single item on the general table account. The gauging recorded here was the measuring of each cask's contents against its expected capacity, and the shortfall found in every one, mostly four to five gallons but over ten in one cask, added the missing spirit to the reckoning against the late Governor's estate, one more class of Company property that had diminished under the previous administration and had to be surveyed and charged before the arrack could be sold for the creditors' benefit.

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		Do --- 33¾ 0 4 8 Do. --- 132 Do --- 33¾ 0 4½ 9 Do. --- 128 Do --- 33¼ 0 4 10 Do. --- 130 Do --- 34½ 0 5 11 Do. --- 155 Do --- 42 0 4½ 12 Do. --- 176 Do --- ? 0 30½ 1545	
128	124	Finding that the Honble Company have Sundry Debts due to them from the Inhabitants of this Island We therefore think it Expedient to Publish an Advertizement thus day that all those who do owe the Company Money attend on Tuesday fortnight next Ensuing to say whether they can in which way they propose to discharge the same. And it is further thought Necessary to Insert in it that those likewise do appear who owe to the Estate of the late Governor Goodwin. Ordered that an Advertizement be Published accordingly The following Petition was Presented & Read Vizt To the Worshipfull Robert Jenkins Esqr Governour & Council of the Island St Helena The Humble Petition of Thomas Jarvis Humbly Sheweth That Your Petitioner hath been greatly abused by Mr Jonathan Doveton a planter upon this Island, forasmuch as he Mr Doveton did on friday last come to your Petitioner House attended by a Black fellow, and there did forcibly Surprize Your Petitioner & family by Immediately demanding to Search the House of your Petitioner and Land thereunto adjoyning, under Pretence of his being left some goods the night before, with the fowling of which the Publickly Charged your Petitioner, And your Petitioner not being Able to appose the Sd Mr Doveton and his Black fellow, He the Sd Mr Doveton did accordingly forcibly Search the House & finding Your Petitioner South, But not finding the goods which he had Sd he accused Your Petitioner with fowling, he pretended to this own house again. Your Petitioner therefore most humbly Implores the Protection of your Worships & Council, And that it may have Liberty to Prosecute the Sd Mr Doveton for the outrage &	Finding that the Honourable Company had various debts owing to it from the inhabitants of the island, the council thought it right to publish an advertisement that day requiring all who owed the Company money to attend the following Tuesday fortnight, to say whether they could in any way discharge the debt. The council further thought it necessary to include a direction that those who owed anything to the estate of the late Governor Goodwin appear as well. The council ordered that an advertisement be published accordingly. The following petition was presented and read. Thomas Jarvis addressed a petition to Governor Jenkins and the council of St Helena, complaining that he had been greatly abused by Mr Jonathan Doveton, a planter on the island. On the previous Friday, Doveton had come to his house attended by a black slave and, greatly overstepping his authority, had searched the house and the grounds adjoining without any warrant, for goods he publicly charged Jarvis with having taken some time earlier. Jarvis, being unable, as he stated, to prevent Doveton and his slave, let them search the house and grounds, but Doveton, not finding the goods he had claimed, went home again after accusing Jarvis of stealing. Jarvis asked the council's protection and that he might have liberty to prosecute Doveton for the abuse and scandal he had heaped on him. He signed the petition at St Helena on 8 December 1741. The petition being considered, and Thomas Jarvis examined at length, the council held that Mr Doveton was much to blame in having taken it upon himself, as though he were a magistrate, to search where the Honourable Company had favourably placed and trusted him, using the only authority he and others held by the Company's grant. The council therefore granted Jarvis's petition, and ordered Mr Doveton to attend the following Tuesday to answer for his abuse of Jarvis, and for the contempt he had shown the government. Jenkins, Powell and Godfrey signed the consultation. **Interpretations** The council's reprimand of Doveton turns on the limits of private authority in a small settlement with no separate magistracy. Doveton, a planter, had no

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		Scandal which he hath loaded your Petitioner with. And Your Petitioner as in Duty bound will ever pray &c. St Helena 8th Decr 1741 (Signd) Thomas Jarvis The Petition being Considered & Thomas Jarvis Examined at Large Concerning the same We think Mr Doveton highly blameable in that as he has so it were put us at Rest and affronted to himself a Prerogative? Which the Honble Company have been favourably Pleased to Invest in the only and have by Repeated Order commanded us to Support their and our own Authority Therefore Mr Jarvis Petition is Readily Granted And Mr Doveton Ordered to attend next Tuesday & answer for his abuse to Jarvis and Contempt of the Goverment. Ro. Jenkins G.G. Powell John Godfrey	power to search a man's house and grounds without a warrant, and by acting as though he did he usurped an authority that belonged to the government alone; the council treated his self-help not merely as a wrong to Jarvis but as a contempt of its own jurisdiction, since the same trust the Company placed in its officers depended on their not exceeding it. That the council allowed Jarvis to bring a private prosecution, rather than settling the matter by order, marks the search and accusation as a civil injury to his reputation that he was entitled to pursue in his own name.
129	125	At a Consultation held on Tuesday the 15 Decem 1741 at yr Castle. Present Robert Jenkins Esqr Governor Geo. Gul. Powell John Godfrey The last Consultation was Read & Approved. This day appeard before us Thomas Jarvis and Jonathan Doveton, when after the hearing of both sides Relating to the Disputes between them, We find Mr Doveton in fault, and Reasonly for as he was Hurryd by passion at the time he went to Mr Jarvis house therefore Orderd that Mr Doveton be fined 40 Shillings for his Rashness, as a warning to the Wealthy hereafter not to Impose upon the poor, the one half to be Appropriated to Carrying on of the fortifications and the other half to be paid to Mr Jarvis The Governor the Gunner & Steward brought in their Accounts for the month of November last which were severally Examined & proved and are as followes, viz. Expences of the General Table for the month of November, 1741 viz. 63 Gall Arrack 6. 10. 25½ Gall Port Wine 7. 16. 6 11½ Gall Mountain Do. 3. 10. 6 32 Gall Beer 3. 12. 7¼ Gall Ale . 10½ 8 Bottles Oyl 1. 134 Sugar 1. 2½ 26 Candy 6. 6 2 Bushells Salt 10. 4 lb flour 8. 36 39½ Candles	A consultation was held on Tuesday 15 December 1741 at the castle. Governor Jenkins was present, with George Gabriel Powell and John Godfrey. The council read and approved the previous consultation. Thomas Jarvis and Jonathan Doveton appeared before the council that day, and after hearing both sides on the dispute between them, the council found Doveton to blame, though he freely admitted he had been carried away by passion when he went to Jarvis's house. The council ordered that Doveton be fined five shillings for his misconduct, as a warning to the wealthy not in future to impose upon the poor, one half of the fine to go towards carrying on the fortifications and the other half to be paid to Jarvis. The Governor, gunner and steward brought in their accounts for the month of November, which the council examined separately and approved as follows. The expense of the general table for the month of November 1741: 65 gallons of arrack, £6 10s 0d 23.5 gallons of port wine, £7 11s 6d 11.5 gallons of Madeira of the same, £3 10s 6d 32 gallons of beer, £5 12s 0d 0.5 gallon of ale, £0 0s 10.5d 8 bottles of oil, £1 0s 0d 154 lb of sugar, £1 2s 4d 26 lb of candy, £0 6s 6d 2 bushels of salt, £0 10s 0d 4 lb of flour, £5 3s 6d 39 lb of candles, £5 18s 0d 123 lb of pork, £3 16s 0d 9 goats, £4 10s 0d 18 kids, £3 5s 0d 2 turkeys, £0 10s 0d 3 fowls, £0 4s 6d 8 chickens, £0 4s 0d 2 pigs, £2 1s 0d 9 lb of English beef, £2 1s 0d 14 lb of English pork of the same, £1 9s 7d 10 lb of butter, £0 0s 0d Total, £54 13s 0d **Interpretations** The council's small fine on Doveton is notable less for its size than for the reason it gave: half a crown split between the fortification fund and the injured man, imposed expressly as a warning to the wealthy not to impose upon the poor. The formula shows the council using a trivial penalty to state a principle, that a planter's standing gave him no licence over a poorer inhabitant, and tying even this domestic quarrel to the

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		3. 18. 123 Pork 3. 16. 9 Goats 4. 10. 18 Kidds 3. 3. 2 Turkeys 10. 3 fowls 4. 6. 8 Chickings 4. 8 Eggs 2. 9 lb English Beef 2. 14. 19 lb English Pork 1. 19. 7 10 Butter 4. £34. 10¾	public work by directing part of the money to the coastal defences that dominated the run.
130	126	Gunners Stores Expended in November 1741 Viz. Powder Del for the Muster 9 6 3 19½ A double Allarm in order to settle people at their Quarters [...] Powder for filling the Cartouch boxes of the flying party 15. Powder to Exercise the Recruits 75. Powder to the Guard & out Ports 21. Totall 9 6 3 130½ Match 28 lb Paper 8 Rm Sponge Staves 4 Axeltrees 2 Trucks 4 Thread 1 lb Twine 1 lb Tompions 8 Hand-spikes 3 Sad Shott 21 lb	The gunner's stores expended in November 1741, in guns fired, shot fired and powder expended: Powder used for the muster, 19.5 lb A double alarm to settle the people at their quarters, 9 guns fired, 6 shot fired, 3 rounds, 19.5 lb powder Powder for filling the cartouche boxes of the flying party, 15 lb Powder to exercise the recruits, 73 lb Powder to the guard and outer forts, 24 lb Total, 9 guns fired, 6 shot fired, 3 rounds, 150 lb powder Stores expended: match 28 lb, paper 8 quires, sponge staves 4, axletrees 2, trucks 4, thread 1 lb, twine 1 lb, tampions 8, hand spikes 3, lead shot 24 lb. **Interpretations** The powder account records the practice alarm the Governor had promised, entered here as a double alarm fired to settle the people at their quarters, the live test of whether every man knew his post after the defensive stations were assigned. Set beside the 73 lb spent exercising the recruits, the return shows the month's effort going almost entirely into readiness rather than ceremony, the cartouche boxes of the flying party filled and the men drilled, as the council brought the garrison to a war footing while the coastal works went forward.
131	127	Account of the Honble Companys Stock of Neet Cattle &c. for the month of November 1741 Viz. Bullocks, Cows, Heffers, Steers, Yearlings, Calves, Bulls, Total (Neet Cattle), Ewes, Weathers, Lambs, Rams, Total (Sheep), Ewes, Weathers, Kidds, Rams, Total (Goats), Sows, Barrows, Shoats, Piggs, Boars, Total (Hoggs), Turkeys, Fowls, Ducks, Geese, Horses, Mares, Total (Poltry & Horses) Remaining the first of November: Bullocks 12, Cows 97, Heffers 39, Steers 25, Yearlings 29, Calves 35,	An account of the Honourable Company's stock of neat cattle and other animals for the month of November 1741. Remaining on 1 November: 12 bullocks, 97 cows, 39 heifers, 25 steers, 29 yearlings, 35 calves, 4 bulls, neat cattle total 241; 45 ewes, 7 wethers, 7 lambs, 3 rams, sheep total 62; 112 does, 11 wethers, 19 kids, 4 rams, goats total 146; 12 sows, 7 barrows, 18 shoats, 30 pigs, 2 boars, hogs total 69; 84 turkeys, 251 fowls,

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		Bulls 4, Total 241, Ewes 15, Weathers 7, Lambs 7, Rams 3, Total 62, Ewes 112, Weathers 11, Kidds 19, Rams 4, Total 146, Sows 12, Barrows 7, Shoats 18, Piggs 30, Boars 2, Total 69, Turkeys 84, Fowls 251, Ducks 72, Geese 18, Horses 10, Mares 12, Total 22 Increased in Ditto: Bullocks 0, Cows 0, Heffers 0, Steers 0, Yearlings 0, Calves 7, Bulls 0, Total 7, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Total 0, Ewes 0, Weathers 2, Kidds 0, Rams 0, Total 2, Sows 0, Barrows 0, Shoats 0, Piggs 7, Boars 0, Total 7, Turkeys 6, Fowls 60, Ducks 10, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 1, Total 1 Killed in Ditto: Bullocks 12, Cows 97, Heffers 39, Steers 25, Yearlings 29, Calves 42, Bulls 4, Total 248, Ewes 15, Weathers 7, Lambs 7, Rams 3, Total 62, Ewes 112, Weathers 11, Kidds 21, Rams 4, Total 148, Sows 12, Barrows 7, Shoats 18, Piggs 37, Boars 2, Total 76, Turkeys 90, Fowls 311, Ducks 82, Geese 18, Horses 10, Mares 13, Total 23, [second-row figures: 0,0,0,0,6,3,13,0,22,0,7,0,10,0,0,6,6,12] Stole in Ditto: [values as above continuation, second row] Died in Ditto: Bullocks 12, Cows 97, Heffers 39, Steers 25, Yearlings 29, Calves 42, Bulls 4, Total 248, Ewes 15, Weathers 7, Lambs 7, Rams 3, Total 62, Ewes 106, Weathers 8, Kidds 8, Rams 4, Total 126, Sows 12, Barrows 5, Shoats 18, Piggs 29, Boars 2, Total 66, Turkeys 90, Fowls 300, Ducks 82, Geese 18, Horses 4, Mares 7, Total 11, [second-row: 0,0,0,0,0,1,0,1,1,0,0,1,3,1,2,0,8,0,0,0,0,1,0,0,0] Stole in Ditto: [second-row: 1] Remaining the 30th November: Bullocks 12, Cows 97, Heffers 39, Steers 25, Yearlings 29, Calves 41, Bulls 4, Total 247, Ewes 14, Weathers 7, Lambs 7, Rams 3, Total 61, Ewes 101, Weathers 7, Kidds 6, Rams 4, Total 118, Sows 12, Barrows 5, Shoats 18, Piggs 29, Boars 2, Total 66, Turkeys 89, Fowls 300, Ducks 82, Geese 18, Horses 4, Mares 7, Total 11 Yams Expended at the Several plantations.....£38000 Account of the Stock of Neet Cattle &c. belonging to the Estate of John Goodwin Esqr Deceac; & the Increase & Decrease of the same for the Month of November 1741. Viz. Cows, Yearlings, Calves, Total (Neet Cattle), Ewes, Weathers, Lambs, Rams, Total (Sheep), Ewes, Weathers, Kidds, Rams, Total (Goats), Sows, Barrows, Shoats, Piggs, Total (Hoggs), Horses Remaining the 1 of November: Cows 6, Yearlings 2, Calves 3, Total 11, Ewes 31, Weathers 5, Lambs 2, Rams 2, Total 40, Ewes 15, Weathers 7, Kidds 1, Rams 23, Total 7, Sows 2, Barrows 1, Shoats 5, Piggs 18, Total 3 Increased in Ditto: Cows 6, Yearlings 2, Calves 3, Total 11, Ewes 31, Weathers 5, Lambs 2, Rams 2, Total 40, Ewes 15, Weathers 7, Kidds 1, Rams 23, Total 7, Sows 2, Barrows 1, Shoats 5, Piggs 18, Total 3 Killed in Ditto: [Ewes -, Weathers 2, Kidds -, Rams 2] Died in Ditto: Cows 6, Yearlings 2, Calves 3, Total 11, Ewes 31, Weathers 5, Lambs 2, Rams 2, Total 40, Ewes 15, Weathers 3, Kidds 1, Rams 21, Total 7, Sows 2, Barrows 1, Shoats 5, Piggs 18, Total 3, [second row: 1, 1] Remaining 30 Ditto: Cows 6, Yearlings 2, Calves 3, Total 11, Ewes 31, Weathers 5, Lambs 2, Rams 2, Total 40, Ewes 15, Weathers 3, Kidds 1, Rams 21, Total 7, Sows 2, Barrows 1, Shoats 4, Piggs 17, Total 3 Yams Expended.....£6800. Slaves Viz. 16 Men Valued at £357. 4 Women .....73. 6 Boys ..... 65. 7 Girls ..... 31. £516.	72 ducks, 18 geese; 10 horses, 12 mares, horses total 22. Increased in the same: 7 calves, neat cattle total 7; 2 kids, goats total 2; 7 pigs, hogs total 7; 6 turkeys, 60 fowls, 10 ducks; 1 mare, horses total 1. Total: 12 bullocks, 97 cows, 39 heifers, 25 steers, 29 yearlings, 42 calves, 4 bulls, neat cattle total 248; 45 ewes, 7 wethers, 7 lambs, 3 rams, sheep total 62; 112 does, 11 wethers, 21 kids, 4 rams, goats total 148; 12 sows, 7 barrows, 18 shoats, 37 pigs, 2 boars, hogs total 76; 90 turkeys, 311 fowls, 82 ducks, 18 geese; 10 horses, 13 mares, horses total 23. Killed in the same: 6 wethers, 3 lambs, 13 rams, sheep killed 22; 2 barrows, hogs killed 2; 10 turkeys, 11 fowls; 6 horses, 6 mares, horses killed 12. Remaining after killing: 12 bullocks, 97 cows, 39 heifers, 25 steers, 29 yearlings, 42 calves, 4 bulls, neat cattle total 248; 45 ewes, 7 wethers, 7 lambs, 3 rams, sheep total 62; 106 does, 8 wethers, 8 kids, 4 rams, goats total 126; 12 sows, 5 barrows, 18 shoats, 29 pigs, 2 boars, hogs total 66; 90 turkeys, 300 fowls, 82 ducks, 18 geese; 4 horses, 7 mares, horses total 11. Died in the same: 1 ewe, sheep died 1; 5 does, 1 wether, 2 kids, goats died 8; 1 duck stolen. Remaining on 30 November: 12 bullocks, 97 cows, 39 heifers, 25 steers, 29 yearlings, 41 calves, 4 bulls, neat cattle total 247; 44 ewes, 7 wethers, 7 lambs, 3 rams, sheep total 61; 101 does, 7 wethers, 6 kids, 4 rams, goats total 118; 12 sows, 5 barrows, 18 shoats, 29 pigs, 2 boars, hogs total 66; 89 turkeys, 300 fowls, 82 ducks, 18 geese; 4 horses, 7 mares, horses total 11. Yams expended at the several plantations: 38,000 lb. An account of the stock of neat cattle and other animals belonging to the estate of the late John Goodwin, deceased, and the increase and decrease of the same for the month of November 1741. Remaining on 1 November: 6 cows, 2 yearlings, 3 calves, neat cattle total 11; 4 rams, 6 wethers, 2 lambs, 2 ewes, sheep total 31; 15 does, 7 wethers, 1 ram, goats total 23; 7 sows, 2 barrows, 4 shoats, 5 pigs, 18 boars, hogs total 3; 3 horses. Increased in the same: (none) Total: 6 cows, 2 yearlings, 3 calves, neat cattle total 11; 4 rams, 6 wethers, 2 lambs, 2 ewes, sheep total 31; 15 does, 7 wethers, 1 ram, goats total 23; 7 sows, 2 barrows, 4 shoats, 5 pigs, 18 boars, hogs total 3; 3 horses. Killed in the same: 2 lambs, sheep killed 2; 2 does, goats killed 2. Remaining after killing: 6 cows, 2 yearlings, 3 calves, neat cattle total 11; 4 rams, 6 wethers, 2 lambs, 2 ewes, sheep total 31; 15 does, 5 wethers, 1 ram, goats total 21; 7 sows, 2 barrows, 4 shoats, 5 pigs, 18 boars, hogs total 3; 3 horses. Died in the same: 1 pig, hogs died 1. Remaining on 30 November: 6 cows, 2 yearlings, 3 calves, neat cattle total 11; 4 rams, 6 wethers, 2 lambs, 2 ewes, sheep total 31; 15 does, 5 wethers, 1 ram, goats total 21; 7 sows, 2 barrows, 4 shoats, 4 pigs, 18 boars, hogs total 17; 3 horses. Yams expended: 6,800 lb. Slaves: 16 men valued at £337; 4 women valued at £73; 6 boys valued at £65; 7 girls valued at £31; total £516. **Interpretations** The heavy killing of horses this month, twelve slaughtered against almost no cattle, is the working out of the resolution of 17 November to reduce the Company's twenty-two horses and mares because they consumed the grass of forty-four cattle; the herd falls from twenty-three to eleven in a single month, converting idle grazing into stock the establishment could eat. The Company's goats,

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			which had climbed steadily through the run, fall back from 146 to 118 under a combination of killing and death, while the breeding cattle again stand untouched, held fixed under the standing order to spare them through the season.
132	128	The Storekeeper likewise this day brought in Mr Bazetts Collection of Store Issued from the 1 of Aprill to the 9 of May the time he delivered em up, he also his own Accompt for the half Year Ending the 30th of September last, which are as followes viz. Mr John Bazetts Collection of fine Goods from the 1st of Aprill to the 9 of May 1741 viz Arrack --- 72¾ Galls £21. 13. 6 Bread & Flour viz. 24. 3. 2 Bread £36. 18. 9 2. 3. 15 Flour 3. 12. 1 7. 3. 15 Do. Gyatch 13. 3. 5 47. 14. 3 Bunting 279 yd Red 1. 16. Boards viz. 8. 7/8 Inch Elm boards 7. 6 9 Inch Do. 2. 5. 2. 12. 6 Braziers ware 1 brass hook 3. 6 Ladles 11 Ivory 13. 7 Cutlery ware viz. 3 butchers Knifes 2. 11. 1 clasp pruning Knife 1. 8. 2 Tortoise pen Knifes 2. 6 1 pr brass Bowd Scisars 1. 3 1 Clever 3. 8 12. Cordage 1. 1. 14 2. 8. 5 Coales 2 Bushell 7. China ware viz. 22 Snuckers 11. 34 half pint Cups 11. 4 7 Shaving Cups 1. 2 15 Dishes 1. 10. 68 Plates 1. 2. 8 3. 16. 2 Canvas 6 yds Sacking 6. 6 Duck 19½ yd Ravens 1. 19. Deesooles 7 yd White 14. fustians viz. 8 yd plain	The storekeeper likewise brought in that day Mr Bazett's collection of stores issued from 1 April to 9 May, the time he delivered everything up, together with his own account for the half year ending 30 September, which stood as follows. Mr John Bazett's collection of store goods from 1 April to 9 May 1741: Arrack, 72.5 gallons, £21 13s 6d Bread and flour: 24 hundredweight 3 quarters 22 lb of bread, £36 18s 9d 2 hundredweight 3 quarters 15 lb of flour, £3 12s 1d 7 hundredweight 3 quarters 15 lb of the same, damaged, £13 3s 5d Total bread and flour, £47 14s 3d Bunting, 27 yards red, £1 16s 0d Boards: 5 half-inch elm boards, £0 7s 6d 9 inch of the same, £2 5s 0d Total boards, £2 12s 6d Braziers' ware, 1 brass cock, £0 3s 6d Bottles, 11 dozen ivory, £0 13s 7d Cutlery ware: 5 butchers' knives, £0 2s 11d 1 clasp penning knife, £0 1s 8d 2 tortoise penknives, £0 2s 6d 1 pair of brass-bound scissors, £0 1s 3d 1 cleaver, £0 3s 8d Total cutlery ware, £0 12s 0d Cordage, 1 hundredweight 2 quarters, £2 8s 5d Coals, 2 bushels, £0 7s 0d China ware: 22 saucers, £0 0s 11d 34 half-pint cups, £0 0s 11.5d 7 flying cups, £0 1s 2d 15 dishes, £1 10s 0d 68 plates, £1 2s 8d Total china ware, £3 16s 2d Canvas, 6 yards sacking, £0 6s 6d Duck, 19.5 yards ravens, £1 19s 0d Deesoles, 4 yards white, £0 14s 0d Fustians: 5 yards plain, £0 6s 8d 3 yards corded, £0 5s 3d 4 yards tufted, £0 6s 0d Total fustians, £0 17s 11d Flannel, 11 yards, £1 5s 8d Hooks and lines: 28 dozen hooks, £0 1s 6d 29 lines sorted, £1 4s 6d 2 large Hamburgh, £0 0s 6d Total hooks and lines, £2 16s 6d Hosiers' ware, 9 pairs of men's worsted stockings, £3 7s 6d Carried over, £93 4s 0d **Interpretations** Bazett's collection was the storekeeper's running tally of goods issued from the Company's warehouse over a set period, valued line by line, and the account matters here because it covered exactly the weeks up to 9 May 1741, the day he and Crispe surrendered the stores to Governor Jenkins, so it fixed what had gone out under the old administration in its final stretch. Several of the commodities would be unfamiliar to a modern reader. Bunting was a loosely woven worsted cloth used for flags and signals; duck and ravens duck were heavy plain cotton or linen

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		6. 8 3 yd Corded 5. 3 6 yd Tufted 6. 17. 11 Hooks & Lines viz. 28 doz. Hooks 1. 6 29 Lines Sorted 1. 4. 6 2 large Hambrugh 6. 2. 16. 6 Hosiers ware 9 pr Mens Rd Stockings 3. 7. 6 Carr'd Over --- £93. 4.	canvases for sailmaking and hard-wearing clothing; fustian was a stout cotton or cotton-and-linen cloth with a slight nap, made plain, corded or tufted; and the ravens and Hamburgh names on the duck and the fishing lines mark them as continental imports. The mix of ship's canvas, fishing tackle, cutlery and cloth shows the warehouse supplying both the garrison's daily needs and the fishing and sailing that fed and served the island.
133	129	Brought Over --- £93. 4½. Haberdashery ware viz. ½ oz. Eng. Silk 9. 28 yd China Do. 2. 2. 2 oz Mohair 3. 4 7 doz Do Buttons 3. 6 11 doz Pins 14. 1 1 pr Holland 1. 4 3 pr Farriell 1. 2 lb Edding 10 6 lb bolted Sope 6. 6 1 pr Needles 1. 4. 2. 7 Iron ware viz 1 Sett Lock 3. 6 1 Stock Lock 4. 6 4 Small frying Pans 12. 1 large Do. 7. 2 1 Shoe Shovel 3. 1 Sugar Do. 2. 6 Iron Potts 2 1. 12. 8 Screws 9 lb 2. 12. 18 Long Cloth viz. 2 pr Middling 3. 6 1 pr Ordinary 1. 8. 4. 14. Muslinlins 4 pr 2. 12. Nails 129 lb 4. 16. Lead 65 lb Shot 1. 2. 8 Oyl 7 bottles florence 1. 6. 8 Paint viz. 28 lb White Lead	Mr Bazett's collection of store goods continued, brought over at £93 4s 0d. Haberdashery ware: 4.5 oz of English silk, £0 9s 0d 28 oz of China of the same, £2 2s 0d 2 oz of mohair, £0 3s 4d 7 dozen tape buttons, £0 3s 6d 11 M pins, £0 14s 1d 1 yard of holland, £0 1s 4d 3 yards of ferret, £0 1s 0d 2 lb of filleting, £0 0s 10d 6 yards of half tape, £0 6s 6d 1 pair of needles, £0 1s 0d Total haberdashery ware, £4 2s 7d Iron ware: 1 stock lock, £0 3s 6d 1 stock lock, £0 4s 6d 4 small frying pans, £0 12s 0d 1 large of the same, £0 7s 2d 1 sled shovel, £0 3s 0d 1 sugar of the same, £0 2s 6d Total iron ware, £1 12s 8d Iron pots, 2, £2 12s 0d Honeycomb, 9 yards, £0 18s 0d Long cloth: 2 yards middling, £0 3s 6d 1 yard ordinary, £0 1s 8d Total long cloth, £4 14s 0d Muslin, 4 yards, £2 12s 0d Nails, 1 quarter 8 lb, £4 16s 0d Lead, 6 hundredweight shot, £1 2s 8d Oil, 7 bottles Stevens's, £1 6s 0d Paint: 28 lb white lead, £0 14s 0d 17 lb indigo, £0 4s 0d 21 lb Spanish black, £0 14s 0d 12 lb small of the same, £0 2s 0d 4 lb brimstone, £0 1s 4d Total paint, £1 18s 0d Palempores, 4 at 6s 8d, £1 18s 6d Rosin, 1 hundredweight 3 quarters, £0 5s 7d Rice, 37 hundredweight, £1 8s 4d Soap, 30 lb, £6 12s 9.5d Salt, 21.5 bushels, £0 0s 0d Starch, 1 hundredweight, £0 0s 0d Shirts and stockings: 8 dungaree shirts, £0 1s 0d 16 pairs of cotton stockings, £2 0s 0d Total shirts and stockings, £0 13s 6d Shoes, 4 pairs, £0 2s 4d Shalloon, 1 yard, £0 1s 0d Soldiers' coats, 1, £1 12s 6d Twine, 15 lb Thread: 5 lb white brown, £1 13s 6d 2 lb of the same, £0 6s 6d Total thread, £2 0s 0d

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		14. 17 Indigo 4. 21 lb Slam Black 14. 12 Small Do. 4. 4 lb Brimstone 2. 1. 18. Pallempores 4 @ 6/8 1. 4 Rozin 1. 8. 1. 18. 6 Rice 37 lb 5. 7 Soap 30 lb 1. 8. 4 Salt 21½ bushells 6. 12. 9½ March 1 lb 9. Shirts and Stockings viz. 8 Dungaree Shirts 1. 3. 16 pr Cotton Stockings 2. 13. 6 Shoes 4 pr 2. 4 Shelloon 1 yd 1. 10. Soldiers Coats 1 1. 12. 6 Twine 10 lb Thread viz. 5 lb H. Brown 1. 13. 6 2 lb Colrd yarns 6. 6 Carried Over --- £139. 6. 8½	Carried over, £139 6s 5.5d **Interpretations** The imported textiles again dominate the account and repay explanation. Holland was a fine plain linen; ferret a narrow woven tape of silk or cotton used for binding and ties; filleting a woven band for edging; honeycomb a linen or cotton cloth worked in a raised cellular figure; muslin and long cloth the fine and plain cottons of the Indian trade; shalloon a lightweight twilled woollen used chiefly for lining garments; and palempores the large painted cotton bed covers from the Coromandel coast, here supplied in a modest run of four. The pins entered as "M" were counted by the thousand, the M standing for a thousand pins to the paper, the ordinary unit of the pin trade. The paint and chandlery entries show the warehouse also holding the raw materials of maintenance: white lead and indigo for pigment, Spanish black and brimstone, rosin for caulking and finishing, and soap and starch in bulk. Set beside the cloth and clothing, the account records a store that had to furnish everything from a soldier's coat and shoes to the pigments and cordage for keeping guns, boats and buildings in repair.
134	130	Brought Over --- 139. 6. 8½. Tinware viz. 1 Pepper box 6 1 Lamp 1. 6 2. Turners ware viz. 1 Scrubbing brush 3. 4 4 Paint Brushes 2. 10 6. 2 Turpentine &c 2. £141. 15. 7¾. Diet Expences from 1st April to 9 May 1741 viz. 129 Gall. Arrack 12. 18. 267 lb Bread 1. 14. 6 2.9 17 lb Flour 1. 15. 9½ 339 lb Sugar 2. 15. 6 10 bottles sweet Oyl 1. 5. 2 lb Pepper 10. 9 lb Tea 18.	Mr Bazett's collection of store goods continued, brought over at £139 6s 5.5d. Tinware: 1 pepper box, £0 0s 6d 1 lamp, £0 1s 6d Total tinware, £0 2s 0d Turners' ware: 1 scrubbing brush, £0 3s 4d 4 paint brushes, £0 2s 10d Total turners' ware, £0 6s 2d Turpentine, 6 hundredweight, £0 2s 0d Total, £141 15s 7.5d Diet expenses from 1 April to 9 May 1741: 12.5 gallons of arrack, £12 18s 0d 26 hundredweight of bread, £1 14s 6d 17 hundredweight of flour, £1 15s 9.5d 33 hundredweight of sugar, £2 15s 6d 10 bottles of Stevens's sweet oil, £0 5s 0d 2 hundredweight of pepper, £0 0s 10d 9 hundredweight of tea, £0 18s 0d 10 hundredweight of candy, £1 3s 4d 2 bushels of salt, £2 13s 0d Total, £23 11s 5.5d Charges general from 1 April to 9 May 1741: 1 yard of long cloth, £1 2s 0d 2 gallons of Stevens's oil, £0 8s 0d 4 hundredweight of white lead, £0 4s 6d 6 hundredweight of nails, £0 3s 0d 7 hundredweight of worsted thread, £0 2s 0d 24 oz of indigo, £0 2s 6d 1 lb of starch, £0 0s 1d 15 yards of ravens duck, £0 17s 6d

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		10 lb Coco 1. 3. 4 2 bushels of Salt & 12 bushells 2. 13. £23. 11. 5½. Charges General from 1st April to 9 May 1741 viz. 1 pr L. Cloth 30 1. 2. 2 Gall. S. Oyl 8. 6 lb W. Sead 4. 6 6 lb Nails 67 3. 7 lb W.brown Thread 3/5 2. 24 oz Indigo 2. 6 1 lb Starch . 8 18 yd Ravens Duck 17. 6 28 yd English Duck 1. 17. 4 2. 14. 10 2 Hambrugh Linen 3. 8 28 pr Diam Bot Glass 9. 4 21 lb Sheet Lead 3. 7 3 Whipsaw files 1. 2 Sheets Tin 1. 1 1¾ oz China Silk 1. 6 24 China Dishes Sorted 72 Do. Plates New Cargo 6. 7. 6 6 Blankets 1. 18. 1 doz Cups 2. 1 Chest of Candles p 1 lb 82? 5. 3. 4 Flanketts 8. 9½ 1 lb Pack thread 1. 1 14 lb Rozin 1. 6½ £15. 17. 6½	28 yards of English duck, £1 17s 4d 2 Hamburgh lines, £2 14s 10d 28 pairs of double cut glass, £0 3s 8d 21 hundredweight of shot lead, £0 9s 4d 2 whipsaw files, £0 3s 7d 2 sheets of tin, £0 1s 0d 1.5 oz of China silk, £0 1s 1d 24 China dishes and plates sorted, £0 1s 6d 72 of the same, plates, £0 7s 6d 6 blankets, £0 18s 0d 1 pair of chocks, £0 0s 2d 1 chest of candles, No. 4, £5 3s 0d 4 flannels, £0 8s 9d 1 hundredweight of pack thread, £0 1s 1d 14 hundredweight of rosin, £0 1s 6d Total, £15 17s 0.5d **Interpretations** These three closing sections separate the store account by purpose: the general collection of goods issued, the diet expenses feeding the table, and the general charges covering maintenance and equipment. The diet figures give the daily provisioning of the establishment in its final weeks under Bazett, the arrack, bread, flour, sugar and tea that appeared month after month, while the general charges record the working stores, the sailcloth ducks, whipsaw files, shot, rosin and pack thread that kept the fishing, building and gun maintenance going. Taken together the three accounts closed off Bazett's stewardship of the warehouse to the day the stores passed to Governor Jenkins, fixing what remained and what had been issued before the new administration took charge.
135	131	Blacks from 1st Aprill to 9th of May 1741 viz. 1 Tithd Cork £. 6 Dungaree Shirts 10. 1 pr Cotton Stocking 1. 5. 7 Lines 5/10 1. 8. 8 doz Hooks 6/ 4. 1 pr Chillies 4. 5. 2 lb brown Thread	Mr Bazett's collection of store goods continued, brought over at £141. Blacks, from 1 April to 9 May 1741: 1 hundredweight of pork, £0 10s 0d 6 dungaree shirts, £0 11s 0d 1 pair of cotton stockings, £0 1s 8d 7 lines at 5s 10d, £0 4s 0d 8 dozen hooks at 6d, £0 0s 5d 1 pair of chocks, £0 9s 2d 2 hundredweight of brown thread, £0 2s 6d 7 hundredweight of white brown of the same at 3s, £0 1s 6d 1 yard of white deesoles, £0 8s 6d 1 seine of mohair, £0 6s 3d 1 hundredweight 2 quarters of cordage, £0 5s 5.5d 2 yards of flannel, £0 3s 0d

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		9. 2. 7½ lb W.Brown Do. 3/5 2. 6. 1 pr blue Dowlas 1. 6. Iconne Mohair 6. 3. lb 8. 2. Cordage 1. 8. 5½. 2 pr Shamills 3. 2. 7½ lb Rope 9. 2. 1 pr S. Cloth 18. 12 pr Mony Shoes bought of John Gurling 3. 12. £18. 12. 3½. Garrison from 1st Aprill to 9th of May 1741 viz. 7¾ Gall Arrack 15. 2. 26 lb Sead 2. 12. 4 Gall Oyl 9. 2. 1 Lamp 1. 1 Hambrugh Line 1. 8. 6 Barr S.Black 1. 12 Sail Needles 8. £4. 1. 2. Fortification from 1st Aprill to 9th of May 1741 viz. 47 lb Nails 31/17½ 1. 11. 12. 1 large Gimblett 3. 6 Sifted Shovels 8. 6. 6 Sugar Do. 9. 6. 6 Halves 2/8 1. 6. 3 Lines 5. 8. 21 lb Rope 12. 12 Teak boards belong to Govr Godwin £3. 11. 3½. Plantation from 1st Aprill to 9th of May 1741 viz. 6 Sickners 15. 6. 6 Halves 3. 6. £0. 19. A Collection	17 hundredweight of rope, £0 9s 2d 1 yard of long cloth, £0 18s 0d 15 pairs of men's shoes bought of Mr Girling, £3 12s 0d Total, £18 12s 3d Garrison, from 1 April to 9 May 1741: 7.5 gallons of arrack, £0 15s 0d 26 hundredweight of tea, £2 12s 2d 4 gallons of oil, £0 9s 2d 1 lamp, £0 1s 0d 1 Hamburgh line, £0 0s 0d 6 bushels of Spanish black, £0 1s 8d 12 sail needles, £0 4s 1d Total, £4 1s 0d Fortification, from 1 April to 9 May 1741: 47 hundredweight of nails at 3s 0.5d, £1 11s 12d 1 large funnel, £0 3s 0d 6 old shovels, £0 8s 6d 6 sugar of the same, £0 9s 0d 6 wedges, £0 3s 6d 3 lines at 2s 8d, £0 1s 6d 21 hundredweight of rope, £0 5s 8d 12 tenth-hand boards belonging to Governor Goodwin, £3 11s 3.5d Total, £3 11s 3.5d Plantation, from 1 April to 9 May 1741: 6 pickaxes, £0 1s 6d 6 wedges, £0 0s 6d Total, £0 19s 0d **Interpretations** The account is broken down by the destination of the goods rather than by their kind, so that the same commodities, rope, nails, oil, cloth, appear under several heads according to whether they went to the slaves, the garrison, the fortifications or the plantations. The slaves' allocation records the clothing and fishing gear that supported the Company's labour force, shirts, stockings, shoes bought in from a planter, and the lines and hooks with which they fished; the fortification head shows the tools of the coastal works, nails, shovels, wedges and boards, including a parcel drawn from the late Governor Goodwin's own stock; and the plantation head the pickaxes and wedges of ground labour. The division let the council see at a glance how the warehouse's stores had been distributed across the island's four main claims on them in Bazett's final weeks.
136	132	A Collection of Stores from March 31, to Sepr. 30, 1741 To the Shiping delivered by Mr Bazett, particulars in his Collection to May 9th 1741 to Several Ships viz. To Ship Haslingfeld 9. 14. 7 Warwick 27. 7½ Princess Amelia 8. 17. 3½ Princess of Wales 1. 4.	A collection of stores from 31 March to 30 September 1741. The goods delivered to the shipping by Mr Bazett, particulars in his collection, ran to 9 May 1741, delivered to several ships. The vessels supplied were the *Hawlingsfield* at £9 14s 7d, the *Warwick* at £27 0s 7.5d, the *Princess Amelia* at £8 17s 3.5d and the *Prince of Wales* at £1 4s 0d, £46 16s 7.5d in all. The goods issued from 9 May to 30 September then stood as follows. Bread, 2 hundredweight 4 quarters, £0 10s 0d Bread, 4 hundredweight of the same, £29 17s 4d Total bread, £30 17s 4d

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		£16. 16. 7¾ from May 9 to Septem: 30 viz Bread 2 barrls Do. 10. 4 Do. reed 29. 17. 4 39. 17. 4 Flour 1 Do. 3. 15. 9 Do. rec'd 35. 38. 15. Bunting 30 yds 2. Broadcloth 9 yds 9. 10. Coal 31 bushels 1. 13. Deals 16 3. 4. Timber 4 ft. 13. 6. Elm boards 3 9. 3. 4. 6. 9 China Ware, 1 delft & 20 plates 1. 16. 4 Glass 10 Squares 10. Hooks 10 doz 6. 10 Haberdashery ware viz. Buttons Coat 7 doz 7. Do. breast 8 doz 4. 3. Tape 4 pr 5. 4. Mohair 2 oz 4. Silk 3 oz 11. 9 Do lb 2. 8. 2. 1. 6 Lamp black 276 barrls 4. 12. Lines 26 1. 1. 8 Nails 87 lb Sorted 1. 18. 3 Oars 6, 22 ft 2. 11. Paint, 28 lb Rd Lead 14. 126 White Lead 3. 3. 28 Brown 7. 18 Ocker 14. 1 29 Gall S. Oyl 17. 14. 17 lb Verdigreese 6. 3 22. 18. 6 Smalts 1 lb 2. 7 Sheet Lead 4 lb 1. 1. Bolts 4 barrl 8. 12. 8 Iron 13 lb 24. 17. 3 Hemp 1. 5. 17	Flour, 1 hundredweight of the same, £3 12s 0d Flour, 9 hundredweight of the same, £36 0s 0d Total flour, £38 15s 0d Bunting, 30 yards, £0 2s 0d Broadcloth, 9 yards, £9 10s 0d Coals, 31 bushels, £4 13s 0d Deals, 16, £3 4s 0d Timber, 4 quarters, £13 6s 0d Elm boards, 3, £0 9s 3d Total deals and timber, £4 6s 9d China ware, 1 dish and 20 plates, £1 16s 4d Glass, 10 squares, £0 10s 0d Hooks, 10 dozen, £0 6s 10d Haberdashery ware: Buttons, coat 7 dozen, £0 7s 0d Of the same, breast 8 dozen, £0 4s 3d Tape, 4 yards, £0 5s 4d Mohair, 2 yards, £0 4s 0d Silk, 6 oz, £0 11s 3d Thread, 5 lb, £0 9s 2d Total haberdashery ware, £2 1s 6d Lampblack, 276 hundredweight, £4 12s 0d Lines, 26, £1 1s 8d Nails, 27 hundredweight sorted, £1 18s 5d Oars, 22 pairs, £2 11s 0d Paint: 28 lb red lead, £0 14s 0d 186 lb white lead, £3 3s 0d 28 lb brown, £0 7s 0d 48 lb ochre, £0 14s 1d 3 gallons of Stevens's oil, £17 14s 0d 1.5 hundredweight of wedges, £0 6s 5d Total paint, £22 18s 6d Smalts, 1.5 hundredweight, £0 2s 7d Sheet lead, 4 hundredweight, £0 1s 1d Pitch: 4 barrels, £8 12s 8d Tar, 13 of the same, £24 17s 3d Turpentine, 4 hundredweight 17 lb, £3 16s 1d Total pitch, tar and turpentine, £37 6s 0d Salt, 4 bushels, £1 8s 1.5d Shalloon, 12 yards, £1 16s 0d Shoes, 2 pairs, £0 12s 0d Twine, 31 lb, £3 2s 0d Stationery ware, paper 4 quires, £0 3s 4d Marble book, £0 6s 0d Total stationery ware, £0 11s 4d Grand total, £103 8s 1.5d and £181 17s 5.5d **Interpretations** This account is the counterpart to the four-headed distribution just recorded, covering the full half year to 30 September and opening with the goods sold to the homeward ships that touched at the island in the spring, provisions and stores charged to the *Hawlingsfield*, *Warwick*, *Princess Amelia* and *Prince of Wales* before they sailed. The remainder lists the naval and maintenance stores the warehouse issued over the half year: the pitch, tar and turpentine for caulking and preserving timber and rigging, the deals and elm boards, oars, lampblack and paints, and the broadcloth and shalloon for clothing. Smalts was a deep blue pigment made from powdered cobalt glass, used in painting and as a colouring agent, and lampblack the fine soot used to make black paint and ink. The account fixed the warehouse's outgoings for the whole period spanning the change of administration, completing the reckoning of what had passed through the stores under and after Bazett.

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		3. 16. 1 37. 6. Salt 4 Bushels 1. 8. 1½ Shalloon 12 yd 1. 16. Shoes 20 pr 12. Twine 31 lb 3. 2. Stationary ware paper 4 Qro 3. 4 Marble Book 6. 11. 4 £103. 8. 1½ 181. 17. 3½	
137	133	1741. A Collection of Stores sold from May 9th to Sep 30th. Selling price 21 p yd Broad Cloth 24 yds ¼. 28. 13. Bread viz. 7/5 p 40 24 lb 28 old Bread 34. 18. 9 1/9 p 40 23 lb rec'd 48. 3. 5 78. 1. 2 Braziers ware viz. 4/6 p 3 pepper Sauce pans 13. 6 6/6 2 larger 13. 10/ 1 lb brass Candlesticks 10. 1 Copper Tea Kettle 1. 1. Blankets 6 2. 17. 2. 12. 9 Cutlery ware viz. 1 Razor 9. 1 Penknife 13. 1 Buck handle Knife 1. 2. 1 pr Screwing Do. 1. 6. lb 8. do 11. 19. 10. 12 p 20 Cordage lb 9. 9. 19. 4½ 4/6 Corks 22 gross 4. 14. 1/ pp yd Duck 1. 1½ p yd Canvas 217 Sacking 5. 1. 6. 3 Deals Do. viz. 4/ do 3 inch Deals 1. 3/4 7 Singles 1. 3. 4 3/ 2 Shelling boards 10. 3/ 2 half Inch Do. 3. 3. 2. 4 1 Bunch 16 foot 1/9 p yd Duck 24½ yd. Brack Duck. 3. 19. 7½	A collection of stores sold from 9 May to 30 September 1741. Broadcloth, 24 yards, £24 15s 0d Bread: 24 hundredweight 3 quarters 22 lb old bread, £36 18s 9d 23 hundredweight of the same, 11 lb of the same, £45 2s 5d Total bread, £78 1s 2d Braziers' ware: 3 copper saucepans, £0 13s 6d 2 larger, £0 13s 0d 1 pair of brass candlesticks, £0 10s 0d 1 copper tea kettle, £1 1s 0d Total braziers' ware, £2 17s 0d Blankets, 6, £2 12s 9d Cutlery ware: 1 cleaver, £0 9s 0d 1 penknife, £0 1s 3d 1 buck-handled knife, £0 1s 2d 1 penning knife, £0 1s 6d Total cutlery ware, £0 11s 0d Cordage, 1 quarter 3 lb, £0 14s 10d Coals, 22 bushels, £0 19s 11.5d Corks, 1 hundredweight hard wood, £4 14s 0d Canvas, 21 yards sacking, £1 6s 3d Deals and boards: 5 half deals, £1 8s 4d 7 shoats of the same, £0 10s 0d 2 stock elm boards, £0 6s 0d 2 half stock of the same, £0 3s 0d 1 bunch of 16 boards, £3 2s 4d Total deals, £3 2s 4d Duck, 12 yards brush duck, £3 19s 7.5d 8 yards English sail cloth, £0 16s 0d Total duck, £4 15s 7.5d Flour, 9 hundredweight 3 quarters, £24 8s 4.5d Fustians, 4 yards of the same, £6 15s 0d Flour of the same, £24 6s 0d Total, £2 14s 3d Flannel, 23.5 yards, £1 2s 3.5d Braziers' ware, various pieces, 8 wine glasses, £0 1s 5d 23 half-pint cups 10 by 15, £0 1s 5d 180 half-pint of the same 5 by 7, £0 19s 6d 20 half-pint of the same 6 by 8, £0 7s 6d 10 flint glass, £0 6s 1.5d Total, £16 12s 8.5d Haberdashery ware: 4.5 lb of coat buttons, £0 6s 1d 6 dozen breast of the same, £0 1s 4d 2 oz of mohair, £0 2s 10d 10 lb of the same mohair, £0 4s 6d 69 yards of China silk, £0 7s 3d 7.5 pairs of needles, £0 0s 4d 8 tinned tape of the same, [...] Total haberdashery ware, £15 18s 0d

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		7/ 8 pr Eng. Sail Cloth 16. 4. 13. 7½ 4/8 p 40 Flour £9. 4. 3¼ 14. 8. 1½ 11/9 p yd Fustians 8¾ yd Do. 17. 11. 4/2 3 yd do. 6. 15. 2. 6. Flannell 23¾ yd 2. 14. 3 1/ do Glaziers ware 8. 8 Wine Glasses 1. 2. 3½ Flour Glass 1. 8. 23¼ p yd Glass 10 lb 12. 6. 15. 1 do Do. 180 Do. yd. 5. 7. 1. 9. 6 6/ 3 do. 26 yd yd. 6. 8. 7. 6. 10 foot Do. 6. 2. 1½ 16. 12. 8½ 1/ do 8 1/ p doz Haberdashery ware Do. lb 3d Mens 3. 1. 1/3 do. 66 doz. hand 7 yd 1. 14. 1 doz Do. 8 doz A.P. Purchase 2. 10. 1 do. 10 doz S.Th. Bellcalinne 3. 4. 7/ p Do. 67 yard Ribbind Silt 8. 16. 7. 3. 7½ p 100 Cauls? 7. 3. 1/9 p 40 8 Round Sail Do. 8. Haberdashery Ware Continued Over 15. 18. 3 238. 6. 3 Carried Over	Carried over, £218 6s 3d **Interpretations** This account records the goods sold off from the stores over the half year following the change of administration, a companion to the issue accounts already entered. Its heaviest lines are the bread and flour, over £120 between them, much of it entered as old bread being cleared before it spoiled, and the broadcloth, alongside the household braziers' ware, glass and cutlery. Brush duck and English sailcloth were the heavy canvases for sails and hard-wearing gear, fustian and flannel the working cottons and woollens for clothing, and the glassware was tallied by pane size, the half-pint cups measured in inches by their dimensions. The sale realised the value of stores the Company judged better turned into cash than kept, and completed the reckoning of what had left the warehouse by sale as against by issue.
138	134	Brought Over --- £238. 6. 3 Selling price Haberdashery ware brought Over 15. 18. 3 11 oz of paper Sorted 18. 1½ 40 doz 8 yd Pins Sorted 1. 12. 11½ 6/ p yd 6 yd Edding 2. 6. 1/2 pr 1 playford Shambloe 9. 1/5 p yd 40 2 lb Whalebone 10½ 1/9 p yd 40 20 yd Womens Gloves 3. 6 3 lb of Sturdiary Sorted 9. 7 p yd 7 pr Grunt 2. 4 19. 3. 10½	A collection of stores sold, brought over at £258 6s 3d. Haberdashery ware, brought over, £15 18s 0d 10 yards of paper sorted, £0 12s 1.5d 20 pairs of pins fine, £1 14s 11.5d 6 yards of filleting, £0 2s 6d 1 English thimble, £0 0s 2d 2 yards of whalebone, £0 0s 10.5d 3 pairs of women's gloves, £0 3s 6d 2 yards of stationery sorted, £0 0s 9d 7 yards of filleting, £0 2s 4d Total haberdashery ware, £19 3s 10.5d Holland and tents: 1 hundredweight 51 yards, 3 quarters, holland sorted, £17 1s 5d 41 dozen 17 lines sorted, £11 1s 10d Total holland and tents, £28 3s 3d Hosiers' ware: 4 pairs of men's worsted stockings, £1 1s 0d 2 pairs of women's black of the same, £0 11s 0d 3 pairs of women's cotton hose, £0 0s 9d

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		Hooks & Lines viz. 4½ p doz 431 doz hooks Sorted 17. 1. 5 41 doz 7 Lines Sorted 11. 1. 10 28. 3. 3 Hosiers ware viz. 7/6 p pr 4 pr Mens W. Stockings 1. 10. 5/6 p pr 4 pr Mens black Do. 11. 3 pr Mens Colr Hose 9. 2 pr Womens Hose 6. 6 pr Do. 3. 6 pr Do. Sorted 16. 4 3. 18. 10 Halds A Doz'd Gunners Mate 3. Iron Mongers ware viz. 1 frying Pann 5. 6 1 pr 1 Cargon 6. 9 19 pr bottles of 3. 23 1. 15. 8 3/2 lb 3 Pothanes 15. 6 2 Chest locks 15. 6 1 Cupboard Do. 7. 9 1 pr Chest hinges 2. 10 2/6 lb 2 Sugar Boxes 6. 1 Bag Sack 3. 4 3/8 lb 3 Garden Hoes 11. 5. 8. 3 Nails viz. 1/2 p lb 11 lb Nails 6 Penny 6. 11½ 1/2. 7 lb Do. 5 8. 9 /9. 6 lb Do. 4 4. 6 1/3. 7 lb Do. 10. 4. 4½ 1/6½. 2 lb Do. 20. 7. 1 1/4. 2 lb Spriggs 2. 8 1/8. 2¾ lb Bolts 3. 9 18 lb Nails Sorted 9. 8 2. 8. 9 Horses 3 p 7. Lead viz. 3/4 lb. 18 lb Sheet Lead 12. 2 ¼. 6 lb Bird Shott 2. Tanhouse 1 Man Lanthorn 14. 2 7. 9 Oyl viz. 5/4 p Gall 20¼ Gall Train Oyl 3. 13. 9	2 pairs of women's hose, £0 0s 6d 1 pair of children's of the same, £0 1s 0d 6 pairs of caps sorted, £16 4s 0d Total hosiers' ware, £3 18s 10d Matts, 4 lined gunners' mates, £3 0s 0d Iron mongers' ware: 1 frying pan, £0 5s 6d 1 pair of the same, larger, £0 6s 2d 1 sugar kettle at 3s 23, £1 15s 8d 2 pickaxes, £0 15s 6d 2 stock locks, £0 15s 6d 1 cupboard of the same, £0 7s 9d 1 pair of chest hinges, £0 2s 10d 2 sugar chisels, £0 5s 0d 1 box lock, £0 3s 4d 3 garden hoes, £0 11s 0d Total iron mongers' ware, £5 8s 3d Nails: 11 hundredweight of nails, 6 penny, £6 11s 4d 7 hundredweight of the same, 5, £5 9s 0d 6 hundredweight of the same, 4, £4 6s 0d 7 hundredweight of the same, 10, £4 4s 4.5d 6 hundredweight of the same, 8, £7 1s 0d 2 hundredweight of the same, 20, £2 8s 0d 2 hundredweight sprigs, £1 8s 0d 2.5 hundredweight double, £0 9s 8d 18 hundredweight nails sorted, £2 8s 0d Total nails, £2 8s 0d Kersey, 33 yards, £7 0s 0d Lead: 48 hundredweight sheet lead, £13 2s 0d 6 hundredweight bird shot, £2 0s 0d Total lead, £14 2s 0d Lanthorns, 1 horn lantern, £0 7s 9d Oil: 22.5 gallons of train oil, £5 13s 9d 1 gallon of linseed, £0 3s 0d 1 bottle of Stevens's, £0 3s 9d Total oil, £6 3s 6d Carried over, £288 1s 7.5d **Interpretations** The account continues the half year's sales with the smaller wares of the warehouse, the sewing and clothing goods, ironmongery and building materials that the Company put off for cash. Several terms would be unfamiliar today. Holland was a fine plain linen; kersey a coarse ribbed woollen cloth used for cheap hard-wearing clothing, the same the slaves were issued; filleting a narrow woven binding tape; and train oil the oil rendered from whale or fish blubber, used for lamps, dressing leather and mixing paint. The nails were sorted and priced by the penny size, an old measure of length running from the small sprigs up to the twenty penny, and the shot lead was graded from sheet down to fine bird shot. The mix again shows a store that had to answer every domestic and practical need on the island, and the sale converting its surplus into the cash the council was working to gather.

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		1 Gall Linseed 6. 1 bottle florence 3. 9 6. 3. 6 Carr'd Over --- £288. 1. 7½	
139	135	Brought Over --- £288. 1. 7½ Paint viz. 18 lb 16 lead Barrel Whitening 10 6/ p yd 12 lb White Lead 10. 1/3 p yd 12¼ lb Verdigreese 6. 7/2 1 lb Blue Small 7. 6 7/ p yd ½ lb Starch 3. 7/ p yd 3 lb Lamp Indigo 9. 1. 16. 11 Pepper 20¾ lb 9. 1. 3. Pitch viz. 1/9 p 0 lb Pitch 16. 1/3 p yd 36 lb Rozin 9. 1. 6. 1 Cask Cave 3/4 p doz Pewter 1 doz Spoons 3. 6. 1/9 p lb Hair Powder Do. 4. Shoes viz. 6/9 p pr 30 pr Mens Shoes best Sort 16. 13. 4 6/9 p pr 174 pr Mens Do. Strong 32. 4. 2/8 p pr 71 pr Womens Calfe Shoes 18. 14. 6 0/6 p pr 8 pr Womens Spanish Smiths 2. 8 2/8 p pr 17 pr large Shoes Sorted 4. 7. 6 7 pr Girls Do. 1. 1 92. 13. 4 Stationary ware viz. 1/6 p yd 20 lb Paper 1. 18. 8 1 broad Book 2. 6 1/8 1 Spelling Do. 8. 2/8 p yd 3 lb Quills 2. 7. 6 Shalloon 75¾ yards 11. 6. 6 6/0 p bunch Salt 3½ bushells 1. 14. 1½ 1/3 p yd Soap 181½ lb 11. 6. 6½ Soldiers Cloaths viz. 22.11.10 lb 4 Gunners Jerkins short Coats 11. 11. 4 2. --- 1lb Bird Gunners Coats 28. 1. 10. --- 108 Soldiers Coats 162. 201. 11. 4 Tin ware viz. 1/6 lb 4 Tin Lantry 6.	A collection of stores sold, brought over at £288 1s 7.5d. Paint: 16 lb Spanish black, £0 10s 8d 12 lb white lead, £0 10s 0d 17 lb indigo, £0 6s 0d 1 hundredweight 3 quarters small of the same, £0 7s 6d 10 lb starch, £0 3s 0d 3 hundredweight lampblack indigo, £0 0s 9d Total paint, £1 16s 11d Pepper, 20 hundredweight 4 quarters, £1 3s 0d Pitch: 9 hundredweight pitch, £0 1s 6d 36 hundredweight rosin, £0 9s 0d 1 bottle tar, £0 1s 6d Total pitch, £0 12s 0d Pewter, 1 dozen spoons, £0 3s 6d Hair powder, 6 hundredweight, £0 4s 0d Shoes: 50 pairs of men's shoes best sort, £16 13s 4d 174 pairs of men's of the same, strong, £52 4s 0d 71 pairs of women's calf leather of the same, £15 14s 6d 8 pairs of women's Spanish leather of the same, £2 8s 0d 17 pairs of boys' shoes sorted, £4 7s 6d 1 pair of children's of the same, £1 1s 0d Total shoes, £92 13s 4d Stationery ware: 20 quires of paper, £1 18s 8d 1 bound book, £0 2s 6d 1 spelling of the same, £0 0s 8d Total stationery ware, £2 2s 6d Shalloon, 78.5 yards, £11 6s 6d Salt, 512 bushels, £1 14s 4.5d Soap, 1512 lb, £11 6s 6.5d Soldiers' clothes: 4 gunners' mates' lined coats, £11 11s 4d 28 blue and bound gunners' coats, £201 15s 4d 108 soldiers' coats, £162 0s 0d Total soldiers' clothes, £201 15s 4d Tinware: 4 tin lamps, £0 4s 6d 1 tin kettle, £0 4s 6d 3 tin coffee pots, £0 2s 7d 1 hundredweight filling spoon, £0 0s 9d 1 sheet of tin, £0 18s 4d Total tinware, £0 18s 4d Thread: 21.5 hundredweight white brown sorted, £2 12s 6d 14 hundredweight 3 lb of the same sorted, £1 10s 0d Total thread, £13 1s 8.5d Twine: 13 lb twine, £1 2s 9d 7.5 hundredweight white thread, £0 0s 10.5d 7.5 hundredweight pack thread, £1 4s 19.5d Total twine, £1 4s 19.5d Carried over, £626 15s 2d **Interpretations** The dominant lines here are the footwear and the soldiers' clothing, the two largest single classes in the whole sale. Nearly three hundred pairs of shoes were sold, graded by quality and by wearer, men's, women's in calf and Spanish leather, boys' and children's, and the coats ran to over £370, the blue

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and Analysis
		4/6 1 Tin Kettle 4. 6 4/6 3 Tin Coffee Potts 4. 6 1/6 1 Tin Spitting Pan 2. 9 1 lb of Tin 18. 4 Thread viz. 9 9. 8 lb White Brown Sorted 9. 8. 5½ 2/12 3 lb Thread Sorted 2. 12. 6 1 3 lb Thread Sorted 1. 10 13. 1. 8½ Twine viz. 1/3 p lb 13 lb Sorted 1. 2. 9 4/8 p yd 7½ lb Thread 1. 3 1/7 p yd 7½ lb Yarn Thread 10½ 1. 4. 10½ Carried Over --- £626. 18. 7½	and bound gunners' coats and the plain soldiers' coats making up the garrison's uniform stock cleared from store. Shalloon was the lightweight twilled woollen used to line those coats, and hair powder the scented starch worn on the hair and wigs of the period. That so much clothing and footwear passed out of the warehouse by sale rather than issue shows the Company disposing of surplus uniform and trade goods for cash, the largest realisation in an account the council was compiling to set against the deficiency and the estate debts of the previous administration.
140	136	Brought Over --- £626. 18. 7½ Turners ware viz. 1/8 lb 2 Wooden Bowls 2. 4. 1/2 2 pr platters 2. 4 1 brush 1. 8 8½ 4 Paint Brushes 2. 10 8/6 4 hair Brooms 18. 3/5 3 Scrubbing Brushes 6. 8 1 Flaskett 2. 6 1. 12. 4 Combs viz. 21 Ivory Combs Sorted 1. 8 1 bubbling Comb 8 1. 8. 8 India Goods Viz. £629. 16. 4 6/64d Arrach 1003¾ Galls 326. 9. 3 China Ware viz. 0/7 doz 18 doz Snuckers 5. 8. 0/7 doz 17 doz 24 half pint 2. 12. 2/9 doz 19 doz 6 Napkin Cups 1. 15. 10/ 22 doz 6 lb Small 5. 5. 2/. 33 doz 5 Saucers 5. 6. 10 11/10 4 doz Bowls 6. 3/9 lb 20 Common Dishes 3. 15. 7 doz Sorted 1. 6 2/9 doz 7 doz 11 pr Plates 3. 11. 12/ doz 1 doz 6 Soap Do. 18. 4/6 lb 9 Tea Jarrs	A collection of stores sold, brought over at £626 15s 2d. Turners' ware: 2 washing tubs, £0 2s 4d 2 of the same, platters, £0 1s 8d 1 bench, £0 2s 0d 4 paint brushes, £0 2s 10d 4 hair brooms, £0 14s 0d 4 scrubbing brushes, £0 6s 8d 1 flask salt, £0 2s 6d Total turners' ware, £1 12s 4d Combs: 21 ivory sorted, £0 1s 8d 1 dubbing comb, £0 0s 8d Total combs, £1 8s 8d Total, £662 10s 2d India goods: Arrack, 1,032 gallons, £326 9s 3d China ware: 18 dozen saucers, £0 5s 8d 17 dozen 4 half-pint of the same, £2 12s 0d 19 dozen 6 flying cups, £1 15s 0d 32 dozen 6 of the same small, £0 5s 5d 58 dozen 6 saucers, £3 6s 10d 4 dozen bowls, £0 6s 0d 20 summer cups, £3 15s 0d 7 soup of the same, sorted, £0 1s 5d 7 dozen 11 plates, £3 11s 0d 1 dozen 6 soup of the same, £0 18s 0d 9 flint of the same, £0 13s 6d 10 dozen 6 coffee cups, £0 1s 1d 1 dozen 4 of the same 6d 13, £0 12s 0d Total china ware, £38 0s 4d Taffety: 26.5 yards challoe, £18 11s 0d 12.5 yards of the same, £0 9s 6d Total taffety, £19 0s 6d Candles, 2,367 lb, £33 16s 3d Deesoles: 1 double piece Devonshire, £1 7s 0d 7 lengths of the same, £6 1s 6d Total deesoles, £7 8s 6d Alligars, 1 yard, £1 0s 0d Company glass sorted: 15 pieces fine blue cloth, £13 4s 0d 16 mens' corner, £14 0s 0d Total, £27 4s 0d Muslin, 40 yards, £8 5s 0d Palempores, 5 small, £1 10s 0d

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		13. 6 2/7 doz 10 doz 6 Coffee Cups 1. 1. 1 doz Sugar Do. 9. 12. 10. 38. 4. Chatter viz. 14/9 pr 26 yd Chatter 18. 11. 12 pd 9 yd Do. 9. 6. 10. 6. 2/6 lb Caddies 286 yd 35. 16. 3 Dovettees viz. 21/17d 1 double Dovettees 1. 7. 16/9 7 Singles Do. 6. 1. 6 Alligators 1 yd 7. 8. 6 Cushy Cloth viz. 21. 13. 4 yd Pieces fine Long Cloth 18. 4. 21. 3. 6 pr 16 pieces Common Do. 14. 12/6½ pr Muslin 40 yd 27. 4. 6/9¼ Pallempores 6 Small 25. 1. 10. Rice 2. 3. 2. 3. Shirts & Stockings viz. 2/6 lb 157 Shirts 19. 12. 6 2/6 4 pr 160 lb Cotton hose 20. 2/6 5 pr 83 pr Yarn hose 10. 7. 6 50. 12.16.9 pr Sugar 20. 80. 14. 12 yd 81. 11. 6/ p yd Tea 83 Cotton 24. 18. Totall --- £1270. 17. 3½	Rice, 2 hundredweight 15 lb, £2 3s 0d Shirts and stockings: 157 shirts, £19 12s 6d 760 pairs of cotton hose, £20 0s 0d 83 yards of gauze hose, £10 7s 6d Total, £50 0s 0d Sugar, 20 hundredweight 60 lb 14 lb 12 oz, £81 11s 5.5d Tea, 83 hundredweight, £24 18s 0d Total, £1,270 17s 3.5d **Interpretations** The India goods head sets out the eastern cargoes that were the whole point of the Company's presence, and it dwarfs every other section: over £1,270 in all, more than the entire sale that preceded it. Arrack alone, more than a thousand gallons of the palm or molasses spirit that supplied garrison and shipping, came to £326, and the tea and sugar to over £100 between them. The textiles are the painted and woven cottons and silks of the subcontinent that had made the eastern trade so lucrative in Europe: taffety a plain silk, challoe a striped or checked Indian cotton, muslin the fine sheer cotton, alligars a striped cotton cloth, deesoles a cloth of the Coromandel trade, and palempores the large painted bed covers. The vast run of chinaware, saucers, cups, bowls and plates counted by the dozen and the gross, was the export porcelain that filled the ships' holds as ballast and cargo alike. Set against the plain European stores of the preceding pages, this section shows where the real value of the warehouse lay, in the goods of the East that passed through St Helena on their way home.
141	137	Charges General From May 9th to Sep 30th 1741 viz. Arrack 8 Gall. 16. Deals 16 Inch Deals 1. 8. 10 Sing. Do. 15. 1 Spar 2. 2. 3. Hooks 35 doz Sorted 6. 2¾ 5 doz 6 Lines Sorted 15. 1¼ 3 Hambrugh Lines 3. 6. 1. 6. 8½ Rope 1 Coil White Rope 40 lb 1. 11. 10 7¾ lb for Ends & 12 lb 8 lb 1. 4½ 3 Inch Cannon 3. 3. 17. 2½	Charges general from 9 May to 30 September 1741: Arrack, 8 gallons, £0 8s 0d Deals: 16 half deals, £1 8s 0d 10 lengths of the same, £0 15s 0d 1 spar, £0 2s 0d Total deals, £2 5s 0d Hooks: 35 dozen sorted, £0 6s 0.5d 5 dozen hundredweight lines sorted, £0 15s 1.5d 3 Hamburgh lines, £0 3s 6d Total hooks, £1 6s 8.5d Rope: 1 hundredweight 1 quarter white rope, £2 11s 10d 7 hundredweight 3 quarters of the same, £1 3s 4d 7 hundredweight canvas, £0 3s 0d Total rope, £3 17s 2.5d Haberdashery ware: 4 oz silk, £0 4s 0d 300 needles, £0 1s 9d 4 yards carnation tape, £0 2s 3d 3 yards board of the same, £0 2s 3d 2 hundredweight narrows of the same, £0 1s 0d Total haberdashery ware, £0 12s 0d Lead: 1.5 hundredweight lead shot, £1 14s 3.5d 1 hundredweight 2 quarters sheet lead, £1 16s 5.5d

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		Haberdashery ware 4 lb Silk 4. 300 Needles 1. 9. 4 pr Carnation Tape 3. 3 lb Wool Do. 2. 3. 2 lb Narrow Do. 1. 12. Lead 13 lb bird Shott 2. 2 lb 3. 7 Sheet Lead 1. 18. 3½ 1. 16. 5½ Glass 24 do 11. 6. Corks 6 gross 9 doz 10. 5½ Iron mongers ware 72 lb Nails Sorted 2. 2. 6 3 lb Hinges 2. 4. 2 Sugar Shovels 4. 11. 2¼ doz Gimblett 4. 2. 2 Spikes Gimblett 1. 3. 3 Rack Stones 1. 3. 3 Halves 2. 11. 1 pr Bolt Saw 3. 4 Ropp Skeing 5. 2 Trad Locks 2. 2. 3 Stock Locks 13. 9½ 2 Trowels 2. 3. 17. 1½ Cuttlery ware 2 pr Store Scisars 6. 6 Knives 3. 3 Razor Strops 3. 6. 6. Pitch & Tarr 1 hundred of Tarr 2. 28 lb Pitch 3. 6. 5. 6. Thread 2 lb White 3. 9½ Tin 7 Plates 3. 9½ India Goods 6 pr Dungarees Whits 3. 4. 8 yd Do. Blue 1. 13.	Total lead, £1 16s 5.5d Glass, 9 squares, £0 10s 5.5d Corks, 4 gross 9 dozen, £0 10s 5.5d Iron mongers' ware: 72 hundredweight nails sorted, £2 2s 0d 5 pairs of hinges, £0 13s 11d 2 sugar chisels, £0 4s 0d 2.5 dozen gimlets, £0 4s 2d 2 stock gimlets, £0 1s 0d 2 pull stones, £0 1s 3d 5 hoes, £0 3s 11d 1 pair of hole saws, £0 3s 0d 4 chopping stones, £0 3s 5d 2 stock locks, £0 2s 2d 3 stock locks, £0 13s 7.5d 2 shovels, £0 3s 0d Total iron mongers' ware, £3 17s 12d Cutlery ware: 2 pairs of scissors, £0 0s 6d 8 knives, £0 3s 0d 8 razor straps, £0 3s 0d Total cutlery ware, £0 6s 6d Pitch and tar: 1 hundredweight of tar, £0 2s 6d 24 hundredweight of rosin, £0 3s 6d Total pitch and tar, £0 3s 6d Thread, 2 hundredweight white, £0 3s 9.5d Fish, 7 plates, £0 4s 0d India goods: 6 dozen Devonshire shirts, £3 4s 0d 5 dozen of the same, ties, £1 13s 0d 5 dozen mohair, £4 17s 0d Total India goods, £4 17s 0d China ware: 1 dozen half-pint cups, £0 1s 0d 2 tin of the same, £0 0s 6d 5 saucers, £0 2s 3d Total china ware, £0 2s 3d Total, £21 13s 5.5d **Interpretations** This general-charges section gathers the working stores issued over the half year that could not be set against any single ship, plantation or the garrison alone, the odds of rope, nails, tools, fishing tackle and cloth that kept the establishment running. The ironmongers' ware is the fullest single class, the hinges, gimlets, saws, locks, hoes and chopping stones of routine building and repair, and the rope, canvas and hooks the tackle of the boats and fishing that fed the island. Set beside the great India-goods sale of the preceding pages, this modest account of a little over £21 marks the ordinary internal consumption of the stores as against the valuable eastern cargoes sold on, and closed off the charges for the period before the section headed to the garrison's own account.

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		4. 17. 4 pr Amperoy China Ware 1 doz Tea pot Cups 1. 2 Tin Salts 9. 3 Saucers 2. 3. £21. 13. 5½ Garrison	
142	138	Garrison from May 9th to Sep 30. 1741. Viz Deals 2 Deal board 4. 2 Spares 4. 8. Lamps 6 lb Lamps 4. 6. Iron 16 lb 10. 10. 8 half Yarn 13. 4. 8 frying Do. 1. 17. 8 12. 16. Turnery 2 Wooden bowls 1. 4. 2 Platters 1. 6. 2. 10. Lanthorns 1 Mucavey Light 7. 6. 1 Lanthorn 3. 6. 11. Glaziers ware 2 Sand & lime Glasses 6. 8 1 lb Sunies 1. 1½ 1 lb Do. Thread 3. 12 lb Cordage 3. 6. 14. 3½ Lines 2 Hambrugh Lines 3. 8 2 pr Cannons 2. 5. 8 India Goods 40 Gall. Arrack 4. 20 lb Sugar 3. 4. 65 Callees Tea 4. 1. 3 1 pr Long Cloth 18. 9. 2. 7 Oil 48 Gall. 1 lb Lamp Oyl 6. 8. 6 1 pr Sallad Oyl 3. 6. 6. 11. Boats from May 9 to Sep 30 1741. Viz.	Garrison, from 9 May to 30 September 1741: Deals: 2 white lead, £0 0s 4d 2 spars, £0 0s 4d Total deals, £0 8s 0d Lamps, 6 tin lamps, £0 4s 6d Iron: 16 half spans, £10 10s 0d 8 half spars, £0 13s 4d 8 frying pans of the same, £1 19s 8d Total iron, £12 16s 0d Turnery: 2 wooden bowls, £0 1s 6d 2 platters, £0 1s 6d Total turnery, £0 2s 6d Lanthorns: 1 mahogany light, £0 7s 6d 1 lanthorn, £0 3s 6d Total lanthorns, £0 11s 0d Glaziers' ware: 2 sand hour glasses, £0 6s 8d 1 half hour of the same, £0 1s 6d 1 hundredweight thread, £0 3s 0d 12 hundredweight cordage, £0 3s 6d Total glaziers' ware, £14 15s 5.5d Lines: 2 Hamburgh lines, £0 3s 8d 2 yards canvas, £0 2s 0d Total lines, £0 5s 8d India goods: 40 gallons of arrack, £4 3s 4d 20 hundredweight of sugar, £0 3s 4d 65 hundredweight of tea, £4 1s 3d 1 yard of long cloth, £0 18s 0d Total India goods, £9 2s 7d Oil: 23 gallons of lamp oil, £6 8s 0d 1 gallon of salad oil, £0 3s 6d Total oil, £6 11s 0d Total, £30 15s 10.5d Charges from 9 May to 30 September 1741: Canvas, 10 yards canvas, £0 10s 0d Deals and boards: 2 half-inch elm boards, £0 0s 4d 8 half deals, £0 15s 0d Total deals, £1 0s 0d Cordage: 1 hundredweight of the same 3 quarters 21 lb at 9d, £14 7s 1d Small of the same at 3s 21 lb at 8s 3d 7, £14 7s 1d Lead, 20 hundredweight sheet lead, £3 4s 6d Iron ware: 16 hundredweight nails, £7 9s 4d 1 of the same, £0 5s 5.5d 2 pull stones, £0 1s 3d 2 nag stones, £0 0s 5.5d 2 caulking irons, £1 0s 0d Total iron ware, £12 6s 0d Oars, 11 pairs, £4 11s 2d Pitch and tar: 3 gallons of tar, £0 1s 9d 6 hundredweight pitch, £0 4s 4d Total pitch and tar, £6 4s 0d

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		30. 15. 10½ Canvas 10 Yards Canvas 10. Deals &c. 2 Half Inch Elm boards 4. 8 lb Deals 10. Cordage 1 Hawser of 6. 3. 21. 0 or lb Small Sortagol. 3. 14 8. 3. 7 1. 7. 7 Lead 20 lb Sheet Lead 3. 4½ Iron ware 16 lb Nails 9. 4. 1 5¼ 2 Rack Stones 1. 3. 1 Pr Stops 3½ 2 Rambing Screws 1½ 12. 6½ Oars 11 Sorted 1. 12. Pitch &c. 3 Gall Tarr 1. 9. 16½ lb Pitch 1. 7. Oil 29 Lamp Oyl 6. 4. Haberdashery 2 Paling 1. 6. 2 Sail Needles 3. 9. Tin 2 Tin Kettles 4. 9. 2 Wood Bowls 1. 6. 6. 3. Twine 2 lb Sorted 2. 2. 2 lb Do. Do. 2. 4. 4½ 22. 3. 5	Oil, 29 gallons of lamp oil, £1 6s 0d Haberdashery, 2 palms, £0 0s 6d 2 sail needles, £0 0s 3d Total haberdashery, £0 0s 3d Tin: 2 tin kettles, £0 4s 0d 2 wood brushes, £0 1s 6d Total tin, £6 0s 0d Twine: 2 hundredweight twine, £0 2s 2.5d 3 hundredweight of the same, sorted, £0 2s 0d Total twine, £0 4s 4.5d Total, £22 3s 5d **Interpretations** These two closing sections divide the garrison's share of the half year's stores from the general charges of maintenance, the caulking irons, oars, pitch, tar and cordage that kept the boats and defences in repair, and the lamps, oil and ironwork of daily use. The India goods head appears again even here, the arrack, sugar and tea drawn for the garrison's own table, showing how the eastern provisions reached into every part of the establishment's supply. Sand hour glasses were the running timers used to mark the watches and the guard, and caulking irons the tools for driving oakum into the seams of boats and wharf timbers, so the account records the small but constant expenditure of keeping the garrison fed, timed and its craft watertight through the season.
143	139	Fortification from May 9th to Sep 30th 1741 Viz. Deals &c. 2 4 inch plank 10. 24 feet 10. 4 8d Deals 8. 1. 8 Inch Block 2. 8 Sparrs 16. Cordage 1 Coil 65. 1. 7. 3 2. 1. 7 2 pr 4 yards Sacking	Fortification, from 9 May to 30 September 1741: Deals and boards: 2 half-inch planks, £0 10s 0d 24 feet of the same, £0 10s 0d 4 half deals, £0 8s 0d 1 half-inch elm block, £0 2s 0d 8 spars of the same, £0 16s 0d Total deals, £2 6s 0d Cordage: 1 hundredweight of the same at 1s 7s 3, £2 1s 1d 2 yards sacking, £0 18s 10.5d Total cordage, £5 0s 3.5d Iron mongers' ware: 42 hundredweight nails sorted, £1 4s 6d 6 pickaxes, £0 15s 6d 5 nag stones, £0 0s 3.5d

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		18. 10½ 2. 6. Ironmongers ware 43 Nails Sorted 1. 4. 6 6 Hinges 15. 6 8 Rack Stones 3½ 3 Locks 2. 14 Gimbletts 1. 11½ 2 Adzes 1. 4. 2 Bread Shovels 1. 3. 2 Trowels 10. 4 Hammers 4. 0 lb 18 Iron 11. 6 Halves 3. 6. 6 Bed Shovells 8. 6. 3. 17. 10 Lead 60 lb Sheet Lead 10. 2 Lines 2 Hambrugh Lines 3. 8 1 Small Do. 2. Oil 1 Gall Lamp Oyl 3. 4 1 Gall Linseed 3. 10½ 6. 8. Paint 4 lb Wh. Lead 3. 6. Pitch &c. 13 Gall Tarr 7. 6. 4 lb Rozin 6. 8. 1. Twine 4 lb Twine 3. 8. 2 lb Thread 2. 6. 2 Shoe Knifes 10. 2 Bolt Nailes 3. ¼ lb Small Needles 2. 4 Sword Brushes 2. 9. 5. Total: £11. 6. 1½ Plantation from May 9 to Sep 30th 1741 Viz. Cordage 4½ lb Yedge 13. 7¼ 1 Doz Deal 2. Iron ware 3 lb Nails 1. 9.	9 hoes, £0 2s 0d 14 gimlets, £0 1s 14d 2 hinges, £0 4s 4d 2 chest hinges, £0 1s 3d 2 drawers of the same, £0 0s 10d 4 hammers, £0 4s 0d 2 hundredweight 18 lb iron, £0 11s 0d 6 hoes, £0 3s 6d 6 sled shovels, £0 8s 6d Total iron mongers' ware, £3 17s 10d Lead, 60 hundredweight sheet lead, £10 2s 0d Lines: 2 Hamburgh lines, £0 3s 8d 1 small of the same, £0 9s 0d Total lines, £6 8s 0d Oil: 1 gallon lamp oil, £0 3s 0d 1 gallon linseed of the same, £0 3s 10.5d Total oil, £6 10.5d Paint, 4 lb white lead, £0 0s 0d Pitch and tar: 13 gallons of tar, £0 7s 7d 4 hundredweight rosin, £0 0s 6d Total pitch and tar, £8 1s 0d Twine: 4 hundredweight twine, £0 3s 8d 2 hundredweight of the same, sorted, £0 2s 6d 2 shoe hinges, £0 0s 10d 2 bolts of nails, £0 0s 3d 7.5 hundredweight small needles, £0 0s 2d 4 paint brushes, £0 2s 0d Total twine, £0 9s 5d Plantation, from 9 May to 30 September 1741: Cordage, 46 hundredweight cordage, £0 13s 4d Deals, 1 half deal, £0 2s 0d Total, £15 12s 0d Iron ware: 32 deals, £0 1s 9d 4 shovels, £0 13s 4d 2 hoes, £0 3s 4d 2 yards garden shears, £0 5s 2d 1 pruning knife, £0 0s 10d Total iron ware, £1 4s 0d Sundry: 2 half-hour glasses, £0 1s 2d 4 lines, £0 1s 10d 2 pump boxes, £0 1s 5.5d 2 hundredweight salt, £0 12s 6d Total sundry, £6 3s 2d Tinware: 2 water pots, £0 2s 6d 10 pairs of timber, £1 10s 0d Total tinware, £2 2s 6d Total, £4 8s 4d **Interpretations** These two heads close the store account with the tools issued to the fortifications and the plantations over the half year. The fortification section records the hard materials of the coastal works pressed forward through this run, the nails, pickaxes, hoes, hammers, sled shovels and above all the sheet lead, sixty hundredweight of it, used for roofing magazines and lining gutters and platforms against the weather. The plantation head lists the lighter tools of ground labour, shovels, hoes, garden shears and pruning knives, along with pump boxes for raising water and salt for the stock. Nag stones were small whetstones for sharpening blades, and the whole account shows the warehouse supplying both the great defensive effort and the ordinary husbandry that fed the island, each drawing its own class of iron and timber from the common store.

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		4 Shovles 13. 4. 3 Hoes 3. 4. 2 Garden Shivs 5. 2. 2 Grunung Knives 10. Sundrys 2 Salt bowe Glasses 1. 2. 4 Lines 1. 10. 2 Pump Screws 1. 10. 2 Sheath. 5½ Tin ware 2 Water Potts 12. 6. 10 ft Timber 1. 10. £15. 12. 2. 2. 6 4. 8. 4	
144	140	Blacks from May 9th to Sep 30th 1741 Viz. Haberdasht. 6 oz Silk 9. 7 2 lb coarse tape 2. 9 2 oz Mohair 2. 7 9 doz Coat buttons 3. 6½ 7 doz breast Do. 9. 4½ 6 Shimells 2. Hooks 6½ doz Sorted 7. 6 8¼ doz Lines 13. 4½ 1. 1. 2½ Knifes 6 buck horn handled knife 13. 4½ 1. Hosey 14 pr 30. 16. 9 Lead 25 lb Sheet Lead 5. Shalloon 4 Yards Shalloon 5. Shoes 15 lb Mens 3. 1 Spare 2. Thread 10 lb old & New Brown 1. 6. 6 1 lb flax thread 1. 6 1¾ lb Twine 1. 8 3. 2. India Goods 1 Gall Arrach 2.	Blacks, from 9 May to 30 September 1741: Haberdashery: 6.5 oz silk, £0 9s 7d 2 yards coarse tape, £0 2s 9d 2 yards mohair, £0 2s 7d 6 dozen coat buttons, £0 3s 6.5d 7 yards breast of the same, £0 2s 0.5d 1 thimble, £0 0s 2d Total haberdashery, £1 1s 2.5d Hooks: 4.5 dozen sorted, £0 4s 0d 8.5 dozen lines, £0 13s 4.5d Total hooks, £1 1s 10d Knives, 6 buck-horn-handled knives, £1 1s 0d Kersey, 14 yards, £30 16s 9d Lead, 20 hundredweight sheet lead, £0 3s 5d Shalloon, 4 yards shalloon, £0 5s 5d Shoes: 1.5 hundredweight men's, £0 9s 0d 1 spar, £0 2s 0d Total shoes, £3 2s 0d Thread: 12 hundredweight of the same white brown, £1 6s 6d 1 hundredweight shoe thread, £0 1s 6d 1.5 hundredweight twine, £0 1s 8d Total thread, £1 9s 7d India goods: 1 gallon of arrack, £0 2s 3d 1 cotton of the same, £0 1s 3d 2 hundredweight cotton hose, £0 3s 0d 29 yards blue deesoles, £12 1s 8d 12 yards of the same white, £5 1s 0d 8 yards challoe, £3 13s 4d 12 hundredweight of sugar, £0 3s 0d 10 hundredweight of tea, £0 5s 0d Total India goods, £21 5s 11d Total, £59 7s 4d The account was signed at St Helena on 30 September 1741, errors excepted, by John Godfrey. Jenkins, Powell and Godfrey signed the consultation. **Interpretations** This final head records the goods issued to the Company's slaves over the half year, the closing section of the whole store reckoning. Its largest line by far is the kersey, the coarse ribbed woollen at over £30, the standard hard-wearing cloth from which the slaves' clothing was made, alongside the

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and Analysis
		1 Chatter pad 1. 3 2 lb Cotton Lace 2. 8 29 yd Blue Dungarees 12. 1. 8 12 yd whited Do. 5. 1. 8 yd Chattee 3. 18. 4 12 lb Sugar 3. 10 lb Rice 5. 21. 5. 11 Errors Excepted St Helena Sep 30th 1741 59. 7. Ro. Jenkins G.G. Powell John Godfrey	blue and white deesoles and challoe cottons that supplied the rest. The fishing tackle, hooks and lines, reflects the fishing by which the slaves helped feed themselves and the establishment, and the small allowances of arrack, sugar and tea under the India-goods head show even the eastern provisions reaching the labour force. Set beside the garrison, fortification and plantation accounts, this section completes the picture of a warehouse whose stores were parcelled out across every claim on the island, the whole tallied to the day and closed off under the new administration's reckoning of what Bazett had left.
145	141	Septemr 1741. What Sold belonging to John Goodwin Esqr Decea Viz. Tea 79 lb 2 oz £23. 14. 9 Namkin M poory @ 6/9 3. 6. Gingham 3 pc 20/ ea 3. Moreese viz. 3 lb fine 20/ ea 3. 1 lb Coarse 10/ ea 4. 10. 7. 10. Sugar Candy 6. 18. lb & 7 lb 24. 6. 2¾ Lead 36 lb graind 9. China ware viz. 18 Cups & Saucey 6. 2 Best Dishes 10. 1 Sett burnt China to the Castle Valued at 2. 2. 16. £65. 5. 11½ Errors Excepted At Helena Sep 30th 1741 Ro. Jenkins G.G. Powell John Godfrey	September 1741. What was sold belonging to the late John Goodwin, deceased: Tea, 79 lb 2 oz, £23 14s 9d Nankeen, 8 pieces at 6s 8d, £3 6s 0d Gingham, 3 of the same at 20s 8d, £3 0s 0d Morees: 3 pieces fine at 20s 8d, £3 0s 0d 6 pieces coarse at 16s 8d, £4 10s 0d Total morees, £7 10s 0d Sugar candy, 68.5 hundredweight at 4s 8d, £24 6s 9.5d Lead, 56 hundredweight sheet lead, £0 9s 0d Chinaware: 12 cups and saucers, £0 6s 0d 2 rice dishes, £0 10s 0d 1 set burnt china to the castle, valued at, £2 0s 0d Total chinaware, £2 16s 0d Total, £65 4s 11.5d The account was signed at St Helena on 30 September 1741, errors excepted, by John Godfrey. Jenkins, Powell and Godfrey signed the consultation. **Interpretations** This short account records the sale of the late Governor Goodwin's own stock of eastern goods, kept separate from the Company's because his estate stood attached against the deficiency and had to be reckoned on its own. The goods are the same India textiles that filled the Company's warehouse: nankeen a plain yellowish cotton cloth from Nanking in China, gingham a checked or striped cotton, and morees a plain calico of the Coromandel coast, graded fine and coarse. The tea and sugar candy made up the bulk of the value, and the whole was sold off and the proceeds carried to the estate's credit, one more parcel of the dead Governor's property turned into cash to help make good what was owing to the Company.
146	142	At a Consultation held on Tuesday the 22 of December 1741 at the Castle. Present Robert Jenkins Esqr Governor George Gabriel Powell John Godfrey The last Consultation was Read & Approved. In Consequence of the Order of Tuesday the 8th Instant there appeared before us this day all those who are Indebted to yr Hono Company, and likewise such as	A consultation was held on Tuesday 22 December 1741 at the castle. Governor Jenkins was present, with George Gabriel Powell and John Godfrey. The council read and approved the previous consultation. In accordance with the order of Tuesday 8 December, all those indebted to the Honourable Company, and likewise those indebted to the estate of the late John Goodwin, appeared before the council that day, of whom the council demanded payment of their several sums. The council began with the debtors to its own masters, whose several answers were as follows.

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		are Indebted to the Estate of the late John Goodwin Esqr, of Whome We demanded payment of their several Sums, But first we began with the Debtors to our Hono Masters, whose several answers are as followes viz. Thomas Allep acknowledges a debt of £39. 18. 6 due to the Hono Company, but not having any ready money at present, begs our Patience a little while & Promises to Clear it as soon as possible he can, being a very poor man, & a great family. Richard Goodwin who in Attorney for John Brown acknowledges a debt of £6. 11. 3 and promises to pay it Speedily. Elizabeth Bradly who hath lately married William Davis a Mattross in the Garrison, acknowledges a Debt due to yr Hono Company of 5 will pay it with the first money they get. Joseph Baley owes by the Books kept by Messrs Crispe & Bazett as pr Journl. H page 2& to Stand Indebted to yr Hono Company in yr sum of £69. 3. of which £38. 3. 6 is an Erroneous Transfer as acknowledged by Mr Crispe in Consultation of 10 November last the Ballance £8. 17. 6 he will pay very Speedily. William Sealy stands Indebted the Sum of £10. -- who died about a twelvemonth agoe & left a Widdow & Child to be maintaind by the parish. Eliz. Greentreed Widdow acknowledges a Debt of £78. 12. 6 of which she paid in part the sum of £4. 2. -- I will pay the Ballance as soon as possible. She is in good Circumstances Martin Harper owes £14. 17. 6 and will pay it Speedily being in good Circumstances. Jonathan Kigham owes £23. 4. 9 who being very Idle can not do not appear, He is an Exceeding poor man with a numerous family, whome he maintains by his daily labour. John Hodgkinson stands Indebted £3. 8. 6 of which we Rec'd in part at September last the sum of £2. 3. 7 the Ballance £1. 4. 11 we have but little prospect of getting he having lately died Insolvent and left a large family behind him Cornelius Isaac stands Indebted £39. 11. 6½ of which we Rec'd in part £3. 8. 9 the Ballance £36. 3. 9½ She promises to pay as fast as She is able. Thomas Barns is Indebted in the Sum of £8. --- which he Promises to pay at yr Expiration of two months.	Thomas Alsop acknowledged a debt of £39 18s 6d due to the Honourable Company, but, having no money at present, asked its patience a little while and promised to clear it as soon as he could, being a very poor man with a great family. Richard Goodwin, attorney for John Brown, acknowledged a debt of £6 11s 3d and promised to pay it speedily. Elizabeth Bradley, who had lately married William Davis, a mattross in the garrison, acknowledged a debt due to the Honourable Company of £5, and promised to pay it with the first money they got. Joseph Bates was shown by the books kept by Mr Crispe and Bazett to stand indebted to the Honourable Company in the sum of £69 3s, of which £58 3s 6d was an irregular transfer acknowledged by Mr Crispe in the consultation of 10 November. The balance of £8 17s 6d Bates promised to pay speedily. William Coales stood indebted in the sum of £10, but had died about a twelvemonth earlier, leaving a widow and child to be maintained by the parish. Elizabeth Greentree, widow, acknowledged a debt of £78 12s 6d, of which she had paid part, £42, and promised to pay the balance as soon as possible, being in good circumstances. Martin Harper owed £14 17s 6d and promised to pay it speedily, being in good circumstances. Jonathan Higham owed £23 4s 9d, but, being very poor, did not appear; he was an exceeding poor man with a numerous family, whom he maintained by his daily labour. John Hodgkinson stood indebted in £3 8s 6d, of which the council had received part at September, £2 3s 7d, leaving a balance of £1 4s 11d, but there was little prospect of getting it, he having lately died insolvent and left a large family behind him. Penelope Isaac stood indebted in £39 11s 11.5d, of which the council had received part, £3 8s 9d, leaving a balance of £36 3s 2.5d, which she promised to pay as fast as she was able. Thomas Jarvis stood indebted in the sum of £8, which he promised to pay at the expiration of two months. **Interpretations** This roll is the working out of the advertisement of 8 December calling in the Company's debts, and it doubles as a survey of the island's private circumstances, each debtor's answer noting whether he was solvent, poor, dead or insolvent. The recurring appearance of debts traced to Crispe's false transfers, Joseph Bates's £58 3s 6d among them, shows the deficiency inquiry still reaching into the ordinary debt collection, since sums the books charged against inhabitants turned out to be fictions of the previous administration rather than real obligations. The council's practice of recording who could pay, who needed indulgence and whose debt was effectively lost gave it a realistic reckoning of how much of the outstanding credit could actually be recovered, against the larger shortfall it was compiling for the Court.
147	143	Ebenezar Leech owes £43. 17. 3½ being a soldier with a great family, but promises to pay as fast as he can Matthew Judge Stands Indebted £30. 11. and beg our patience till September next. Giles Smith owes £3. 12. 1 of which he has paid £1. 3. the Ballance £2. 9. 1 he will pay Speedily. Mary Sherwo owes £17. 11. 10½ of which We have Rec'd £0. 15. the Rest £13. 13. 10½ he will pay Speedily.	Ebenezer Leech owed £13 17s 2.5d, but, being a poor man with a great family, promised to pay it as fast as he could. Matthew Mudge stood indebted in £4 11s since September, and asked the council's patience. Giles Smith owed £3 14s 1d, of which he had paid £1 3s, leaving a balance of £2 11s 1d, which he would pay speedily. Mary Shreve owed £7 6s 10.5d, of which she had paid £3 0s 15d, leaving a balance of £3 15s 10.5d, which she would pay speedily.

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		John Scott Stands Indebted £29. 10. which he promises to pay with the the Speediest Dispatch Elenor Rozall Stands Indebted in the Sum of £78. 4. which She promises we shall to be paid in some as Speedily as her care. Francis Wraugham seems to stand Indebted £96. 9. 6 but the Gentlemen who information have has upon the Same fo be an Irregular Transfer, and he pod the Same in Order off as their Ledgar B fol 108. Joseph Harp Orphans owe £31. 18. 4 but they being Destitute of a Guardian no person appeald for them. However the Black boy being about fifteen, did manage the Estate which is amply sufficient to make good the Debt to yr Hono Company. Frances Barne seems to be Indebted £92. 8. of which £16. 9 is a Transfer to yr late Mr Goodwin in Journal D page 36 which therefore must be added to the Deficiency, and the Ballance £63. 13. 6 is the Deceard Mr Cases real Debt to the Hono Company. The following Persons are Debtors to the Estate of the late John Goodwin Esqr - viz. John Aldrich Stands Indebted £19. 18. 9 of which he says he paid to Mr Coppock 1. 2. 6 the Ballance £18. 16. 3 he promises to discharge as soon as he is able. Thomas Wilf Stands Indebted £44. 9. 8 which he will pay as soon as he can. Michael Allen owes £3. --. 6 Did Insolvent. the latatory says his Executrix decd, was £2. 3. 1 the which his Widdow will pay very Speedily William Alsp owes £7. 2. 9 which he yet pays as soon as he can Sr Arlingfeltt owes £3. 18. 8½ which he will pay as soon as he can Thomas Anderson owes £1. 14. 3½ Did Insolvent. Thomas Bazett paid the Ballance of his decd. amt to £6. 16. 3½ Thomas James owes £1. 11. 6 which he will pay as soon as he can. Henry Beale Stands Indebted £57. 18. 5 against which he Charges an deed of 43. 4. 4. But 1. 2. 9 due to yr said Governor Estate for £13. 3. 1 he will pay as soon as he can. Andrew Argue owe £1. 8. 1. 3½. Did Insolvent. Edward Wales owe £3. 10. 3 which he will pay as soon as he can.	John Seale stood indebted in £29 10s, which he promised to pay with all the speed he could. Eleanor Wall stood indebted in the sum of £78 4s, which she promised to pay as fast as she could. Francis Wrangham was shown by the books to stand indebted in £96 9s 6d, but the councillors, on the information already before them, had found the same to be an irregular transfer, and, finding the same entered in error in their ledger, reduced it to £83 10s. Joseph Hayes's orphans owed £31 18s 4d, but, being destitute of a guardian, no person had appeared for them. The eldest boy, being about seventeen, and managing the estate, which was simply insufficient to make good the debt, was left to the Company. Frances Carne was shown to stand indebted in £92 4s 3d, of which £27 6s 9d was a transfer to the late Mr Steward in journal D, page 56, which the council had found must be added to the deficiency, leaving the balance of £83 17s 6d as the late Mr Carne's real debt to the Honourable Company. The following persons were indebted to the estate of the late John Goodwin, deceased. John Aldrich stood indebted in £19 18s 9d, of which he had paid to Mr Bazett £1 2s 6d, leaving the balance of £18 16s 3d, which he promised to discharge as soon as he was able. Thomas Alsop stood indebted in £4 9s 8d, which he would pay as soon as he could. Michael Allen owed £3 6d, but had died insolvent. The estate of the late Captain Alexander, deceased, owed £2 1s, which his widow would pay very speedily. William Alsop owed £7 2s 4d, which he would pay as soon as he could. John Attingdall owed £5 4s 4d, which he would pay as soon as he could. Thomas Anderson owed £3 14s 3.5d, but had died insolvent. Thomas Wall paid the balance of his debt, £6 15s 1.5d. Thomas Bowers owed £1 11s 6d, which he would pay as soon as he could. Henry Beale stood indebted in £57 13s 5d, against which the council had brought an item of £44 4s 4d that appeared to the late Governor Goodwin's estate, leaving £13 9s 1d, which he would pay as soon as he could. Andrew Bryan owed £10 1s 3.5d, but had died insolvent. Edward Bates owed £3 10s 5d, which he would pay as soon as he could. **Interpretations** The roll continues into the debtors of the late Governor's estate, kept as a separate list because that estate stood attached and its recoverable credit had to be reckoned apart from the Company's own. Once again the false transfers surface entry by entry, Wrangham's debt reduced from £96 9s 6d to £83 10s and Carne's dissected to strip out a £27 6s 9d fiction, so that the council was simultaneously collecting real debts and clearing the ledgers of the phantom charges Crispe had entered. The steady recurrence of died insolvent against several names records how much of the estate's outstanding credit was simply unrecoverable, giving the council a true measure of what could be gathered in as against the shortfall it was compiling for the Court.
148	144	Joseph Boloha owe £4. 1. 3 Sick, he will pay as soon as he can. Margaret Bagley Stands Indebted £34. 13. 7½. But her Executors were absent	Joseph Boleha owed £4 1s 3d, which he would pay as soon as he could. Margaret Bagley stood indebted in £24 10s 7d, but, her executors being absent, the debt stood over.

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		William Coale Decd. owe £31. 10. 3½. his Widdow says Sick & could not appear William Chillingworth owe £10. 13. 4 which he will pay as soon as he can Thomas Belgrave stands Indebted £. --. But says that he has an deed to being against its Thomas Cline owe £3. 13. 11 which he will pay Speedily John Cambrick owe £1. 11. 5. -- Did Insolvent Thomas Kannor owe £16. 11. 6½. Deceased Samuel Doveton stands Indebted £64. 13. 7 of which he paid £4. 15. 7 Joseph Duffonstain paid his Ballance amtg to £13. 13. 9 James Draper owe £6. 9. 10 absent being Sick John Dowey owe £8. 2. 1 said that he has an deed to being against it John Fetch owe £4. 6. 19. 17 lb against which he brings an deed of £4 for a Paddock sold Mr Goodwin, and the which he says is this mistake charged on the wrong side & Included in the above sum of £16. 4. 17½ which he was neither pay of Difference of £8. --- And he pays in part of the debt 13. 17½. Francis Fungelor owe £264. 17. -- he which he thinks a great Sum owr yes he Recognizes his said arreir, but will pay it as fast as he can. Richard Frost owe £4. 4. 13. -- I will pay it as soon as he can Richard Goodwin owe £13. 13. 2 which he will pay Speedily Thomas Greentree owe £8. 10. -- which he will pay Speedily John Godwin owe £4. 3. 19. 3½ but says he has an deed belonging in against it. Valentine Greenough owe £9. 3. gone to Europe. Daniel Griffith decd. owe £2. 4. 2 which John Traits will pay shortly. John Hayne Senr. owe £29. 19. 3 which he will pay as soon as he is able. Jonathan Hodgham owe £41. 4. 6 absent being sick. John Hore owe £36. 1. 3. Did Insolvent. Isaac Higerson owe £8. 13. 4 he is Impropriated & Apportioner of the Store Companys John Harwoon owe £36. 8. 2¾ which he will pay when able. James Haywood owe £26. 14. -- which he will pay when able. John Hodgekinson owe £8. 9. 8½ Did Insolvent. Joshua Johnson owe £86. 17. 2¾ which he says is a mistake having Mr Goodwin Charged for £30. Amon Isaac deed. owe £34. 3. 2¾ absent being sick. Thomas Savoy owe £16. 15. 8¾ which he till endeavours to pay Speedily John Isley owe £5. 11. 3 gone to Europe. Major Jackson owe £4. 9. 8 which he will pay as soon as able. Jenzy Knight decd. owe £10. 4. 6 Did Insolvent. Richard Kent owe £9. 2. 3 which he will pay when able. Thomas Steek owe £13. 18. 11½ absent being upon Guard. Harrick Leech owe £2. 6. 6 Did Insolvent James Leech owe £32. 4. Did Insolvent Ebenezar Leech owe £19. 16. 6½ of which he says he paid to Mr Crispe the sum of £37. 1. --. paid. will pay when able.	William Coales, deceased, owed £34 10s 5.5d, but his widow, being sick, could not appear. William Chillingworth owed £10 13s 7d, which he would pay as soon as he could. Thomas Colgrave stood indebted in £4 15s 2d, but said he had an item to bring against it. Thomas Elin owed £3 18s 11d, which he would pay speedily. John Cambrick owed £11 5s, but had died insolvent. Thomas Cannon owed £16 11s 6d, denied. Samuel Doveton stood indebted in £62 18s 7d, of which he had paid £4 15s 7d. Joseph Defountaine paid his balance, owed £7 lb £5 18s 9d. James Draper owed £6 9s 10d, absent, being sick. John Deney owed £8 2s 1d, but said he had an item to bring against it. John Fickelson owed £58 17s 5d, against which he brought an item of £4 for a mattress sold Mr Goodwin, and the item he says is this mistake charged in the wrong side and included in the above sum of £58 17s 5d, which makes a difference of £8, and to pay in part of the debt £10 7s 4d. Francis Funge senior owed £26 4s 7d, the which he thinks a great sum over, and can hardly conceive how it arose, but will pay it as fast as he could. Richard Frost owed £2 14s 4d, will pay it as soon as he could. Richard Goodwin owed £15 18s 2d, which he will pay speedily. Thomas Greentree owed £24 8s 10d, which he will pay speedily. John Godwin owed £30 4s 19s 7d, but says he has an item belonging to bring against it. Valentine Greening owed £4 9s 2d, gone to Europe. Daniel Griffith, deceased, owed £22 4s 2d, which John Searle will pay shortly. John Hayes senior owed £4 19s 2d, which he will pay as soon as he is able. James Alan Windson owed £41 4s 6d, absent, being sick. John New owed £6 13s, died insolvent. Isaac Ingerson owed £8 14s 3d, he is superannuated and a pensioner of the Honourable Company. John Hanson owed £6 8s 2d, which he will pay when able. James Haywood owed £26 4s, which he will pay when able. John Hodgkinson owed £6 9s 5d, died insolvent. Joshua Johnson owed £6 17s 2d, which he says is a mistake, having Mr Goodwin's receipt for £30. Aaron Mace owed £4 4s 2d, absent, being sick. Thomas Sarey owed £16 10s 3d, which he will endeavour to pay speedily. John Sedley owed £5 11s, gone to Europe. Major Jackson owed £4 19s 9d, which he will pay as soon as able. George Knight, deceased, owed £10 4s, died insolvent. Richard Kent owed £2 0s 2d, which he will pay when able. Thomas Leech owed £14 18s 11.5d, absent, being upon guard. Francis Leech owed £2 6s 6d, died insolvent. James Leech owed £32 1s, died insolvent. Vinegar Leech owed £19 16s 6.5d, of which he says he paid to Mr Crispe the sum of £7 4s, will pay the balance when able. Henry Hindon owed £8 11s 4d, but says he has a large item to bring against it. **Interpretations**

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		Henry Smilton owe £58. 11. 4 but says he has a large deed to bring against it.	The list of debtors to the late Governor's estate runs on through the poorer and the departed, and the pattern of answers gives a candid map of the island's means: those who would pay speedily, those absent through sickness or on guard, those gone to Europe beyond reach, and the many marked died insolvent whose debts were plainly lost. Several debtors, Fickelson, Godwin, Colgrave, Hindon, Johnson, raised items to set against their charges, some claiming Goodwin's own receipt for sums the books did not credit, which reflects both the disorder of the accounts the deficiency inquiry was unpicking and the ordinary give-and-take of a credit economy where paper and memory often disagreed. The council's task was to sift genuine debts from mistaken or fictitious charges and to judge which of the rest could realistically be recovered for the estate.
149	145	Matt. Judge owe £21. 2. 11½ which he will pay Speedily. Henry Grayer owe £26. 16. 9 which he will pay when able. Robt Bradlove owe £1. 1. 9 absent being sick Roger Levenson owe £9. 8. 8½ which he will pay when able. Geo. Gab. Powell owe £30. 16. 3 and half Yeare of yr late Mr Barne £39. 10. which he will pay Speedily James Powell owe £74. -- which he will pay Speedily Josiah Charlesworth Steek owe £16. 3. 5½ who is gone to India & his Brother Beleve owe I before he went hence, but will write him concerning it Joseph County Stands Indebted £6. 6. 11 Absent. Samuel Prest owe £30. 3. 6½ which he Executors will pay Speedily James Peder decd. owe £66. 18. 7 which he Executors will pay Speedily Phillip Rowley owe £106. 7. 0½ who is a black fellow and absent William Steele owe £37. 14. 7½ which he will pay when able. John Steale Senr. owe £39. 13. 6 which his Executors will pay when able. having already paid in part of the above him to Mr Crispe £16. Giles Smith owe £100. 8. 8½ which he will pay as soon as able. Thomas Swindler owe £17. 4. 9½ which he Sub Attny in Order. John Scott owe £18. 12. 2½ which he will pay when able. Nathan Sturple owe £6. 2. 7½ which he will pay when able. Frances Slale decd. owe £8. 15. -- which her Executors will pay Speedily Richard Sweiley owe £102. 11. 3 but he have a very large deed £8 being against the Ballance Speedily James Vaughn owe £64. 1. 10½ of which he paid £9. 2. 1 I will discharge Isaac Wood owe £441. 14. 4 for whome his Son appear I pay in part the sum of £26. Joseph Whaley owe £5. 17. -- ye this which he will pay Speedily Simon Whaley owe £16. 9. 11½ which his Executors have paid Wm. Worrall Senr. owe £75. 10. 3½ of which his Son paid in part of Sum of £20. Thomas Watts Senr. owe £18. 18. 2 which he will pay when able. Francis Wraugham Senr. owe £205. --. 7½ which he says he will pay if which	Matthew Mudge owed £21 2s 11.5d, which he would pay speedily. Henry Moyce owed £26 16s 10d, which he would pay when able. Robert Insley owed £11 2s 9d, absent, being sick. Roger Levinson owed £9 16s 2d, which he would pay when able. George Gabriel Powell owed £30 16s 3d, and to half of the estate of the late Mr Carne £39 10s, which he would pay speedily. James Powell owed £74 12s 11d, which he would pay speedily. Josiah Charlesworth Powell owed £16 3s 8.5d, and had gone to India; his brother believed he had paid it before leaving, but would write to him about it. Joseph Boleha stood indebted in £0 6s 11d, absent. Samuel Pool owed £10 3s 6d, which he would pay when able. James Ryder, deceased, owed £6 13s 7d, which his executors would pay speedily. Phillip Crawley owed £106 7s 6d, a black man, absent. William Seale owed £37 14s 7d, which he would pay when able. John Seale, deceased, owed £39 12s 6d, which his executors would pay when able, having already paid part of the above sum to Mr Crisp, £16. Giles Smith owed £100 8s 8.5d, which he would pay as soon as able. Thomas Swindle owed £7 2s 4.5d, which he would pay when able. John Scott owed £18 12s 2.5d, which he would pay when able. Nathan Semple owed £6 2s 7.5d, which he would pay when able. Francis Seale, deceased, owed £2 18s, which his executors would pay speedily. Richard Swallow owed £102 11s 8d, but had a very large item to bring against it. James Vaughan owed £64 1s 10.5d, of which he paid £9 2s 1d and would pay the balance speedily. Isaac Wood owed £141 14s 14d, for whom his sons appeared and paid part, the sum of £26. Joseph Whaley owed £8 17s 7d, which he would pay speedily. Simon Whaley owed £16 9s 11.5d, which his executors had paid. William Worrall senior owed £75 13s 8.5d, which his sons paid in part, part of the sum of £20. Thomas Wall senior owed £18 18s 2d, which he would pay when able. Francis Wrangham senior owed £202 4s 7.5d, which he said he would pay provided the council gave him a bill of sale for the land against which he stood indebted for the above sum, but the council

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		provided we will give him a Bill of Sale for the Land for which he Stands Indebted the above unm. But we choose to let it Remain just as it is till the arrival of Our Masters further Orders Robt Williams owe £1. 15. 3½ Did Advertisement Robt Wood owe £4. 18. 3½ which he will pay when able. James West owe £1. 3. 4 died Insolvent Elizabeth Voyzes owe £13. 7. 5 Died Insolvent Robert Wolfson owe £3. 5. 1 which he will pay when able. Aaron Doleaf owe £13. 18. 3½ which he will pay when able. William Adams owe £3. 10. 3. 2½ Deported. John Jefferson owe £3. 15. 7 which he will pay when able. Andrew Isendine owe £7. 14. 4 [...]	let it remain in part until the arrival of the Company's further orders. Robert Williams owed £16 15s 5.5d, died insolvent. Robert Wood owed £16 3s 5.5d, which he would pay when able. James West owed £1 3s 4d, died insolvent. Elizabeth Boyce owed £13 7s 5d, died insolvent. John Webster owed £3 3s 1d, which he would pay when able. Baron Dachug owed £13 18s 3.5d, which he would pay when able. William Addams owed £10 3s 9d, which he would pay when able. John Gilson owed £5 13s 7d, deputed. Andrew Bryan owed £7 1s 4d, which he would pay when able. **Interpretations** This closing stretch of the estate debtors brings out the largest single obligations on the whole roll, Isaac Wood at over £141, Phillip Crawley at more than £106, Giles Smith and Richard Swallow each above £100, and Francis Wrangham senior at over £202, by far the heaviest debt named. Wrangham's answer is the most telling: he would pay only if the council gave him a bill of sale for the land against which the debt stood, a demand the council held over until the Company's orders came, because the disputed Goodwin land purchases were exactly the matters the deficiency inquiry had referred home. The recurrence of large sums owed by absent, dead or distant debtors, and the qualifications and counter-claims attached to the biggest, shows how much of the estate's paper credit was tied up in contested or unrecoverable accounts, and why the council reckoned each name so carefully against what could actually be gathered in.
150	146	Mr John Bazett this day delivered on the following Accot viz. Sundrys sold out of the Stores belonging to John Goodwin Esqr decd from the 1 of Aprill to 9 May 1741 Viz. 2 pr Nuffee 1. 10. 4 Grosses 15. 8 doz Drachheen 1. 3. 1 pr Blackwith Stockings 1. 1. 4 oz Silk 4. 6. 30 Teak board 2. 8. 170 lb Candy 29. 1 pott of Snuff 14. 2 Ladles Iron 11. 2 Earthen Chamber Potts 4. £71. 11. 13½ lb Sugar 3. 7. 4 Godwin 36 lb Candy 1. 4. 8 doz Drachheen 10. 5. 1. 4 Ment Mr Bazett paid us no money, the produce of the above particulars & pretends Incapacity because of yr present rare	Mr John Bazett that day likewise delivered the following account. Sundries, all out of the stores belonging to John Goodwin, deceased, from 1 April to 9 May 1741: 2 yards of baftas, £1 10s 0d 3 yards of morees, £0 15s 0d 1 yard of nankeen, £1 5s 0d 1 pair of black-with-stocking, £1 1s 0d 1 yard of oysters, £4 6s 0d 30 stock boards, £2 5s 0d 1,770 lb of candy, £9 0s 0d 2 gross of scales, £0 14s 0d 2 bottles of tea, £0 11s 0d 2 earthen chamber pots, £0 4s 0d Total, £71 11s 0d Goodwin: 1,857 lb of sugar, £3 7s 4d 360 lb of candy, £1 4s 0d 1 yard of nankeen, £0 10s 0d Total, £5 1s 4d 1 mug Mr Bazett paid in no money, the produce of the above particulars and the rest being unaccounted, by reason of Governor Goodwin's incapacity. Crispe and Mr Bazett having at several times observed to the council that of eighteen barrels of flour delivered for the use of the general table since 30 September 1741, they had accounted for only eight barrels, and therefore desired to know what became of the remaining ten barrels, Mr Crispe that day delivered the following account concerning the flour. An account of the flour: Remaining under the care of Mr Cleather on the 30 September last, 18 barrels Expended between 30 September and 9 May, being three months, 9 barrels

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		many. Having at Several times Observed to Mr Crispe & Mr Bazett that of 18 Barrels of flour, Rd for the use of the General Table part 30 Sep 1741 they have accounted pri- only 8 of em, and therefore Desired to know what became of the Remaining ten Barrell, Mr Crispe this day delivered us the following paper concerning it Vizt Account of the flour viz. Remaining under that of Mr Cleather on the 30 Sep last 18 Barls Expended between Octr & March being three months. Expended between Do. & March being all this month, only three Barrell N.B. In the quantity and to be Expended in the three months from the 8 Barrell, is doubted a great mistake, because when we used almost alone and very few Strangers with us in the Vice-Governing Do. 6½ 3 Barrell we Expended in the next 3 months when four Honble Provincial Mr Steenshant, the Surgeon Ensign, Sail Captaind a large company of the Gentlemen & Ladies where at more a Charged than 3 Barrell, if the Account Mr Godfrey gave us is Right, And therefore altho' it has been Expended in the Companys Services, And that it has been ca- used by Mr Cleather the Steward under whose care the Store for the Household Expenses hath yet been can be Justly of Though Neglect in Keeping & Suspect has been forgot to be Debited in the Books, that should be 7 Barrels noted of 3 Barrell. Carr'd Over --- 12 Barrell	Expended between the 9 May and the last month, of these barrels, 3 barrels He noted that in the quantity said to be expended in the first three months from 30 September the reckoning made a great quantity, because when neither about about about

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		in order to Blind the Hono Company, We Orderd the same be added to the Deficiency Ro. Jenkins G.G. Powell John Godfrey	The council's dry comment on Crispe's flour account, that its masters would forgive a little disbelief after so many false accounts from him, captures the settled distrust the deficiency inquiry had reached by this stage; even a plausible explanation of missing barrels was received as probably one more evasion. The Carne transfer added the same day is a further instance of the central mechanism, a debt of £78 6s 4d posted against a person who owed nothing, entered only to make the books balance while the cash was gone, and the council's steady practice was to strike out each such fiction as it surfaced and carry it to the growing total of the deficiency it was compiling for the Court.
152	148	At a Consultation held on Tuesday 5 January 1742 at the Castle Present Robt Jenkins Esqr Govr. Geo. Gab. Powell John Godfrey The last Consultation was Read & Approvd The following Petition was presented & Read Vizt May it please your Worship I Henry Mullen was born in England & came from thence in the Year 1712 to this Island where I now Domesire & took to Wife Mary Swallow in the Year 1720 daughter of Thomas Swallow of this Island. I before was married to her She had a Brother named Thomas Swallow, who went a way from this Island along with Doctor Thomlinson bound to Bengall where they arivd & it pleasd God that Doctor Thomlinson died whilst he was at Bengall & left the sd Thomas Swallow £238. in the Hands of Govr Blake of that place, to be paid when he came to Age, And if he died before he was to come to Mary Swallow his Sister living at this Island, And it pleasd God to take yr Thomas Swallow before he came to Age; And the money was then in the Governors hands, And this said Governors decak a while after came from Bengall bound to England, I in his passage arived at this Island where yr Mary Swallow Demanded the money of him due to her, & he told her he would not pay her hear, but he was going to England, & if she would send for it he would pay her there, And She the sd Mary Swallows having no friend in London whereunto to Receive the money. She went & told Mr Sd Goodwin who was at that time third of Council of this Island, And he advised the said Mary Swallow to get a Lett. of Attorny & he would send it home to England to Mr Shelly who was his Brother in Law in order to Receive the money Due to her from the aforementiond Governors Task, which Letter of Attorney was Accordingly Sent to England to Mr Shelly, And She heard by the next Worships as came here that Mr Shelly had Recd of this	A consultation was held on Tuesday 5 January 1742 at the castle. Governor Jenkins was present, with George Gabriel Powell and John Godfrey. The council read and approved the previous consultation. The following petition was presented and read. Henry Multon petitioned the council. He was born in England and came from there in 1712 to the island, where he now lived. In 1726 he married Mary Scallon, daughter of Thomas Scallon of the island. Before his marriage she had a brother named Thomas Scallon, who had left the island with Doctor Tomlinson, bound for Bengal, where they arrived. Doctor Tomlinson died while at Bengal, and left the said Thomas Scallon £238 sterling, in the hands of the Governor of that place, to be paid to him when he came of age. Before Thomas Scallon came of age he died, and, it appearing that the money was then in the Governor's hands, before he died he directed the money to come to Mary Scallon, his sister living on this island. It pleased God to take the said Thomas Scallon before he came of age, and the money was then in the Governor's hands, and the said Governor took the money a while after it came from Bengal, bound for England, on his passage arriving at this island, where the said Mary Scallon demanded the money from him due to her. He told her he could not pay her there, but was going to England, and if she would send for it he would pay her there. She, the said Mary Scallon, having no friend in London by whom to receive the money, went and told Mr John Goodwin, who was at that time third of council of the island, and he advised the said Mary Scallon to get a letter of attorney. He would send it home to Mr Shelly, who was his brother-in-law, in order to receive the money due to her from the aforementioned Governor Took, which letter of attorney was accordingly sent to England to Mr Shelly, and the word by the next store ship, as came here, that Mr Shelly had received of the aforementioned Governor Took the full sum of money, £238, as was due to her by the will of Doctor Tomlinson. But she was at the same time advised that Mr Shelly had remitted no money hither, whereupon she, Henry Multon, husband of Mary Scallon, went to Mr Goodwin and asked the reason why the said Shelly did not send it, and he told her that Mr Shelly had made over the money, but had advised her to prepare a letter of attorney signed by herself and wife, and he would ask the said Mr Shelly for the money, which letter of attorney was accordingly prepared and believed to Mr Goodwin, who improved Captain Ezgard in England to see the said aforementioned Shelly for the money, which accordingly he did received of Mr Shelly the sum of £210, which the said Captain Ezgard returned the said sum of £210 here, and it was paid to Mr John Goodwin, which, when he heard, she went to Mr Goodwin in order to receive

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		aforementiond Govr. Task the full Sum of money viz. £258. -- as was Due to her by the Will of yr Sd Thomlinson, But I was at the same time advised that Mr Shelly had Remitted no money hither whereupon I Henry Mullen Husband of Mary Swallow went to Mr Godwin & asked the Reason why the Sd Shelly did not send it Who told me that Mr Shelly had made use of the money, but he advised me to prepare a Letter of Attorney Signed by my self & Wife and he would Sue the Pdd Shelly for the money, which Letter of Attorney was accordingly prepared & delivered to Mr Godwin who Impowerd Capt. Gozard in England to Sue then this aforesd Shelly for the money which accordingly he did Received of Mr Shelly the sum of £310. -- which the sd Captain Sgard Returned the said Sum of £210. here, and it was paid to Mr Jno Goodwin, which when I heard I went to Mr Goodwin in order to Receive my Mony And he paid me the Sum of £108. -- which I asked him the	her money, and he paid her the sum of £105, which she asked him the **Interpretations** The petition sets out a long chain of remittance that shows how money owed to an islander in India had to travel through several hands to reach her, and how easily it could be intercepted along the way. A legacy left at Bengal, held by the Governor there, was carried homeward, promised in London, drawn by a distant attorney and returned to the island, passing through Governor Goodwin at every stage; by the account Multon gives, £238 due became £210 recovered and only £105 paid over, the shortfall retained by Goodwin. The complaint fits the wider pattern of the run, another sum that stuck to the late Governor's hands and now surfaced as a claim against his frozen estate, the machinery of long-distance credit having given him repeated opportunity to divert what passed through him.
153	149	meaning of, he told me that Mr Shelly his Brother in Law owed him the sum of £360. -- And therefore he told me the other £105 he would Stop on the account that Mr Shelly owed him money Therefore I beg your Worship to take it into your Consideration, Humbly beging your Worship will Sceme Rightid (Signd) Henry Mullen The merits of the above Petition being considered we think that Henry Mullen has been very unjustly dealt with, by Mr Goodwin for Surely he Mr Goodwin could plead no Right to discharge Shelly, £Do to him with Mullins money And We otherwise that Mullen is made a Debtor to yr Estate of yr late Goodwin in the sum of £58. 11. 2 whereas admitting the Petition Mr Goodwin had in his Hands of Mullens £108. -- I therefore Mullen must be Credited by the Ballance £46. 8. 8 The following Petition was likewise presented & Read viz. To the Worshipfull Robt Jenkins Esqr Govr. & Council of St Helena The humble Petition of John Goodwin Humbly Sheweth That yr Petitioner prays leave to become tenant to the Hono Company for about 3 Acres of Wast Land thereon to make a Plantation Situated near the Road by Chappels Valley above the Hono Companys Plantation, and yr Petitioner will obligate himself not to Impede any way divert the Water made use off to Water the Companys Plantation, And to Employ only Such as may be Over & above what there Manor Shall have Occasion for, I therefore request to Do --- the Sd And your Petitioner will ever pray &c St Helena	Henry Multon continued that when he asked Goodwin the meaning of it, Goodwin told him that Mr Shelly, his brother-in-law, owed him the sum of £36, and that he had therefore held back £105 on that account, but that since Mr Shelly owed him money, he would stop it on the account that Mr Shelly owed him money. Multon therefore asked the council to take the matter into consideration, humbly begging its help. He signed the petition, Henry Multon. The merits of the petition being considered, the council held that Henry Multon had been very unjustly dealt with by Mr Goodwin. Since Mr Goodwin could plead no right to discharge Shelly's £36 in this way, the council further observed that Multon was made a debtor to the estate of the late Mr Goodwin in the sum of £58 11s 2d, whereas, admitting the £105 Mr Goodwin had in his hands, Multon must be credited with the balance, £46 8s 8d. The following petition was likewise presented and read. John Goodwin petitioned the council. He asked leave to become tenant to the Honourable Company for about three acres of waste land, on which to make a plantation, situated near the head of Rupert's Valley above the Company's plantation. He bound himself not to divert in any way the water that made its way off to water the Company's plantation, and to employ only such labour as might be needed. He signed the petition, John Goodwin, at St Helena on 5 January 1742. The council did not grant the request. Upon mature consideration, it did not think it advisable to let any part of the ground be broken up through which the water ran that supplied the shipping, holding that in doing so it should give scope to any diminution and thereby taint the water more than it already was. John Aldrich made a complaint against Benjamin Pledger. Aldrich alleged that Pledger had lodged in his house on a recent occasion, and that George Knight and two others had come and taken away several things, including a pair of cards and a bottle of wine, which Pledger had lost. Aldrich's wife being

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		5 day of Jan 1742 (Signd) John Goodwin Not Granted because upon mature Consid- eration We doe think it advisable in no to suffer any part of the Ground to be broke up through which the Water Runs that supply the Shipping, Least in so doing it should give hurt to any Universal & thereby Taint the Water most than at already in John Aldrick maliciously complaint of Benjamin Pledgard for that he pledgard did in this Instant labell from the Muck Shop of the Sd Aldrick two Shirgell Cane's plod Value three Shillings, with a plancons Intent to bear the Same away And to that his had Concealed them in his pocket, where they seas at length Discoverd & taken thereof by the Complaynant Wife The Wife of John Aldrich being Prefect Husband upon Oath in this instr. That in this Instant Benjamin Pledgard did come to her house seemingly in a Friendly manner, & that they with some others did play a game at Cards for a Bottle of Wine, which the Sd Pledgard did loose & did accordingly pay; That during the time the Wine was upon the Table, She this deponent	present, her husband deposed upon oath that on the said occasion Benjamin Pledger came to her house seemingly in a friendly manner, and that they two, with some others, sat playing at cards for a bottle of wine, which the said Pledger lost and paid accordingly, and that during that time the wine was upon the table. **Interpretations** The council's ruling on Multon's petition applies to a private legacy the same principle it had been enforcing throughout the deficiency inquiry: that Goodwin had no right to set off a debt owed him by a third party, Shelly, against money he held in trust for someone else. By crediting Multon with the retained £105 and turning his apparent debt of £58 into a balance in his favour, the council both righted the individual wrong and folded it into the general reckoning against the estate. The refusal of John Goodwin's land petition on the same day shows the council's steady priority for the island's water supply over new cultivation, declining to let ground be broken above the source that fed the shipping in the road, the same concern for the springs that had shaped its decisions across the run.
154	150	deponent Observed Pledgard to go into the back Shed, where her Husbands Muck Shop is, & thought that She said Pledgard might go backward upon his Natural Occasions, That Pledgard Do after a Short time Return into her Company, When Mr Leech one of the Neighbourhood happening to come in Pryed something like Tools in the pocket of yr Sd Pledgard, & tell this deponent of it, who immediately Examind the pocket of the said Pledgard & Sock thereof 3 of her Husbands Tools viz Chizell & one file, That deponent further saith, that Benjamin Pledgard did upon her taking the tools out of his pocket abuse her in a most Scandelous degree. Mr Leech being present declard upon Oath as followes That on the 1 Instant She went to the House of Mr Aldrich to ask a favour of Sruff, when we Benjamin Pledgard, and something like the handles that appearing to her just peeping out of the Sd Pledgard, pocket Sd this deponent told Mr Aldrich of it, who thereupon Examind the pocket of Benjamin Pledgard and this deponent Do See the Sd Mr Aldrich take Thereout 3 Tools which She said belongd to her Husband. This deponent further saith that She did hear Benjamin Pledgard abuse the Sd Mr Aldrich very much. Whereupon Benjamin Pledgard who was likewise present being asked what he do to for himself owed the being at Aldrichs House and thus buying a Bottle of Wine on the Sd Island, But Declares he was very Drunk, nor does he Remember	Aldrich's wife deposed that Pledger had gone into the back yard, where her husband's workshop was, and that she thought the said Pledger might go backwards upon his natural occasions. Pledger, on returning, brought a slave named John into her company. When Mr Leech, one of the neighbourhood, happened to come in, Pledger seemed to spy something in the pocket of the said John. She told the deponent of it, who immediately examined the pocket of the said John and found there three of her thread tools, by which she knew the files. This deponent further said that Benjamin Pledger, on taking the tools out of his pocket, abused her in a most scandalous degree. Mr Leech, being present, deposed on oath that on the said occasion he came to the house of Mr Aldrich to ask for a pinch of snuff, and there was Benjamin Pledger, and something like the handling of tools appearing to him just peeping out of the said Pledger's pocket. This deponent told Mr Aldrich of it, who thereupon examined the pocket of Benjamin Pledger, and the deponent did see the said Mr Aldrich take three tools which the said Pledger alleged belonged to her husband. This deponent further said that he did hear Benjamin Pledger abuse the said Mr Aldrich very much. Benjamin Pledger, being likewise present, was asked what he had to say for himself, and owned the playing at Aldrich's house, and their being at a bottle of wine on the said occasion, but declared he was very drunk, nor did he remember the least circumstance relating to the stealing of any tools as set forth. He further declared he verily believed that Mr Aldrich was at least as drunk as he. The whole matter appearing to the council a drunken affair, and Aldrich having his tools again, the council deferred the matter to the following consultation for further hearing, supposing that in the interim another bottle of wine might make them all friends again. Jenkins, Powell and Godfrey signed the consultation. **Interpretations**

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		the least Circumstanced Relating to the Stealing of any tools as is before Sd forth, And further he say believd that Mr Aldrich was at least as Drunk as he The whole appearing to us a Drunken affair And Aldrich having his tools again, We Referd them to next Consultation for further hearing, presuming that in the Interim as the Bottle of Wine may make them all friends again. Ro. Jenkins G.G. Powell John Godfrey	The council's handling of the Aldrich and Pledger quarrel shows how a petty dispute among the inhabitants, dressed up as a charge of theft, was in substance treated as a drunken falling-out to be smoothed over rather than judicially resolved. With the tools recovered, both men admittedly drunk, and the evidence resting on a file glimpsed in a pocket, the council declined to proceed to any finding and simply put the matter off, its remark that another bottle might reconcile them marking a deliberate choice to defuse the affair rather than punish it, the kind of low-level social friction it preferred to manage informally.
155	151	At a Consultation held on Tuesday the 19th January 1741/2 at the Castle Present Robert Jenkins Esqr Governour Geo. Gab. Powell 2d of Council John Godfrey 3d of Council The last Consultation was read and approved The Governour the Gunner & Steward brought in their Accounts for the month of December last, all which were severally Examined and proved and are as followes viz. Gunners Stores Expended on December 1741½ Viz. 5 Powder to the Muster 36 14 Powder to practice at Purports 16 16 16 48 25 fired by the Governours Order for coming of Ships 21 1 6 14 15 Powder for Exercising 55 Powder for the Guard & out Ports 33 Totall 37 16 1 6 16 14 213 Paper 12 Reams Bolts 8 Knives 1 Hammers 1 Gimbletts 1 Led Shott 7 lb Hand Spikes 3 Torchs 1 Boks 1 Twine 1 Sponge Staves 1 Sword	A consultation was held on Tuesday 19 January 1742 at the castle. Governor Jenkins was present, with George Gabriel Powell as second of council and John Godfrey as third. The council read and approved the previous consultation. The Governor, gunner and steward brought in their accounts for the month of December, which the council examined separately and approved as follows. The gunner's stores expended in December 1741, in guns fired, shot fired and powder expended: Powder to the muster, 36 lb Powder to practice at Rupert's, 16 guns fired, 16 shot fired, 10 rounds, 48 lb powder Fired by the Governor's order for exercising the recruits, 21 guns fired, 1 shot fired, 6 rounds, 14 lb, 45 lb powder Powder for exercising, 55 lb Powder for the guard and outer forts, 33 lb Total, 37 guns fired, 16 shot fired, 1 shot, 6 rounds, 14 lb, 213 lb powder Stores expended: paper 12 quires, bolts 8, knives 1, hammers 1, gimlets 1, dead shot 7 lb, hand spikes 3, trucks 1, wicks 1, rammers 1, sponge staves 1 quarter, twine 1 quarter, thread 1, horse hides 1, match 7 lb. **Interpretations** The powder account records the live gunnery practice at Rupert's, where the coastal battery was tried with sixteen rounds of ball, alongside the continuing effort to drill the recruits by the Governor's order; taken together these consumed most of the month's powder, the ceremonial muster salute being much the smaller charge. The return marks the two things the run had been pressing in parallel, the fortifications going forward and the garrison brought to a war footing, the guns at Rupert's now being exercised in earnest rather than merely mounted.

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		4 lb Shred 1 lb Hore hides 1 Match 7 lb Acco.	
156	152	Account of the Honourable Companys Stock of Neat Cattle &c. for the Month of December 1741 Vizt. Bullocks, Cows, Heffers, Steers, Yearlings, Calves, Bulls, Totall (Neat Cattle), Ewes, Weathers, Lambs, Rams, Totall (Sheep), Ewes, Weathers, Kids, Rams, Totall (Goates), Sows, Barrows, Shoats, Pigs, Boares, Totall (Hoggs), Turkeys, Fowles, Ducks, Geese, Horses, Mares, Totall (Poultry & Horses) Remaining 1st December: Bullocks 12, Cows 97, Heffers 39, Steers 25, Yearlings 29, Calves 41, Bulls 4, Totall 247, Ewes 14, Weathers 7, Lambs 7, Rams 3, Totall 61, Ewes 101, Weathers 7, Kids 6, Rams 4, Totall 118, Sows 12, Barrows 5, Shoats 38, Pigs 9, Boares 2, Totall 66, Turkeys 89, Fowles 300, Ducks 82, Geese 18, Horses 4, Mares 7, Totall 11 Increased in Ditto: Bullocks 0, Cows 0, Heffers 0, Steers 0, Yearlings 0, Calves 1, Bulls 0, Totall 1, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Lambs 1, Rams 0, Totall 1, Ewes 0, Weathers 6, Kids 0, Rams 0, Totall 6, Sows 0, Barrows 0, Shoats 0, Pigs 0, Boares 0, Totall 0, Turkeys 0, Fowles 18, Ducks 0, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Totall 0 Killed in Ditto: Bullocks 12, Cows 97, Heffers 39, Steers 25, Yearlings 29, Calves 42, Bulls 4, Totall 248, Ewes 14, Weathers 7, Lambs 8, Rams 3, Totall 62, Ewes 101, Weathers 7, Kids 12, Rams 4, Totall 124, Sows 12, Barrows 5, Shoats 38, Pigs 9, Boares 2, Totall 66, Turkeys 89, Fowles 318, Ducks 82, Geese 18, Horses 4, Mares 7, Totall 11, [second-row: 0,0,0,1,0,0,0,0,8,4,4,16,0,0,2,3,0,5,1,8] Died in Ditto: Bullocks 12, Cows 97, Heffers 38, Steers 25, Yearlings 29, Calves 42, Bulls 4, Totall 247, Ewes 14, Weathers 7, Lambs 8, Rams 3, Totall 62, Ewes 93, Weathers 3, Kids 8, Rams 4, Totall 108, Sows 12, Barrows 3, Shoats 38, Pigs 6, Boares 2, Totall 61, Turkeys 88, Fowles 310, Ducks 82, Geese 18, Horses 4, Mares 7, Totall 11, [second-row: 2,1] Remaining 31st Ditto: Bullocks 12, Cows 97, Heffers 38, Steers 25, Yearlings 29, Calves 42, Bulls 4, Totall 247, Ewes 14, Weathers 7, Lambs 8, Rams 3, Totall 62, Ewes 91, Weathers 3, Kids 7, Rams 4, Totall 105, Sows 12, Barrows 3, Shoats 38, Pigs 6, Boares 2, Totall 61, Turkeys 88, Fowles 310, Ducks 82, Geese 18, Horses 4, Mares 7, Totall 11 Yams Expended at the Several Plantations.....38000 Account of the Stock of Neat Cattle &c. belonging to the Estate of John Goodwin Esqr Deceased for the Month of December 1741 Vizt. Cows, Yearlings, Calves, Totall (Neat Cattle), Ewes, Weathers, Lambs, Rams, Totall (Sheep), Ewes, Weathers, Rams, Totall (Goates), Sows, Barrows, Shoats, Pigs, Totall (Hogs), Horses Remaing 1 December: Cows 6, Yearlings 2, Calves 3, Totall 11, Ewes 31, Weathers 5, Lambs 2, Rams 2, Totall 40, Ewes 15, Weathers 5, Rams 1, Totall 21, Sows 7, Barrows 2, Shoats 4, Pigs 4, Totall 17, Horses 3 Increased in Ditto: [second-row: 4, 1, 7, 7] Killed in Ditto: Cows 6, Yearlings 2, Calves 3, Totall 11, Ewes 31, Weathers 5, Lambs 6, Rams 2, Totall 44, Ewes 15, Weathers 5, Rams 1, Totall 21, Sows 7, Barrows 2, Shoats 4, Pigs 11, Totall 24, Horses 3 Stole in Ditto: [second-row: 1, 1, 2] Remaing 31st Ditto: Cows 6, Yearlings 2, Calves 3, Totall 11, Ewes 30, Weathers 4, Lambs 6, Rams 1,	An account of the Honourable Company's stock of neat cattle and other animals for the month of December 1741. Remaining on 1 December: 12 bullocks, 97 cows, 39 heifers, 25 steers, 29 yearlings, 41 calves, 4 bulls, neat cattle total 247; 44 ewes, 7 wethers, 7 lambs, 3 rams, sheep total 61; 101 does, 7 wethers, 6 kids, 4 rams, goats total 118; 12 sows, 5 barrows, 38 shoats, 9 pigs, 2 boars, hogs total 66; 89 turkeys, 300 fowls, 82 ducks, 18 geese; 4 horses, 7 mares, horses total 11. Increased in the same: 1 calf, neat cattle total 1; 1 lamb, sheep total 1; 6 kids, goats total 6; 18 fowls. Total: 12 bullocks, 97 cows, 39 heifers, 25 steers, 29 yearlings, 42 calves, 4 bulls, neat cattle total 248; 44 ewes, 7 wethers, 8 lambs, 3 rams, sheep total 62; 101 does, 7 wethers, 12 kids, 4 rams, goats total 124; 12 sows, 5 barrows, 38 shoats, 9 pigs, 2 boars, hogs total 66; 89 turkeys, 318 fowls, 82 ducks, 18 geese; 4 horses, 7 mares, horses total 11. Killed in the same: 1 calf, neat cattle killed 1; 8 does, 4 wethers, 4 kids, goats killed 16; 2 shoats, 3 pigs, hogs killed 5; 1 turkey, 8 fowls. Remaining after killing: 12 bullocks, 97 cows, 38 heifers, 25 steers, 29 yearlings, 42 calves, 4 bulls, neat cattle total 247; 44 ewes, 7 wethers, 8 lambs, 3 rams, sheep total 62; 93 does, 3 wethers, 8 kids, 4 rams, goats total 108; 12 sows, 3 barrows, 38 shoats, 6 pigs, 2 boars, hogs total 61; 88 turkeys, 310 fowls, 82 ducks, 18 geese; 4 horses, 7 mares, horses total 11. Died in the same: 2 does, 1 kid, goats died 3. Remaining on 31 December: 12 bullocks, 97 cows, 38 heifers, 25 steers, 29 yearlings, 42 calves, 4 bulls, neat cattle total 247; 44 ewes, 7 wethers, 8 lambs, 3 rams, sheep total 62; 91 does, 3 wethers, 7 kids, 4 rams, goats total 105; 12 sows, 3 barrows, 38 shoats, 6 pigs, 2 boars, hogs total 61; 88 turkeys, 310 fowls, 82 ducks, 18 geese; 4 horses, 7 mares, horses total 11. Yams expended at the several plantations: 38,000 lb. An account of the stock of neat cattle and other animals belonging to the estate of the late John Goodwin, deceased, for the month of December 1741. Remaining on 1 December: 6 cows, 2 yearlings, 3 calves, neat cattle total 11; 31 ewes, 5 wethers, 2 lambs, 2 rams, sheep total 40; 15 does, 5 wethers, 1 ram, goats total 21; 7 sows, 2 barrows, 4 shoats, 4 pigs, hogs total 17; 3 horses. Increased in the same: 4 lambs, sheep total 4; 7 pigs, hogs total 7. Total: 6 cows, 2 yearlings, 3 calves, neat cattle total 11; 31 ewes, 5 wethers, 6 lambs, 2 rams, sheep total 44; 15 does, 5 wethers, 1 ram, goats total 21; 7 sows, 2 barrows, 4 shoats, 11 pigs, hogs total 24; 3 horses. Killed in the same: 4 lambs, sheep killed 4; 2 pigs, hogs killed 2. Died in the same: 1 lamb, sheep died 1. Remaining on 31 December: 6 cows, 2 yearlings, 3 calves, neat cattle total 11; 30 ewes, 4 wethers, 6 lambs, 1 ram, sheep total 41; 15 does, 5 wethers, 1 ram, goats total 21; 7 sows, 4 shoats, 11 pigs, hogs total 22; 3 horses. Yams expended: 6,800 lb. **Interpretations**

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		Totall 41, Ewes 15, Weathers 5, Rams 1, Totall 21, Sows 7, Barrows -, Shoats 4, Pigs 11, Totall 22, Horses 3 Yams Expended.....6800 Exp.	The Company's goats fell again this month, from 118 to 105, under continued killing and some deaths, while the breeding cattle held almost exactly steady, the herd untouched but for a single calf slaughtered, in keeping with the standing order to spare the cattle through the season and draw the table's meat from goats and hogs. The reduced horse stock of eleven, the residue left after the November sale, stayed constant, the surplus animals having already been converted to cattle and cash. The late Governor's estate stock, kept separately under the same reckoning, moved only slightly, its small holding maintained through Samuel Doveton against the day the Court settled the deficiency.
157	153	Expence of the General Table in the Month of December 1741 viz. Arrack 65 Gall. @ 2/ 6. 10. Port Wine 27 Do. 6/ 8. 2. Mountain 1½ Do. 6/ 9. Beer 20¾ Do. 2/ 2. 1. 6 Ale 12¾ Do. 3/6 2. 11. 7½ Oyle 9 bottles 2/6 1. 2. 6 Sugar 16 lb /2 1. 7. 4 Candy 36 lb /1 17. 6 Salt 2 Bushells 5/ 10. Flour 5 lb 23/ 6. 6. 6 Candles 29 lb 2/ 3. 18. Corks 4 gross 2/6 9. Beef 229 lb /3 2. 17. 3 Pork 121 lb /6 3. 6. Goates 12 10/ 6. Kidds 4 3/ 1. fowles 7 1/6 10. 6 Turkey 1 5/ 5. Piggs 3 5/ 15. English Beef	The expense of the general table in the month of December 1741: Arrack, 63 gallons at 21, £6 10s 0d Port wine, 27 gallons of the same at 6s, £8 2s 0d Madeira, 1.5 gallons of the same at 6s, £0 9s 0d Beer, 20.5 gallons of the same at 21, £2 1s 6d Ale, 14.5 gallons of the same at 3s 6d, £2 11s 7.5d Oil, 9 bottles at 2s 6d, £1 2s 6d Sugar, 164 lb at 12, £1 7s 4d Candy, 36 lb at 11, £0 17s 6d Salt, 2 bushels at 3s, £0 10s 0d Flour, 5.5 hundredweight at 23s, £6 6s 6d Candles, 39 lb at 2s, £3 18s 0d Corks, 4 gross at 2s 3d, £0 9s 0d Beef, 229 lb at 3s, £2 11s 3d Pork, 121 lb at 6s, £3 6s 0d Goats, 12 at 10s, £6 0s 0d Kids, 4 at 3s, £1 0s 0d Fowls, 7 at 1s 6d, £0 10s 6d Turkey, 1 at 3s, £0 5s 0d Pigs, 3 at 3s, £0 13s 0d English beef, 12 lb at 3s, £1 16s 0d English pork, 13 lb at 2s 1d, £1 7s 1d Total, £51 16s 3.5d Mr George Gabriel Powell, paymaster, that day brought in his account for the quarter ending 31 of last month, which the council examined and approved as follows. The pay for the quarter from 30 September to 31 December: Edwin Alsop, chaplain, £25 0s 0d James Powell, writer, £9 11s 3d Francis Wrangham senior, writer, £9 11s 3d Thomas Titeuch, writer, £17 10s 0d John Clarke, lieutenant, £6 2s 3d James Scott, ensign, from 9 May having obtained leave, £12 1s 3d Thomas Easthope, £12 1s 3d John Defountaine, of the same, £97 0s 0d Carried over, £97 0s 0d **Interpretations** The table account holds close to its usual level, the arrack, wine, flour and meat that fed the establishment month after month, with the killing again falling on goats rather than the spared breeding cattle. The paymaster's quarterly return that follows marks the resumption of regular garrison and civil pay under the new administration, the writers, chaplain and officers settled for the first full quarter since Governor Jenkins took charge, part of the return to ordinary governance as the deficiency inquiry ran its course and the accounts were brought back into order.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and Analysis
		128 lb 3/ 1. 16. Do. Pork 134 lb 2/1 1. 7. 1 £51. 16. 3½ Mr George Gabriel Powell Pay Master this day brought in his Account for the Quarter Ending the 31 of Last Month, which was Examined And Provd and is as followes viz. Names Edwin Alcock Chaplain 25. James Powell 9. 11. 3 Francis Wraugham Senr. Waters 9. 11. 3 Thomas Silock 17. 10. John Clarke Lieutenant 6. 3. James Scott Ensign from 5 May having advanced Sd. 12. 1. 3 Thomas Easthope 12. 1. 3 John Duffontain Do. 97. Pay pr the Quarter from 30 Sept to 31 Decr last Carried over --- £97.	
158	154	Brought over £97. -- Serjeants Viz. Joseph Duffontaine 6 14 6 Thomas Bazett 6 14 6 Richard Gurling 4 17 6 Edward Bagley 4 17 6 William Bruntham 6 14 6 John Hanson 4 17 6 Henry Mullen 4 17 6 John Sack 4 17 6 William Steale 4 17 6 49. 8. 6 Coperals Viz. John Sunge 4 7 9	The garrison pay for the quarter continued, brought over at £97 0s 0d. Sergeants: Joseph Defountaine, £6 14s 6d Thomas Bazett, £6 14s 6d Richard Girling, £4 17s 6d David Bagley, £4 14s 6d William Burnham, £6 14s 6d John Hanson, £4 17s 6d Henry Multon, £4 17s 6d John Leech, £4 17s 6d William Seale, £4 17s 6d Total sergeants, £49 8s 6d Corporals: John Funge, £4 7s 9d David Wilson, £4 7s 9d Christopher Beale, £4 7s 9d Joseph Whaley, £4 7s 9d Gabriel Isaac, £4 7s 9d Joshua Worrall, £4 7s 9d Thomas Swindle, £4 7s 9d Henry Beale, £4 7s 9d John French, £4 7s 9d James Draper, £4 7s 9d Isaac Knipe, £4 7s 9d John Aldrich, £4 7s 9d Total corporals, £52 13s 0d Drummers: William Owens, £4 7s 9d Thomas Watts, £4 7s 9d William Davis, £4 7s 9d Thomas London, from 6 October at £7 a year, £1 12s 10.5d Total drummers, £14 16s 22d Sentinels: William Addams, £3 8s 3d Brown Ambrose, £3 8s 3d Thomas Alcock, £3 8s 3d James Allos, £3 8s 3d William Allos, £3 8s 3d Joseph Bagley, £3 8s 3d Peter Bath, £3 8s 3d Poll Bryan, £3 8s 3d Daniel Bock, £3 8s 3d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and Analysis
		David Nixon 4 7 9 Empherus Beale 4 7 9 Joseph Whaley 4 7 9 Gabriel Jaches 4 7 9 John Worrall 4 7 9 Thomas Swindle 4 7 9 Henry Beale 4 7 9 John Search 4 7 9 James Draper 4 7 9 Isaac Harper 4 7 9 John Aldrich 4 7 9 32. 13. Drummers Viz. William Cornes 4 7 9 Thomas Watts 4 7 9 William Davis 4 7 9 Thomas London from 6 Oct at £4 p Annum 1 12 10½ 14. 16. 2¾ Centinels Viz. William Adams 3 8 3 Bevan Ambrose 3 8 3 Thomas Alcock 3 8	Thomas Browne, £3 8s 3d Edward Burnham, £3 8s 3d Andrew Pehenman, £3 8s 3d John Bradley, £3 8s 3d Orlando Bagley, £3 8s 3d John Bann, £3 8s 3d Thomas Beach, £3 8s 3d William Bassett, £3 8s 3d John Button, £3 8s 3d Joseph Barwell, £3 8s 3d Peter Barker, £3 8s 3d William Browne, £3 8s 3d Total sentinels, £71 13s 3d Carried over, £285 10s 11.5d **Interpretations** This is the muster and pay roll of the garrison for the quarter, listing every sergeant, corporal, drummer and sentinel by name with his pay, the routine record that documented who stood on the establishment and what each was owed. Its appearance here marks the return to regular quarterly payment under Governor Jenkins after the disruption of the deficiency inquiry, and the roll is also a check against the phantom pay the inquiry had exposed, since setting out every man by name and rate made it possible to see that the sums drawn matched real soldiers actually serving rather than the fictitious entries Crispe had carried on the books.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and Analysis
		3 James Alles 3 9 3 William Alles 3 8 3 Joseph Bazett 3 8 3 Peter Wath 3 8 3 Coll Orean 3 8 3 Daniel Buck 3 8 3 Thomas Browne 3 8 3 Edward Burnham 3 8 3 Andrew Bohenman 3 8 3 John Bradley 3 8 3 Orlando Bagley 3 8 3 John Bonn 3 8 3 Thomas Boiah 3 8 3 William Boarett 3 8 3 John Button 3 8 3 Joseph Boswell 3 8 3 Peter Warker 3 8 3 William Browne 3 8 3 91. 13. 3 Carried over --- £285. 10. 11½	

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and Analysis
159	155	Brought over £285. 10. 11½ William Caddy 3 8 3 Henry Carter 3 8 3 Antony Castiel 3 8 3 George Clarke 3 8 3 Matthew Cammel 3 8 3 Daniel Council 3 8 3 Thomas Cope 3 8 3 John Chadwick 3 8 3 Phillip Catchpole 3 8 3 Samuel Clarke 3 8 3 Marten Mac Daniel 3 8 3 William Dorrill 3 8 3 John Dowey 3 8 3 John Draper 3 8 3 Thomas Draper 3 8 3 Edward Danfold 3 8 3 John Deval 3 8 3 Baron Delzas 3 8 3 James English	The garrison pay for the quarter continued, brought over at £285 10s 11.5d. William Caddy, £3 8s 3d Henry Carter, £3 8s 3d Antony Castiel, £3 8s 3d George Electer, £3 8s 3d Matthew Cammell, £3 8s 3d Daniel Connell, £3 8s 3d Thomas Cope, £3 8s 3d John Chadwick, £3 8s 3d Phillip Catchpole, £3 8s 3d Samuel Clarke, £3 8s 3d Martin Mac Daniel, £3 8s 3d William Dorrill, £3 8s 3d John Deveroy, £3 8s 3d John Draper, £3 8s 3d Thomas Draper, £3 8s 3d Edward Danford, £3 8s 3d John Doval, £3 8s 3d Baron Dachug, £3 8s 3d James English, £3 8s 3d John Ellis, £3 8s 3d Samuel Eales, £3 8s 3d William Edwards, £3 8s 3d John Evans, £3 8s 3d Isaac Evans, £3 8s 3d Francis Funge junior, £3 8s 3d Richard Frost, £3 8s 3d Thomas Fuller, £3 8s 3d James Funge, £3 8s 3d Thomas Funge, £3 8s 3d John Girling, £3 8s 3d Christopher Garland, £3 8s 3d Christopherus Greening, £3 8s 3d John George, £3 8s 3d William Spann, £3 8s 3d Giles Hayes, £3 8s 3d Richard Harper, £3 8s 3d Francis Harper, £3 8s 3d James Holt, £3 8s 3d Phillip Hillard, £3 8s 3d Daniel Hayes, £3 8s 3d John Hayes, £3 8s 3d Barnett Skinner, £3 8s 3d John Holloway, £3 8s 3d Solomon Jacobs, £3 8s 3d Japther Jarman, £3 8s 3d Richard Kent, £3 8s 3d Richard Knight, £3 8s 3d Joseph Long, £3 8s 3d James Long, £3 8s 3d Thomas Legg, £3 8s 3d Sutton Leech, £3 8s 3d Thomas Leech, £3 8s 3d John Lewis, £3 8s 3d John Leech junior, £3 8s 3d Total, £184 3s 6d Carried over, £469 10s 5.5d **Interpretations** The sentinels' roll runs on through the bulk of the garrison, each man entered at the same standard rate of £3 8s 3d for the quarter, the uniform pay of the private soldier. Its function in this run was as much verification as record: with the deficiency inquiry having uncovered phantom pay carried on the muster roll since Byfield's time, the full nominal list set against the paymaster's account let the council confirm that every sum drawn answered to a real man on the establishment, the plainest safeguard against the kind of fictitious entry the previous administration had used to draw pay for soldiers who did not exist.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and Analysis
		3 8 3 John Ellis 3 8 3 Samuel Eales 3 8 3 William Chidsall 3 8 3 John Evans 3 8 3 Isaac Evans 3 8 3 Francis Sung Jun. 3 8 3 Richard Sond 3 8 3 Thomas Fisher 3 8 3 James Sunge 3 8 3 Thomas Sunge 3 8 3 John Gurling 3 8 3 Christopher Garland 3 8 3 Umceptorus Gurding 3 8 3 John George 3 8 3 William Gunn 3 8 3 Giles Hayes 3 8 3 Richard Harper 3 8 3 Francis Hayes 3 8 3	

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and Analysis
		James Holt 3 8 3 Phillip Hillard 3 8 3 Daniel Hayes 3 8 3 John Hayes 3 8 3 Samuel Homer 3 8 3 John Holloway 3 8 3 Solomon Jacobs 3 8 3 Jupiter Jermain 3 8 3 Richard Kent 3 8 3 Richard Knight 3 8 3 Joseph Long 3 8 3 James Ling 3 8 3 Thomas Ligg 3 8 3 Sutten Leech 3 8 3 Thomas Leech 3 8 3 John Levine 3 8 3 John Leech Jun. 184. 3. 6 Carried over --- £469. 10. 5½	
160	156	Brought over £469. 16. 5½ John Leggett 3 8 3 Ebenezar Leech 3	The garrison pay for the quarter continued, brought over at £469 16s 5.5d. John Leggett, £3 8s 3d Ebenezar Leech, £3 8s 3d Marco Lilley, £3 8s 3d David Bird, £3 8s 3d Stephen Lufkin, £3 8s 3d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and Analysis
		8 3 Morris Lilley 3 8 3 Dank Rod 3 8 3 Stephen Luffing 3 8 3 John Mudge 3 8 3 Bartholomew Milley 3 8 3 Robert Manlove 3 8 3 John Morgan 3 8 3 John Mahurther 3 8 3 William Barrs 3 8 3 Richard Newton 3 8 3 William Prire 3 8 3 John Potter 3 8 3 John Pearce 3 8 3 James Pritchard 3 8 3 Stephen Powers 3 8 3 Edward Eastgren 3 8 3 Samuel Pavet 3 8 3 James Prichardson 3 8 3 Thomas Sillett	John Mudge, £3 8s 3d Bartholomew Milloy, £3 8s 3d Robert Marlow, £3 8s 3d John Morgan, £3 8s 3d John Malcracher, £3 8s 3d William Beere, £3 8s 3d Richard Newton, £3 8s 3d William Price, £3 8s 3d John Potter, £3 8s 3d John Pearce, £3 8s 3d James Pritchard, £3 8s 3d Stephen Powers, £3 8s 3d Edward Pedgeon, £3 8s 3d Samuel Pool, £3 8s 3d James Richardson, £3 8s 3d Thomas Silite, £3 8s 3d John Spencer 1, £3 8s 3d John Spencer 2, £3 8s 3d John Scotcher, £3 8s 3d William Simpson, £3 8s 3d Isaac Steward, £3 8s 3d Benjamin Seale, £3 8s 3d John Sprake, £3 8s 3d William Swindle, £3 8s 3d Matthew Watters, £3 8s 3d John Webster, £3 8s 3d Jeremiah Worrell, £3 8s 3d John Worrall junior, £3 8s 3d Peter Wells, £3 8s 3d Thomas Watson, £3 8s 3d John Winster, £3 8s 3d David Wilson, £3 8s 3d James Vaughan junior, from 6 October, £3 3s 9d John Gabriel Van Osson, from 6 October, £3 8s 3d Richard Swindle, £3 8s 3d Total, £136 1s 0d Carried over, £605 17s 5.5d Gunroom crew: Isaac Leech, gunner's mate, £4 17s 6d Thomas Watts, of the same, £4 17s 6d Robert Wood, of the same, £4 17s 6d Nathan Semple, of the same, £4 17s 6d James Vaughan, quarter gunner, £4 7s 9d Roger Nelavson, of the same, £4 7s 9d Francis Newland, mattross, £4 1s 3d William La Rayonnant, of the same, £4 1s 3d William Kennedy, of the same, £4 1s 3d Thomas Bingham, of the same, £4 1s 3d Gunroom crew carried over, £64 0s 6d Carried over, £605 17s 5.5d The single ship-related line, John French, gunner, including board sent at 4 rate of the same, is rendered here as prose to preserve its form: John French, gunner, including his board, was paid £19 10s 0d for the quarter. **Interpretations** This final stretch of the pay roll completes the private sentinels and then turns to the gunroom crew, the specialist artillerymen, gunner, his mates, quarter gunners and mattrosses, who served the ordnance and were paid at rates above the ordinary soldier. The two men entered as joining from 6 October, James Vaughan junior and John Gabriel Van Osson, are the recruits taken into the service on the seven-year terms recorded earlier in the run, their pay pro-rated from the day they entered. The gunner John French, paid much the highest rate on the roll, was the officer the council had appointed to the island's gunnery on the death of the previous gunner, and his board allowance reflects the standing of the post that had charge of the guns now being exercised in earnest at the coastal batteries.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and Analysis
		3 8 3 John Spencer 1 3 8 3 John Spencer 2 3 8 3 John Sotcher 3 8 3 William Simpson 3 8 3 Steckel Stroud 3 8 3 Benjamin Seale 3 8 3 John Sprake 3 8 3 William Swaites 3 8 3 Matthew Watters 3 8 3 John Webster 3 8 3 Jeremiah Worrall 3 8 3 John Worrall Jun. 3 8 3 Peter Wells 3 8 3 Thomas Watson 3 8 3 John Winter 3 8 3 David Wilson 3 8 3 James Vaughn Junr. from 6 October 3 8 3 John Gab. Van Aston from 6 October 3 8 9	

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and Analysis
		Richard Swaites 3 8 3 136. 1. 605. 17. 5½ Gunroom Crew Viz. John French Gunr. Including Board rent at 6/ p week of pt of 19 10 Isaac Search gunners Mate 4 17 6 Thomas Watts Do. 4 17 6 Robert Wood Do. 4 17 6 Nathan Sample Do. 4 17 9 James Vaughn Quarter Gunner 4 7 9 Roger Robenson Do. 4 1 3 Francis Newland Mattrofs 4 1 3 William Cattopwell Do. 4 1 3 William Hehucty Do. 4 1 3 Thomas Willingham Do. Gunroom Crew Carried over £64. 6. Carried over £605. 17. 5½	
161	157	Brought over £605. 17. 5½ Gunroom Crew Brought over 64. 6. John Christofel Mattrofs 4 1 3 John Spencer Do. 4 1 3 Major Jackson Do. 4 1 3 Joseph Belcher Do. 4 1 3 John Beetle Do. 4 1	The gunroom crew pay continued, brought over at £64 0s 6d, and the whole pay account brought over at £605 17s 5.5d. John Christoffel, mattross, £4 1s 3d John Spencer, of the same, £4 1s 3d Major Jackson, of the same, £4 1s 3d Joseph Belcher, of the same, £4 1s 3d John Biddle, of the same, £4 1s 3d William Davis senior, of the same, £4 1s 3d John Barnet, of the same, £4 1s 3d John Pettige, of the same, £4 1s 3d Total, £96 10s 6d Superannuated: Isaac Wood, ensign, £7 10s 0d Joseph Whaley, sergeant, £4 17s 6d Isaac Hodgkinson, quarter gunner, £4 7s 9d George Linsey, drummer, £4 7s 9d Samuel Harper, sentinel, £3 8s 3d Total, £24 11s 3d Samuel Doveton, £15 0s 0d John Worrall, overseer, £7 10s 0d John Swaites, overseer, £7 10s 0d Richard Insley, overseer, £7 10s 0d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and Analysis
		3 William Davis Do. 4 1 3 John Barnet Do. 4 1 3 John Rutlege Do. 4 1 3 96. 10. 6 Superannuated viz. Isaac Wood Ensign 7 10 Joseph Whaley Serjeant 4 17 6 Isaac Riggerson Quarter Gunner 4 1 9 George Linsey Drummer 4 7 9 Samuel Harpe Centinel 3 8 3 24. 11. 3 Samuel Doveton 15 John Worrall Overseers 7 10 John Snader 7 10 Richard Sindey 3 8 3 James Vaughn Clark 1 5 Ditto Custom Master 12 1 3 Francis Sunge Armourer 7 10 James Haybird Do. Mate 12 10 Henry Mayes Carpenter 7 10 John Mahyen Cooper 7 10 John Wrangetall Cooman 2 7 9 Joseph Belcher House keeper 4 7 9 Thomas Cilgore Marshall	James Vaughan, clerk, £3 8s 3d of the same, custom master, £1 3s 0d Francis Isaac, armourer, £12 1s 3d James Haywood, of the same, mate, £7 10s 0d Henry Moyce, carpenter, £12 10s 0d John Mibern, cooper, £7 10s 0d John Ardangetall, coxswain, £7 10s 0d Joseph Belcher, house keeper, £2 0s 0d Thomas Colgrave, marshal, £16 0s 0d James Peters, surgeon's mate, £3 8s 3d Richard Mace, school master, £3 8s 3d Bella Cook, £7 10s 0d Nicholas Cleather, steward, £9 11s 3d William Deneur, gardener, £132 15s 0d Total, £859 14s 7.5d Mr George Gabriel Powell, paymaster, delivered his account, and the following payment was made. To Captain John Godfrey, storekeeper, £800 17s 3d. The account being cast up: the sundries for so much paid the Honourable Company's servants, civilians and the gunroom crew, their salary and board wages for the quarter ending 31 December 1741, came to £859 14s 7.5d; the sundries distributed to hire for making lime and bridge, and the balance of the above account paid this day into the Honourable Company's treasury, £860 2s 2d and £15 3s, came to £800 17s 3d. The account was signed at the island of St Helena on 19 January 1742, errors excepted, by George Gabriel Powell, paymaster, and ordered. **Interpretations** This closing section carries the pay roll through the remaining artillerymen, the superannuated men still drawing a pension, and the civil establishment, the overseers, armourer, carpenter, cooper, marshal, schoolmaster, surgeon's mate and the rest who kept the island running. The superannuated head is notable, listing former soldiers, Isaac Wood the ensign among them, kept on reduced pay in old age, a rudimentary provision for those who had served out their usefulness. The whole account, quarterly wages of nearly £860 balanced against the paymaster's payment into the treasury, marks the full return to regular financial governance under Governor Jenkins, the ordinary machinery of pay and account restored after the disruption the deficiency inquiry had caused, and the balance carried properly into the Company's cash rather than left, as under the previous administration, to disappear from the books.

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		16 3 James Peters Surgeons Mate 3 8 3 Menad Wade School master 3 10 Balla Cook 2 10 3 Nicholas Cleather Steward 9 11 3 William Dwew Gardner Totall£ 132. 15. 859. 14. 3½ George Gabriel Powell Pay Master To Captain John Jenkins Storekeeper 800. 17. 5½ By Sundries for so much paid the Honble Companys Servants Exclusive of the Govr Powells their Salary & being Wages for the Quarter Ending 31 Dec 1741 859. 14. 3½ By John Attingwell paid two for marking Lane Bogges 8. By Ballance of the above Account paid this day into the Hono Companys Treasury 800. 2. 2½ 13. 3 £800. 17. 5½ Island St Helena January the 19th 1742 Errors Excepted G.G. Powell Pay Master. Ordered	
162	158	Ordered That an Advertizement be Published to give Notice that the Second Saturday of every Month will be pay Day We this Day Examined the Honble Companys Treasure and find the same in good Order Amounting to £2496. 3. 11 in the following Species Viz. Spanish Dollars 3708 @ 5/ 927. 10. Half Dollars 116 2/6 14. 10. Double Rials 3416 1/3 213. 10. Rials 20497 7½d 640. 10. 4½ Half Rials 12232 3¾d 191. 8. 9 Rupees	The council ordered that an advertisement be published giving notice that the second Saturday of every month would be pay day. The council counted the Honourable Company's treasure that day and found it in good order, amounting to £2,496 3s 11d, in the following species: Spanish dollars, 3,708 at 5s, £927 0s 0d Half dollars, 116 at 2s 6d, £14 10s 0d Double reals, 3,416 at 1s 3d, £213 10s 0d Reals, 20,497 at 7.5d, £630 10s 9.5d Half reals, 12,292 at 3.75d, £191 8s 9d Rupees, 32 at 2s 3d, £3 17s 9.25d Odd money: Pagodas, 348 at 9s, £136 12s 0d Venetians, 3 at 10s, £2 10s 0d Guineas, 1, £1 1s 0d Cash notes, £342 0s 0d Total in silver, £2,483 8s 6d Odd money this day found in, £13 3s 0d Total, £2,496 3s 11d Jenkins, Powell and Godfrey signed the consultation. A consultation was held on Tuesday 26 January 1742 at the castle. Governor Jenkins was present, with George Gabriel Powell and John Godfrey. The council read and approved the previous consultation. Governor Jenkins reported that the arch for the outer forts, the guns and the crane, being now finished, he had ordered the hands to Banks's again,

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and Analysis
		32 2/3 3. 12. -- Odd Money 9. 4½ Pagotas 348 9/ 156. 12. Venetians 5 10/ 2. 10. Guinea 1 1. 1. Cash Notes 342. 2495. 8. 6 Odd Money this day fixed in 13. 5 £2496. 3. 11 Ro. Jenkins G.G. Powell John Godfrey At a Consultation held on Tuesday 26 of January 1741/2 at yr Castle Present Robt. Jenkins Esqr. Governor Geo. Gab. Powell John Godfrey The last Consultation was Read & Approved The Governor Reports that the Arch for the Water Spot builds and the Crane being now finished, he hag Orderd the hands to Banks again, to carry on that Work, as farr at least as the Lime will Permit, which is become very Scarce, That those pr Slaves which have been for some time past hired of the planters shall be discharged on Saturday Next	to carry on that work as far at least as the lime would permit, the lime having become very scarce. He reported that the planters' slaves hired for some time earlier would be discharged on the following Saturday. **Interpretations** The treasure count sets out the mixed hard currency the island's treasury held, the Spanish American silver of the Atlantic trade tallied piece by piece, together with a run of eastern coin, pagodas from the Coromandel coast and rupees of India, and a few European venetians and a guinea, each converted to its sterling value. The pagodas and rupees mark the two-way traffic that met at St Helena, silver flowing one way and eastern gold the other, and the full count was the second the council had managed since the deficiency came to light, part of establishing exactly what the treasury held. The Governor's report on Banks's shows the fortification work continuing to be governed by the supply of lime, the coastal defence pressed forward only as far as the scarce material would allow, the same constraint that had shaped the work throughout the run.
163	159	Mr Godfrey the Accomptant Reports that in Ledger F page 44 the late Govr Goodwin is made a Debter to John Bazett in the Sum of £285. -- by which means Mr Bazett has laid him only of that Sum & flung it upon Mr Godwins Debtor, Notwithstanding Godwin was at that time an Actual Debtor upon yr Honble Companys Books; Which is a Proceeding absolutely & Directly Contrary to Our Masters Standing Order, We are therefore to make it Thus? That no person whatsoever be made a Debtor to an Other on the General Books unless Such Debtor has an Actual Credit Superchand upon the Books. Now it is Observable that this Entry was not Originally in Mr Godwins Acco- unt, But that something Else has been Sadly Erazed and Mr Bazett Namely of 1. -- which is mighty Obvious, & of Mr Chraps own Hand Writing. So that we have Great Cause to Suspect that this has been Since when Mr Godwins death. The Account Stands thus in Ledger F page 44 viz John Goodwin Esqr. Dr. Cr. 28.1 to Toat Currant 5. 6. 11½	Mr Godfrey, the accountant, reported that in ledger F, page 41, the late Governor Goodwin was made a debtor to John Bazett in the sum of £285, but that Bazett had discharged himself of that sum by charging it upon Mr Goodwin's balance, notwithstanding that Goodwin was at that time an actual debtor upon the Honourable Company's books, which was directly and absolutely contrary to their masters' standing orders. Those orders directed that no person whatever be made a debtor to another on the general books unless the debtor had an actual credit beforehand upon the books. Godfrey observed that this entry was not originally in Mr Goodwin's account, but that something else had been secretly erased and Mr Bazett's name put in its place, which was plainly evident, and, being in Mr Crispe's own hand, gave great cause to suspect that it had been done since Mr Goodwin's death. The account stood as follows in ledger F, page 41. John Goodwin, debtor: 30 September, to account current, £18 28s 10d 26 October, to plantation, 80 15s, £20 300s 2 November, to blacks for 1 girl named Peg Harper, 17 3s, £28 12s 10d 2 December, to Margaret Bagley, 8 15s 16d 12 March, to Francis Bearlace, 12 58s 6s 8d, £583 102s 18 June, to John Cummings, 3 3s 26 September, to John Bazett, 285 Total, £1,038 19s 6d John Goodwin, creditor:

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		Jan.10 21. By Francis Barlow 12. 28. 10¾ Novr. 26 To Plantation 80. 15. Ap.20 76. By Garrison 20. 300 14.1 27 To Blacks for 1 Girl named P.H. 17. 5. Sept. 81. By Charges General 28. 12. 10 Do. 2 37 To Margaret Bagley 8. 15. 10½ Mar. 12 84 To Francis Barlow 12. 58. 6½ Ballances 455. 18. 7 Iune. 18 61 To John Cummings 3. 5. 101. By Ballance 883. 10. 96 To John Bazett 285. £1038. 19. 6½ £1038. 19. 6½ Agreed that this Affair appears mighty dark on the Side of Mr Crispe and Bazett, and therefore he Ordered that these two Gentlemen be Summond to appear next Thursday in order to clear up the Same. Ro. Jenkins G.G. Powell John Godfrey	By Francis Bearlace, £18 28s 10d By James Sampson, £20 300s By charges general, £28 12s 10d, £83 18s 7d By balance, £583 102s Total, £1,038 19s 6d The council agreed that the affair appeared very dark in the row of Mr Crispe and Bazett, and therefore ordered that those two gentlemen be summoned to appear the following Tuesday, in order to clear up the matter. Jenkins, Powell and Godfrey signed the consultation. **Interpretations** Godfrey's discovery is the clearest documentary proof yet of the method behind the deficiency: an entry in the ledger physically altered, an original name erased and Bazett's substituted in Crispe's own hand, to transfer a £285 charge onto Goodwin's balance in breach of the Company's plain rule that no one could be made a debtor to another without a prior credit on the books. That the alteration was visible on the page, and in Crispe's writing, let the accountant date it to after Goodwin's death and expose it as a deliberate falsification rather than an error. The council's summons of Crispe and Bazett to answer shows the inquiry moving from tracing individual false figures to confronting the two clerks directly with the manipulation of the ledgers themselves.
164	160	At a Consultation held on Tuesday the 2 of February 1741/2 at the Castle Present Robert Jenkins Esqr. Governour Geo. Gab. Powell 2d of Council John Godfrey 3d of Do. The last Consultation was read and approved Agreable to the Resolution of last Consultation Messrs. Crispe & Bazett this day appeared before us, to answer for their Transferring from Account of Mr Bazett to Account of the late Mr Goodwin the Sum of £285 --- at a time when the said Mr Goodwin was an Actual Debtor upon the Honble Companys Books, in Direct Contradiction to our Masters Orders upon that head Mr Bazett Said that upon a Certain time the late Mr Goodwin asked him whether he would give him leave to draw upon the Company for £300. -- in his Mr Bazetts name, and he Mr Goodwin would make the Company Satisfaction here, Which Mr Bazett says being a matter Customary for one Person to have a use of Bills in Another name, / But why it was took or Customary he knows not, / he therefore gave Mr Godwin liberty to make use of his Name, and Protests that he had not the least Benefit or Advantage in so Doing, that he Endorsed those Bills to Edmund Godfrey Esqr who was Mr Goodwins Attorney in England, and did Write Mr Godfrey the year after a Letter of Advice / it being omitted when the Bills were sent / that the money was for Mr Godwins use Mr Crispe being the then Accomptant was asked how this	A consultation was held on Tuesday 2 February 1742 at the castle. Governor Jenkins was present, with George Gabriel Powell as second of council and John Godfrey as third. The council read and approved the previous consultation. In accordance with the resolution of the previous consultation, Mr Crispe and Mr Bazett appeared before the council that day to answer for their transfer, from Mr Bazett's account to the account of the late Mr Goodwin, of the sum of £285, at a time when the said Mr Goodwin was an actual debtor upon the Honourable Company's books, in direct contradiction of their masters' orders on that head. Mr Bazett said that at a certain time the late Mr Goodwin asked him whether he would give him leave to draw upon the Company for £300, in Bazett's name, and that Goodwin would make the Company satisfaction here, which, Bazett said, being a matter customary for one to draw a bill of exchange in another name, and why it had been so customary he knew not, he therefore gave Mr Goodwin liberty to make use of his name, and protested that he had not the least benefit or advantage in so doing. He explained that he endorsed the bills to Edmund Godfrey, who was Mr Goodwin's attorney in England, and told Mr Godfrey, the year after, a letter of advice being omitted when the bills were sent, that the money was for Mr Goodwin's use. Mr Crispe, being the accountant at that time, was asked how this matter stood, and he declared that the said bills for £300 really belonged, the one half to the late Mr Goodwin and the other half to himself, and had received a letter from Mr Godfrey acknowledging the receipt of the said bills, and directing this letter of advice, which Mr Bazett had told him, as the regular method in these cases, upon which Mr Bazett wrote it.

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		Matter was, And he declared that what Mr Bazett had before Said was matter of fact; for that the said Bills for £500. -- did Really belong the one half to the late Mr Goodwin the other half to himself, and Produced a Letter from Mr Godfrey to him /Crispe/ acknowledging the Receipt of the said Bills, and Directing this Letter of advice which Mr Bazett before told us of, as the Regular Method in these cases /upon which Mr Bazett wrote it Now the Honble Company having Honoured those Bills for £300. -- drawn in Mr Bazetts name, We are to inquire how their Honours have been Reimbursed this money, And find that Mr Bazett is Debted in the Books P for the whole Sum Regularly enough, But the same is not so Regularly Discharged, for they have Wrote it Down in the following Manner Viz. The Cash here is Debted £215. --- So paid in by Mr Bazett, and at once a Transfer is made from Account of Bazett to Account of Goodwin for the Ballance of £285. --- when Goodwin was before hand Indebted to the Honble Company near three Hundred pounds. So that in fact there is £285. -- Yet Remaining unpaid a part of that £500. --- which was paid by the Company to Mr Bazetts Order. Ordered	The Honourable Company having honoured these bills for £300, drawn in Mr Bazett's name, the council enquired how their masters had been reimbursed this money, and found that Mr Bazett was debited in the books for the whole sum, which was regular enough, but that the same was not so regularly discharged, for the bills had been discharged in the following manner. The council here was debited £285, so paid in by Mr Bazett, and at once a transfer was made from the account of Bazett to the account of Goodwin for the balance of £285, when Goodwin was already indebted to the Honourable Company near three hundred pounds, so that in fact there was £285 still remaining unpaid, a part of that £300, which was paid by the Company to Mr Bazett's order. **Interpretations** This passage lays open how the £285 transfer worked as a device to shift a real liability onto a man who could no longer answer for it. A bill of exchange drawn in Bazett's name but for Goodwin's benefit had been honoured by the Company in England; the debt should have fallen on Bazett, who had drawn it, but by transferring it to Goodwin's account, already deeply in deficit, the sum was effectively buried in an insolvent balance and never recovered. Bazett's defence, that drawing bills in another's name was a customary practice he could not explain, and Crispe's admission that half the £300 was in truth his own, together expose the informal and irregular way the two clerks had used the Company's credit for their own and the Governor's purposes, the very entanglement of private and Company money that the whole inquiry had been unpicking.
165	161	Ordered that a Paragraph in the General Letter be prepared advising our Masters of this affair to the End that Honours themselves may be pleased to give direction from whome We are to Receive this said Sum of £285. -- Mrs. Alexander the Widdow of the late Capt. John Alexander this day appeared before us and made Complaint of Richard Beale for that he being an Executor of her late Husbands last Will makes use of his Authority to Sue thereof in her family by giving her Children Pernicious Advice particularly to her Eldest Son who having lately Married, but being under age Mr Beale advised that Marriage makes Age and therefore he has a Right to demand and take Possession of his Dividend of his late fathers Estate, tho' the same is absolutely Contradictory to the Will of his said father who Expressly says that his Eldest Son shall not Enjoy any part of his Estate untill he arrives at the full Age of 21 Years We thereupon Reprimanded Mr Beale for his Evil practice under Mr Crispe and that We must not forget he stands Perjured upon our Consultations And Ordered him to be more Circumspect in his behaviour in Future The Governour Reports that Sundry of the Honble Companys Slaves have Informed him that John Worrall one of the Companys Overseers is not so Honest as he should be. Worrall was therefore Sent for and the following Accusations were read to him Viz. 1. Tom Says that the Sd John Worrall hath killed two Goates, one kid & one Foal for his own Use, and have Exchanged we Ram-Stag for a good Ewe, and one poor	The council ordered that a paragraph in the general letter be prepared advising its masters of this affair, so that they might be pleased to give direction on how the said sum of £285 was to be recovered. Mrs Alexander, widow of the late Captain John Alexander, appeared before the council that day and complained of Richard Beale, alleging that he, being an executor of her late husband's will, made use of his authority to sow discord in her family by giving her children pernicious advice. In particular her eldest son, having lately married but being under age, had been advised by Beale that marriage conferred age, and that he therefore had a right to demand and take possession of his dividend of his late father's estate. The council held this absolutely contrary to the will of her late husband, who had expressly directed that his eldest son not enjoy any part of the estate until he reached the full age of twenty-one. The council thereupon reprimanded Mr Beale for his evil practice under Mr Crispe, reminding him that he stood exposed upon its consultations, and ordered him to be more circumspect in his behaviour in future. Governor Jenkins reported that several of the Honourable Company's slaves had informed him that John Worrall, one of the Company's overseers, was not so honest as he should be. Worrall was therefore sent for, and the following accusations were read to him. 1: Sim said that the said John Worrall had killed two goats, one of his own and one belonging to the Company, and had exchanged one ram-stag for a good ewe, and one poor wether for a good ewe, sent one of the goats down to John Aldrich, and met the boy Sharper the day after the ewe was killed at Sickes Wather, and told him he had been to carry the ewe to Mr Bates. His mother-in-law. 2: Lasfing's Frank said that the above exchanges were true, for he killed them and was the bearer of

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		Weather for a good Ewe, sent one of the Goates down to John Aldrich, he not his boy Sharper the day after the Kid was killed at Sisters Water, and he told him he had been to carry that Kid over to Mr Bazetts his mother in Law 2. Luffings Frank. Says that the above Sad Exchanges are Sure for he killed them & was the Bearer of the Ram Stag to the fort & he Kills the Kid and confirms afterwards that the boy Sharper carried it over to Mr Bazetts, hath had his fowles and came Ego from his House, hath Worked up two Loads of Indifferent Rushes upon his Kitchen in Sandy-Bay and Saw two Sheet for Pieces in the Sd Kitchen which was sent from the Plantation house 3. Frank Butcher. Says that on the Ninth day of January he killed a kid and a Goat in the Square & Carried them into Worralls House. tho he was sent to the fort the next Morning and he heard Wall Sarr say that he had Carried that Goat over to Mr Bazetts, or part of it he does not Remember which, and that he saw for carry one Load of Rushes to Sandy-Bay 4. Wall Sarr Says that on the Sixth day of January he carried a bite of Goat over to Mr.	the ram-stag to the place he directed, the ewe being killed and afterwards that the boy Sharper carried it over to Mr Bates. He had had six fowls and some eggs from his house, had worked up two loads of indifferent mashes upon his kitchen in Sandy Bay, and saw one short four voices in the said kitchen which was sent from the plantation house. 3: Frank Butcher said that on the ninth day of January he killed a kid and a goat in the square and carried them into Worrall's room, that the kid was sent to the fort, the ewes swimming, and he heard Will Sarr say that he had carried that goat over to Mr Bates, or part of it, he did not remember which, and that he saw him carry one load of mashes to Sandy Bay. 4: Will Sarr said that on the tenth day of January he carried a side of goat over to Mr Bates. **Interpretations** The Alexander complaint shows how an executor's authority could be turned into a means of interference: Beale, empowered under the late Captain's will, was accused of advising the under-age heir that marriage gave him a right to his inheritance early, in flat contradiction of the will's plain condition that the son wait until twenty-one. The council's linking of this to Beale's "evil practice under Mr Crispe" and its warning that he stood exposed on the record ties the matter to the deficiency inquiry, where Beale had already confessed to swearing a false oath at Crispe's direction, so his standing as a man of proven bad faith coloured the council's response to this fresh grievance. The Worrall accusations then open a second inquiry into an overseer's honesty, the whole resting, as such cases so often did on the island, on the testimony of slaves against a free man, evidence that could inform the council's action by order even where it could not sustain a formal conviction.
166	162	Bratass, One Load of Rushes to Sandy-Bay and one Short Iron Voice from Purhenee to Worralls house in Sandy Bay. 5. Peg Says that at Certain time / the Particular day She has forgot / She saw John Worrall come into the Plantation house through one of the Windows of the Hall and that Presently after he Wiped one & of Sheets & one Pillow bare, did shrewdly Suspicion that Worrall took them. The Governour Reports that himself Saw & Ragges of Worralls on the Companys Ground at the Plantation House, And that he told that Worrall Stole Weakly out of their Honours Plantations 100 of Yams John Worrall being asked what he had to say for himself answered that the Blacks had a Spite against him and has Reported many Untruths however he does not deny the Taking of a Iron Voice from the Companys House, which he only Wanted for a Present use and did intend to Return it after his Business was over. The Rushes he says were not very Indifferent & that the Godmor gave im to him therefore he carried them home. He likewise owns the Exchanging of a Goat with the Company but Says that he had by farr the worst of the Bargain for that when the Men of Warr lay in the Road he Received an order from the Steward to send a good Goat to the Castle and the Company not having any that was fatt he therefore killed one of his own which was	Will Sarr further said that he carried one load of mashes to Sandy Bay for Mr Bates, and one short four voices from Perkins to Worrall's house in Sandy Bay. 5: Peg said that at a certain time, the particular day she had forgotten, she saw John Worrall come into the plantation house through one of the windows of the hall, and that she presently after missed one pair of sheets and one yellow-ware, and strongly suspected that Worrall took them. Governor Jenkins reported that he himself had seen two hogs of Worrall's on the Company's ground at the plantation house, and that he was told Worrall stole weekly out of the several plantations 600 yams. John Worrall, being asked what he had to say for himself, answered that the slaves had a spite against him and had reported many untruths. He did not, however, deny the taking of a poor ewe from the Company's house, which he only wanted for a present, and did intend to return after his business was over. The mashes, he said, were not very indifferent, and the gardener gave them to him, and he therefore carried them home. He likewise owned the exchanging of a goat with the Company, but said that he had by far the worst of the bargain, for that when the men-of-war lay in the road he received an order from the steward to send a good goat to the castle, and the Company not having any that were fit to serve, he therefore killed one of his own, which was very good meat, bred in its stead, and took one of the Company's that was poor. He also owned that he did keep several hogs about the plantation house, but denied the feeding of them

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		very good Meat and in its Stead took one of the Companys that was Poor. He also owns that he did keep several Hogs about the Plantation House But denys the getting of them out of the Companys Plantation for that he sent every Week to his fathers for Yams to feed them withall. He owns the sending of Yarns to Aldrich & to his Wife Brothers but says that they were his own for. He also owns that he does in Partner ship with some other of the Neighbourhood viz. Thomas Bazett & Richard Gurling keep a flock of Goates in the Honble Companys Range. We could not but Reproach to him that this last was a high Breach of Trust for that it was his Duty being a Company Servant & Receiving a Salary for that Purpose to have Hindered any Person from Intruding upon the Companys Range Whereas he himself in the Man that Encourages Them by having a flock of his own upon our Masters Lands Upon the whole He gave him till next Consultation day to Consider if he had any farther to say in his Defence Ro. Jenkins G.G. Powells John Godfrey	out of the Company's plantation, saying that he sent every week to the fathers for grain to feed them withal. He owned the sending of goats to Aldrich and to his wife's mother, but said that they were his own. He also owned that he did in part or less deal with some other of the neighbourhood, namely Thomas Bazett and Richard Girling, keep a flock of goats in the Honourable Company's range. The council held this last a high breach of trust in him, for that it was his duty, being a Company servant and receiving a salary for that purpose, to have hindered any person from intruding upon the Company's range, whereas he himself was the man that encouraged them, by keeping a flock of his own upon their masters' lands. The council gave him until the next consultation to consider whether he had anything further to say in his defence. Jenkins, Powell and Godfrey signed the consultation. **Interpretations** Worrall's examination turns on the same conflict of duty that ran through the overseers' offices: a man paid to guard the Company's stock and range was accused of quietly plundering both for his own profit, exchanging good private animals for poor Company ones, grazing his own goats and hogs on the Company's ground, and diverting yams, mashes and household goods to his own use. His candid admissions to much of it, coupled with the defence that he had the worst of the goat exchange or that the animals were his own, show a servant treating his charge as a source of private advantage. The council's sharpest point was that his keeping a flock on the Company's range, alongside Bazett and Girling, was a breach of the very trust his office existed to enforce, since the man set to keep others off had become the chief intruder himself, the same failure of stewardship the deficiency inquiry had been exposing throughout the run at every level of the establishment.
167	163	At a Consultation held on Tuesday the 9 February 1741/2 at the Castle Present Robert Jenkins Esqr. Governour Geo. Gab. Powell 2d of Council John Godfrey 3d of Council The last Consultation was Read and approved Then appeared before us this day John Worrall, who being asked whether he had any farther to say concerning the Singularitys laid to his Charge the last Consultation, He delivered us the following Paper Viz. To the Worshipfull the Governour & Council of this Island 1. Whereas your Worship and the Gentlemen has had a Report given in against me by Sd Tom that I have killed Several Goates and hids belonging to the Honble Company, Which I hope your Worship and the Gentlemen of Council will be Pleased to give hearing to what I shall here sett down as for the Sed Tom then he has falsely accused me, that is to say in killing or diminishing any of the Honble Companys Goates or hids for my own use, but what has been killed I truely truly sent them down to the Castle or to any Place according to Orders Received. but as for the Exchange of one young Ram Stag which was one belonging to me, and having Received an Order to kill a good large Goat for the Companys use which was in the	A consultation was held on Tuesday 9 February 1742 at the castle. Governor Jenkins was present, with George Gabriel Powell as second of council and John Godfrey as third. The council read and approved the previous consultation. John Worrall appeared before the council that day, and, being asked whether he had anything further to say concerning the irregularities laid to his charge at the previous consultation, delivered the following paper. Worrall addressed the Governor and council of the island. 1: Sim had reported against him that he had killed several goats and kids belonging to the Honourable Company, and he asked the council to attend to what he now set down as to the truth of what Sim had falsely accused him of. As to killing or destroying any of the Company's goats or kids for his own use, he had killed none but what he had duly and truly sent down to the castle or to any place according to the orders he received. As for the exchange of one young ram-stag, which was his own, and having received an order to kill a good large goat for the Company, which was in the month of August last, and the Company not having any that was fit, excepting some good ewe that was very forward with kid, which he did not care to kill, nor any of the said ewes, not having any wethers that was good nor large, he had killed a good large ewe. Peg being the mother of it, and he having occasion for a goat for himself, he did exchange his goat in the room of the Company's for a young ewe, which never had a kid, nor was not with kid, so that his goat was sent down

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		Month of August last, and the Company not having any that was fatt Excepting some good Ewes that was very forward with kid which I did not care to kill any of the Sed Ewes not having any Weathers that was Sod nor Sirge, I Ordered Frank to kill Mr Sarr, and I having an occasion then of a Goat for my self, I did Exchange my Goat in the Room of the Companys for a young Ewe which never had a Kid, nor was not with Kid, So that my Goat was sent down to the Castle by Frank, and he told me that it was liked very Well, Which Please your Worship & the Gentlemen of the Council I did not do this Exchange for any profit or gain to my self, but only my Goat was the largest & the best; but as it was happened, I am very Sorry for a doing, but as for him falsely to say that I killed any of the Companys Goates or kids, I do assure your Worship & the Gentlemen, I never did any such thing since I have been at the Company-House, but as for my own Goates that has been in the Companys pound both Ewes Weathers Sheds which Stayed from Mr Thomas Bazetts to the Companys pound which Mr Coveton has seen in the pound Severall times, and has added me to bail them, which I have often done within three or four Months, But never killed any belonging to my Masters, which the said old Tom has falsely Reported against me to Your Worship & the Gentlemen of the Council. 2. Whereas there is both Luftams Frank & Frank Butcher has killed several Goates and Hides, both form the Company pound and elsewhere, but for the yarns in your Worship has been informed that I have folded out of the Companys Plantations weekly the Quantity of 600, which I do assure your Worship that it is false, for I have not had in of the Companys Plantations for those months, as the Company kept yarns down in Sundry Way	to the castle by Frank, and he told him it was liked very well. He asked the council to attend that he did not do this exchange for any profit or gain to himself, but only that his goat was the largest and the best, and it was that afterwards he was very sorry for so doing, and as for him having falsely to say that he killed any of the Company's goats or kids, he assured the Governor and the gentlemen, he did not deny but many times he had been at the Company's house, but as for any own goats that had been in the Company's ground both ewes, wethers, which he thought stayed from Mr Thomas Bazett's to the Company's ground, which Mr Doveton had seen in the ground several times, and he asked him to tell them which he had often done within three or four months, but never killed any belonging to his masters, which Sim had falsely reported against him to the council. 2: Lasfing's Frank and Frank Butcher had reported against him that he had killed several kids and goats both from the Company's ground and from elsewhere, and as for the yams in the Governor's report, he had been informed that he had stolen out of the Company's plantations weekly the quantity of 600, which he assured the Governor that it was false, for he had not weeded any of the Company's plantations for these months, as the Company aged yams down in [...] **Interpretations** Worrall's written defence is an attempt to recast each admitted act as innocent or authorised: the killings were done on orders, the goat exchange was to his own disadvantage rather than his profit, and the yam theft simply never happened. The tortured detail of the goat exchange, distinguishing ewes with kid from those without, a good large ewe from a poor wether, shows him trying to prove that in swapping his own better animal for a poor Company one he had been generous rather than dishonest. The whole paper illustrates the difficulty of the case against him, resting as it did on slave testimony he could dismiss as spite, so that the council was left to weigh a servant's self-serving account against accusations that, though probably true, could not be sworn against a free man in any form that would sustain a conviction.
168	164	Sandy Bay, not two hundred weight, nor the Boy that Lives with me was not fetched his Allowance of Yams not twice in the whole time, but I have sent them and other Blacks in Sandy Bay to my fathers Plantation twice a three times in a Week for Yams for my use, which I do assure your Worship its falsely laid to my Charge; for instead of fetching away of such Quantity of Yams out of the Plantations, I have done all that has laid in my Power to keep them up in good Order with what help I have had, and much more to Remember the same; And as for the two Loads of old Rushes that I sent in the Boat which laid in the old Kitchen, / which Mr Doveton had cut on Mr Coveys time / And I having an occasion of a bundle of Loads I did ask Mr Doveton for the same, but did not take any new Rushes nor none that came off the Houses, but only them which were very bad, and as for the two Pieces of Fir Voices which came off the Kitchen at the back side, I sent them to the Companys House with some old Boards for the use of the House, as there is one to be Repaired, such stuff would be upon some occasion, And the Carpenter Jach Rick knew off the said kinds of Stuff being sent there for the Companys	Worrall continued that the yams at Sandy Bay did not amount to two hundredweight, nor was the black who lived with him allowed his ration of yams at times in the whole period, but he had sent him and other slaves in Sandy Bay to his father's plantation two or three times for yams for his own use. He assured the council that as for being falsely charged with carrying away any quantity of yams out of the plantations, he had done all that lay in his power to keep them up in good order, with what help he had, and much more to preserve the same. As for the two loads of old mashes that he sent in the way, which lay in the old kitchen, which Mr Doveton had cut in Mr Crispe's time, and having occasion for a couple of loads he asked Mr Doveton twice, but did not take any more mashes nor any that came off the houses, but only those which were very bad. As for the two loads of four voices which came off the kitchen at the back side, he sent them to the Company's house with some boards for the use of the house, as there was one to be repaired, such stuff being to be put upon some occasion. The carpenter, Josh Bird, knew of the said loads of stuff being sent there for the Company's use some time before this report was given, he having occasion for the said loads of stuff to lay them in the way, and he remained in the Company's place where they were to be seen to this time.

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		use Some time before this Report was given, I having an occasion of the said Loads of Stuff for so I have moe, I had them carried in the Boat, and So Removed them in the Company Place where they are to be even to this time 3. Whereas Peg Morris has old the Governour & Gentlemen that She saw me go in at the Window of the new house, & there was mixed a pair of Sheets & Pillow Case, which I do give your Worship and the Gentlemen that She has falsely said that if me for I had no occasion to go in at the Window or a Clandestine way when at the same time I could go in at the Doorest Convenient, whereby this Said Wench did me that She had mixed those things when their Months, but She did not know but that they were carried to the front, I do Assure in case of it, I do for the Better that I am trusted with, I never have taken any pair of yarns nor other But has been to be sent town to the Castle, But have allways acted the Dairy wench who I have had any I have not taken any in a Clandestine way, not I have not had any from the Sed Wench to the best of my Remembrance not the two Months or more, So that these Sed fellows or Persons Viz. Tom, Wolf Sarr, Peg Morris, Faber, & Sharper all having an ill will, & I have you Contrived all these false Reports against me to the Governour, Some being the head of all, And I am not the first, so he has falsely Reported against, but I hope your Worship & the Gentlemen of the Council will have a better opinion of me than to believe it against me Worrall We foresaid that Mr Worrall has inadvertently Owned saying any they en Regard to his keeping in partnership with two Others / a flock of Goates upon the Honble Companys Range, the which being a Notorious Breach of trust We therefore think ourselves in Duty bound to dismiss him our Masters Service, and do accordingly Dismiss from this Day The Governour Reports that he is Empowered by the Hono	3: Peg had reported against him in the Governor's report that she saw him go in at the window of the new house, and that she missed a pair of sheets and a yellow-ware, which he gave the council and the gentlemen to know she had falsely said, and that of him, for he had no occasion to go in at the window in a clandestine way, when at the same time he could go in at the door east command, whereof the said Worrall did me that she had missed those things than then months, but she did not know but that they were carried in the door. As for the matter that he was charged with, he never had been over quarter of an ewe that had been to be sent down to the castle, but had always liked the dairy wench when she had any, he had not taken any in a clandestine way, nor he had not had any from the said wench to the best of his remembrance, not two months or more. As to their third-said fellows in person, namely Sim, Will Sarr, Peg Worrall, Sober and Sharper, all being at his will, he had given the council all these false reports against him to the Governor, Sim being the head of all, and he was not the first he was falsely charged against, but he hoped the council and the gentlemen of the council would have a better opinion of him than to believe it against him. Worrall signed the paper. The council remarked that Mr Worrall had industriously evaded saying anything as to his keeping in partnership with two others a flock of goats upon the Honourable Company's range, the which, being a notorious breach of trust, which involved his duty, bound to redress from their masters' service, the council accordingly dismissed him from the Company's service that day. Governor Jenkins reported that he had been empowered by their masters to **Interpretations** Worrall's second paper answers each charge in turn but, as the council observed, pointedly avoided the one accusation it held most serious, that he had kept a flock of goats on the Company's range in partnership with others, the very intrusion his office existed to prevent. His silence on that point, after answering the lesser charges of yams, mashes and stolen linen at length, was taken as effectively an admission, and the council dismissed him on that ground alone rather than on the slave testimony he had spent the paper contesting. The case shows how the council could act decisively even where evidence was legally weak: unable to convict on the slaves' word, it fixed instead on the one breach of trust the overseer would not deny and used it to remove a servant it had come to regard as dishonest, part of the wider cleaning-out of unfaithful officers that the deficiency inquiry had set in train.
169	165	of Isaac Pyke Esqr deceased to Collect his Effects here, & that therefore he intends to Collect Such parts of his / the late Mr Pykes / Estate as he can find, and Requests that the Council will be Present at the Depositing of the same in Chests Securely Seald, untill further Orders arive Concerning them. Geo Gab. Powell Pay Master Observes that next Saturday being the Second Saturday of the Month the time appointed for paying the Garrison &c. he therefore Requests that a Sum of Money may be Issued to him out of the Treasury, for that End Ordered that the Sum of Two hundred and Ninety three pounds Nineteen Shillings & four pence half penny be Issued accordingly	Governor Jenkins reported that he had been empowered by their masters, on the death of Isaac Pyke, to collect his effects here, and that he therefore intended to collect such parts of the late Mr Pyke's estate as he could find, and asked that the council be present at the depositing of the same in chests securely sealed, until their masters' further orders came concerning them. George Gabriel Powell, paymaster, reported that the following Saturday, being the second Saturday of the month, was the time appointed for paying the garrison, and asked that a sum of money be issued to him out of the treasury for that end. The council ordered that the sum of £293 19s 4.5d be issued accordingly. The council that day executed a lease for James Vaughan and gave him leave to assign the same to Mr John Goodwin, in accordance with an order of

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		We this day Executed a Lease for James Vaugh and gave him Liberty to dispose of the same unto Mr John Goodwin agreeable to an Order of Consultation of the 22d of December last, the Conditions of the Lease are as followes viz The Lords Proprietors of this Island the Honourable the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies, do hereby demise Grant, Sett and to Farm let unto James Vaughn of the said Island All that Piece or Parcell of Land Containing nine Acres Situate at or near the head of James Valley Butting & Bounding North upon a Parcell of firr Land belonging to John Goodwin lately Purchased of the said James Vaughn, West upon other Lands of said John Goodwin and South & East upon the Lands of Jonathan Doveton To have & to hold the said hereby Demised Parcel of Land and every part & parcell thereof together with all and Singular the Woods, Water, Water Courses, Rivers, Buildings, Edifices, Shrubs Tenements Yams & Plantations of Yams, Small trees, Halls, Fences, and all other and Singular the Rights Commoditys to them & each & every of them belonging or appertaining unto him the said James Vaughn his Heirs Executors Administrators or allowed assigns from the day of the date hereof for and during all the Space or Term of Twenty one Years from thence next Ensuing. Upon Condition that he the said James Vaughn his heirs Executors Administrators or allowed assigns shall & do bear true faith and Allegiance to our Sovereign Lord King George his Heirs and Successors and to them the said Honourable Company and their Successors and shall duly Observe & Obey all the Laws & Constitutions of the said Island, and upon Condition also that he the said James Vaughn his Heirs, Executors, Administrators or allowed Assigns shall & do from time to time and at all times whatsoever during the Term of this Present Lease keep up and Maintain in good Order and Sufficient & legal Repair all such Buildings House, Edifices, Sheds, Tennements Plantations & fences as now are or hereafter shall be made Built or Erected thereon and shall Moreover, that keep up Maintain & Preserve in and upon the said hereby demised parcel	the consultation of 22 December. The conditions of the lease were as follows. The Lords Proprietors of the island, the Honourable United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies, granted, sold and let to James Vaughan of the island all that piece or parcel of land containing nine acres, situated at or near the head of James Valley, adjoining a parcel of freehold land belonging to John Goodwin's estate, purchased of the said James Vaughan, bounded west upon the lands of the said John Goodwin and south and east upon the land of Jonathan Doveton. Vaughan, his heirs, executors, administrators and assigns were to have and to hold the said parcel of land, with all the woods, water courses, houses, buildings, edifices, huts, tenements, yams, plantations of yams, fruit trees, walls, fences and all other rights belonging to it, for a term of twenty-one years from the date of the lease. The lease held on condition that Vaughan, his heirs, executors, administrators and assigns bear true faith and allegiance to King George, his heirs and successors, and to the Honourable Company and their successors, and duly observe and obey all the laws and constitutions of the island. It held on the further condition that Vaughan, his heirs, executors, administrators or assigns should, from time to time and at all times during the term of the lease, keep and maintain in good and sufficient legal repair all such buildings, houses, edifices, huts, tenements, plantations and fences as then stood or should later be built or erected on the land, and should moreover keep, maintain and preserve in and upon the said parcel **Interpretations** The lease sets out the standard tenure by which the Company let its land on the island, and its terms illuminate the relationship between the Company as sole proprietor and the individual planter. The grant is not freehold but a twenty-one-year lease, carrying with it not merely the ground but everything on it, the standing yams, fruit trees, huts, water courses and fences, all of which the tenant took subject to strict obligations. The two conditions are revealing: allegiance to the Crown and the Company, and an unbroken duty to keep every building and fence in repair, the latter the same wood-and-fencing discipline the council had enforced through survey and fine across many years, here written into the very instrument of tenure. The assignment to Goodwin, ordered back in December, ties the lease into the debt-collection of the run, Vaughan having sought leave to make over his land the better to satisfy what he owed.
170	166	parcel of Land in full Quantity or Proportion of Wood being one tenth part of the said Parcel of Land and shall likewise Plant & Preserve Yams withinside and without the fences of the said Parcel of Land, and shall plant Fruit trees such as Apple lemon Mulberry or Peach trees in such parts thereof wherein they are most likely to Grow and as they shall happen to decay or die shall Replant others of the like sorts thereon without Hurt or Prejudice Nevertheless to any part of such Land as shall be sett a part for the Sole Purpose of Planting and Raising of Yams. Yeilding and paying therefore yearly & every year during the Term of this Present Lease unto them the said Honourable Company their Successors Agents or Assigns the Sum of five Shillings	The lease required Vaughan to keep on the parcel of land its full quantity or proportion of wood, being one-tenth part of the said parcel, and likewise to plant and preserve furze within and without its fences, and to plant fruit trees such as apple, lemon, mulberry and peach in such parts of it as were most likely to grow, and, as they happened to decay or die, to replant others of the like sort, without hurt or prejudice to any part of the land that should be set apart for the sole purpose of planting and raising yams. Vaughan was to yield and pay to the Honourable Company, their successors, agents or assigns, the yearly rent of five shillings a year, due at the feast of St Michael the Archangel. The lease held on the further condition that Vaughan, his heirs, executors, administrators or assigns should not alter or remove the fences, being the limits or land marks of the parcel, and should not sell or dispose of the lease or

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		of dore in at or upon the feast of St Michael the Arch Angel Yearly. And upon further Condition that he the said James Vaughn his Heirs Executors Administrators or allowed Assigns shall not alter or Remove the sed fences they being the Limitts or Land Marks of the Parcel of Land aforesaid and shall not Sell or dispose of this Lease or Interest therein without the leave & Consent of the Governour & Council for the time being In Witness Whereof they the said Honourable United East India Company have hereunto Affixed their Common Seal at their Union Castle in James Valley this Second day of February in the year of our Lord One Thousand Seven hundred forty one two, And he the said James Vaughn to the other part of these Presents hath Sett his hand & Seal, the day & year above Written Ro. Jenkins G.G. Powell John Godfrey At a Consultation held on Tuesday the 16 February 1741/2 at the Castle. Present Robert Jenkins Esqr Governour Geo. Gab. Powell 2d of Council John Godfrey 3d of Council The last Consultation was Read and Approved. Godfrey	any interest in it without the leave and consent of the Governor and council. In witness of this, the Honourable United East India Company set their common seal at Union Castle in James Valley on 2 February 1742, and James Vaughan, to the other part of the lease, set his hand and seal on the same day. Jenkins, Powell and Godfrey signed the consultation. A consultation was held on Tuesday 16 February 1742 at the castle. Governor Jenkins was present, with George Gabriel Powell as second of council and John Godfrey as third. The council read and approved the previous consultation. **Interpretations** The closing terms of the lease make explicit the Company's twin priorities in its island tenures, timber and provisions. The tenant was bound to keep a tenth of his ground under wood and to maintain furze and a variety of fruit trees, replanting as they died, while never encroaching on the land set aside for yams; the whole reflects the chronic anxieties that had shaped council policy for decades, the island's want of timber and its dependence on the yam crop to feed the garrison and the shipping. The prohibition on moving the fences, which served as the boundary marks, and on assigning the lease without the council's consent, kept both the physical limits of holdings and the identity of the Company's tenants under the council's control, the same concern to prevent the quiet accumulation and transfer of land that ran through the whole administration of the settlement.
171	167	Geo. Gab. Powell the Pay Master Reports that on Saturday last the Honourable Companys Servants were paid their Salary and Board Wages for the Month of January last and delivered his Account of the Same which was Examind and proved & is as followes viz. List of the Honble Companys Servants, Exclusive of the Governour & Council with their Salary & diet Money for the Month of January last paid them this 13th day of February 1741/2 Viz. Names Pay p. Mensem Diet with the Honble Company Edwin Alcock Chaplain 8. 6. 8 James Powell 3. 3. 9 Francis Wraugham Senr. Waters 3. 3. 9 Thomas Silock 1. 13. 4 John Clarke Lieutenant 3. 16. 8 James Scott Ensign 4. 3. 4 Thomas Easthope Do. 4. 3. John Duffontaine Do. 4. 3. 34. 8. 4 Serjeants Viz. Thomas Bazett 2. 4. 10 Joseph Duffontaine 2. 4. 10 William Burnham 2. 4. 10 Edward Bagley 1. 12. 6	George Gabriel Powell, the paymaster, reported that on the previous Saturday the Honourable Company's servants were paid their salary and board wages for the month of January, and delivered his account of the same, which the council examined and approved as follows. A list of the Honourable Company's servants, exclusive of the Governor and council, with their salary and diet money for the month of January, paid them on 13 February 1742, in pay per month and diet with the Honourable Company: Edwin Alsop, chaplain, £8 6s 8d James Powell, writer, £3 3s 3d Francis Wrangham senior, writer, £3 3s 9d Thomas Titeuch, writer, £4 13s 4d John Clarke, lieutenant, £5 16s 8d James Scott, ensign, £4 3s 4d Thomas Easthope, of the same, £4 4s 3d John Defountaine, of the same, £4 3s 0d Total, £34 8s 4d Sergeants: Thomas Bazett, £2 4s 10d Joseph Defountaine, £2 4s 10d William Burnham, £2 4s 10d David Bagley, £1 12s 6d Richard Girling, £1 12s 6d John Hanson, £1 12s 6d Henry Multon, £1 12s 6d, diet 13d John Leech, £1 12s 6d William Seale, £1 12s 6d Total, £16 9s 6d Corporals: John Funge, £1 9s 3d David Wilson, £1 9s 3d Christopher Beale, £1 9s 3d Joseph Whaley, £1 9s 3d Gabriel Isaac, £1 9s 3d Joshua Worrall, £1 9s 3d Thomas Swindle, £1 9s 3d Henry Beale, £1 9s 3d John French, £1 9s 3d

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		Richard Gurling 1. 12. 6 John Hanson 1. 12. 6 Henry Mullen 1. 12. 6 13. John Sock 1. 12. 6 William Seale 1. 12. 6 16. 9. 6 Corporals Viz. John Sunge 1. 9. 3 David Nilson 1. 9. 3 Umsophorus Beale 1. 9. 3 Joseph Whaley 1. 9. 3 Gabriel Jache 1. 9. 3 Joshua Worrall 1. 9. 3 Thomas Swindle 1. 9. 3 Henry Beale 1. 9. 3 John French 1. 9. 3 James Draper 1. 9. 3 Isaac Harpe 1. 9. 3 John Aldrich 1. 9. 3 17. 11. Drummers Viz. William Ornes 1. 9. 3 13. Thomas Watts 1. 9. 3 13. William Davis 1. 3. 8 Thomas Lender at £4 p Annum 4. 19. 3 Carried over --- 73. 8. 3 Diet Carried over --- 2. 3.	James Draper, £1 9s 3d Isaac Knipe, £1 9s 3d John Aldrich, £1 9s 3d Total, £17 11s 0d Drummers: William Owens, £1 9s 3d, diet 13d Thomas Watts, £1 9s 3d William Davis, £0 11s 8d, diet 13d Thomas London, at £7 a year, £4 19s 3d Total, £4 19s 3d Carried over, £73 8s 3d, diet carried over, £2 3s 0d **Interpretations** This is the monthly pay account, the counterpart to the quarterly return entered earlier, listing each servant, officer and soldier by name with his salary and separately his diet or board money owed by the Company. Its regular appearance marks the pay day now settled on the second Saturday of each month, part of the ordinary financial discipline the new administration had restored. The separation of pay from diet money, itemised man by man, gave the paymaster and council a precise record against which every disbursement could be checked, the plainest safeguard against the phantom entries the deficiency inquiry had uncovered, since a nominal roll of real men receiving stated sums left no room for the fictitious pay Crispe had carried on the books.
172	168	Brought over £73. 8. 3 Diet Brought over 2. 3. Centinels Viz. William Adams 1 2 9 Bevan Ambrose 1 2 9 13. Thomas Alcock 1 2 9 James Alles 1 2 9 William Alles 1 2	The garrison pay for January continued, brought over at £73 8s 3d, and diet brought over at £2 3s 0d. William Addams, £1 2s 9d Brown Ambrose, £1 2s 9d, diet 13d Thomas Alcock, £1 2s 9d James Ellis, £1 2s 9d William Allis, £1 2s 9d Joseph Bassett, £1 2s 9d John Bath, £1 2s 9d, diet 13d Poll Bryan, £1 2s 9d, diet 13d Daniel Bath, £1 2s 9d, diet 13d Thomas Browne, £1 2s 9d Edward Burnham, £1 2s 9d Andrew Behinman, £1 2s 9d John Bradley, £1 2s 9d Orlando Bagley, £1 2s 9d John Bann, £1 2s 9d, diet 13d William Barrell, £1 2s 9d, diet 13d Thomas Beach, £1 2s 9d, diet 13d John Button, £1 2s 9d, diet 13d Joseph Barwell, £1 2s 9d, diet 13d Peter Barker, £1 2s 9d William Browne, £1 2s 9d, diet 13d

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		9 Joseph Bazett 1 2 9 Peter Wath 1 2 9 Peter Brian 1 2 9 13. Daniel Buck 1 2 9 13. Thomas Browne 1 2 9 Edward Burnham 1 2 9 Andrew Blenman 1 2 9 John Bradley 1 2 9 Orlando Bagley 1 2 9 John Bonn 1 2 9 William Barrett 1 2 9 13. Thomas Boiah 1 2 9 13. John Bulton 1 2 9 13. Joseph Boswell 1 2 9 13. Peter Barker 1 2 9 13. William Browne 1 2 9 13. William Caddy 1	William Caddy, £1 2s 9d, diet 13d Henry Carter, £1 2s 9d, diet 13d Antony Castiel, £1 2s 9d, diet 13d George Clarke, £1 2s 9d, diet 13d Matthew Cammell, £1 2s 9d, diet 13d Daniel Connell, £1 2s 9d, diet 13d Thomas Cope, £1 2s 9d John Chadwick, £1 2s 9d, diet 6d Phillip Catchpole, £1 2s 9d Samuel Clarke, £1 2s 9d, diet 13d Martin Mac Daniel, £1 2s 9d, diet 13d William Dorrill, £1 2s 9d John Deveroy, £1 2s 9d John Draper, £1 2s 9d Thomas Draper, £1 2s 9d, diet 3d Edmund Danfield, £1 2s 9d John Doval, £1 2s 9d, diet 13d Baron Dachug, £1 2s 9d James English, £1 2s 9d John Ellis, £1 2s 9d Samuel Eales, £1 2s 9d, diet 13d William Edwards, £1 2s 9d, diet 13d John Evans, £1 2s 9d Isaac Evans, £1 2s 9d Francis Funge junior, £1 2s 9d Richard Frost, £1 2s 9d Thomas Fuller, £1 2s 9d, diet 13d James Funge, £1 2s 9d Thomas Funge, died the 7 February, £4 2s 9d John Girling, £1 2s 9d Total, £58 2s 2d Carried over, £131 10s 3d, diet carried over, £19 19s 0d **Interpretations** This stretch of the January pay roll runs through the private sentinels at the uniform rate of £1 2s 9d each, with the diet allowances noted man by man where owed. The single departure is the entry for Thomas Funge, marked as having died on 7 February, whose pay is recorded at the point his service ended, the kind of detail the nominal roll captured precisely. The account's function remained verification as much as record, the full list of named men receiving stated sums serving as the check the council relied on against the fictitious pay the deficiency inquiry had exposed, every sum on the roll answering to a real soldier whose service could be confirmed or, as with Funge, whose death closed his entry.

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		2 9 13. Henry Carter 1 2 9 13. Antony Castiel 1 2 9 13. George Clarke 1 2 9 13. Matthew Cammel 1 2 9 13. Daniel Council 1 2 9 13. Thomas Cope 1 2 9 John Chadwick 1 2 9 6. Phillip Catchpole 1 2 9 Samuel Clarke 1 2 9 13. Marten Mac Daniel 1 2 9 13. William Dorrill 1 2 9 13. John Dowey 1 2 9 John Draper 1 2 9 Thomas Draper 1 2 9 Edward Danfold 1 2 9 3. John Deval 1	

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		2 9 Baron Delcaf 1 2 9 13. James English 1 2 9 John Ellis 1 2 9 Samuel Eales 1 2 9 13. William Ecwards 1 2 9 John Evans 1 2 9 13. Isaac Evans 1 2 9 Francis Sunge Jun. 1 2 9 Richard Sont 1 2 9 Thomas Fuller 1 2 9 13. James Sunge 1 2 9 Thomas Silage, died the 7 day of Febry 1 4 8 John Gurling 1 2 9 38. 2. 2 Carried over --- £131. 10. 5 Diet Carried over --- 19. 19.	
173	169	Brought over £131. 10. 5 Diet Brought over 19. 19. Christopher Garland 1 2 9 Umcephorus Gurling 1 2 9 13. John George 1	The garrison pay for January continued, brought over at £131 10s 3d, and diet brought over at £19 19s 0d. Christopher Garland, £1 2s 9d Christopherus Greening, £1 2s 9d, diet 13d John George, £1 2s 9d William Spann, £1 2s 9d, diet 13d Giles Hayes, £1 2s 9d, diet 13d Richard Harper, £1 2s 9d Francis Hayes, £1 2s 9d James Holt, £1 2s 9d Phillip Hillard, £1 2s 9d Daniel Hayes, £1 2s 9d

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		2 9 William Gunn 1 2 9 13. Giles Hayes 1 2 9 13. Richard Harper 1 2 9 Francis Hayes 1 2 9 James Holt 1 2 9 Phillip Hillard 1 2 9 Daniel Hayes 1 2 9 John Hayes 1 2 9 Samuel Holmes 1 2 9 John Holloway 1 2 9 Solomon Jacks 1 2 9 Jupiter Jermain 1 2 9 13. Richard Kent 1 2 9 Richard Knight 1 2 9 Joseph Long 1 2 9 James Ling 1 2 9 13. Thomas Ligg 1 2 0 13.	John Hayes, £1 2s 9d Barnett Skinner, £1 2s 9d John Holloway, £1 2s 9d Solomon Jacobs, £1 2s 9d Japther Jarman, £1 2s 9d, diet 13d Richard Kent, £1 2s 9d Richard Knight, £1 2s 9d Joseph Long, £1 2s 9d James Long, £1 2s 9d, diet 13d Thomas Legg, £1 2s 9d, diet 13d Sutton Leech, £1 2s 9d Thomas Leech, £1 2s 9d John Lewis, £1 2s 9d John Leech junior, £1 2s 9d, diet 13d John Leggett, £1 2s 9d Ebenezar Leech, £1 2s 9d, diet 13d Marco Lilley, £1 2s 9d, diet 13d David Bird, £1 2s 9d Stephen Lufkin, £1 2s 9d John Malcracher, £1 2s 9d Bartholomew Milloy, £1 2s 9d Robert Marlow, £1 2s 9d John Morgan, £1 2s 9d, diet 13d John Malcracher, £1 2s 9d, diet 13d William Beere, £1 2s 9d Richard Newton, £1 2s 9d, diet 13d William Price, £1 2s 9d, diet 13d John Potter, £1 2s 9d, diet 13d John Pearce, £1 2s 9d, diet 13d James Pedgeon, £1 2s 9d, diet 13d Stephen Powers, £1 2s 9d Edward Pedgeon, £1 2s 9d Samuel Pool, £1 2s 9d James Richardson, £1 2s 9d, diet 13d Thomas Silite, £1 2s 9d, diet 13d John Spencer 1, £1 2s 9d, diet 13d John Spencer 2, £1 2s 9d, diet 13d John Scotcher, £1 2s 9d, diet 13d William Simpson, £1 2s 9d Isaac Steward, £1 2s 9d Benjamin Seale, £1 2s 9d John Sprake, £1 2s 9d Total, £59 3s 0d Carried over, £190 15s 3d, diet carried over, £35 14s 0d **Interpretations** This further stretch of the January roll continues the private sentinels at the standard rate, each entered by name with the diet allowance marked where due. Two men of the surname Malcracher appear in close succession, one carrying a diet entry and one not, the kind of near-duplication that made a full nominal roll essential to accurate payment. The account served the same purpose throughout, a name-by-name record against which every sum could be verified, the routine discipline of pay and muster restored under the new administration and standing as the plainest guard against the fictitious entries the deficiency inquiry had brought to light.

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		Sutten Leech 1 2 9 Thomas Leech 1 2 9 John Lewis 1 2 9 John Leech Jun. 1 2 9 John Leggett 1 2 9 13. Ebenezar Leech 1 2 9 Morris Lilley 1 2 9 13. David Lord 1 2 9 13. Stephen Luffing 1 2 9 John Mudge 1 2 9 Bartholomew Milley 1 2 9 Robert Manlove 1 2 9 John Morgan 1 2 9 John Mahurther 1 2 9 13. William Moore 1 2 9 13. Richard Newton 1 2 9 William Prire 1 2 0 13. John Potter	

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		1 2 9 13. John Pearce 1 2 9 13. James Pritchard 1 2 9 13. Stephen Powers 1 2 9 Edward Eastgren 1 2 9 Samuel Pavet 1 2 9 James Prichardson 1 2 9 Thomas Sillett 1 2 9 13. John Spencer 1 1 2 9 13. John Spencer 2 1 2 9 13. John Sotcher 1 2 9 13. William Simpson 1 2 9 Steckel Stroud 1 2 9 Benjamin Seale 1 2 9 John Sprake 1 2 9 59. 3. Carried over --- £190. 15. 5 Diet Carried over --- £35. 12.	
174	170	Brought over £190. 15. 5 Diet Brought over 35. 12. William Swaites 1 2	The garrison pay for January continued, brought over at £190 15s 3d, and diet brought over at £35 14s 0d. William Swindle, £1 2s 9d Richard Swindle, £1 2s 9d, diet 13d

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		9 Richard Swaites 1 2 9 Matthew Watters 1 2 9 13. John Webster 1 2 9 Jeremiah Worrell 1 2 9 13. John Worrall Jun. 1 2 9 Peter Wells 1 2 9 3. Thomas Watson 1 2 9 John Winter 1 2 9 3. David Wilson 1 2 9 13. James Vaughn Junr. 1 2 9 John Gab. Van Aston 1 2 9 13. 13. Gunroom Crew Viz. John French Gunner Including House rent at the rate of £6. p Annum 6. 10. Isaac Search Gunners Mate 1 12 6 Thomas Watts Do. 1 12 6 Robert Wood Do. 1 12 6 13. Nathan Sample Do. 1 12 6 James Vaughn Quarter Gunner 1 9	Matthew Watters, £1 2s 9d John Webster, £1 2s 9d, diet 13d Jeremiah Worrell, £1 2s 9d John Worrall junior, £1 2s 9d, diet 3d Peter Wells, £1 2s 9d Thomas Watson, £1 2s 9d John Winster, £1 2s 9d, diet 3d David Wilson, £1 2s 9d, diet 13d James Vaughan junior, £1 2s 9d John Gabriel Van Osson, £1 2s 9d Total, £13 13s 0d Gunroom crew: Isaac Leech, gunner's mate, £1 12s 6d Thomas Watts, of the same, £1 12s 6d Robert Wood, of the same, £1 12s 6d, diet 13d Nathan Semple, of the same, £1 12s 6d James Vaughan, quarter gunner, £1 9s 3d Roger Nelavson, of the same, £1 9s 3d Francis Newland, mattross, £1 7s 1d William Chillingworth, of the same, £1 7s 1d, diet 13d William Kennedy, of the same, £1 7s 1d, diet 13d Thomas Bingham, of the same, £1 7s 1d, diet 13d John Christoffel, of the same, £1 7s 1d, diet 13d John Spencer, of the same, £1 7s 1d, diet 13d Major Jackson, of the same, £1 7s 1d Joseph Belcher, of the same, £1 7s 1d John Biddle, of the same, £1 7s 1d, diet 10d William Davis senior, of the same, £1 7s 1d John Barnett, of the same, £1 7s 1d, diet 13d John Pettige, of the same, £1 7s 1d, diet 13d Total, £32 3s 6d Superannuated: Isaac Wood, ensign, died the 7 February 1742, £2 10s 0d Joseph Whaley, sergeant, £1 12s 6d Isaac Hodgkinson, quarter gunner, £1 9s 3d George Linsey, drummer, £1 9s 3d Samuel Harper, sentinel, £1 7s 0d Total, £8 3s 9d Samuel Doveton, £5 0s 0d John Worrall, to the 9 February, overseer, £3 3s 0d John Swaites, overseer, £2 10s 0d Richard Insley, overseer, £1 10s 0d James Vaughan, clerk, £1 2s 9d of the same, custom master, £0 8s 4d Francis Isaac, armourer, £4 3s 4d James Haywood, of the same, mate, £2 10s 0d Henry Moyce, carpenter, £4 3s 4d Total, £24 1s 3d Carried over, £268 15s 1d, diet carried over, £45 0s 0d The single ship-related line is rendered here as prose to preserve its form: John French, gunner, including his board sent at the rate of £6 a year, was paid £6 0s 0d for the month. **Interpretations** This section completes the January roll through the remaining sentinels, the gunroom crew and the superannuated and civil establishment. Two deaths are recorded within days of each other, Isaac Wood the superannuated ensign and Thomas Funge the sentinel of the previous page, both dying on 7 February, their pay closed at the point their service ended. John Worrall's entry as overseer is marked as running only to 9 February, the day the council dismissed him for keeping goats on the Company's range, so the pay roll itself registers the outcome of the inquiry into his honesty. The account's careful noting of each man's term, whether ended by death or dismissal, shows the same precision that made the nominal roll an effective check against the phantom pay the deficiency inquiry had uncovered.

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		3 Roger Robinson Do. 1 9 3 Francis Newland Mattrofs 1 7 1 William Chillingworth Do. 1 7 1 13. William Kennedy Do. 1 7 1 13. Thomas Willingham Do. 1 7 1 13. John Christofel Do. 1 7 1 13. John Spencer Do. 1 7 1 13. Major Jackson Do. 1 7 1 Joseph Belcher Do. 1 7 1 John Beetle Do. 1 7 1 13. William Davis Senr. Do. 1 7 1 John Barnett Do. 1 7 1 13. John Rutlege Do. 1 7 1 13. 32. 3. 6 Superannuated Viz. Isaac Wood Ensign Dyd 7 Febry 1741/2 2 10 Joseph Whaley Serjeant 1 12 6 Isaac Hagarson Quarter Gunner 1 9 3 George Linsey Drummer	

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		1 9 3 Samuel Harpe Centinel 1 2 9 8. 3. 9 Samuel Doveton 5. John Worrall to the 9 February 3. 5. 9 John Beates Overseers 2. 10. Richard Sindey 1. 10. James Vaughn Clerk 1. 2. 9 Do. Custom Master 8. 4 Francis Sunge Armourer 4. 5. James Haybird Do. Mate 2. 10. Henry Mayes Carpenter 4. 5. 4 24. 1. 5 Carried over --- £268. 13. 1 Diet Carried over --- £45.	
175	171	Brought over £268. 13. 1 Diet Brought over 45. John Norman Cooper 2 10 John Wrangetall Cowman 2 10 13. Joseph Belcher House keeper 15 4 Thomas Cilgore Marshall 1 9 3 James Peters Surgeons Mate 3 4 Richard Wade School Master 1 2 9 Balla Cook 2 10 Nicholas Cleather Steward 3 9 4 William Dwew Gardner 20. 19. 4 Totall £289. 13. 3 Totall of Diet £45. 15 George Gabriel Powell Pay Master Dr. Cr. To the Honble Companys Treasury having Received thence 293. 9. 4½ To Cash for So much Received of Sundrys Particulars as pr Column for that from the Hono Company 15. 15 To Sundrys, for so much Received of them in part of their Debts	The garrison pay for January continued, brought over at £268 15s 1d, and diet brought over at £45 0s 0d. John Norman, cooper, £2 10s 0d John Arangetall, coxswain, £2 10s 0d Joseph Belcher, house keeper, £0 13s 4d, diet 13d Thomas Colgrave, marshal, £1 9s 3d James Peters, surgeon's mate, £3 8s 4d Richard Mace, school master, £1 2s 9d Bella Cook, £1 2s 9d Nicholas Cleather, steward, £2 10s 0d William Deneur, gardener, £3 3s 0d Total, £20 19s 4d Total, £289 14s 3d Total diet, £45 15s 0d Mr George Gabriel Powell, paymaster, delivered his account, which stood as follows. Debtor: To the Honourable Company's treasury, having received thence, £293 19s 4d To cash for so much received of sundries, particulars in column, for diet from the Honourable Company, £45 15s 0d To sundries, for so much received of them in part of their debt to the estate of the late John Goodwin: Francis Funge, £1 19s 0d Thomas Watts, £0 9s 0d Total debtor, £342 3s 4d Creditor: By sundries, for so much paid the Honourable Company's servants, exclusive of the Governor and council, their salary and board wages for the month of January, £289 14s 3d By sundries: Edward Bates for one month's salary, £1 2s 9d John Sprake for sowing of hoes, £3 11s 3d Total, £291 3s 4d By balance this day paid into the Honourable Company's treasury, £51 1s 3d Total creditor, £342 3s 4d The account was signed at St Helena on 16 February 1742, errors excepted, by George Gabriel Powell, paymaster. Mr Powell having paid in the sum of £51 1s 3d, the balance of the above account, the council

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		to the Estate of the late John Goodwin Esq. Do. Francis Sunge £1. 19. 10½ Thomas Watts 9. By Sundrys, for so much paid the Hono Companys Servants Salary of the pr & Council their Salary & Board Wages for the Month of January last 289. 14. 5 By Sundry Vizt Edward Wales for one Months Salary 1. 2. 9 John Sprake for Shaving of Houses 3. 11½ 291. 3. 4½ By Ballance this day paid into the Hono Companys Treasury 31. 12. £322. 3. 4½ St Helena this 16 day of February 1741/2 Errors Excepted p. G.G. Powell Pay Master Mr Powell having first on the Sum of £34. -- p the Ballance of the above Account We think Proper to Advance him the Sum of £5.-- in Order to pay off any little matters that may arise between this and the next pay day The Governour the Gunner and Steward delivered their Accounts for the Month of January last which were Severally Examined and Proved and are as followes viz Accots	thought it right to allow him the sum of £3 8s in order to pay any little matters that might arise between then and the next pay day. The Governor, gunner and steward delivered their accounts for the month of January, which the council examined separately and approved as follows. **Interpretations** This closing section completes the January pay roll with the civil officers, cooper, coxswain, marshal, surgeon's mate, schoolmaster and gardener, and then sets out the paymaster's balanced account, the money drawn from the treasury and received from various debtors set against the wages paid and the balance returned into the Company's cash. The account is notable for folding in small recoveries against the late Governor Goodwin's estate, sums paid by Francis Funge and Thomas Watts towards their debts, so that the routine business of paying the garrison ran alongside the continuing gathering-in of the estate's outstanding credit. The paymaster's balance carried properly back into the treasury, with a modest float allowed for incidental payments, marks the restored financial order of the new administration, every sum accounted for and returned rather than left to disappear as under the previous regime.
176	172	Account of the Honble Companys Stock of Neat Cattle &c. for the Month of January 1741/2 Vizt. Bullocks, Cows, Heffers, Steers, Yearlings, Calves, Bulls, Totall (Neat Cattle), Ewes, Weathers, Lambs, Rams, Totall (Sheep), Ewes, Weathers, Kids, Rams, Totall (Goates), Sows, Barrows, Shoats, Pigs, Boares, Totall (Hogs), Turkeys, Fowles, Ducks, Geese, Horses, Mares, Totall (Poultry & Horses) Remaining the 1st of January: Bullocks 12, Cows 97, Heffers 38, Steers 25, Yearlings 29, Calves 42, Bulls 4, Totall 247, Ewes 47, Weathers 8, Lambs 3, Rams 4, Totall 62, Ewes 81, Weathers 13, Kids 7, Rams 4, Totall 105, Sows 20, Barrows 4, Shoats 29, Pigs 6, Boares 2, Totall 61, Turkeys 88, Fowles 310, Ducks 82, Geese 18, Horses 4, Mares 7, Totall 11 Increased in Ditto: [second-row values: 1, 8, 60, 10, 1, 1] Killed in Ditto: Bullocks 12, Cows 97, Heffers 38, Steers 25, Yearlings 29, Calves 42, Bulls 4, Totall 247, Ewes 47, Weathers 8, Lambs 3, Rams 4, Totall 62, Ewes 81, Weathers 13, Kids 8, Rams 4, Totall 106, Sows 20, Barrows 4, Shoats 29, Pigs 6, Boares 2, Totall 61, Turkeys 96, Fowles 370, Ducks 92, Geese 18, Horses 4, Mares 8, Totall 12, [second-row: 16, 4, 20, 1, 1, 28] Died in Ditto: Bullocks 12, Cows 97, Heffers 38, Steers 25, Yearlings 29, Calves 42, Bulls 4, Totall 247, Ewes 47, Weathers 8, Lambs 3, Rams 4, Totall 62, Ewes 65, Weathers 13, Kids 4, Rams 4, Totall 86, Sows 19, Barrows 4, Shoats 29, Pigs 6, Boares 2, Totall 60, Turkeys 95, Fowles 342, Ducks 92, Geese 18, Horses 4, Mares 8, Totall 12, [second-row: 1, 6, 2, 1] Remaining 31st of January: Bullocks 12, Cows 97, Heffers 38, Steers 25, Yearlings 29, Calves 42, Bulls 4, Totall 247, Ewes 47, Weathers 8, Lambs 2, Rams 4, Totall 61, Ewes 59, Weathers 13, Kids 4, Rams 4, Totall 80, Sows 19, Barrows 4, Shoats 29, Pigs 6, Boares 2, Totall 60, Turkeys 95, Fowles 310, Ducks 91, Geese 17, Horses 4, Mares 8, Totall 12	An account of the Honourable Company's stock of neat cattle and other animals for the month of January 1742. Remaining on 1 January: 12 bullocks, 97 cows, 38 heifers, 25 steers, 29 yearlings, 42 calves, 4 bulls, neat cattle total 247; 47 ewes, 8 wethers, 3 lambs, 4 rams, sheep total 62; 81 does, 13 wethers, 7 kids, 4 rams, goats total 105; 20 sows, 4 barrows, 29 shoats, 6 pigs, 2 boars, hogs total 61; 88 turkeys, 310 fowls, 82 ducks, 18 geese; 4 horses, 7 mares, horses total 11. Increased in the same: 1 kid, goats total 1; 8 turkeys, 60 fowls, 10 ducks; 1 mare, horses total 1. Total: 12 bullocks, 97 cows, 38 heifers, 25 steers, 29 yearlings, 42 calves, 4 bulls, neat cattle total 247; 47 ewes, 8 wethers, 3 lambs, 4 rams, sheep total 62; 81 does, 13 wethers, 8 kids, 4 rams, goats total 106; 20 sows, 4 barrows, 29 shoats, 6 pigs, 2 boars, hogs total 61; 96 turkeys, 370 fowls, 92 ducks, 18 geese; 4 horses, 8 mares, horses total 12. Killed in the same: 16 does, 4 kids, goats killed 20; 1 sow, hogs killed 1; 1 turkey, 28 fowls. Remaining after killing: 12 bullocks, 97 cows, 38 heifers, 25 steers, 29 yearlings, 42 calves, 4 bulls, neat cattle total 247; 47 ewes, 8 wethers, 3 lambs, 4 rams, sheep total 62; 63 does, 13 wethers, 4 kids, 4 rams, goats total 86; 19 sows, 4 barrows, 29 shoats, 6 pigs, 2 boars, hogs total 60; 95 turkeys, 342 fowls, 92 ducks, 18 geese; 4 horses, 8 mares, horses total 12. Died in the same: 1 lamb, sheep died 1; 6 does, goats died 6; 2 turkeys, 1 duck. Remaining on 31 January: 12 bullocks, 97 cows, 38 heifers, 25 steers, 29 yearlings, 42 calves, 4 bulls, neat cattle total 247; 47 ewes, 8 wethers, 2 lambs, 4 rams, sheep total 61; 59 does, 13 wethers, 4 kids, 4 rams, goats total 80; 19 sows, 4 barrows, 29 shoats, 6 pigs, 2 boars, hogs total 60; 95 turkeys, 340 fowls, 91 ducks, 17 geese; 4 horses, 8 mares, horses total 12. Yams expended at the several plantations: 36,000 lb.

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		Yams Expended at the Several Plantations.....36000 Account of the Stock of Neat Cattle &c. belonging to the Estate of John Goodwin Esqr. Deceased for the Month of January 1741/2 Vizt. Cows, Yearlings, Calves, Totall (Neat Cattle), Ewes, Weathers, Lambs, Rams, Totall (Sheep), Ewes, Weathers, Kids, Rams, Totall (Goates), Sows, Shoats, Pigs, Totall (Hogs), Horses Remaining 1 Janry: Cows 6, Yearlings 2, Calves 3, Totall 11, Ewes 30, Weathers 6, Lambs 4, Rams 1, Totall 41, Ewes 15, Weathers 5, Rams 1, Totall 21, Sows 7, Shoats 8, Pigs 7, Totall 22, Horses 3 Increased in Do.: [second-row: 6, 1, 12, 12] Killed in Do.: Cows 6, Yearlings 2, Calves 3, Totall 11, Ewes 30, Weathers 6, Lambs 10, Rams 1, Totall 47, Ewes 15, Weathers 5, Rams 1, Totall 22, Sows 7, Shoats 8, Pigs 19, Totall 34, Horses 3, [second-row: 1] Died in Do.: Cows 6, Yearlings 2, Calves 3, Totall 11, Ewes 30, Weathers 6, Lambs 10, Rams 1, Totall 47, Ewes 15, Weathers 4, Rams 1, Totall 21, Sows 7, Shoats 8, Pigs 19, Totall 34, Horses 3, [second-row: 1] Remaining 31 Do.: Cows 6, Yearlings 2, Calves 3, Totall 11, Ewes 30, Weathers 6, Lambs 10, Rams 1, Totall 47, Ewes 15, Weathers 4, Rams 1, Totall 21, Sows 6, Shoats 8, Pigs 19, Totall 33, Horses 2 Yams Expended.....7000. Gun.	An account of the stock of neat cattle and other animals belonging to the estate of the late John Goodwin, deceased, for the month of January 1742. Remaining on 1 January: 6 cows, 2 yearlings, 3 calves, neat cattle total 11; 30 ewes, 6 wethers, 4 lambs, 1 ram, sheep total 41; 15 does, 5 wethers, 1 ram, goats total 21; 7 sows, 8 shoats, 7 pigs, hogs total 22; 3 horses. Increased in the same: 6 lambs, sheep total 6; 1 kid, goats total 1; 12 pigs, hogs total 12. Total: 6 cows, 2 yearlings, 3 calves, neat cattle total 11; 30 ewes, 6 wethers, 10 lambs, 1 ram, sheep total 47; 15 does, 5 wethers, 1 kid, 1 ram, goats total 22; 7 sows, 8 shoats, 19 pigs, hogs total 34; 3 horses. Killed in the same: 1 lamb, sheep killed 1; 1 kid, goats killed 1. Died in the same: 7 sows, hogs died 1; 1 horse. Remaining on 31 January: 6 cows, 2 yearlings, 3 calves, neat cattle total 11; 30 ewes, 6 wethers, 10 lambs, 1 ram, sheep total 47; 15 does, 4 wethers, 1 kid, 1 ram, goats total 21; 6 sows, 8 shoats, 19 pigs, hogs total 33; 2 horses. Yams expended: 7,000 lb. **Interpretations** The Company's goats fell sharply this month, from 105 to 80, twenty killed and six more dead, the heaviest single draw on them in the run and the continuation of the settled policy of drawing the table's meat from goats while the breeding cattle stood wholly untouched. The poultry, by contrast, increased strongly, sixty fowls and ten ducks bred in, the birds multiplying as the season allowed. The late Governor's estate stock moved only slightly, its small holding of cattle unchanged and its sheep and hogs turning over through a few births and deaths, the whole maintained through Samuel Doveton against the day the Court settled the deficiency, and the death of one of its three horses reducing the estate's stock a little further.
177	173	Gunners Stores Expended in January 1741/2 Viz. For the Muster 16 For the Guard Out Ports 53 Totall 69 Match 14 lb Paper 4 more Sad Shott 2. 8 Expence of the General Table for the Month of January 1741/2 Viz. 69 Gallons Arrach @ 3/ 6. 14. 31½ Do. Port Wine 6/ 9. 7. 6 49¼ Do. Ale 6/ 9. 7. 8 166 lb Sugar /2 1. 12. 8 Bottle Oyle 2/6 12. 2 Bushells Salt 6/ 4. 12. 3 4 lb flour 23/ 4. 12. 3	The gunner's stores expended in January 1742, in powder expended: For the muster, 16 lb For the guard and outer forts, 53 lb Total, 69 lb Stores expended: match 14 lb, paper 14 quires, lead shot 28 lb. The expense of the general table for the month of January 1742: 67 gallons of arrack at 2s, £6 14s 0d 31 gallons of port wine at 6s, £9 7s 6d 19.5 gallons of ale at 3s, £7 9s 8d 166 lb of sugar at 12, £1 7s 8d 5 bottles of oil at 2s 6d, £0 11s 0d 2 bushels of salt at 6s, £0 12s 0d 5.5 hundredweight of flour at 23s, £4 15s 3d 36 lb of candy at 12, £0 9s 10d 63 lb of candles at 12, £6 6s 0d 63 lb of island pork at 6s 4d, £1 10s 0d 10 goats at 10s, £5 0s 0d 9 kids at 3s, £2 1s 0d 30 fowls at 1s 6d, £3 10s 0d 1 turkey at 3s, £0 3s 0d 14 lb of salt beef at 3s, £2 1s 8d 30 lb of salt pork at 2s 1d, £3 1s 0d Total, £57 15s 6d Mr John Godfrey, the storekeeper, was ordered to deliver to Mr Powell ten gallons of arrack, which Mr Powell had at the Governor's request given to John Dean, late of the Sea Store, for his Sea Store homeward bound, and also 63 lb of sugar candy, which was already charged in the account of diet expenses for the ninth day of May, the same quantity having been borrowed of Mr Powell for the use of

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		36 lb Candy 6/ 6. 10. 62 lb Candles 2/ 6. 10. 62 Do. Salt Pork 6d p lb 1. 10. 10 Goats 10/ 7. 5. 9 Kids 5/ 5. 10. 20 fowles 1/6 3. 1 Turkey 5/ 2. 1. 8 14 lb Salt Beef 2/ 2. 1. 8 20 lb Salt Pork 2/1 37. 15. 6 Mr John Yeatrey the Storekeeper was Ordered to deliver to Mr Powell 10 gallons of Arrach which he Mr Powell had at the Governours Request given to John Dean late of ship Sufer for his Sea Store homeward bound, and also 62 lb of Sugar Candy which is already Charged in the account of Diet Expences for the Month of May last the same quantity having been borrowed of Mr Powell for the use of the Castle at our first coming and before any were Recd out of the Stores. The following Petition was this day Presented and Read Vizt. To	the castle at the council's first coming and before any were issued out of the stores. The following petition was this day presented and read. **Interpretations** The gunner's account this month records only routine expenditure, the muster salute and the guard's powder, with no gunnery practice, a quieter return than the exercising and battery trials of the preceding months. The table account holds close to its usual pattern, the killing again falling on goats and kids rather than the spared breeding cattle. The order to Godfrey to replace arrack and sugar candy borrowed at the council's first arrival, before the stores were formally opened, marks a small but characteristic act of the new administration's bookkeeping, ensuring that even goods drawn in the earliest days of Governor Jenkins's government were properly accounted for and repaid, part of the scrupulous restoration of order that stood in deliberate contrast to the loose dealing the deficiency inquiry had exposed.
178	174	To the Worshipfull Robert Jenkins Esqr. Governour & Council of the Island St Helena The humble Petition of John Swaites Humbly Sheweth That Your Petitioner with the leave & Consent of the Govr and Council on the 8 of March 1739 did purchase of Joseph Bates of this Island 3 Acres of Land Situate in Sandy Bay: But by some Accident or Neglect on the side of the said Bates, the Lease for the said Land is either lost or Mislaid. Your Petitioner therefore Humbly prays that he may have a new Lease granted him for the sd 3 Acres of Land, And Your Petitioner further most Humbly Pray: Your Worship & Council will be favourably Pleased to Grant him liberty to become Tenant to the Honble Company for an Acre of Barren Waist Land adjoyning to your Petitioner other Lands whereon to Build a House And Your Petitioner as in Duty bound will ever pray. (Signd) John Swaites St Helena 16 February 1741/2 Granted And the Secretary was Ordered to prepare a new Lease for 4 Acres of Land against next Consultation Day.	John Swaites addressed a petition to Governor Jenkins and the council of St Helena. He set out that, with the leave and consent of the Governor and council, he had on a day in March 1730 purchased of Joseph Bates of the island three acres of land situated in Sandy Bay, but that by some accident or neglect on the part of Bates the lease for the said land was either lost or mislaid. He therefore asked that a new lease be granted him for the said three acres. He further asked that the council be pleased to grant him leave to become tenant to the Honourable Company for an acre of barren waste land adjoining his other lands, on which to build a house. He signed the petition, John Swaites, at St Helena on 16 February 1742. The council granted the request, and the secretary was ordered to prepare a new lease for four acres of land against the next consultation. Jenkins, Powell and Godfrey signed the consultation. **Interpretations** Swaites's petition shows the practical importance the council attached to written title in a settlement where deeds were readily lost or mislaid, as this one had been through Bates's neglect. Rather than let a purchase of twelve years' standing rest on nothing, the council granted a fresh lease to put his title beyond doubt, the same concern for secure documentary record that ran through its handling of land throughout the run. The addition of an acre of barren waste for a house, granted in the same instrument, illustrates the Company's readiness to let ground of little value to build on, extending a

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		Ro. Jenkins G.G. Powell John Godfrey	tenant's holding where the land served no better purpose to the neighbourhood.
179	175	At a Consultation held on Tuesday the 2d day of March 1741/2 at the Castle Present Robert Jenkins Esqr. Governour Geo. Gab. Powell John Godfrey The last Consultation was read and Approved The 27th day of last Month arrived a French Ship called the Triton commanded by Messr. Butler DeMalz from Bengall and Pondicherry but last from the Mauress Burthen 650 Tons, 31 Guns and 180 Men, with Messr. Pierre DuMas late Governour of Pondicherry who wrote on Shore the following Letter Viz. Monsieur DuMas, Governour General of all the French Colonies in Asia & Africa Letter, to the Governour by Pr Addres translated in English Sir As we are in want of Water and some other fresh Provisions we have Ordered coming to your Island in Expectation that you would do us the favour to let us have them there. I have had the Satisfaction to Render the Same Service in Divers occasions to Several English Ships Particularly to the Docker, Bedford & Newcastle, whome Arrived at the Island Bourbon in great Distress & Remained there almost all months to Restore their Men that were in a very bad State of health, I ordered them what Money and other Necessarys they desired, and Furnished fifty French Sailors to carry the Bedford to England Habit God Sir We are not in such a bad case, and We only desire the favour of you to let us Purchase some Water and fresh Provisions The affairs of Europe being at the beginning of this Year in a Critical Situation in Regard to Warr between our two Nations, Obliges me to beg the favour of you to Acquaint me if you have any Positive News on that Subject and to give me your word and Honour that you will Receive us with the same friendship that our Ships Received formerly in your Island, if you are Pleased to so do We will not Balance one Moment to go Anchor in your Harbour, I Remain Most Sincerely. Sir Your Most humble & Obedient Servant Pierre DuMas In Answer to which the Governour wrote the following Vizt The Governour of St Helenas Letter to Monsieur DuMas Governour General of all the French Settlements Sir As We have no Orders but to Entertain the French Nation as friends I hereby permit your Ship to come into the Road to Refresh Your Ships Company with Water Dc as much other Provisions as can be Conveniently Spard A Gentleman who hath treated so much of friendship to three of your Ships at Mascaron can never want any Refreshments so long as the two Nations are in friendship. I am Sir	A consultation was held on Tuesday 2 March 1742 at the castle. Governor Jenkins was present, with George Gabriel Powell and John Godfrey. The council read and approved the previous consultation. On 27 February a French ship called the *Triton*, commanded by Monsieur Butler du Wale, arrived from Bengal and Pondicherry, last from the Mauritius, of 630 tons, 30 guns and 180 men, with Monsieur Pierre Dumas, late Governor of Pondicherry, aboard, who wrote ashore the following letter. Monsieur Dumas, Governor General of all the French colonies in Asia and Africa, addressed a letter to the Governor of St Helena, translated into English. He wrote that, being in want of water and some other fresh provisions, he had come to the island in expectation that the Governor would do him the favour of letting him have them there. He noted that he had had the satisfaction of rendering the same service on various occasions to several English ships, particularly to the *Dolphin*, *Bedford* and *Newcastle*, which arrived at the island of Bourbon in great distress, their men in a very ill state of health; he obtained them relief without money and other necessaries they wanted, and furnished fifty French sailors to carry the *Bedford* to England. He thanked God that he was not in such a bad case, and only desired the favour of leave to purchase some water and fresh provisions. The affairs of Europe being at the beginning of that year in a critical situation as regards war between two nations, he begged the Governor to let him know whether he had any positive orders on the subject, and to give him his word and honour that he would receive him with the same friendship that English ships received formerly in the island; if so, he was so well and would balance no moment to go and anchor in the harbour. He remained most sincerely the Governor's most humble and obedient servant, Pierre Dumas. In answer, Governor Jenkins wrote the following letter to Monsieur Dumas, Governor General of all the French settlements. He wrote that, though he had no orders but to entertain the French nation as friends, he thereby permitted his ship to come into the road to furnish the Honourable Company with water and as much other provision as was conveniently spared. He added that a gentleman who had rendered so much service to three of his ships at the Mascarene islands could never want any refreshments so long as the two nations were in friendship. He was the Governor's most obedient and most humble servant, Robert Jenkins, on 27 February 1742. He added a postscript that he was in daily expectation of a convoy for his returning shipping, and signed it again, Robert Jenkins. **Interpretations** This exchange captures the delicate courtesy between officers of two nations poised on the edge of war, the War of the Austrian Succession then drawing Britain and France toward open hostilities. Dumas, a senior French colonial governor, appealed to a debt of reciprocal hospitality, recalling the relief he had given English ships in distress at Bourbon and the fifty sailors he had lent to bring the *Bedford* home, and asked in return only water and provisions and an assurance of friendly treatment. Governor Jenkins's careful reply, granting the request while stressing he had no orders but to treat the French as

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		27 Febry 1741/2 Your Most Obedient and Most Humble Servant Robt. Jenkins P.S. We are in Daily Expectation of a Convey for our Returning Shiping Same as above Robt Jenkins Whereupon	friends, and pointedly mentioning his expected convoy, shows him balancing genuine obligation and personal courtesy against the caution of a commander who knew war might be declared at any moment, extending hospitality without lowering his guard.
180	176	Whereupon the French Governour & his Lady, the Captain and Several other Gentlemen came on Shore the next Morning Mr John Godfrey the Storekeeper this Day brought in the following Account viz. Cash Dr. on the Estate of John Goodwin Esqr Deceased Vizt. of John French Senr. 10. 17. 1½ of Samuel Doveton 4. 15. 7 of Thomas Bazett 6. 16. 1½ of Joseph Duffontain 13. 15. 9 of Isaac Wood 25. of John Hanson 10. of James Draper 2. 14. of John Aldrich 4. 7. 9 of Mary Alexander 2. 1. 10 of Francis Sunge Senr. 47. 9. 9½ 120. 7. 11½ Cash Dr. to Sundry Persons for Rents Received Viz. of John French Senr. 8. 12. 6 of Orlando Bagley 3. 2. 6 of John Browne 2. 6 of Samuel Doveton 10. 8. 3 of Francis Sunge Senr. 4. 8. 1½ of Matthew Mudge 1. 3. of Jonathan Higham 10. 28. 8. 10½ Cash Dr. to Sundry Persons for old Arrears now paid Viz. Francis Sunge Senr. 5. 16. 6 Jonathan Higham 1. 12. 6 Elizabeth Greentree 4. 2. Matthew Mudge 3. 17. 8 17. 18. 8 Sundry Accounts Dr. to Cash paid the following Persons Viz. John French Senr. Gratification 4. 9. House Rent 6. Samuel Doveton 3. 3. Diet for Joseph Belcher 4. 10. Francis Sunge Senr. 5. 4. 6 Jonathan Higham 2. 2. 6	The French Governor and his lady, the captain and several other gentlemen came ashore the following Monday. Mr John Godfrey, the storekeeper, that day brought in the following account. Cash, debtor, on the estate of John Goodwin, deceased: Of John French senior, £10 17s 1.5d Of Samuel Doveton, £4 15s 7d Of Thomas Bazett, £6 16s 1.5d Of Joseph Defountaine, £13 15s 9d Of Isaac Wood, £25 0s 0d Of John Hanson, £0 10s 0d Of James Deneur, £2 14s 0d Of John Aldrich, £4 7s 9d Of Mary Alexander, £2 1s 0d Of Francis Funge senior, £47 9s 9.5d Total, £120 7s 11.5d Cash, debtor, to sundry persons for rents received: Of John French senior, £8 12s 6d Of Orlando Bagley, £3 2s 6d Of John Browne, £0 2s 6d Of Samuel Doveton, £10 8s 3d Of Francis Funge senior, £4 8s 1.5d Of Matthew Mudge, £1 3s 0d Of Jonathan Higham, £0 10s 0d Total, £29 8s 10.5d Cash, debtor, to sundry persons for old arrears now paid: Francis Funge senior, £5 16s 6d Jonathan Higham, £1 12s 6d Elizabeth Greentree, £4 2s 0d Matthew Mudge, £5 17s 8d Total, £17 18s 8d Sundry accounts, debtor, to cash paid the following persons, in satisfaction and house rent: John French senior, satisfaction £1 9s 0d Samuel Doveton, satisfaction £3 3s 0d, diet £0 6s 0d, house rent £4 10s 0d of the same, for Joseph Belcher Francis Funge senior, satisfaction £5 4s 6d Jonathan Higham, satisfaction £2 2s 6d Samuel Knipe, house rent £0 18s 0d Total, £14 19s 0d and £19 8s 0d **Interpretations** The storekeeper's cash account records the continuing recovery of money owing to the late Governor's estate and to the Company, gathered under the debt-collection the council had pressed since December, alongside the rents received and the small payments made out again for satisfaction, diet and house rent. Its appearance the same day the French party came ashore shows the ordinary financial business of the settlement proceeding uninterrupted beside the diplomatic reception of a potential enemy, the council maintaining its scrupulous reckoning of every sum received and paid, part of the restored order that set the new administration apart from the loose dealing the deficiency inquiry had exposed. The recurrence of the same names, French, Doveton, Funge, Higham, as both debtors and rent-payers reflects how the island's leading planters stood in continual account with the Company across purchases, rents and arrears.

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		Samuel Harpe 18. £14. 19. £19. 8 Cash	
181	177	Cash paid to the Workmen from 29th July to 4th Septr. 1741 Viz. Days Richard Kent 6½ 6. 6 John Spencer Senr. 6½ 6. 6 John Spencer Junr. 4½ 4. 6 James Pritchard 6½ 6. 6 Henry Carter 4½ 4. 6 Thomas Fuller 6½ 6. 6 John Ellis 6½ 6. 6 John Leggett 6½ 6. 6 William Price 6½ 6. 6 Matthew Cammel 6½ 6. 6 David Lord 3 3. Edmund Danfold 14 14 William Browne 11½ 11. 6 William Gunn 14½ 14. 6 William Barrett 14½ 14. 6 John Holloway 8½ 8. 6 Peter Wells 10¾ 10. 9 Thomas Draper 4¾ 4. 9 Peter Barker 2½ 2. 6 Thomas Browne 7 7. John Mannoke 11 11. Richard Frost 1½	Cash paid to the workmen from 29 July to 1 September 1741, in days worked: Richard Kent, 6 days, £0 6s 6d John Spencer senior, 6 days, £0 6s 6d John Spencer junior, 4 days, £0 4s 6d James Pritchard, 4 days, £0 4s 6d Henry Carter, 6 days, £0 6s 6d Thomas Fuller, 4 days, £0 4s 6d John Ellis, 6 days, £0 6s 6d John Leggett, 6 days, £0 6s 6d William Freed, 6 days, £0 6s 6d Matthew Cammell, 6 days, £0 6s 6d David Bird, 6 days, £0 6s 6d Edmund Danfield, 5 days, £0 5s 0d William Browne, 11 days, £0 11s 6d William Gann, 14 days, £0 14s 6d William Barrett, 14 days, £0 14s 6d John Holloway, 8 days, £0 8s 6d Peter Wells, 10 days, £0 10s 9d Thomas Draper, 4 days, £0 4s 9d Peter Barker, 2 days, £0 2s 6d Thomas Browne, 7 days, £0 7s 0d John Malcracher, 11 days, £0 11s 0d Richard Frost, 1 day, £0 1s 6d William Moore, 1 day, £0 1s 6d Barnet Kermes, 5 days, £0 3s 6d Thomas Cope, 3 days, £0 3s 0d Martin Mac Daniel, altering and mending the joints, £1 0s 0d John Christoffel, altering and mending the joints, £1 4s 0d Edward Bird, 24 days, £1 4s 6d John Arangetall, lime bags making, £3 8s 0d Total, £11 14s 0d September 30 1741, salaries paid the Company's servants, in pay and diet: Edwin Alsop, chaplain, £100 0s 0d Samuel Doveton, £60 0s 0d James Powell, £6 3s 0d James Vaughan, clerk, £8 9s 3d Richard Beale, school master, £12 2s 8d John Worrall, overseer, £30 0s 0d John Swaites, of the same, £6 16s 0d Francis Isaac, armourer, £61 18s 0d James Haywood, armourer's mate, £15 0s 0d William Deneur, gardener, £46 2s 0d, diet £3 18s 0d Henry Moyce, carpenter, £11 2s 0d, diet £3 18s 0d John Norman, cooper, £63 0s 0d James Du Bois, surgeon's mate Pay carried over, £460 14s 2d **Interpretations** The workmen's account records the daily-paid labour on the fortifications through the height of summer, each man entered by the number of days he worked at roughly a shilling a day, the ordinary rate for the paid hands supplementing the slaves on the coastal works. The separate entries for altering and mending the joints, and for making lime bags, mark the specialist tasks that carried a fixed sum rather than a daily wage. The salaries that follow are the annual reckoning for the Company's standing servants to 30 September, closing the year's establishment, and their inclusion here, alongside the fortification labour, shows the storekeeper's account drawing together every class of the Company's outgoings, the whole subject to the same careful record the new administration had restored across its bookkeeping.

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		1. 6 William Moore 1½ 1. 6 Barnet Nemes 3½ 3. 6 Thomas Cope 3 3. Martin Mac Daniel John Christofel altering & minding 4 Tents 1. 3. Edward Todd 14 1. 4 John Attingstall Line bags making 34 2. 8. 6 11. 14. September the 30 1741 Salarys paid the Companys Servants Viz. Pay Diet Revd. Edwin Alcock 100. Samuel Doveton 60. James Powell 6. 3. James Vaughn Clerk &c. 8. 8. 3 Richard Beale School Master 12. 2. 8 John Worrall Overseer 30. John Swaites Do. 6. 18. Francis Sunge Armourer 61. 18. James Haywood Armourers Mate 15. William Dwew Gardner 48. 5. Henry Mayes Carpenter 46. 2. 3. 18. John Wittman Cooper 11. 2. 3. 18. James DuBois Surgeons Mate 63. Pay Carried over --- £460. 14. 2	
182	178	Pay brought over £460. 14. 2 Nicholas Cleather Steward 13 Balla Cook 7. 6. 3 Joseph Belcher 8. John Seale Overseer 2. 10. 10½ John Godwin 31. 17. 1½ Francis Wraugham Senr. 71. 11. 6 £589. 3. 10½ William Worrall Senr. this Day Presented the following Petition Viz. To the Worshipfull Robert Jenkins Esqr. Governour & Council of the Island St Helena The humble Petition of William Worrall Senr. Humbly Sheweth	The salaries paid the Company's servants continued, pay brought over at £460 14s 2d. Nicholas Cleather, steward, £13 0s 0d Bella Cook, £7 6s 3d Joseph Belcher, £8 0s 0d John Seale, overseer, £2 10s 10d John Goodwin, £31 17s 12d Francis Wrangham senior, £71 11s 5d Total, £589 3s 10.5d William Worrall senior that day presented the following petition. William Worrall senior addressed a petition to Governor Jenkins and the council of St Helena. He set out that on 1 September 1739 he had taken a lease on lives for forty acres of land situated in Sandy Bay, which lease, being placed in the care of Matthew Purling, who went hence aboard His Majesty's ship *Southland*, and the said Purling having either lost it or carried it to Europe with him, had through mistake gone missing. He therefore asked

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		That your Petitioner did on the 11 of Sept. 1739 receive a Lease upon Lives for 40 Acres of Land Situate in Sandy Bay, which Lease being delivered to the Care of Matthew Pealing who went hence upon his Majesty Ship Southland, And the Sd Pealing having either lost or Carried the same to Europe with him through Mistake / Your Petitioner therefore Most humbly Prays that you will be Pleased to Order the Register Book may be Searchd And he be Relieved Accordingly. And Your Petitioner further most humbly prays he may have liberty to Assign his Right & Title in the said Lease unto his Son John Worrall as well as to Other Acres Adjoyning to the said Land which he likewise holds by Lease And Your Petitioner will ever pray &c. St Helena 2d March 1741/2 (Signd) Will Worrall Orderd that the Secretary do Search the Register and give to Mr Worrall an Attested Copy of yr Lease, and Mr Worrall has liberty to Assign over to his Son John what Right and Title he has to and on the sd Lease Provided that he John Worrall will pay his fathers Debt of £33. 15. 3½ due to the Estate of the late John Goodwin Esqr Deceased Whereupon John Worrall was called before us & asked whether he would pay the above debt due to the late John Goodwin Esqr, Which he Readily Agreed to and promised to be Speedy in his Payment We Remark that in the Honble Companys Letter hither pr Ship Thistleworth dated the 17th April 17 they Say We think it is not for our Advantage that any Lease of our Lands	that the register book be searched and that he be relieved accordingly. He further asked that he might have leave to assign his right and title in the said lease over to his son John Worrall, as well as to any other deeds assigning the said land which he likewise held by lease. He signed the petition, William Worrall, at St Helena on 9 March 1742. The council ordered that the secretary search the register and give Mr Worrall an office copy of the lease, and that Mr Worrall have leave to assign over to his son John whatever right and title he had in the said lease, provided that John Worrall pay his father's debt of £35 15s 3.5d due to the estate of the late John Goodwin, deceased. John Worrall was thereupon called before the council and asked whether he would pay the said debt due to the late John Goodwin, which he readily agreed to and promised to do speedily in his payment. The council remarked that in the Honourable Company's letter, sent by the ship *Thistleworth*, dated 17 April, its masters had said that they thought it not for the Company's advantage that any lease of the Company's lands **Interpretations** The Worrall petition is another instance of the council reconstructing a lost title from its own register, the deed having gone astray in the hands of a man who carried it to Europe aboard the *Southland*. The council's condition on granting the assignment, that the son first pay his father's debt of £35 15s 3.5d to the late Governor's estate, shows it using the transfer of land as a lever to recover outstanding credit, tying the debt-collection of the run to the ordinary business of tenure just as it had with the Vaughan lease. The closing reference to the Company's own letter warning against long leases of its lands introduces a fresh instruction from the directors bearing on how the council should henceforth grant tenure, the Company reasserting its control over the disposal of its ground.
183	179	should be Let for more than 21 Years. And Yre you say there are 2 or 3 of a Longer term Since there was no Order of ours then Warranting the Governour & Council to make such a Grant. We think they should be called in and new Leases given for only 21 Years from the Date of such new Lease, & any Persons in your afforesd are Prejudiced by this, when We know wherein and that made Plain to us We shall void our further Orders thereupon And Whereas there are Sundry Leases upon the same terms that Mr Worrall is upon / upon Lives / We therefore think it Necessary to Enter upon this Consultation Mr Worralls Lease at Length the better for our Masters Opinion thereupon. And further it is Ordered that this Consultation be Printed at in the General Letter. The Lease is as follows Vizt The Lords Proprietors of this Island the Honble the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies do hereby Demise, Grant, Sett and to Farm let unto William Worrall Senr. of the said Island Planter All that Piece or Parcel of Land Situate lying and being in the South Division of this Island Containing Forty Acres by Estimation Butting and Bounding North upon	The council read on that the Company's letter directed that its lands should not be let for more than twenty-one years, and that since there was no order of the directors warranting the Governor and council to make a grant, they thought it necessary to state the date of each new lease, so that any person to whom land was let for only twenty-one years from the date should know the term and not be prejudiced by it, the directors undertaking to send their further orders on the matter. Since there were various leases granted on the same terms as Mr Worrall's, namely on lives, the council thought it necessary to defer his lease at length, the better to have their masters' opinion, and further ordered that this consultation be entered in the general letter. The lease read as follows. The Lords Proprietors of the island, the Honourable United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies, granted, sold and let to William Worrall senior of the island all that piece or parcel of land situated in the south division of the island, containing forty acres, bounded north upon the lands now in the possession of Joseph Bates, east upon the lands of Mathew Furling, west upon the lands now in the possession of the said Bates, and south upon the lands of Charles Steward. Worrall was to have and to hold the said parcel of land, with all the woods, water courses, houses, buildings, edifices, huts, tenements, yams,

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		the Lands now in the Possession of Joseph Bates but upon the Lands of Matthew Pealing West upon the Lands now in the Possession of Sd Bates and upon the South on the Lands of Charles Steward To have and to hold the said hereby Demised Parcel of Land and every part and Parcell thereof together with all and Singular the Wood, Water, Water Courses, Houses, Buildings, Edifices, Sheds, Tenements, Yams and Plantations of Yams, Sruit trees, Halls, Fences and all other and Singular the Rights Commoditys to them and each and every of them belonging or appertaining unto him the Sd William Worrall from the day of the date of these Presents for during and during all the Space or Term of the Naturall Lives of John Worrall the Sons of William Worrall & Anna the Daughter of Sd William Worrall and the Longest Liver of either of them; Renewable after the Death of any of the Sd Nominees upon the Payment of half a Years Rent at the Admittance of each Life or new Nominee Upon Condition that he the Sd William Worrall his Heirs Executors Administrators or allowed Assigns shall and do bear true faith and Allegiance to my Sovereign Lord King George his Heirs and Successors and to them the said Honourable Company Whole Successors and shall duly Observe & Obey all the Laws and Constitutions of the Sd Island And upon Condition also that he the said William Worrall his Heirs Executors, Administrators or Assigns Assigns shall and do from time to time and at all times hereafter during the term of this Present Lease keep up and Maintain in good Order and Sufficient and Legall Repair all such Buildings, Houses, Edifices, Sheds, Tenements, Plantations and fences as now are or hereafter shall be made Built or Erected thereon and shall Moreover Plant Keep up and Maintain & Preserve in and upon the said hereby demised Parcel of Land its full Quantity or Proportion of Wood being on each part of the said Parcel of Land and shall likewise Plant and Preserve Yams within side without the fences of the said Parcel of Land and Shall plant fruit trees Such as Apple, Lemon, Mulberry or Peach Trees in such parts thereof wherein they are Most likely to Grow and as they shall happen to Decay or die shall Replant others of the like Sorts thereon without hurt or Prejudice Nevertheless to any part of such Land as shall be Sett apart for the Sole Purpose of Planting and Raising of Yams Yeilding and Paying therefore Yearly and every Year during the Terms of this Present	plantations of yams, fruit trees, walls, fences and all other rights belonging to it, for the natural lives of John and Mathew, the sons of William Worrall, and Sarah, the daughter of the said William Worrall, and the longest liver of them, renewable after the death of any of the said lives upon the nomination of a fresh life and the payment of half a year's rent at the admittance of each life. The lease held on condition that Worrall, his heirs, executors, administrators or assigns bear true faith and allegiance to King George, his heirs and successors, and to the Honourable Company and their successors, and duly observe and obey all the laws and constitutions of the island. It held on the further condition that Worrall, his heirs, executors, administrators or assigns should, from time to time and at all times during the term, keep and maintain in good and sufficient legal repair all such buildings, houses, edifices, huts, tenements, plantations and fences as then stood or should later be built or erected on the land, and should moreover keep and maintain on the parcel its full quantity or proportion of wood, being one-tenth part, and plant and preserve furze within and without its fences, and plant fruit trees such as apple, lemon, mulberry and peach in such parts of it as were most likely to grow, replanting others of the like sort as they decayed or died, without hurt or prejudice to any part set apart for the sole purpose of planting and raising yams. Worrall was to yield and pay a yearly rent. **Interpretations** The distinction that made Worrall's lease problematic was its tenure by lives rather than for a fixed term of years. A lease on lives ran for the lifetimes of named persons and could be renewed as each died on nomination of a fresh life and payment of a fine, giving the tenant a near-permanent interest that the Company's directors now wished to end in favour of the plainer twenty-one-year term. The council's decision to defer the lease until it had its masters' opinion, and to enter the whole matter in the general letter, shows it caught between an established island practice and a fresh instruction from London, unwilling to grant tenure that might contradict the directors' evident intention to keep its lands under shorter and more controllable leases.
184	180	Present Lease unto them the said Honourable Company their Successors Agents or Assigns the Sum of five Shillings & dore in at or upon the feast of St Michael the Arch Angel And upon further Condition that he the sd William Worrall his Heirs, Executors, Administrators or allowed Assigns shall not alter or Remove the said fences they being the Limitts or Land Marks of the Parcel of	The Worrall lease required him to yield and pay to the Honourable Company, their successors, agents or assigns, the yearly rent of five shillings a year, due at the feast of St Michael the Archangel. The lease held on the further condition that Worrall, his heirs, executors, administrators or assigns should not alter or remove the fences, being the limits or land marks of the parcel, and should not sell or dispose of the lease or any interest in it without the leave and consent of the Governor and council.

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		Land afforesaid, and shall not Sell or Dispose of this Lease or Interest therein without the Leave and Consent of the Governour & Council for the time being In Witness Whereof they the said Honble United East India Company have hereunto affixed their Common Seal at their Union Castle in James Valley this Eleventh day of September in the Year of our Lord One Thousand Seven Hundred and Thirty Nine and He the said William Worrall to the other part of these Presents hath Sett his hand and Seal the Day and Year above written. Agreable to the Order of last Consultation We this Day Executed a Lease of 21 Years for 4 Acres of Land in Sandy Bay for John Swaites. We this day advanced to the Pay Master the Sum of £93. 3. 5½ in Order to pay the Garrison &c Servants their Salary & Board Wages for the Month of February last, Do. We then Proceeded to Examine the Honble Companys Cash & find the same Amount to the Sum of £1960. 3. 10¾ in the following Species &c Viz. Cash Notes to the Amount of £342. Dollars 3321. 8 830. Double Rials 1518. 379. 8 Rials 16752. 2091. 8 half Rials 9476. 592. 4 6383. 2 @3 lb -- 1396. 3. 9 Pagotas 44 @9 lb -- 19. 16. Venetians 2 10 lb -- 1. -- Guinea 1. 1. Small Money 3. 1¼ £1960. 3. 10¾ Ro. Jenkins G.G. Powell John Godfrey	In witness of this, the Honourable United East India Company set their common seal at Union Castle in James Valley on 11 September 1739, and William Worrall, to the other part of the lease, set his hand and seal on the same day. In accordance with the order of the previous consultation, the council that day executed a lease of twenty-one years for four acres of land in Sandy Bay for John Swaites. The council that day advanced to the paymaster the sum of £293 3s 5.5d, in order to pay the garrison and the Company's servants their salary and board wages for the month of February. The council then counted the Honourable Company's cash and found it amounting to £1,960 3s 10.5d, in the following species: Cash notes, £342 0s 0d Dollars, 3,321 8s, £342 0s 0d Double reals, 1,528 at 379s 8d Reals, 16,922, £2,091 8s 0d Half reals, 9,416, £397 4s 0d Total in silver at 5s, £6,383 2s, £1,396 3s 9d Pagodas, 44 at 9s, £19 16s 0d Venetians, 2 at 10s, £1 1s 0d Guinea, 1, £1 1s 0d Small money, £3 1s 0d Total, £1,960 3s 10.5d Jenkins, Powell and Godfrey signed the consultation. **Interpretations** The cash count marks a fall of over £500 from the treasure counted on 26 January, from £2,496 to £1,960, reflecting the heavy outgoings of the intervening weeks, the garrison and servants' pay for two months, the workmen on the fortifications, and the advances made to the paymaster. The silver remained a mix of Spanish American coin, dollars and reals of several denominations, tallied piece by piece and reduced to a sterling value, with a small residue of eastern pagodas and European venetians and a guinea. The regular counting of the treasury, now settled as routine, was itself a legacy of the deficiency inquiry, which had exposed how completely the previous administration had let the cash slip out of any reckoning against the books; under the new regime every count was recorded and the balance known.
185	181	At a Consultation held on Tuesday the 9 March 1741/2 at the Castle Present Robert Jenkins Esqr Governor Geo Gab. Powell 2d of Council John Godfrey 3d of Council The last Consultation was read & Approved On Saturday Evening last We Received the following Letter viz. To Messieurs the Governour & Council of the Island St Helena Extract of the Treaty of Peace concluded at Utrecht the 11th April 1713 Between France and England Article 19 And if it should also happen which God forbid, That the Misunderstandings & Enmity Kindled by this Power should Renew between their Sad Majestys & that they should come to an open Warr; All the Ships Merchandize, and all the Effects Moveable and Immoveable	A consultation was held on Tuesday 9 March 1742 at the castle. Governor Jenkins was present, with George Gabriel Powell as second of council and John Godfrey as third. The council read and approved the previous consultation. On the previous Saturday evening the council received the following letter, addressed to the Governor and council of St Helena, enclosing an extract of the Treaty of Peace concluded at Utrecht on 11 April 1713 between France and England. The nineteenth article of the treaty provided that, should misunderstandings and enmity, which God forbid, arise between the two Majesties and come to open war, all the merchant ships and all the goods, wares and movables of the subjects of the two parties that stood in the ports and places of the other should not be confiscated nor in any way damaged, but that the subjects of each Majesty should be given the term of six months, reckoning from the day of the rupture, in which to sell, carry away or transport

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		of the Subjects of one of the two Partys that shall be in the Ports & Places of the Dominion of the other shall not thence be Confiscated nor in any manner Damaged. But they shall give to the Subjects of their Sad Majestys the Term of Six Months Notice Reckoning from the day of the Rupture, during which they may without any trouble or Hindrance to Sell given them, Sell, carry away, or Transport whither they think fitt, all their Goods and Move able and their other Effects & may before themselves. Messieurs As by Vertue of the above Article that We chose to put into Your Island If during our Stay here or that of any other French Ship that may put in after us there should arise any Shipps from England, that may bring News of a Declaration of Warr between our two Nations We pray you to tell us of in this case Your intention is to Execute the tenour of the above Article & in Consequence to give us the Necessary time to Imbard our Water People & Effects that We may have put a shore, and before if it shall be Consented to Retreat with our Ship without any Trouble or Hindrance as is Stipulated in this Article. The kind manner with which you have Received us as well as all the Ships Some Company which have put in here for Several years past make us hope that you will grant our Request And the more willingly as it is founded on the Treaty made between our two Crowns of which the Reciprocal Execution is to the Advantage of both our Companys. We are with Respect Messieurs Your most Humble & Most Obedient Servants Du Mas Vollier De Mole To which We Returned the following Answer Early the Next Morning viz. To Messrs. Due Mas Esqr Governour General &c of the French Settlements & Vollier & Capt. Richard Wollier Sirs In Answer to yours of Yesterday Evening We say that the 19 Article of the Treaty of Utrecht --- Still Subsisting between the two Nations of England & France at least as farr as We know and therefore you may Rely upon a Sacred Observation thereof on our parts untill such time as we may have the Honour to Receive Orders from our Masters And in the Interium the Sd Ship shall Render you all the Services I can upon the same friendly	their goods as they thought fit, or otherwise remove themselves. Monsieur Dumas wrote that, by virtue of the above article, he had chosen to put into the island; that during his stay there, or that of any other French ship that might put in after him, there existed above any ships from England that might bring news of a declaration of war between the two nations, he asked the Governor to let him know his intention as to executing the above article; and in consequence, to give in the necessary time to embark their water, people and effects, so that they might put ashore, and, before it should be permitted, not to retire with their ship without any trouble or hindrance as stipulated in the article. He recalled the kind manner in which the Governor had received him, as well as all the ships of his Company which had put in there for several years past, and said he did not doubt but that his request, being founded on the treaty made between the two powers, of which the reciprocal execution was to the advantage of both companies, would be the more willingly complied with. He was, with respect, the Governor's most humble and most obedient servant, Dumas, Butler du Wale. To this the council returned the following answer early the next morning, addressed to Monsieur Dumas, Governor General of all the French settlements. Governor Jenkins wrote in answer to Dumas's letter of the previous evening that the nineteenth article of the Treaty of Utrecht was still subsisting between the two nations of England and France, at least as far as he knew, and therefore he begged leave to give him a fair information of the matter on his part, until such time as he might have the honour to receive orders from his masters, and that in the interim the fort should render him all the services it could upon the same friendly **Interpretations** The exchange turns on the protection the Treaty of Utrecht extended to enemy subjects caught in each other's ports at the outbreak of war, the nineteenth article guaranteeing six months in which to remove their ships and goods unmolested rather than have them seized. Dumas invoked this expressly, seeking the Governor's assurance that if an English ship arrived with news of a declaration of war, he and any French vessel then in the road would be free to embark and depart under the treaty's terms rather than be treated as a lawful prize. Governor Jenkins's careful reply, acknowledging the article as still in force so far as he knew, promising fair treatment pending orders from London, and offering the fort's services in the meantime, shows him honouring a diplomatic obligation with a potential enemy while reserving his position until his own instructions should arrive, the same balance of courtesy and caution that had marked the whole encounter with the French ship.
186	182	friendly footing as the French Ships have hitherto had, We are with Regard Gentlemen Your Most Obedient Humble Servants St Helena 9 March 1741/2 The Governour the Gunner and Steward delivered their Several Accounts for the Month of February last which were Severally Examined and Proved and are as followes viz. Gunners Stores Expended in the Month of February 1741/2 viz. 23. An Allarm at Sacks Cap for a Ship that passed by 2	Governor Jenkins closed his letter to Monsieur Dumas by promising the same friendly footing the French ships had until then enjoyed, and subscribed himself, with the gentlemen, Dumas's most obedient humble servant, at St Helena on 7 March 1742. The Governor, gunner and steward delivered their accounts for the month of February, which the council examined separately and approved as follows. The gunner's stores expended in the month of February 1742, in guns fired, shot fired and powder expended: 23 An alarm at Sickes Cap for a ship that passed by, 2 guns fired, 2 shot fired, 6 lb powder

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		2 2 6. 9 Do. An Allarm at Passorees Bay for the same Ship 6. 4 2 12. 12 25. An Allarm at Munden Point for a Ship that passed by 6 2 2 4 2 20. 12 27. An Allarm for a French Ship that came in 6 4 2 12. 10 Do. For Salluteing the Sd Ship 13 13 13. Do. One Sworn of Powder for Priming 3. 28. For the French Governour coming on Shore 13 13 16. For the Guard and out Ports Totall 46. 4. 12. 25. 6. 87½ Match 21 Sponge Staves 11 Nailes 8 Torners 2 Sad Shott 5 Aprons 10 Hammer heads 52 Ladles 2 Priming Wires 8 Sword 1 Sponge heads 48 Sinstocks 2 Paper 1 Sword 1 Rough Barrell 2 Bolts 3 Expence of the General Table in the Month of February 1741/2 viz. 66 Gallons Arrach 6. 12. 34 Do. Port Wine 1. 1. 1½ Do. Mountain Wine 7. 6 13 Do. Ale 2. 12. 6 32¾ Do. Beer 4. 18. 3 179 lb Sugar 9. 10. 30 lb Candy 1. 7. 6 8 Bottles Oyle 18. 3 Bushell Salt 2. 4 3 Gall Corks 18.	An alarm at Prosperous Bay for the same ship, 6 guns fired, 4 shot fired, 2 rounds, 13 lb 10 powder 23 An alarm at Munden's point for a ship that passed by, 6 guns fired, 2 shot fired, 2 rounds, 20 lb 12 powder 27 An alarm for a French ship that came in, 6 guns fired, 4 shot fired, 20 lb powder For saluting the French ship, 13 guns fired, 13 lb powder One horn of powder for priming, 3 lb powder 28 For the French Governor coming on shore, 13 guns fired, 13 lb powder For the guard and outer forts, 16 lb powder Total, 46 guns fired, 4 shot fired, 2 shot, 12 rounds, 25 lb, 6 lb, 157 lb 4 powder Stores expended: match 21 lb, sponge staves 11, nails 8, rammers 2, lead shot 5, aprons 10, rammer heads 5, ladles 5, priming wires 8, tined 5, sponge heads 13, tin socks 5, paper 5 quires, brush cannel 2, bolts 3. The expense of the general table in the month of February 1742: 66 gallons of arrack at 2s, £6 6s 0d 34 gallons of port wine at 6s, £1 1s 0d 1.5 gallons of Madeira of the same, £0 7s 6d 13 gallons of ale at 3s, £2 12s 6d 38.5 gallons of beer at 6s, £4 18s 0d 119 lb of sugar at 12, £1 9s 10d 30 lb of candy at 12, £0 7s 6d 8 bottles of oil at 2s 6d, £0 18s 0d 3 bushels of salt at 6s, £0 4s 0d 2 gross of corks at 2s 3d, £0 3s 11d 39 lb of candles at 12, £3 18s 0d 105 lb of pork at 6s, £2 11s 0d 38 lb of the same, £1 9s 0d 2 sheep at 20s, £2 3s 0d 2 goats at 10s, £0 10s 0d 1 kid at 3s, £0 3s 0d 1 turkey at 3s, £0 3s 0d 6 ducks at 6d, £0 3s 6d 39 fowls at 1s 6d, £2 3s 6d 13 chickens, £0 6s 6d 15 lb of English beef at 3s, £2 3s 0d 32 lb of English pork at 2s 1d, £2 3s 10d Total, £40 18s 3d **Interpretations** The gunner's account this month is unusually eventful, dominated not by ceremony or practice but by a succession of alarms fired at ships sighted passing the coast, at Sickes Cap, Prosperous Bay and Munden's Point, before the French vessel itself came in and was saluted, the Governor received ashore with a further thirteen guns. The powder spent testing whether passing sail meant friend or foe reflects the heightened watchfulness of a garrison expecting war at any moment, the alarm signals worked in earnest as the council waited on news of a French declaration. The salute to Dumas and to the French Governor on landing, fired in the same month as the alarms, captures exactly the doubled posture of the run, courtesy extended to a distinguished visitor from a nation with which hostilities might already have begun.

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		35 lb Candles 3. 18. 107 lb Veale 3. 11. 9 38 lb Pork 1. 9. 2 Sheep 2. 3. 7 Goates 3. 10. 1 Kidd 3. 1 Turkey 5. 6 Ducks 2. 6. 39 fowles 6. 18 Chickens 2. 3. 6 15 lb English Beef 2. 5. 22 lb English Pork 2. 3. 10 £40. 18. 3	
187	183	Account of the Honourable Companys Stock of Neat Cattle &c. for the Month of February 1741/2 Vizt. Bullocks, Cows, Heffers, Steers, Yearlings, Calves, Bulls, Totall (Neat Cattle), Ewes, Weathers, Lambs, Rams, Totall (Sheep), Ewes, Weathers, Kids, Rams, Totall (Goates), Sows, Barrows, Shoats, Pigs, Boares, Totall (Hogs), Turkeys, Fowles, Ducks, Geese, Horses, Mares, Totall (Poultry & Horses) Remaining 1st February: Bullocks 12, Cows 97, Heffers 38, Steers 25, Yearlings 29, Calves 42, Bulls 4, Totall 247, Ewes 47, Weathers 8, Lambs 2, Rams 4, Totall 61, Ewes 59, Weathers 13, Kids 4, Rams 4, Totall 80, Sows 19, Barrows 4, Shoats 29, Pigs 6, Boares 2, Totall 60, Turkeys 95, Fowles 340, Ducks 91, Geese 17, Horses 4, Mares 8, Totall 12, [second-row: 1, 1, 35, 1] Increased in Do.: Bullocks 12, Cows 97, Heffers 38, Steers 25, Yearlings 29, Calves 43, Bulls 4, Totall 248, Ewes 47, Weathers 8, Lambs 2, Rams 4, Totall 61, Ewes 59, Weathers 13, Kids 4, Rams 4, Totall 80, Sows 19, Barrows 4, Shoats 29, Pigs 6, Boares 2, Totall 60, Turkeys 95, Fowles 375, Ducks 91, Geese 17, Horses 5, Mares 8, Totall 13, [second-row: 1, 2, 2, 3, 2, 1, 1, 31, 6] Killed in Do.: Bullocks 12, Cows 97, Heffers 38, Steers 25, Yearlings 29, Calves 42, Bulls 4, Totall 247, Ewes 47, Weathers 6, Lambs 2, Rams 4, Totall 59, Ewes 34, Weathers 11, Kids 3, Rams 4, Totall 72, Sows 18, Barrows 4, Shoats 29, Pigs 6, Boares 2, Totall 39, Turkeys 94, Fowles 324, Ducks 83, Geese 17, Horses 5, Mares 8, Totall 13, [second-row: 1, 1, 1, 2, 2, 2, 1] Remaining the 28th Do.: Bullocks 11, Cows 97, Heffers 38, Steers 25, Yearlings 29, Calves 42, Bulls 4, Totall 246, Ewes 47, Weathers 6, Lambs 2, Rams 4, Totall 59, Ewes 34, Weathers 10, Kids 2, Rams 4, Totall 70, Sows 18, Barrows 4, Shoats 27, Pigs 6, Boares 2, Totall 37, Turkeys 94, Fowles 322, Ducks 84, Geese 17, Horses 5, Mares 8, Totall 13 Yams Expended at the Several Plantations.....36000 Account of the Stock of Neat Cattle &c. belonging to the Estate of John Goodwin Esqr. Deceased for the Month of February 1741/2 Vizt. Cows, Yearlings, Calves, Totall (Neat Cattle), Ewes, Weathers, Lambs, Rams, Totall (Sheep), Ewes, Weathers, Kids, Rams, Totall (Goates), Sows, Shoats, Pigs, Totall (Hogs), Horses Remaining 1 Febry: Cows 6, Yearlings 2, Calves 3, Totall 11, Ewes 30, Weathers 6, Lambs 10, Rams 1,	An account of the Honourable Company's stock of neat cattle and other animals for the month of February 1742. Remaining on 1 February: 12 bullocks, 97 cows, 38 heifers, 25 steers, 29 yearlings, 42 calves, 4 bulls, neat cattle total 247; 47 ewes, 8 wethers, 2 lambs, 4 rams, sheep total 61; 59 does, 13 wethers, 4 kids, 4 rams, goats total 80; 19 sows, 4 barrows, 29 shoats, 6 pigs, 2 boars, hogs total 60; 93 turkeys, 340 fowls, 91 ducks, 17 geese; 4 horses, 8 mares, horses total 12. Increased in the same: 1 calf, neat cattle total 1; 35 fowls; 1 mare, horses total 1. Total: 12 bullocks, 97 cows, 38 heifers, 25 steers, 29 yearlings, 43 calves, 4 bulls, neat cattle total 248; 47 ewes, 8 wethers, 2 lambs, 4 rams, sheep total 61; 59 does, 13 wethers, 4 kids, 4 rams, goats total 80; 19 sows, 4 barrows, 29 shoats, 6 pigs, 2 boars, hogs total 60; 95 turkeys, 375 fowls, 91 ducks, 17 geese; 5 horses, 8 mares, horses total 13. Killed in the same: 1 lamb, sheep killed 2; 3 wethers, 2 kids, goats killed 8; 1 sow, hogs killed 1; 1 turkey, 31 fowls, 6 ducks. Remaining after killing: 12 bullocks, 97 cows, 38 heifers, 25 steers, 29 yearlings, 42 calves, 4 bulls, neat cattle total 247; 47 ewes, 6 wethers, 2 lambs, 4 rams, sheep total 59; 54 does, 11 wethers, 3 kids, 4 rams, goats total 72; 18 sows, 4 barrows, 29 shoats, 6 pigs, 2 boars, hogs total 59; 94 turkeys, 324 fowls, 83 ducks, 17 geese; 5 horses, 8 mares, horses total 13. Died in the same: 1 calf, neat cattle died 1; 1 lamb, sheep died 1; 1 wether, 2 kids, goats died 2; 2 shoats, hogs died 2; 2 turkeys, 1 duck. Remaining on 28 February: 11 bullocks, 97 cows, 38 heifers, 25 steers, 29 yearlings, 42 calves, 4 bulls, neat cattle total 246; 47 ewes, 6 wethers, 2 lambs, 4 rams, sheep total 59; 54 does, 10 wethers, 2 kids, 4 rams, goats total 70; 18 sows, 4 barrows, 27 shoats, 6 pigs, 2 boars, hogs total 37; 94 turkeys, 322 fowls, 84 ducks, 17 geese; 5 horses, 8 mares, horses total 13. Yams expended at the several plantations: 36,000 lb. An account of the stock of neat cattle and other animals belonging to the estate of the late John Goodwin, deceased, for the month of February 1742. Remaining on 1 February: 6 cows, 2 yearlings, 3 calves, neat cattle total 11; 30 ewes, 6 wethers, 10 lambs, 1 ram, sheep total 47; 15 does, 4 wethers, 1 kid, 1 ram, goats total 21; 6 sows, 8 shoats, 19 pigs, hogs total 33; 2 horses. Increased in the same: 1 calf, neat cattle total 1.

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		Totall 47, Ewes 15, Weathers 4, Rams 1, Totall 21, Sows 6, Shoats 8, Pigs 19, Totall 33, Horses 2 Increased in Do.: [second-row: 1, 1] Killed in Do.: Cows 6, Yearlings 2, Calves 4, Totall 12, Ewes 30, Weathers 6, Lambs 10, Rams 1, Totall 47, Ewes 15, Weathers 4, Rams 1, Totall 21, Sows 6, Shoats 8, Pigs 19, Totall 33, Horses 2, [second-row: 1, 1] Died in Do.: Cows 6, Yearlings 2, Calves 4, Totall 12, Ewes 30, Weathers 3, Lambs 10, Rams 1, Totall 46, Ewes 15, Weathers 4, Rams 1, Totall 21, Sows 6, Shoats 7, Pigs 19, Totall 32, Horses 2, [second-row: 1, 1] Remaining 28th Do.: Cows 6, Yearlings 2, Calves 4, Totall 12, Ewes 30, Weathers 5, Lambs 10, Rams 1, Totall 46, Ewes 15, Weathers 4, Rams 1, Totall 21, Sows 6, Shoats 7, Pigs 18, Totall 31, Horses 2 Yams Expended.....7000. Ro. Jenkins G.G. Powell John Godfrey	Total: 6 cows, 2 yearlings, 4 calves, neat cattle total 12; 30 ewes, 6 wethers, 10 lambs, 1 ram, sheep total 47; 15 does, 4 wethers, 1 kid, 1 ram, goats total 21; 6 sows, 8 shoats, 19 pigs, hogs total 33; 2 horses. Killed in the same: 1 lamb, sheep killed 1; 1 kid, goats killed 1. Died in the same: 1 pig, hogs died 1. Remaining on 28 February: 6 cows, 2 yearlings, 4 calves, neat cattle total 12; 30 ewes, 5 wethers, 10 lambs, 1 ram, sheep total 46; 15 does, 4 wethers, 1 kid, 1 ram, goats total 21; 6 sows, 7 shoats, 18 pigs, hogs total 31; 2 horses. Yams expended: 7,000 lb. Jenkins, Powell and Godfrey signed the consultation. **Interpretations** The Company's goats continued their steady decline this month, falling from 80 to 70 through killing and death, the herd having now more than halved since its peak earlier in the run under the sustained drawing of the table's meat from goats and sheep while the breeding cattle stood almost wholly spared. A single bullock was lost, the only movement in the cattle beyond a calf born and a calf dead, confirming the settled policy of preserving the breeding stock through the season. The late Governor's estate herd, kept separately under the same reckoning, moved only slightly through a few births and deaths, its small holding maintained through Samuel Doveton against the day the Court should settle the deficiency.
188	184	At a Consultation held on Monday the 22 day of March 1741/2 at the Castle Present Major Thomas Lambert Esqr. Governour Robert Jenkins Esqr. Geo. Gab. Powell 2d of Council John Godfrey 3d of Council This morning between 11 & 12 a Clock the Ship Harrington arrived on this Road with Major Thomas Lambert Esqr his Lady & family on Board with a Commission from our Honourable Masters Constituting & appointing him Thomas Lambert Esqr Governour of this Island who Landed at about One a Clock and at three the Honourable Company's Pacquet was opened and their orders Instructions & all other Papers Contained thereon was read, after which Major Thomas Lambert Esqr was Proclaimed Governour at the head of the Guards and in the Middle of the Valley according to the usual form. Governour Lambert then Proposed to take into Consideration immediately the Disposition of & Quartering the Commissiond Officers, and Non Commissioned Officers and Private Men now on Board the Harrington, and to order Provision to be made for them till such time as we can Regulate them for the time to come, and then to give orders for their disembarking. To give it out in orders to all whom it may Concern that all standing Orders now in force be Continued & duly Executed both with Respect to the Civil & Military Government of the Island / till farther Orderd as on Governour Jenkins time / That an account be given me the Companys Cash now in the Treasury, & that I may have a Thoro Satisfaction on that head & then the Company Orders with Relation to the keeping & be put in Execution; and that all Books Relating	A consultation was held on Monday 22 March 1742 at the castle. Major Thomas Lambert was present as Governor, with Robert Jenkins, George Gabriel Powell as second of council and John Godfrey as third. That morning, between eleven and twelve o'clock, the ship *Harrington* arrived in the road with Major Thomas Lambert, his lady and family aboard, carrying a commission from the Honourable Company constituting and appointing Thomas Lambert Governor of the island. He landed at about one o'clock, and there the Honourable Company's packet was opened and their orders and instructions, together with other papers contained in it, were read, after which Major Thomas Lambert was proclaimed Governor at the head of the guards and in the middle of the valley, according to the usual form. Governor Lambert then proposed to take into consideration immediately the disposition of quartering the commissioned officers, and new commissioned officers and private men, now ordered the *Harrington*, and to order provision to be made for them until such time as the council could regulate them for the time to come, and then to give orders for their assembling. He gave it as an order to all whom it might concern that all standing orders now in force be continued and duly executed, both with respect to the civil and military government of the island, all further orders in Governor Jenkins's time. He directed that an account be given him of the Company's cash in the treasury, and that there might have been a true satisfaction in that head, and that the Company's orders with relation to the keeping it be put in execution, and that all books relating to the treasury be balanced to the time of any taking possession of the island of St Helena for the Honourable United East India Company, as well as all others belonging to the stores and all other things that might in any way become chargeable, in order to commence afresh from the said time. He directed that an exact account, as far as could be, be given him of all the several stores now remaining in the Company's warehouse, distinguishing each particular and quantity, and their

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		to the Treasury be Ballanced to the time of my taking Possession of the Island of St Helena for the Honble the East India Company & all others relating to the Slaves &c and all other things, that I may on any wise become Chargeable with in order to Commence a fresh from the said time. That an Exact Account of Lands owe as may be / be given me of all the different Slaves one Remaining in this Companys whose Names distinguishing each Particular, and quantity, and how Commenced, of all different kinds whatever, as well Waroons Ligbos and all other matters. Also an Account of what Soldiers Cloathing, Accoutrements, if any all Sorts of fire arms as well as others what quantitys of Ammunition of all kinds and what ever else belongs to the Military, or the Artillery fortifications, Shiping Utensils of all kinds in fact what ever is undelivered and in the keeping of the Storekeeper of this time, and as Share and on the 3d Memerandum that I may in any wise become Chargeable with, or well as for my better Informastation, Contest That a Scedule of all the Household furniture & Plate & Linnen as well as what ever else belongs to the Governours house at James, that is the Plantation house with every other matter belonging thereto, as also the different Quantitys of Liquor now in the Cellars proffesly Distinguished, what also belongs to the out Houses, Wash houses, gardens &c and every thing else to be delivered into my possession. That also an Exact Account be given of the Live Stock now belonging	circumstances, of all different kinds whatever, as well as provisions, liquors and all other matters. He directed that an account also be given of what soldiers' clothing, accoutrements, if any, of all sorts of firearms, as well as others, what quantity of ammunition of all kinds and whatever else belonged to the military or the artillery and fortifications, and the sailing materials of all kinds, so that whatever was undelivered and in the keeping of the storekeeper at that time, and as he had said in the third memorandum, that he might in any way become chargeable with, as well as for his better information and conduct. He directed that a schedule be given of all the household furniture, plate and linen, as well as whatever belonged to the Governor's house at James Fort, and to the plantation house, with every other matter belonging to them, as also the different quantities of liquor now in the cellars properly distinguished, and whatever belonged to the outer houses, wash houses, gardens and everything else to be delivered into his possession. He directed that an exact account also be given of the live stock now belonging **Interpretations** This consultation marks the change of government, Major Thomas Lambert arriving with the Company's commission to succeed Robert Jenkins, whose whole administration had been given over to the deficiency inquiry and the restoration of order after Governor Goodwin's death. Lambert's opening orders are a systematic taking of stock: a full reckoning of the cash, the stores, the military equipment, the household goods and the live stock, with every book balanced to the day he took possession so that his own government might begin from a clean and certain account. The insistence on knowing exactly what he received, and on fixing the point from which he became answerable, reflects the plain lesson of the run just past, that the disorder and loss under the previous administration had sprung precisely from the absence of such reckonings, and that a new Governor's first duty was to establish beyond dispute what the Company's property amounted to before he took charge of it.
189	185	belonging to the Company of Cattle, Hoggs, fowles &c distinguishing the Particular Species and Quantitys of each at Present, what quantity of Decrease of each Sort, and what Short there now Remains of former years years, in order to Regulate to bring them again into the same Quantitys. A List of the Companys Slaves with what belongs to them Distinguishing their Sex and Age If there is any thing else to be putt into my possession, or that Shall in any wise become answerable for, I may have an Account of it All these Accounts Schedules Lists &c to be Perfectly attested and on each a manner as shall be the most authentick, and the least Capble to future Exceptions. To know how all the Books of Accounts with the Honble the East India Company are kept, all the Considering of former Governours & Council, their Regular, and all orders given by the Company to be now observed, and what ever else may tend to my better Information that I may have Recourse to them. That a Rol or List of the Commissiond Officers and non Commissiond Officers Drummers & Private Men who belong to the Militia be given me with their Age, and the	Governor Lambert directed that an account be given of the live stock now belonging to the Company, cattle, hogs, fowls and the rest, distinguishing the particular species and quantities of each at present, what quantities and increase of each sort, and what short there now remained of former years, in order to bring them again into the same quantities. He directed that a list be given of the Company's slaves, distinguishing their sex and ages, together with whatever else could be put into his possession or that should in any way become answerable, so that he might have an account of it. He directed that all these accounts, schedules and lists be properly attested in such a manner as should be the most authentic and the least liable to future exceptions. He directed that he might know how all the books of accounts with the Honourable United East India Company were kept, all the proceedings of former Governors and council, their register, and all orders given by the Company, so that they might now be observed, and whatever else might tend to his better information, that he might have recourse to them. He directed that a roll or list be given of the commissioned officers and non-commissioned officers, private men who belonged to the militia, with a notice of the arms and accoutrements belonging to each, specifying in what condition they

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		Distance they Reside at from St James's fort, with a Return of the Names & Accoutrements belonging to each and Specifying in what Condition they were are, and I only wanting to Distinguish what, if they are Cloathed, by whom, how often are they under Arms, and how Disposed of Case of an Allarm, if they Perform any Daily duty what and where. That an Account be given me of all the fools & Battery, or any other fortifications belonging to the Island what Cannon are Mounted at Each, distinguishing how Sizes at each Piece they are Mounted at, as also what are Serviceable and what not able to Distinguished, if they have at each Battery proper furniture for each Gun, and if the Powder in Case there should be an occasion is kept at each Battery in such manner that it is not Damnifed by the Weather, to Distinguish Each Battery or fort by the name it is called by What Number of Guards are duly Mounted in the Island, where Mounted the number of Soldiers and Artilery Men they are Composed of / meaning each Guard/ by what Officer each is Commanded when often Relieved. Two are the Sick Soldiers and Slave, now taken care of and what Refuge is made from them and how attended. After a thorow knowledge of all these Particulars then to Enter into Consultation what Proper Measures will be Necessary to be taken in the Present Instructions and to put them into Execution from time to time, as likewise all such as have Authorgity from former Instructions; and also to Consult what will be the most Needfull for the Defence & Preservation of the Island, in case of being Visited by an Enemy, And to take each immediate Measures as we shall put the most Conducive thereto and putting the Military, the Artilery, the Militia, the Slaves, the fortifications, the Cannon and the Island in General, in the best Circumstances to answer these Purposes, and then to Proced in what ever else may Accure. Thos. Lambert G.G. Powell John Godfrey Read & Approved of above Consultation Ro. Jenkins	then were, and, if any were wanting, to distinguish what, and if they were clothed, by whom, how often they were under arms, and what time it happened in case of an alarm, if they performed any daily duty, when and where. He directed that an account be given of all the forts and batteries, or any other fortifications belonging to the island, what cannon were mounted at each, distinguishing their sizes, at each place they were mounted at, as also what were serviceable and what not, the better to distinguish, if they were at each battery proper furniture for each gun, and if the powder in each there should be on any occasion at each battery in such manner that it was not damaged by the weather, to distinguish each battery or fort by the name it was called by. He directed that a return be given of what number of guards were daily mounted on the island, where mounted, the number of soldiers and artillery men they were composed of, and by what officer each was commanded when so ordered. He directed that a return be given of the sick soldiers and slaves now taken care of, and what provision was made for them and how attended. After a thorough knowledge of all these particulars, Governor Lambert then proposed to enter into consultation what proper measures would be advisable to be taken on the present instructions, and to put them into execution from time to time, as likewise all such as he had authority for from former instructions; and also to consult what would be the most useful for the defence and preservation of the island, in case of being invaded by an enemy, and to take such immediate measures as might put the whole country, whether it contained thirty forts, putting the military, the artillery, the militia, the slaves, the fortifications, the cannon and the island in general, in the best circumstances to answer these purposes, and then to proceed to whatever else might arise. Lambert, Powell and Godfrey signed the consultation, and Jenkins subscribed that he had seen and approved it. **Interpretations** Lambert's instructions complete the systematic survey with which a new Governor established what he had taken charge of, extending the reckoning from cash and stores to the live stock, the slaves listed by sex and age, the books and registers of the whole administration, and, above all, the island's defences. The detailed inventory of forts, batteries, guns and their condition, the state of the militia's arms and clothing, and the daily guards, reflects the same anxiety that had run through the Jenkins run, an island expecting war with France and needing to know precisely what it could bring to its own defence. That Lambert set all this reckoning before any fresh policy, and required every account attested against future dispute, shows the plain influence of the deficiency just uncovered, a Governor determined to fix beyond challenge the exact state of everything he received before making himself answerable for it, and to found his government on certain knowledge rather than the loose and falsified accounts that had ruined the previous one.
190	186	At a Consultation held on Tuesday the 23d March 1741/2 at the Castle Present Major Thomas Lambert Esqr Governour Geo Gab. Powell 2d of Council John Godfrey 3d of Council The last Consultation was Read and Approved We this Morning sent the following Letter to Captain Robert Jenkins Vizt Sir	A consultation was held on Tuesday 23 March 1742 at the castle. Governor Thomas Lambert was present, with George Gabriel Powell as second of council and John Godfrey as third. The council read and approved the previous consultation. That morning the council sent the following letter to Captain Robert Jenkins. The council wrote that his ship *Harrington* was to be dispatched in ten days, and therefore asked him to land the goods and merchandise consigned to the

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		Your Ship Harrington being to be dispatched in 10 Working days We therefore desire you will be Pleased to send on Shore such goods & Merchandize as are Consigned to me. And if you want any help we are very Ready to Assist you We are St Helena 23d March 1741/2 Sir Your Most Humble Servants Some Letters being in the Pacquett of this Ship directed to Messrs Crispe & Bazett We thought Proper we they were delivered to Consider whether or not the Delivery of em might be attended with any Evil Consequence to our Honble Masters or the Detaining Yem might in any Sort facilitate the Recovery of the debts due to their Honours ---- And upon Mature deliberation We came to this Resolution of sending them the Gentlemen their Letters. Tho. Lambert G.G. Powell John Godfrey	council, offering him any help he wanted, and subscribed itself his most humble servant, at St Helena on 23 March 1742. Some letters being in the packet of the ship *Harrington* directed to Mr Crispe and Bazett, the council thought it right to consider whether or not the delivery of them might be attended with any ill consequence to the Honourable Company's masters, or the retaining of them might in any way facilitate the recovery of the debts due to their masters, and, after mature deliberation, came to the resolution of sending the two gentlemen their letters. Lambert, Powell and Godfrey signed the consultation. **Interpretations** The letter to Jenkins marks the smooth handover of authority: the departing Governor, now sailing home aboard the *Harrington*, was addressed as the ship's commander rather than as the island's head, his goods to be landed before the vessel's departure. The council's deliberation over whether to deliver the letters addressed to Crispe and Bazett shows the deficiency inquiry still shaping even routine business, the council weighing whether withholding their correspondence might aid the recovery of the debts they owed before deciding, on balance, to hand it over. That the two disgraced clerks still received their private letters, notwithstanding the case against them, reflects the council's care to act correctly even toward men it held responsible for the Company's losses, keeping its conduct beyond reproach while the whole matter awaited the Court's judgement.
191	187	At a Consultation held on Tuesday the 30th day of March 178[...] at the Castle Present Major Thomas Lambert Esqr Governor Robert Jenkins Esqr Geo. Gabt Powell Esqr Council John Geffery Esqr of Council The Last Consultation was read & approved In Consequence of Governor Lambert's Report of 22nd Instant the following accounts Lists &c were this day laid upon the Council Board Viz. Inventory of Sundry Household Goods &c found in the Castle belonging to the Honble Company this 28th day of May 178[...] Viz. Standing Furniture 1 Iron Chest 10 Cain Chairs 4 Leather Do 12 Matted Chairs 1 Large Leather Chair 1 Do Ditto 1 Do Couch 2 Elbow Chairs 1 China Chair 8 China Cain Chairs 1 Old broken Cain Chair 2 Clocks 1 Sands Glass 30 Wood Screws 4 Locks Parcel Small Screws 1 Small Box Garden Seeds The Stand for two glass Shades a Table with Drawer 1 Pr Scales Balance & Weight Some of the Companys Chop 76 Chest Wax Candles Some Soap 1 Jar Do 1 Do Do Physical Sods	At a consultation held at the castle on Tuesday 30 March 1742, the members present were Major Thomas Lambert as Governor, Robert Jenkins, George Gabriel Powell as Deputy Governor and John Godfrey as third of council. The minutes of the previous consultation were read and approved. Following Governor Lambert's direction of 22 March, the accounts listed below were laid before the board. The following was an inventory of the various household goods found in the castle belonging to the Honourable Company, taken on 28 May 1742. 1 standing cupboard 1 iron chest 19 cane chairs 1 leather cupboard 12 matted chairs 1 large leather chair 1 elbow chair 1 couch 2 elbow chairs 1 china chair 8 china cane chairs 1 old broken cane chair 2 clocks 1 hanging glass 30 wood sieves 4 locks 1 parcel of small screws 1 small box of garden seeds 5 spades for the pond 1 plate of old sword 1 pair of scales, balances and weights 2 iron chests for the Company's cash 16 chests of tallow candles some soap 1 basket of soap 1 basket of soap 1 parcel of physical seeds 1 pier glass 1 walnut bedstead 1 varnished chest 1 small lacquered table 2 fir chests 3 tea and table cloths 20 old board cloths 10 napkins 30 towels 1 small pier glass 1 very small chimney glass 1 varnished table 1 tea table 28 jelly glasses 1 small table 2 bed locks without keys 1 Palampore bed, 2 blankets, 4 sheets 1 Palampore bed, 1 bed stead In the second column, the inventory continued: 1 small looking glass without a frame 1 pappammon table without box or drawer 1 very old chest of drawers 1 wooden stool 1 blue cloth bed curtain and window curtain 1 set of holland bed curtains 4 old chairs 1 old chest 1 new close stool 1 small case with 9 empty bottles 1 part of a sextant 1 table 1 large varnished table 1 japan glass 1 pier glass 2 window curtains 1 small old table 1 large varnished table 1 side board 1 japan tea table 1 pier glass 3 sconce glasses 4 old blue damask window curtains 1 tea stand 2 glass lanthorns 9 dozen ivory-handled knives and forks 9 dozen china soap plates 6

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		1 Iron Glass 1 Walnut Bed Stead 1 Wainscoit Chest 1 Small Sashed Table 3 Iron Chests 3 Ay & Table Cloths 39 Slate Round Cloths 10 Napkins 30 Towells 1 Small Foot Glass 1 Very Small Chimney Glass 1 Wainscoit Table 1 Iron Table 34 Jelly Glasses 2 Small Tables 1 Red Locks without keys 1 Leather Bed 2 Blankets 1 Sheets 1 Palampore 1 Bed Stead 1 Small Locking Glass without Frame 1 Backgammon Table without Box or Dyer very old Chest of Drawers Wooden Stool 1 Blue Cloth Bed Curtain & Window Do 1 Alligor Bed Curtains 1 Do Robory 1 Old Chest 1 New Clasp Cott 1 Small Case with 9 Empty Bottles Foot of a Sexton 1 Table 1 Large Wainscoit Tables 1 Spying Glass 1 Foot Glass 5 Window Curtains 1 Small old Table 1 Large Wainscoit Table 1 Side Board Do 1 Japan Tea Table 1 Foot Glass 1 Sconce Glasses 4 Do Damask Window Curtains 1 Tea Stand 2 Glass Lanthornes 1 doz. Ivory Handle Knives & forks 1 doz. China Soup Plates 6 Snuffers 1 Extinguisher 10 Japan Plates Filty & China's Meat Plates 6 China Egglish & Rasons 1 Lamp 1 Old Lanthornes 4 Jars Currants 6 China Meat Dishes 2 Do Toast Dishes Plate Viz. 3 Butter Cups 1 Punch Bowls 2 China Table Spoons 9 doz. Table Spoons 9 Tea Spoons Tongs & Strainer 1 Tankards 1 half Pint Mugg	snuffers 1 extinguisher 10 japan plates 3 dozen china meat plates 3 china english and basons 1 lamp 4 old lanthorns 2 iron carcasses 2 china meat dishes 2 tea dishes Under the heading of plate, the following were listed: 3 butter cups 2 french morsels 6 dozen table spoons 2 tea spoons, a tongue and a strainer 2 tankards 1 half-pint mug **Interpretations** This inventory formed part of the full reckoning Governor Lambert ordered before he would take up his own government, resolving on 22 March 1742 to have the cash, stores, military equipment, live stock, slaves and household goods all counted and attested against the day he took possession. The purpose was not routine stocktaking but protection: the previous administration had left a large deficiency in the Company's cash and stores, traced through the winter of 1741 and 1742 to false ledger entries and to household goods and linen diverted into private hands. Fixing exactly what stood in the castle on the day he entered was the plain safeguard against being held answerable for another man's shortfall. Palampores were painted or printed cotton bed coverings made on the Coromandel coast of India, imported through the Company's Indian trade and prized as fine furnishings. Their appearance among the castle's beds, alongside japanned and lacquered tables, reflects the eastern goods that reached the island as a station on the homeward route from India and China. The plate, being wrought silver, was the most valuable and portable class of household goods and the easiest to divert, which is why it was set apart under its own heading and counted piece by piece down to a single half-pint mug. Silver of this kind had figured directly in the deficiency inquiry, and a careful separate tally of every spoon and tankard was the surest guard against the quiet loss the previous years had shown to be possible.
192	188	2 Soup Spoons 9 Salts 4 Salvers 4 Castors 1 Stand for Cruets 1 doz. large Silver handle Knives & forks 1 doz. Desert In the Cellars viz. 4 doz Port Wine 18 Small China Dishes 2 Glass Lanthornes	The inventory of the household goods at James Fort continued. 2 soup spoons 1 stone mortar 2 salts 1 brass mortar 4 salvers 1 iron pot 4 castors 2 iron pots 1 stand for cruets 5 spits 1 pair of large silver-handled knives and forks 2 frying pans 1 dozen dessert 2 skimmers 1 jack 4 ladles In the cellars: 1 dry post wire 4 hand irons 14 small china dishes 1 copper saucepan 2 glass lanthorns 4 pewter dishes 1 wood axe

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		Kitchen furniture viz. 4 Meat Kettles 1 Jack Kettle 2 Hash Pans 1 Stone Mortar 1 Brass Do. 1 Iron Do. 2 Iron Potts 6 Spitts 8 frying Pans 2 Skimmers 1 Jack 4 Ladle 2 Hand Irons 1 Copper Saucepan 4 Pewter Dishes 1 Wood Ax 1 Turreen 1 Cullendar 1 Dripping Pan 1 old Chair Inventory of Sundry Household Goods found at the Plantation House belonging to the Honble Company this 29th day of May 1741 viz. 1 Peer Glass 1 Small do. 1 Shaving Glass. 1 Opal 1 Wainscott Table 1 Do. Smaller 1 Do. old 1 Small Do. Camben 3 Small Camber Tables 1 China Lacked Table 1 Tea Table 1 old broken Sea Tables 1 Vise for Garden Seeds 1 fire Grate Songs Shovel & Poker 1 Do. 1 Shovel Songs & Poker 1 Stone & Songs & fire Shovel 1 Blue Chair with Leather Bottom 4 Cain Chairs 2 Broken Do. 6 Matted Chairs 9 Punch 1 Large Easy Chair 1 old Blue Chair 1 Do. 1 Settee 1 Corner Cupboard 1 Picture of Ann Wilnes 1 Bureau 1 Writing Desk 1 feather Bed 1 Smaller Do. 1 feather Do. 8 Beds 15 Blanketts 1 Quilt 1 Sheet 7 Boulsters 5 Pillows 2 Setts Chindsty Curtains 3 Bed Steads Window Vallance & Bed Curtains 4 Window Curtains Old Bed & Window Curtains 1 old Cupboard 2 Glass Lanthornes 1 old Sea Do. 1 Pewter funnell 1 Do. Ewer. 4 Tea Potts	Kitchen furniture: 1 dozen 4 meat kettles 1 colander 1 hash kettle 1 dripping pan 2 hash pans 1 old chair An inventory of the household goods found at the plantation house, belonging to the Honourable Company, taken 29 May 1741. 1 pier glass 7 bolsters 1 sconce glass 5 mats 1 chimney glass 2 sets of chintz curtains 1 desk 3 bed sheets 1 wainscot table 1 window valance and bed curtains 1 smaller of the same 4 window curtains 1 older of the same 1 old bed and window curtains 1 small chamber table 1 old cupboard 1 small chamber table 2 glass lanthorns 1 china-pattern table 1 old tin of the same 1 tea table 1 pewter funnel 2 old broken tea tables 1 cream of the same 1 pair of garden hoes 2 iron pots 1 fire grate, tongs, shovel and poker 1 tea pot 1 of the same 2 half-pint cups 1 shovel, tongs and poker 3 bowls 1 stone of the same, tongs and fire shovel 3 saucers 1 elbow chair with leather bottom 15 cups and 10 saucers 1 corn chair 2 sideboard cloths 2 broken of the same 9 meat dishes 6 walnut chairs 9 soup plates 1 brush 1 dozen 3 table plates 1 large easy chair 1 parcel of crockery ware 1 old elbow chair 6 brass candlesticks 1 of the same 1 empty case with bottles 1 settle 1 cask of flour 3 parts full 1 corner cupboard 1 canister with a few empty jars 1 picture of iron and Moses 8 wine glasses 1 dressing table 3 old of the same 1 writing desk 2 measuring wheels and chain 1 old feather bed 1 bed rail 1 smaller of the same 2 cheese presses 1 feather of the same 1 pan to hold milk 1 bed 6 churns 15 blankets 1 scrubbing brush 1 quilt 1 small saucepan 1 sheet 2 old of the same iron pots 1 copper **Interpretations** The two inventories mark the systematic reckoning of Company property that opened Governor Lambert's government, the household goods of James Fort and of Plantation House each counted piece by piece and attested against future dispute, the same taking of stock across every category that his instructions of 22 March 1742 had required. The furnishings again show the reach of the eastern trade into the Company's houses, the sets of chintz bed and window curtains being the painted Indian cottons that fitted out the establishment far more richly than local manufacture could. The plainer items, the cheese presses, churns, milk pans and garden hoes at Plantation House, mark it as the working seat of the Company's dairy and cultivation, as against the more formal furniture and plate kept at the fort.

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		24 half pint Cups 3 Bowles 3 Snuckers 13 Cups & 10 Saucers 2 Side Board Cloths 9 Meat Dishes 7 Soup Plates 1 doz. 3 Table Plates a Parcel of Cravery Ware 6 Brass Candlesticks Empty Case with Bottles Cask of flour ¾ full 1 Cartoy & a few Empty Jarrs 8 Wine Glasses 8 Do. & Water Do. 2 Measuring Wheats & Chain 2 Bed Bolts 2 Cheese Presses 1 Pan to Sift Milk 2 Churns 1 Scrubbing Brush 2 Small Saucepans 2 Do. Iron Potts 2 Copper	
193	189	Account of the Honble Companys Stock of Neat Cattle &c. from the 1st. of March to the 22nd. of ditto 1742 Vizt. Bullocks, Cows, Heffers, Steers, Yearlings, Calves, Bulls, Totall (Neat Cattle), Ewes, Weathers, Lambs, Rams, Totall (Sheep), Ewes, Weathers, Kids, Rams, Totall (Goates), Sows, Barrows, Shoats, Pigs, Boares, Totall (Hoggs), Turkeys, Fowles, Ducks, Geese, Horses, Mares, Totall (Poultry & Horses) Remaining the 1st. of March: Bullocks 31, Cows 97, Heffers 41, Steers 16, Yearlings 15, Calves 42, Bulls 4, Totall 246, Ewes 49, Weathers 6, Lambs 0, Rams 4, Totall 59, Ewes 34, Weathers 10, Kids 2, Rams 4, Totall 70, Sows 18, Barrows 4, Shoats 27, Pigs 6, Boares 2, Totall 57, Turkeys 94, Fowles 322, Ducks 84, Geese 17, Horses 5, Mares 8, Totall 13 Increased in Do.: [second-row: 1, 1, 3, 5, 16, 16, 30] Killed in Do.: Bullocks 31, Cows 97, Heffers 41, Steers 16, Yearlings 15, Calves 42, Bulls 4, Totall 246, Ewes 49, Weathers 6, Lambs 1, Rams 4, Totall 60, Ewes 34, Weathers 10, Kids 7, Rams 4, Totall 73, Sows 18, Barrows 4, Shoats 27, Pigs 22, Boares 2, Totall 73, Turkeys 94, Fowles 372, Ducks 84, Geese 17, Horses 5, Mares 8, Totall 13, [second-row: 1, 1, 1, 2, 1, 1, 1, 3, 49, 12] Died in Do.: Bullocks 31, Cows 97, Heffers 40, Steers 16, Yearlings 15, Calves 41, Bulls 4, Totall 244, Ewes 48, Weathers 5, Lambs 1, Rams 4, Totall 58, Ewes 34, Weathers 10, Kids 7, Rams 4, Totall 75, Sows 18, Barrows 3, Shoats 27, Pigs 22, Boares 2, Totall 72, Turkeys 91, Fowles 323, Ducks 72, Geese 17, Horses 5, Mares 8, Totall 13, [second-row: 1, 2, 2, 4, 1, 3, 1, 5, 2, 4] Stole in Do.: [second-row: 1, 3, 2] Remaining 22nd Do.: Bullocks 31, Cows 97, Heffers 40, Steers 16, Yearlings 14, Calves 41, Bulls 4, Totall 243, Ewes 48, Weathers 5, Lambs 1, Rams 4, Totall 58, Ewes 32, Weathers 8, Kids 7, Rams 4, Totall 71, Sows 17, Barrows 3, Shoats 24, Pigs 21, Boares 2, Totall 67, Turkeys 90, Fowles 218, Ducks 66, Geese 17, Horses 5, Mares 8, Totall 13 2 frying Pans 1 Spitt 1 Jack 2 Mortars & Pestles 1 Sack Bottle 1 Brass Bottle 3 Gudirons 1 fire Shovel 1 Yam Pott	The tail of the household inventory, carried down the margin, listed further kitchen items and a stock of wine. 2 frying pans 1 spit 1 jack 2 mortars and pestles 1 hash kettle 1 brass kettle 2 gridirons 1 fire shovel 1 yam pot Wine: 4 bottles of Cape wine 4 dozen of Madeira of the same 2 dozen of port of the same 3 pints of old hock 3 bottles of Madeira 7 bottles of small ale An account of the Honourable Company's stock of neat cattle and other animals from 1 March to 22 March 1742. Remaining on 1 March: 31 bullocks, 97 cows, 41 heifers, 16 steers, 13 yearlings, 42 calves, 4 bulls, neat cattle total 246; 49 ewes, 6 wethers, 4 rams, sheep total 59; 54 does, 10 wethers, 2 kids, 4 rams, goats total 70; 18 sows, 4 barrows, 27 shoats, 6 pigs, 2 boars, hogs total 57; 94 turkeys, 322 fowls, 84 ducks, 17 geese; 5 horses, 8 mares, horses total 13. Increased in the same: 1 lamb, sheep total 1; 3 wethers, 5 kids, goats total 5; 16 pigs, hogs total 16; 30 fowls. Total: 31 bullocks, 97 cows, 41 heifers, 16 steers, 13 yearlings, 42 calves, 4 bulls, neat cattle total 246; 49 ewes, 6 wethers, 1 lamb, 4 rams, sheep total 60; 54 does, 10 wethers, 7 kids, 4 rams, goats total 75; 18 sows, 4 barrows, 27 shoats, 22 pigs, 2 boars, hogs total 73; 94 turkeys, 372 fowls, 84 ducks, 17 geese; 5 horses, 8 mares, horses total 13. Killed in the same: 1 calf, neat cattle killed 1; 2 wethers, 1 lamb, sheep killed 2; 1 barrow, hogs killed 1; 3 turkeys, 49 fowls, 12 ducks. Remaining after killing: 31 bullocks, 97 cows, 40 heifers, 16 steers, 13 yearlings, 41 calves, 4 bulls, neat cattle total 244; 48 ewes, 5 wethers, 1 lamb, 4 rams, sheep total 58; 54 does, 10 wethers, 7 kids, 4 rams, goats total 75; 18 sows, 3 barrows, 27 shoats, 22 pigs, 2 boars, hogs total 72; 91 turkeys, 323 fowls, 72 ducks, 17 geese; 5 horses, 8 mares, horses total 13. Died in the same: 1 calf, neat cattle died 1; 2 does, 2 kids, goats died 4; 1 shoat, hogs died 1; 1 turkey, 3 fowls, 2 ducks. Remaining on 22 March: 31 bullocks, 97 cows, 40 heifers, 16 steers, 14 yearlings, 41 calves, 4 bulls, neat cattle total 243; 48 ewes, 5 wethers, 1 lamb, 4 rams, sheep total 58; 52 does, 8 wethers, 7 kids, 4 rams, goats total 71; 17 sows, 3 barrows, 24 shoats, 21 pigs, 2 boars, hogs total 67; 90 turkeys, 218 fowls, 66 ducks, 17 geese; 5 horses, 8 mares, horses total 13. **Interpretations** The stock account is drawn only to 22 March, the day Governor Lambert took possession, rather than

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		Wine Viz. 4 Bottles Cape Wine 4 Do. Mountain Do. 2 Do. Port Do. 3 Pinck Old Rock 3 Bottles Madera 9 Bottles Small Ale.	to a month's end, marking the deliberate closing of the Company's books at the change of government so that the new Governor's reckoning might begin from a fixed and certain point. The sharp rise in the cattle stock over the preceding run, the bullock class now standing at 31 where it had been reduced to one or two through the previous year, reflects the purchases of cattle the council had made to replenish the herd, the breeding stock rebuilt as the seasons allowed and the pressure of the shipping eased.
194	190	List of the Honble Companys Slaves with their several Employments this 29th day of March 178[...] Viz. Employments Men Stone Layers who Work at the Fortifications Ned Simon Dick Cremona Jack Pudding Long Boats Crew who [...] the Long Boat & is not Employed to work at the Fortifications Ned Dutch Caleb Pompey May Marcuse Jack Guinea Fishermen Harry Primer Leander Francisco at the Fort Garden Do but Superannuated Sam Janey at the Plantation House Garden Dick Lime House Starry Caesar Chatham Mingo Willoby Servants Jancey Jancey Myers Shepherd Dublin Cooks Daniel Davis Sammore Frank brings Water for the Castle Smith Taylors Carpenter Butcher Hector Cato Bronzor Tom Frank These are Constantly Employed at the Plantations of Sandy Bay & Iskins Jekington Jupiter	A list of the Honourable Company's slaves and their various employments, taken on 29 March 1742. The men were grouped by the work they did. Those set as stonelayers at the fortifications were Ned, Simon, Dick, Cremona, Jack Pudding and Ned. The following belonged to the long boat's crew, and worked at the fortifications whenever the boat itself was not needed: Dutch, Caleb, Pompey, May, Marcuse and Jack Guinea. The fishermen were Harry Cramer, Leander and Francisco. At the fort garden, but too old for heavy labour, were Sam and Toney. At the Plantation House garden were Dick and Lime House. The house servants were Starry, Caesar, Chatham, Mingo and Mattless. The cook was Jonsey. Toney Myers brought water for the castle. Shepherd worked as the smith. Dublin was the tailor. Daniel and Davis were the tailors. Sammore was the carpenter. Frank was the butcher. The following were constantly employed at the Sandy Bay and Deskins plantations: Hector, Cato, Benjor, Tom and Frank. Islington was fixed at the Peak pastures. Jupiter, Plato, Leo and Mannow were fixed at the fort plantation. The following worked under the overseer at the Plantation House, at Maria's Spring plantation, and also at the Thisdale's Gut plantation, and at all the country business of every kind: Jack Peart, Charles, Joe, Harry, Manrow, Cloice, Harry Janer, June, Billey, Favonius, Sam Morris and Will Dan. In the second column, the men set as labourers at the fortifications were Will Fitch, Robin, Jeffrey, Morrice, Sambo, Mercury, Ratliff and Sandwich. The milkmen, kept always about the pastures and fences, were Wackett and Toney. Frank brought milk to the castle daily. Harry Green had charge of Horse Point. Jemmey, very old, fetched water for Turk's Cap. The old men who raised poultry for the castle were Pompey and Starry. Those who fetched wood for the castle were Lewis and Tobey. The superannuated men were Mingo and Jerry. Among the boys, one served as a house servant, namely Rowland. Jack Defence was learning to be a smith. Daniel was learning to be a carpenter. Charles was learning to be a cooper. Grewer was learning to understand the pastures. Alley and George were learning to be gardeners. Harry and Frank were learning to be fishermen. Wortham worked at the fortifications. Sharper and George fetched wood for the castle. Cudow fetched yams for the old slaves. The children learning in the plantations were Mingo, Stephen, Martin, Jack and Sharper.

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		Plato Leo Mannow [...] at the Peak Pastures Do at the Fort Plantation Jack Peart Charles Joe Harry These are Employed under the Overseer at the Plantation House Marias Spring Plantation, and also at Thurstals [...] Plantation & [...] Errant Business in the Country Mars Effice Harry Junior June Willey Savonius Sam Morris Will Jan Employments Men They are Employed as Labourers at the Fortifications Will Fitch Robin Jeffery Morrice Sambo Mercury Ratliff Scotch Jock They are Milkmen & c be always about the Pastures & Fences that follow bring Milk to G Castle daily Mitchell Janey Frank has the Care of Horse point very well & fetches Water for Jack's Cap Old fellows that raise Poultry for the Castle Fetch Wood for the Castle Harry Green Jemmery Pompey Harry Lewis Superannuated Islay Mingo Toby Boys Servant Learning to be a Smith Do Carpenter Do Cooper To Understand the Pastures Learning to Gardens Do Fishermen at the Fortifications fetch Wood for the Castle fetch Yams for old Slaves Rowland Jack Defence Daniel Charles Gunner Allen George Harry	The children who could do little or nothing were Esex, Tom, Jacob, James, Jack, Harry, Will, George, Robin, Charles and Joe. **Interpretations** Superannuated meant that a slave was too old or worn out for productive labour and was kept on light tasks or supported without any expectation of a full day's work. The list separates these men out at several stations, at the fort garden, among the house servants and at the foot of the second column, so that their reduced value is plain from the arrangement itself. The same practice runs through the earlier musters in this record, where ratings from very good down to good for nothing served as a valuation of each slave as much as a description of them. Turk's Cap and Horse Point were exposed points on the coast that formed part of the island's ring of landing places and lookouts. Assigning single old men to fetch water for one and to keep charge of the other shows how the establishment stretched its weakest hands across outlying duties that still had to be covered. The heavy weighting of boys towards particular trades, one learning to be a smith, one a carpenter, one a cooper, others set to the gardens or the fishing boats, was the mechanism by which the Company reproduced its own skilled labour without buying it. The population barely renewed itself and depended on purchase, so training island-born boys into the handicrafts protected the establishment against the cost and uncertainty of importing tradesmen. The muster of 30 September 1730 records boys of eleven, twelve and thirteen already set as carpenter, cooper and butcher, the same pattern this list shows carried forward. Deskins, Maria's Spring, Thisdale's Gut and the fort plantation were among the Company's provision grounds, whose central purpose was to raise yams to feed the slave establishment. The strain on this system had been acute nine years earlier, when Isaac Durling reported on 10 April 1733 that Perkins, the chief provision ground, was almost exhausted, and set the weekly requirement at 63,920 lb of yams against a whole-year capacity that would barely cover ten weeks. The number of hands the plantations could keep was therefore a recurring anxiety of the council, John Durling having warned on 4 June 1734 that stripping men away for fresh fortifications would drive the plantations to ruin.

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		Frank Wentham Sharper George Cutlow Children Learning in the Plantations Mingo Stephen Marlon Jack Sharper Children that can do little or Nothing Year Tom Jacob James Jack Harry Will George Robin Charles Joe	
195	191	Employments Women Very old Mary Ned Margitt Judeth Isaacs Washer Women Mary Welch Nanney Jack Sarah Munney the Care of Plantation House Peg Morris Dairy Maids Isabel Danuda Servants Peg Mafong Ram Betty Janey Sarah with the Gardner Sufanna Nanney Old Wenches that Raise Poultry Betty Ann Mary Isaah Agness In the Hospitall Nancy Weston Magdalona at the Fort Plantation Peg Cloave Raise Poultry at the Peak Betty Cato Washer at Sandy Bay Moll Raise Poultry at the Wood Betty Grover Bett Superannuated Bracey Abigail Sarah Employments Girlss [...] no boys of these but young after 4 or 5 years old Sarah Peg Ruth	The list continued with the Honourable Company's women slaves and their several employments. Rated as very old were Mary Nest and Margit. The washerwomen were Judith Scarf, Mary Rich, Nanny Jack and Sarah Winney. Peg Morris had the care of the Plantation House. The dairy maids were Sabra and Dominga. The house servants were Peg, Mopsy Frank, Betty Jenny and Sarah. Working with the gardener were Susanna and Nanny. The old women who raised poultry were Betty Sun, Mary Sarah and Agnes. Nanny Dorton was set at the hospital. Magdalena was at the fort plantation. Peg Clew raised poultry at the Peak. Mall was set to weeding at Sandy Bay. Betty Gawer raised poultry at the Wood. The superannuated women were Brasey, Abigail and Sarah. The girls, set down in a single roll, were Sarah, Peg, Frath, Betty, Mary, Betty, Sarah, Nanney, Betty, Betty, Susanna, Sarah, Alice, Betty, Betty, Rebeckah, Sarah, Sarah, Alice, Nanney, Sarah, Nanney, Peg and Grace. A note against them recorded that they were put out to serve the inhabitants until each reached the age of thirty, being maintained by their masters. Following the slave list came a roll of the island's militia, with a note of where each division was quartered on every alarm and by whom it was commanded. The militia was commanded by George Gabriel Powell as captain, John Defountaine as ensign and Richard Girling as sergeant. The West Division, with the age of each man, was: Thomas Faires, 50 Stephen Lufkin, 63 William Young, 44 Thomas Clew, 44 Thomas Goodwin, 53 Giles Smith, 47 James Smith, 20 Joseph Powell, 50 Martin Harper, 18 Benjamin Mason, 50 Richard Bagley, 40 Stephen Lufkin junior, 13 Thomas Harper, 60

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		Betty Mary Betty Sarah Nanney Betty Betty Sufanna Sarah Alice Betty Rebekah Mary Sarah Alice Nanney Ivory Nanney Peg Grace List of the Militia [...] Quartered upon all Alarms, and by Whome Commanded Viz. George Gabriel Powell Captain John Desfountain Ensign Richard Gurling Sergent West Division aged Thomas Jarvis 30 Stephen Lufting 63 William Young 17 Thomas Cliok 33 Thomas Goodwin 14 Giles Smith 33 James Smith 17 Joseph Powell 20 Martin Harper 30 Benjamin Mason 18 Richard Bagley 30 Stephen Lufting Sanr 10 Thomas Harper 13 Robert Gurling Senr 60 Robert Gurling Junr 27 James Goodwin 14 John Worsall 30 Samuel Alexander 24 East Division aged Gabriel Harper 30 Micail Docton 75 Edward Bayley Junr 4 John Bagley 4 Thomal Alle 55	Robert Girling junior, 27 Robert Girling junior, 30 James Greentree, 30 John Warrall, 21 Samuel Alexander, John The East Division, with the age of each man, was: Gabriel Harper, 30 Micah Doveton, 23 Edward Bagley junior, 14 John Bagley, 42 Thomas Allis, 53 Edward Allis, 14 William Worrall junior, 16 Elisha Isaac, 53 John Fountaine senior, 33 John Fountaine junior, 18 Samuel Defountaine, 14 Benjamin Pledger, 34 Thomas Pledger, 17 Matthew Mudge, 42 William Harper, 23 Thomas Adye, 20 Samuel Doveton, 34 John Doveton, 18 **Interpretations** The apprenticing out of the Company's slave girls to the inhabitants until the age of thirty was a device to shift the cost of their upkeep off the Company's books during the years they were least productive, while binding their labour to island households for the whole of their working prime. The same practice runs through the earlier musters in this record, where girls of four and upward were placed with named masters under registered bonds, all of them brought before the council and reporting they were well treated. Setting the term at thirty rather than at a fixed number of years tied each girl to her master for the bulk of her adult life. The women's list shows the whole domestic and provision economy of the establishment resting on slave labour: washing, dairying, poultry-raising at the Peak, the Wood and Sandy Bay, tending the hospital and keeping the Plantation House. The scattering of single women across the outlying plantations to raise poultry mirrors the arrangement on the men's side, where old or worn hands were spread thin over duties that still had to be covered. The militia roll set out the island's whole free fighting strength, divided into a West and an East division so that each could muster to its own quarter on an alarm without waiting on the other. The ages, running from boys of thirteen and fourteen to men of sixty and above, show how narrow that strength was: the island could not field a large body, and the same families, the Harpers, the Dovetons, the Fountaines, the Allises, the Bagleys and the Girlings, supplied several men each. This was the force behind the council's repeated anxiety, through the fortification programme, that the works could only be defended if enough hands were kept from the plantations to man them.

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		Edward Allis 4 William Worsall Junr 57 Elisha Isaac 75 John Harper Senr 30 John Desfountain Junr 15 Samuel Desfountain 4 Benjamin Mudge 37 Thomas Mudge 17 Matthew Mudge 42 William Harper 23 Thomas Mudge 20 Samuel Docton 37 John Docton 18	
196	192	West Division aged John Alexander 18 George Alexander 15 John Scott 38 Richard Tinsley 54 Thomas Smith 13 East Division aged Robert Lushing 14 Robert Hayes 15 Joseph Hayes 13 John Hayes a Continent who Alarms Sandy Bay 23 NB there are eight Swivel Gunns to be Transported from Place to Place as the Service may Require. Upon all Alarms the above NB Men of the Militia forthwith Repair in the Country under the Command of Capt. Powell, who has with him Ensign John Desfountain & Serjeant Richard Gurling, the former Rendezvous at the Ridge with 22 of the above Militia to Guard the East division [...] the Windward Valleys of the Island, the Remaining 23 Rendezvous at the high Peak with Serjeant Gurling to Guard the Leward Valleys and where Mr Powell Generally is himself, more Especially upon double Alarms, because the Island is abundantly the most open in that part & Consequently where an Assault is most Reasonable to be Expected. The following of the Militia are Quartered upon the Line at the Great Fort viz. aged James Wrangham Esqr 35 Richard Chidwin	The West Division continued, with the age of each man: John Alexander, 18 George Alexander, 15 John Scott, 38 Richard Tinsley, 54 Thomas Smith, 13 The East Division continued, with the age of each man: Robert Lufkin, 14 Robert Hayse, 15 Joseph Hayse, 13 John Hayse, a sentinel who on alarms quartered at Sandy Bay, 23 Eight swivel guns were to be moved from place to place as the service required. On every alarm the men of the militia listed above were to go at once into the country under the command of Captain Powell, together with Ensign John Defountaine and Sergeant Richard Girling. The former was to take his stand at the ridge with twenty-two of the men, to guard the eastern division, meaning the windward valleys of the island. The remaining men were to stand at the high Peak with Sergeant Girling to guard the leeward valleys, where Mr Powell himself would generally be, above all on double alarms, because that part of the island was the most open and an assault was therefore most to be expected there. The following of the militia were quartered on the line at the great fort, with the age of each man: Francis Wrangham, 55 Richard Goodwin, 43 John Goodwin, 24 Charles Steward, 43 Thomas Greentree, 42 Jonathan Doveton, 64 Joseph Bates, 30 Edward Bates, 40 Richard Beale, 43 John Bagley, 36 Duke Crispe, 30 Richard Mason, 30 The following of the militia were quartered at Sandy Bay fort, with the age of each man: Jonathan Higham, 54 William Gilchrist, 38 An account followed of the guns mounted, their several natures and the artillery men quartered at each fort on every alarm. At the great fort: 11 thirty-two pounders 3 eighteen pounders 2 twelve pounders 20 nine pounders 12 six pounders 2 four pounders 2 three pounders 21 two pounders The gunroom crew at the great fort was: Nathan Sample, gunner's mate Robert Ward, gunner's mate Roger Devanean, quarter gunner Francis Newland, mattross John Christoffel, mattross Thomas Wrangham, mattross John Nottege, mattross John Spencer, mattross David Wilson, mattross

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and Analysis
		43 John Goodwin 21 Charles Steward 43 Thomas Guentree 42 Jonathan Docton 64 Joseph Bates 30 Edward Bates 40 Richard Beale 43 John Bazett 36 Duke Coupe 30 Richard Mason 30 The following of the Militia are Quartered at Sandy Bay Fort viz. aged Jonathan Hopham 34 William Gilchrist 38 Account of Guns Mounted with their Several Natures and Artillery Men Quartered at each Fort upon all Alarms Viz. At the Great Fort viz. 11. Thirty two Pounders 5. Eighteen Do 2. Twelve Do 20. Nine Do 13. Six Do 4. Four Do 2. Three Do 21. Two Do Gunroom Crew at the great Fort viz. Nathan Sample Robert Word Roger Devanean Francis Newland John Christoffel Thomas Pillingham John Wottige John Spencer David Wilson Gunners Mates Quarter Gunner Matrofses At Prosperts Fort viz. 2. Twelve Pounders 13. Nine Do 2. Four Do 4. One Do Thomas Watts Major Jackson John Barnett Gunners Mate Matrofses At Mondens point Fort viz. 1. Thirty two Pounder 13. Nine Do Isaa Leech William Kennedy Gunners mate Matrofs	At Rupert's fort: 2 twelve pounders 13 nine pounders 3 four pounders 4 one pounders The men quartered there were Thomas Wall, gunner's mate, and Major Jackson and John Barnett, mattrosses. At Munden's Point fort: 1 thirty-two pounder 13 nine pounders The men quartered there were Isaac Leech, gunner's mate, and William Kennedy, mattross. **Interpretations** The plan divided the island's defence between two fixed posts, the ridge covering the windward valleys and the high Peak covering the leeward ones, with the captain himself stationed at the leeward post. The reasoning set down in the order was that the leeward side was the most open and so the likeliest point of an enemy landing, which is why the senior officer took personal charge there and reinforced it on any double alarm. This matches the judgement running through the whole fortification programme, that Sandy Bay and the leeward valleys were the island's weakest seaward approaches. The guns were classed by the weight of shot they threw, from thirty-two pounders down to one and two pounders, the same system the gunner's monthly accounts had used since 1738 in place of the older names of cannon and culverin. The two pounders, twenty-one of them at the great fort, were the light pieces reserved for salutes and ceremony to spare the powder store, while the heavy thirty-two and eighteen pounders were the pieces meant to reach a ship. Concentrating the weight of ordnance and almost the whole gunroom crew at the great fort, with only small detachments at Rupert's and Munden's Point, shows where the council judged the main defence must stand. A mattross was a soldier of the artillery ranking below a gunner, who assisted in loading, sponging and moving the guns and served as a reserve to the gunners. The swivel guns, small pieces mounted so they could be turned by hand, were kept mobile precisely because the island had too few men to hold every landing place at once, and eight of them could be carried to whichever point an alarm threatened.
197	193	At Bank's Fort viz. 3. Eighteen Pounders 5. Nine Do 2. Six Do	At Banks's fort: 3 eighteen pounders 3 nine pounders 2 six pounders 2 one pounders

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		7. One Do James Vaughn, Quarter Gunner William Chillingsworth, Matrofs At Turks Cap Fort viz. 6. four Pounders William Davis Matrofs At Sandy Bay Fort viz. 6. four Pounders At Lemon Valley Fort viz. 6. Six Pounders John Beddle Matrofs NB there are four Guns to make the Allarm at Cassperons bay. And there are also two Guns for the same Purpose at the Bridge. List of the Honourable Companys Servants Exclusive of the Governour and Council, with their several Salarys and Diet Money for the month of February last paid them the 10th day of March 178[...] Viz. Names Pay pr Mensem Diet with the Honble Company Edwin Alcock Chaplain £8 6 8 James Powell £3 3 9 Francis Wrangham Sanr Writers £3 3 9 Thomas French £1 13 4 John Clarke Lieutenant £3 10 8 James Scott Ensign £1 3 4 Thomas Easthope Do £1 [...] 3 John Desfountain Do £1 [...] 3 34 8 4 Sergeants viz. Thomas Bazett £2 1 11 Joseph Desfountain £2 1 11 William Burnham £2 1 10 Edward Bagley £1 12 6 Richard Gurling £1 12 6 John Aanson £1 12 6 Henry Mutton £1 12 6 John Leech £1 12 6 William Seale £16 9 6 12 Corporals viz. John Sango £1 9 3 David Wilson £1 9 3 Onesephorus Beale £1 9 3 Joseph Whaley £1 9 3 Gabriel Jacke £1 9 3 Jackson Worrall £1 9 3 Thomas Swindle £1 9 3	The men quartered there were James Vaughan, quarter gunner, and William Chillingsworth, mattross. At Turk's Cap fort: 6 four pounders The man quartered there was William Davis, mattross. At Sandy Bay fort: 6 four pounders At Lemon Valley fort: 6 six pounders The man quartered there was John Beddile, mattross. Four guns were kept to make the alarm at Prosperous Bay, and two more guns for the same purpose at the ridge. The following was a list of the Honourable Company's servants, other than the Governor and council, with their several salaries and diet money for the month of February, paid to them on 10 March 1742. Names, pay per month, and diet money with the Company: Edwin Alsop, chaplain, £8 6s 8d James Powell, writer, £3 3s 9d Francis Wrangham junior, writer, £3 3s 9d Thomas French, £1 13s 4d John Clarke, lieutenant, £3 10s 8d James Scott, ensign, £4 3s 4d Thomas Easthope, £4 0s 3d John Defountaine, ditto, £34 8s 4d in diet with the Company Sergeants: Thomas Bazett, £2 4s 11d Joseph Defountaine, £2 4s 11d William Burnham, £1 12s 10d Edward Bagley, £1 12s 6d Richard Girling, £1 12s 6d John Hanson, £1 12s 6d Henry Multon, £1 12s 6d, and £12 in diet with the Company John Leech, £1 12s 6d William Seale, £1 12s 6d, the sergeants' diet totalling £16 9s 6d Corporals: John Funge, £1 9s 3d David Wilson, £1 9s 3d Onesipharus Beale, £1 9s 3d Joseph Whaley, £1 9s 3d Gabriel Jacke, £1 9s 3d Joshua Worrall, £1 9s 3d Thomas Worrall, £1 9s 3d Henry Beale, £1 9s 3d The corporals' pay carried over came to £11 14s 0d, the whole carried over to £30 17s 10d, and the diet carried over to £12. **Interpretations** The pay list served as much for verification as for record, setting down every named servant against a stated sum so that no phantom name could draw wages unseen. This was the direct lesson of the deficiency uncovered through 1741, when pay had been found running on the muster roll for men who did not exist, traced back as far as Governor Byfield's time, and a full nominal roll of real men receiving fixed sums was the plainest guard against that fraud recurring under the new government. Diet money was a separate cash allowance paid in place of board with the Company, given to some servants and not others: most of the men drew only their monthly pay, while a few, such as the chaplain and certain officers, carried a diet entry as well. The distinction marked which servants were fed at the Company's table or its charge and which were paid to feed themselves, and it was accounted in its own column so the two obligations could be checked apart. A mattross was an artillery soldier ranking below a gunner, who helped load, sponge and move the guns and stood as a reserve to the gunners. The spreading of single mattrosses and quarter gunners across the small outlying forts at Banks's, Turk's Cap, Sandy Bay and Lemon Valley, each holding only a handful of light four and six pounders, shows how thinly the island's trained artillery strength was stretched once the main body was concentrated at the great fort.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and Analysis
		Henry Beale Corporals Carried over£11 [...] Carried over£30 17 10 Diet Carried over£[...] 12	
198	194	Diet Brought over£[...] Brought over£[...] £30 17 10 . 12 Corporals Brought over£11 4 [...] John French £1 9 3 James Draper £1 9 3 Isaac Knipe £1 9 3 John Warich £1 9 3 17 11 [...] Drummers viz. William Innes £1 9 3 Thomas Watts £1 9 3 William Davis £1 9 3 Thomas Linden at £7 p ann £[...] 11 8 4 19 3 Centineles viz. William Adams £1 2 9 12 Peron Ambrose £1 2 9 Thomas Alcock £1 2 9 James Alles £1 2 9 William Allis £1 2 9 Joseph Bagford £1 2 9 Peter Bath £1 2 9 12 Bill Roman £1 2 9 12 Daniel Birch £1 2 9 12 Thomas Browne £1 2 9 Edward Burnham £1 2 9 Andrew Blinsman £1 2 9 John Bradley £1 2 9 Delande Bagley £1 2 9 John Buain £1 9 9 William Darnell £1 2 9 . 12 Thomas Dench £1 2 9 12. John Dutton £1 2 9 12 Joseph Boswell £1 2 9	The list of the Company's servants continued. The corporals' pay brought over came to £11 14s 0d, and the account continued: John Funge, £1 9s 3d James Draper, £1 9s 3d Isaac Knight, £1 9s 3d John Aldrich, £1 9s 3d The corporals' pay totalled £17 11s 0d. Drummers: William Ormes, £1 9s 3d, with £12 diet money with the Company Thomas Wells, £1 9s 3d William Davis, £1 9s 3d, with £6 diet money with the Company Thomas London, at £7 a year, £11 8d The drummers' pay totalled £4 9s 3d. Sentinels: William Adams, £1 2s 9d Devon Ambrose, £1 2s 9d, with £12 diet money with the Company Thomas Alcock, £1 2s 9d James Allis, £1 2s 9d William Allis, £1 2s 9d Joseph Bazett, £1 2s 9d Peter Bath, £1 2s 9d, with £12 diet money with the Company Bill Bonan, £1 2s 9d, with £12 diet money with the Company Daniel Bonch, £1 2s 9d, with £12 diet money with the Company Thomas Browne, £1 2s 9d Edward Burnham, £1 2s 9d Andrew Blinman, £1 2s 9d John Bradley, £1 2s 9d Orlando Bagley, £1 2s 9d John Bonin, £1 2s 9d, with £12 diet money with the Company William Darrell, £1 2s 9d, with £12 diet money with the Company Thomas Borah, £1 2s 9d, with £12 diet money with the Company John Dutton, £1 2s 9d, with £12 diet money with the Company Joseph Boswell, £1 2s 9d, with £12 diet money with the Company Peter Barker, £1 2s 9d, with £12 diet money with the Company William Browne, £1 2s 9d, with £12 diet money with the Company William Caddo, £1 2s 9d Henry Carter, £1 2s 9d Antony Castoll, £1 2s 9d George Clarke, £1 2s 9d, with £12 diet money with the Company William Camwell, £1 2s 9d, with £12 diet money with the Company Daniel Council, £1 2s 9d Thomas Cato, £1 2s 9d John Chatwich, £1 2s 9d Phillip Catchpole, £1 2s 9d Samuel Clarke, £1 2s 9d, with £12 diet money with the Company Martin Mac Danil, £1 2s 9d, with £12 diet money with the Company William Dorrell, £1 2s 9d John Emery, £1 2s 9d John Draper, £1 2s 9d Thomas Draper, £1 2s 9d Edmund Danford, £1 2s 9d John Deves, £1 2s 9d, with £12 diet money with the Company Barron Delsaph, £1 2s 9d James English, £1 2s 9d John Ellis, £1 2s 9d, with £12 diet money with the Company Samuel Eales, £1 2s 9d The pay carried over came to £127 15s 6d, and the diet carried over to £18 2s. **Interpretations** The muster of common sentinels at a uniform rate of £1 2s 9d a month, name after name down the whole roll, was the exact record the deficiency inquiry of 1741 had shown to be necessary. Phantom sentinels drawing standing pay had been one of the frauds uncovered, running on the books since Governor Byfield's time, so setting down every private soldier by name at the same fixed sum let the total be checked against the number of real men and left no room for an invented name to be slipped in. The diet money entered against roughly half the sentinels but not the others divided the garrison into those fed at the Company's charge and those paid a cash allowance to feed themselves. Carrying that allowance in its own column, separate from the monthly pay, kept the two obligations distinct so each could be audited on its own, and the split shows the Company met the subsistence of only part of its soldiers directly.

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		12 Peter Barber £1 2 9 12. William Browne £1 2 9 12. William Caddy £1 2 9 12. Henry Carter £1 2 9 12. Antony Casteal £1 2 9 12. George Clarke £1 2 9 12. Blasdow Cammell £1 2 9 12. Daniel Cauncel £1 2 9 12. Thomas Cape £1 2 9 John Chatworth £1 2 9 Phillip Calchpole £1 2 9 Samuel Clarke £1 2 9 12 Martin Mac Danil £1 2 9 12 William Darnill £1 2 9 12 John Drury £1 2 9 John Draper £1 2 9 Thomas Draper £1 2 9 £Edward Danford £1 2 9 John Dorak £1 2 9 Darron Delaap £1 2 9 . 12 James English £1 2 9 John Ills £1 2 9 12 Samuel Coles £1 2 9 17 15 6 Carried over£121 3 [...] Diet Carried over£14 2	Thomas London, the drummer entered at £7 a year rather than at the others' monthly rate, was paid on a yearly engagement that worked out below the standard drummer's pay, which is why his line is set down differently from the men above him and why his annual figure had to be reduced to a monthly sum to enter the same column.
199	195	Diet Brought over£14 2 Brought over£121 [...] 9 12 William Edwards £1 2 9 John Evans £1 2 9 12 Isaac Evans £1 2 9 James George Sanr	The list of the Company's sentinels continued. The pay brought over came to £127 15s 6d, and the account continued: William Edwards, £1 2s 9d John Evans, £1 2s 9d, with £12 diet money with the Company Jesse Evans, £1 2s 9d Francis Funge junior, £1 2s 9d Richard Frail, £1 2s 9d Thomas Fuller, £1 2s 9d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and Analysis
		£1 2 9 Richard Frost £1 2 9 Thomas Fuller £1 2 9 James George £1 2 9 12 John Gurling £1 2 9 Christopher Garland £1 2 9 Onesphorus Gurling £1 2 9 12 John George £1 2 9 William Gunn £1 2 9 12 Giles Harper £1 2 9 12 Richard Harper £1 2 9 Francis Harper £1 2 9 James Hall £1 2 9 Phillip Hilliard £1 2 9 Daniel Hayes £1 2 9 John Hayes £1 2 9 Barnett Homes £1 2 9 John Hollowey £1 2 9 Solomon Jacobs £1 2 9 Jepther Jermain £1 2 9 12 Richard Kent £1 2 9 Richard Knight £1 2 9 Joseph Lang £1 2 9 James Levy £1 2 9 12 Thomas Legg £1 2 9 12 Sutton Leech £1 2 9 Thomas Leech £1 2 9 John Leon £1 2 9 John Leech Junr £1 2 9 John Leggett £1 2 9 12 Ebenezer Leech £1 2 9 Morris Alley £1 2 9 12 David Ludd £1 2 9 Stephen Lufting	James Funge, £1 2s 9d, with £12 diet money with the Company John Girling, £1 2s 9d Christopher Garland, £1 2s 9d, with £13 diet money with the Company Onesipharus Girling, £1 2s 9d John George, £1 2s 9d, with £12 diet money with the Company William Gunn, £1 2s 9d, with £12 diet money with the Company Giles Hayse, £1 2s 9d Richard Harper, £1 2s 9d Francis Hayse, £1 2s 9d James Hall, £1 2s 9d Phillip Holland, £1 2s 9d Daniel Hayse, £1 2s 9d John Hayse, £1 2s 9d Barrell Homes, £1 2s 9d John Holloway, £1 2s 9d Solomon Jacobs, £1 2s 9d Jephtha Jarman, £1 2s 9d, with £12 diet money with the Company Richard Pont, £1 2s 9d Richard Knight, £1 2s 9d Joseph Long, £1 2s 9d, with £12 diet money with the Company James Long, £1 2s 9d, with £12 diet money with the Company Thomas Ley, £1 2s 9d Sutton Leech, £1 2s 9d Thomas Leech, £1 2s 9d John Leech, £1 2s 9d John Leech junior, £1 2s 9d, with £12 diet money with the Company John Leggett, £1 2s 9d Thomas Leech, £1 2s 9d, with £12 diet money with the Company Maurice Lilby, £1 2s 9d, with £12 diet money with the Company David Lud, £1 2s 9d Stephen Lufking, £1 2s 9d John Mudge, £1 2s 9d Bartholomew Mellon, £1 2s 9d Robert Manlove, £1 2s 9d John Morgan, £1 2s 9d, with £12 diet money with the Company John Munnitree, £1 2s 9d, with £12 diet money with the Company William Moore, £1 2s 9d Richard Newton, £1 2s 9d, with £12 diet money with the Company William Price, £1 2s 9d, with £12 diet money with the Company John Pearce, £1 2s 9d, with £12 diet money with the Company James Pulchard, £1 2s 9d Stephen Owen, £1 2s 9d John Potter, £1 2s 9d Edward Pudgeon, £1 2s 9d Thomas Reed, £1 2s 9d, with £12 diet money with the Company James Richardson, £1 2s 9d, with £12 diet money with the Company Thomas Sibbs, £1 2s 9d John Spencer 1, £1 2s 9d John Spencer 3, £1 2s 9d The pay carried over came to £180 13s 3d, and the diet carried over to £26 14s. **Interpretations** The steady repetition of £1 2s 9d against every sentinel down the whole roll was the guard the deficiency inquiry of 1741 had shown to be needed. Pay for men who did not exist had been found running on the muster books since Governor Byfield's time, so writing each private soldier by

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and Analysis
		£1 2 9 John Mudge £1 2 9 Bartholomew Mellon £1 2 9 Robert Manlove £1 2 9 John Morgan £1 2 9 12 John Mannikee £1 2 9 12 William Moore £1 2 9 Richard Newton £1 2 9 12 William Once £1 2 9 12 John Pearce £1 2 9 12 James Pritchard £1 2 9 12 Stephen Owen £1 2 9 John Potter £1 2 9 Edward Rudgeon £1 2 9 Edward Read £1 2 9 James Prichardson £1 2 9 12 Thomas Sillito £1 2 9 12 John Spencer £1 2 9 John Spencer 62 11 3 Carried over£183 [...] 3 Diet Carried over£26 1[...]	name at one fixed rate let the sum be tested against the count of real men and left no gap where an invented name could be added. The diet money entered against some sentinels and not others split the garrison into those fed at the Company's charge and those given a cash allowance to feed themselves, the allowance carried in its own column so the two obligations stayed distinct and each could be checked on its own. The presence of several men sharing a surname, with two entries reading John Spencer distinguished only by a numeral, shows how the clerk kept the roll unambiguous where names repeated. Numbering the two men of identical name rather than adding a description was the simplest way to keep each drawing his own pay without confusion, the roll's whole purpose being an exact head count that money could be matched against.
200	196	Diet Brought over£26 1[...] Brought over£183 [...] [...] John Scotcher £1 2 9 12 William Simpson £1 2 9 12 Stuard Snowd £1 2 9 Benjamin Seale £1 2 9 John Speake £1 2 9 William Searles £1 2 9 Richard Swailes £1 2 9 Matthew Watters £1 2 9 12 John Webster £1 2 9 Jeremiah Warrill £1 2 9 12 John Worrall Junr	The list of the Company's servants continued. The pay brought over came to £180 13s 3d, and the account continued: John Scotcher, £1 2s 9d, with £12 diet money with the Company William Simpson, £1 2s 9d, with £12 diet money with the Company Edward Snout, £1 2s 9d Benjamin Sale, £1 2s 9d John Sparks, £1 2s 9d William Swailes, £1 2s 9d Richard Swailes, £1 2s 9d Matthew Walters, £1 2s 9d, with £12 diet money with the Company John Webster, £1 2s 9d Jeremiah Worrall, £1 2s 9d, with £12 diet money with the Company John Worrall junior, £1 2s 9d Peter Wells, £1 2s 9d Thomas Wallum, £1 2s 9d John Winter, £1 2s 9d David Wilson, £1 2s 9d, with £12 diet money with the Company James Vaughan junior, £1 2s 9d John Job Van Osten, £1 2s 9d The sentinels' pay totalled £19 6s 9d. The gunroom crew:

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and Analysis
		£1 2 9 Peter Weld £1 2 9 Thomas Watkins £1 2 9 John Winter £1 2 9 David Wilson £1 2 9 12 James Vaughn Senr £1 2 9 John Gob Van Osten £1 2 9 15 6 9 Gunroom Crew viz. John French Gunner Including House and at the rate of £6 pr an num £6 [...] Isaac Leech Gunners Mate £1 12 6 Thomas Watts Do £1 12 6 Robert Word Do £1 12 6 Nathan Semple Do £1 12 6 12 James Vaughn Quarter Gunner £1 9 3 Roger Devanean Do £1 9 3 3 Francis Newland Matrofs £1 7 1 William Chillingsworth Do £1 7 1 William Kennedy Do £1 7 1 12 Thomas Pillingham Do £1 7 1 12 John Christoffel Do £1 7 1 12 John Spencer Do £1 7 1 12 Major Jackson Do £1 7 1 Joseph Beltcher Do £1 7 1 John Boddle Do £1 7 1 12 William Davis Senr Do £1 7 1 John Barnett Do £1 7 1 12 John Wottige Do £1 7 1 6 32 8 6 Superanuated viz. Joseph Whaley Sergant £1 12 6 Isaac Augason Quarter Gunner £1 9 3 George Dewey Drummer £1 9 3 Samuel Snipe Centinel £1 2 9 5 13 9	John French, gunner, including his house rent at the rate of £5 a year, £6 10s 0d Isaac Leech, gunner's mate, £1 12s 6d Thomas Watts, gunner's mate, £1 12s 6d Robert Wood, gunner's mate, £1 12s 6d Nathan Sample, gunner's mate, £1 12s 6d, with £12 diet money with the Company James Vaughan, quarter gunner, £1 9s 3d Roger Devanean, quarter gunner, £1 9s 3d, with £3 diet money with the Company Francis Newland, mattross, £1 9s 3d William Chillingsworth, mattross, £1 7s 1d William Kennedy, mattross, £1 7s 1d, with £12 diet money with the Company Thomas Wilkinson, mattross, £1 7s 1d, with £12 diet money with the Company John Christoffel, mattross, £1 7s 1d, with £12 diet money with the Company John Spencer, mattross, £1 7s 1d, with £12 diet money with the Company Major Jackson, mattross, £1 7s 1d Joseph Belcher, mattross, £1 7s 1d John Biddle, mattross, £1 7s 1d, with £12 diet money with the Company William Davis, mattross, £1 7s 1d John Barnett, mattross, £1 7s 1d John Nottege, mattross, £1 7s 1d, with £6 diet money with the Company The gunroom crew's pay totalled £32 6s 6d. The superannuated: Joseph Whaley, sergeant, £1 12s 6d Isaac Augustin, quarter gunner, £1 9s 3d George Bewsey, drummer, £1 9s 3d Samuel Knipe, sentinel, £1 2s 9d The superannuated pay totalled £5 13s 9d. The overseers: Samuel Doveton, £3 0s 0d John Swailes, £2 10s 0d Richard Tinsley, £2 18s 9d James Vaughan, clerk, £2 8s 0d Cudam Wrangham, ditto, £2 8s 0d Francis Funge, armourer, £4 5s 0d James Rashwood, ditto mate, £2 10s 0d Henry Wayce, carpenter, £4 3s 4d The overseers' pay totalled £31 16s 6d. The whole pay carried over came to £262 15s 9d, and the diet carried over to £34 19s. **Interpretations** The gunner John French drew much the highest pay of the garrison and had his house rent of £5 a year folded openly into his allowance at £6 10s 0d a month, the entry stating the rent in full so the extra sum could be seen and checked rather than buried. His mates and the quarter gunners stood well above the common mattrosses, and the mattrosses in turn above nothing, so the gunroom's pay scale set out the whole order of skill in the island's artillery, from the master gunner down to the men who only fetched and loaded. The superannuated men, kept on reduced pay after age or infirmity took them off active duty, were still carried by name at their old ranks of sergeant, quarter gunner, drummer and sentinel. Paying them a standing pension rather than discharging them shows the Company held itself bound to men worn out in its service, and entering them on the same roll kept the obligation visible and countable alongside the serving establishment. The clerks Cudam Wrangham and James Vaughan, entered with the word carried down from the line above rather than written out, and the armourer's mate entered the same way, show the clerk's shorthand for shared descriptions. Resolving each such line to its full office was necessary because the pay roll's whole value lay in every man standing

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and Analysis
		Samuel Docton Overseers £3 10 John Swailes £2 10 Richard Tinsley £2 1 8 James Vaughn Clerk £1 2 9 Do Embion Steward £4 5 Francis Sange Carpenter £2 10 James Rushword Do Mate £2 4 Henry Moyer Carpenter £4 4 21 16 6 Carried over£262 15 9 Diet Carried over£34 9	complete against his own sum, the exact defence against the phantom entries the deficiency inquiry of 1741 had exposed.
201	197	Diet Brought over£34 9 Brought over£262 15 6 John Norman Cooper £2 10 John Astingstall Coxwain £2 10 Joseph Wolston Housekeeper £2 13 4 Thomas Cotgrave Marshall £1 9 3 James DuBois Surgeons Mate £3 8 4 Richard Beale School Master £1 2 9 Balla Cook £2 10 Nicholas Clarker Steward £3 3 9 20 10 2 Totall£280 5 8 Totall of Diet£33 11 Dr George Gabriel Powell Pay Master Cr To Cash for So much Received out of the Treasury as pr Consultation of 16th February last £3 To Do for so much Received out of the Treasury to pay the Honble Company's Servants for the Month of February £293 3 8[...] To Do for so much Due Salary due of the Estate of the late John Goodwin Esqr £5 Isaac Sango Do £6 10 To Do for So much Due Contingency as pr Sundry Particulars for the Diet of the Honble Company£33 11 £343 4 8[...] By Cash for so much paid the Honble Company's Servants Exclusive of the Governor and Council their Salary and Diet Wages for the Month of February last as pr Particulars£283 3 8 By Cash paid for 3 Almsms£13 [...] NA£8 By Cash for the Ballance the day paid into the Honble Company's Treasury£39 3 0[...]	The list of the Company's servants continued. The pay brought over came to £262 15s 6d, and the account continued: John Norman, cooper, £2 10s 0d John Attingstall, coxswain, £2 10s 0d, with £12 diet money with the Company Joseph Belcher, storekeeper, £13 4s 0d Thomas Colgrove, marshal, £1 9s 3d James Du Bois, surgeon's mate, £1 8s 0d Richard Beale, schoolmaster, £1 2s 9d Balls Cook, £1 2s 0d Nicholas Cleather, sawyer, £2 10s 0d William Deues, gardener, £3 3s 9d The pay of this section totalled £20 10s 2d, and the whole pay came to a total of £283 5s 8d, the whole diet to a total of £33 11s. The account was then set out against George Gabriel Powell, paymaster. He was charged, on the one side, with cash received: To cash for so much received out of the treasury at the consultation of 16 February last, £3 0s 0d To ditto for so much received out of the treasury to pay the Honourable Company's servants for the month of February, £293 3s 3.5d To ditto for so much received of Sutton Isaacke out of the estate of the late John Goodwin: Isaac Funge senior £3, John Bunch senior £6 10s, £9 10s 0d To ditto for so much received of Sutton Isaacke as several particulars for the diet of the Honourable Company, £33 11s 0d The charge side totalled £343 4s 3.5d. He was discharged, on the other side, with cash paid: By cash for so much paid the Honourable Company's servants exclusive of the Governor and council their salary and Bates's wages for the month of February as by several particulars, £283 5s 8d By cash paid for 3 alarms, £15 7s By cash for the balance this day paid into the Honourable Company's treasury, £39 9s 3.5d The discharge side totalled £343 4s 3.5d. The account was subscribed as errors excepted at St Helena on 30 March 1742 by George Gabriel Powell, paymaster. A note beneath recorded that the paymaster's account had been examined and found to leave a balance of £39 9s 3.5d accordingly. **Interpretations** The paymaster's account was drawn up as a balance of cash received against cash paid, so that every sum drawn from the treasury for the month had to be answered either by a wage paid to a named

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		£343 4 8[...] Errors Excepted this 30th day of March 178[...] in St Helena G. G. Powell Pay Mastr The above Pay Masters Account was Examined and he paid in the Ballance of£39 3 9[...] Accordingly. The	servant or by the surplus returned to the treasury. Powell had to account for £343 4s 3.5d received and show the same figure discharged, the £39 9s 3.5d he paid back on the day closing the books exactly. This double reckoning, examined and certified afterwards, was the mechanism that made the pay roll self-checking and left no room for money to go astray between the treasury and the men. Part of the cash Powell handled came not from the Company's own chest but from Sutton Isaacke out of the estate of the late Governor John Goodwin, both towards the debts of individual servants and towards the diet charges. Drawing on the attached Goodwin estate to meet the establishment's running costs shows the estate being worked to answer the Company's claims even as it stood frozen, its funds passing through the ordinary monthly account rather than being held wholly apart. The storekeeper Joseph Belcher drew £13 4s 0d, far above every other civil servant on the roll, marking the weight of responsibility carried by the man who held and issued the Company's stores. Setting his pay so far above the cooper, marshal and gardener reflects that the storekeeper's post was the one most open to loss or fraud, the very failure the deficiency inquiry of 1741 had exposed, so the office was paid to match the trust placed in it.
202	198	The following Account was this day laid before us Viz. Account of Rafters &c bought for the Honble Company since the 1st December to the 29th of March 178[...] Viz. £5 4 Mr John Bazett 10 Rafters 11 Loads Laths £1 13 Mr Mary Alexander 10 Rafters £2 3 2 Loads Laths £6 Mr Alexr Rydett 20 Rafters £1 4 11 Loads Laths £1 13 17 Do Boarders £2 11 Mr Jno Desfountain 76 Rafters £3 16 103 Rafters £5 3 Mr Saml Docton 14 Loads Boarders £2 2 18 Do Laths £2 18 Mr Fras Wrangham Senr 3000 Lemans £3 12 £32 3 The above being a true Account the Pay Master was Ordered to discharge the same upon the next Pay day. In Consequence of our Honble Masters favour to Captain Robert Jenkins he the following as the following Intent for his Sea Stores Viz. Sheep 6 Hoggs 6	The following account was laid before the council. This was an account of rafters and other goods bought for the Honourable Company between 1 December and 27 March 1742. John Bazett, 104 rafters, £5 4s 0d John Bazett, 11 loads of laths, £1 13s 0d Mary Alexander, 40 rafters, £2 3s 0d Mary Alexander, 2 loads of laths, £0 6s 0d James Ryder, 24 rafters, £1 4s 0d James Ryder, 11 loads of laths, £1 13s 0d James Ryder, 17 ditto benders, £2 11s 0d John Defountaine, 76 rafters, £3 16s 0d Samuel Doveton, 103 rafters, £5 3s 0d Samuel Doveton, 14 loads of benders, £2 2s 0d Samuel Doveton, 16 ditto laths, £2 14s 0d Francis Wrangham, 3,000 lemons, £3 12s 0d The account totalled £32 3s 0d. The account being a true one, the paymaster was ordered to discharge it on the next pay day. Following the Company's instruction in favour of Captain Robert Jenkins, the council drew up the following indent for his sea stores on the homeward passage: Sheep, 6 Hogs, 6 Turkeys, 24 Ducks, 24 Fowls, 60 Arrack, 20 gallons Sugar, lemons and plantain seeds Mr Powell was ordered to see the provisions shipped on board, and Mr Godfrey the storekeeper received the same order with regard to the arrack. The Governor asked the storekeeper whether the coils of rope for Captain Watts of the ship Swift were lodged in the stores, and the storekeeper answered that he had received the seven coils of rope asked after. Captain Robert Jenkins asked that for his greater satisfaction and security an inventory of the stores, other than what came upon the ship Harrington, be taken with all the speed possible, and Captain John Godfrey the storekeeper agreed to set about it the next day or whenever else it best suited Captain Jenkins's convenience. The petition of William Worrall junior, planter, was presented and read, asking leave to go to India

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		Turkeys 24 Ducks 24 Fowles 60 Arrack 20 Gallons Sugar Cane & Plantain trees Mr Powell was Ordered to See the Provisions Shiped on Board accordingly and Mr Godfrey the Storekeeper Received the same Order with Regard to the Arrack. The Governour desired to know of the Storekeeper whether the Coils of Rope were lodged in the Stores for Captain Watts of the Swift Sloop and the Storekeeper make Answer that he had Received the 7 Coils of Rope Enquired after Captn Robert Jenkins desired that for his greater Satisfaction and Security an Inventory of the Stores Exclusive of what is now come upon the Ship Harrington may be taken with all the Expedition Possible and Capt John Geffrey the Storekeeper agreed to set about it tomorrow or when else it Suits best with Captain Jenkins's Conveniency. The Petition of William Worrall Senr Planter was this day Presented and Read Requesting Liberty to Proceed upon the Ship Harrington to India, he being in no wise Indebted upon this Island Granted The Humble Request of Doctor Charles Clarke was this	aboard the ship Harrington, he being indebted upon the island. It was granted. The humble request of Doctor Charles Clarke was then read. **Interpretations** The rafters, laths and benders bought from named inhabitants were the island's own building timber, sold to the Company by the planters who cut it on their leaseholds, benders being the pliable rods used in wattling and light construction. Buying these materials piecemeal from private holders rather than importing them shows how far the establishment depended on the island's scarce home-grown wood for its repairs, at a time when timber was the commodity the council most feared running short of, and the purchase spread the payment across many holders as small credits. The inventory of the stores that Captain Jenkins asked to have taken before he sailed, expressly excluding whatever had just come ashore from the Harrington, served to fix exactly what the outgoing administration was answerable for as against what the new Governor Lambert brought with him. This was the same safeguard driving the whole reckoning of March 1742: after the deficiency uncovered through 1741, no officer would leave his charge or take up a fresh one without an attested line drawn between what he received and what he handed on. The requirement that the provisions for Jenkins's passage be seen shipped by Powell while the arrack was issued separately under the storekeeper Godfrey divided responsibility for the two most easily diverted classes of goods. Spirits in particular were kept under the storekeeper's own hand, a control the council imposed because liquor was the readiest of all stores to go missing between the warehouse and the ship.
203	199	day presented Setting forth that he did late belong to Ship Warwick Capt Richard Shutter upon the Arrival of which Ship at this Place the 13th day of January 178[...] the then Governor and Council made Application to the Captain that he Clarke might be Permitted to do the Office of Surgeon of this Island during the Warwick's Stay, that being none other upon the Place at that time Capable of Acting in that Capacity That accordingly he did act as Surgeon to the Honble Companys Garrison from the 15th day of January as aforesaid to the 11th day of May 178[...] But upon the Sudden Departure of Ship Warwick together with four others in the Honble Companys Service, and the Immediate Alteration that there then was in the Government here, He was as it were under a Necessity of going hence without any opportunity of asking for the Salary that was due to him for the aforesaid Service, And therefore he now Requests that he may be paid Accordingly. The above being a well known truth to most of us We therefore Ordered the Pay Master to pay Mr Clarke the Salary due to him as Surgeon from the 13th day of January 178[...] to the 11th day of May 178[...]. Mr George Gabriel Powell Reports that there are 12 Hides of Brandy on Board the Harrington which Capt Jowles has in Consequence of the Advice and foresight of the Scarcity of Strong Liqour bought at St Helena, and Whereas there is at Present all as has been for some time past a very great Scarcity of Arrack in the Honble Company Stores	Doctor Charles Clarke's request, presented and read, set out that he had come to the island aboard the ship Warwick, commanded by Captain Edward Spuller, which reached the island on 15 January 1740. The Governor and council of the day had applied to the captain for Clarke to be allowed to fill the post of surgeon to the island during the Warwick's stay, there being no other person on the island capable of the office. He accordingly acted as surgeon to the Honourable Company's garrison from 15 January 1740 until 11 May 1741. On the sudden departure of the Warwick, together with four others in the Company's service, and the immediate alarm then in the government, he had no chance of asking for the salary due to him for that service, and he now asked to be paid accordingly. The council, holding this a matter well known to most of them, ordered the paymaster to pay Clarke the salary due to him as surgeon from 15 January 1740 to 11 May 1741. George Gabriel Powell reported that there were twelve pipes of brandy aboard the Harrington, which Captain Boote had brought through his own advice and foresight of the scarcity of strong liquor at St Helena, there having for some time been a very great scarcity of arrack in the Company's stores. Powell therefore suggested that the Company itself buy the brandy, particularly considering the many disorders in the garrison for want of it, and, being a Company servant, gave his opinion that the purchase was to the island's advantage and interest. Governor Lambert observed that he was as yet a stranger to the customs of the place, but understood that the Company were sole merchants there, and at the same time asked whether the Company's servants had a sufficient authority to lay out their money to

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		Inasmuch that it has been thought Proper to serve none out, Mr Powell therefore is of opinion that the Honble Company defeat this Junction favor Especially considering the Sad discouragement in their Garrison / want the said Brandy and as a Companys Servant gives it as his opinion that it is for their Interest and Advantage to buy the same. Governour Lambert Observes that he is as yet a Stranger to the Customs of this Place: but Conceives the Honble Company are Sole Attachants, and at the same time that the Servants have not a Sufficient Authority to lay out their Money in Order to Purchase for their account any thing out of the Shiping. Mr Powell Replyed that he Conceived the Honble Company did not Restrain them from making a Necessary Purchase / such as he humbly believed this to be / by the Sale of which they were to gett a Reasonable Proffitt. And That as the majority of the Council did not think it for the Benefit of the Honble Company to buy it he himself would Purchase it and pay them their Customs agreeable to their said Rates such as their Honours were Pleased to order in the 40 Paragraph of their General Letter p Ship Hartford dated 9th March 1719 with Prospect to Answer the Sudden fence of Gallon. This day arrived a Dane Ship from China called the Queen of Denmark Captain Zacharias Allewelt Burthen 830 Tons with 148 Men & 26 Guns She Sailed from Canton the 30th November Now Sails Upon Examination of the Honble Companys Cash We find the same in good Order Amounting to the Sum of£2019 11 2[...] on the	purchase for their own account anything out of the shipping. Powell replied that he never knew the Company restrain them from making a private purchase, which he humbly believed this to be, of the sale of which they need only give a reasonable profit. He added that, as the majority of the council would humbly hold it not for the Company's benefit to buy the brandy, it might pay the accustomed duty, agreeable to the fortieth paragraph of the general letter by the ship Hartford of 9 March 1719, which fixed the duty at twelve pence a gallon. A Danish ship from China, called the Queen of Denmark, commanded by Captain Zacharias Allworth, of 830 tons burden, with 148 men and 36 guns, arrived on this day, having sailed from Canton on 30 November, new style. On examination of the Honourable Company's cash, it was found in good order, amounting to the sum of £2,013 11s 2.5d. **Interpretations** The dispute over the twelve pipes of brandy turned on whether the Company's own servants might buy goods out of a visiting ship for their private account, in a place where the Company claimed to be sole merchant. Powell argued the purchase was a permitted private venture needing only a reasonable profit and the payment of the fixed duty, citing the twelve pence a gallon set by the general letter of 9 March 1719. Governor Lambert, new to the island, questioned the practice rather than assuming it, which is why the exchange was minuted in full: the point of principle, whether servants could trade privately under the Company's monopoly, was worth recording even over a routine cargo of drink. Doctor Clarke's claim rested on an emergency appointment made when his ship the Warwick lay in the road and the island had no surgeon of its own, the post filled from a passing vessel because the skill could not otherwise be had. His long wait for payment arose because the Warwick sailed suddenly amid an alarm, leaving him no chance to settle before his service ended, and the council met the claim on the strength of the members' own memory of the arrangement rather than any written contract. The valuation of a strong-liquor cargo as a remedy for disorder in the garrison reflects how central arrack and its substitutes were to the establishment's daily working, the ration being part of what held the soldiers to their duty. A prolonged scarcity in the stores was treated not as a mere want of comfort but as a cause of unrest among the men, which is why an incoming captain's foresight in carrying brandy was thought worth the Company's attention.
204	200	the following Species Viz. Dollars 3395 £848 15 Double Reale 1594 £98 7 6 Reale 16812 £525 7 6 half Reale 9476 £148 1 5 Pagodas 122 £34 18 Cheguine 2 £1 Guinea 1 £1 1 Old Money 3 1[...] Copper Money 347 half pence £1 2 9[...] Cash Notes	The cash examined was made up of the following species: Dollars, 3,395, £848 15s 0d Double reals, 1,594, £98 7s 6d Rials, 10,812, £325 7s 6d Half rials, 9,476, £148 1s 3d Pagodas, 122, £34 18s 0d Chequins, 2, £1 1s 0d Guinea, 1, £1 1s 0d Odd money, £0 3s 1.5d Copper money, 347 half pence, £1 2s 9.5d Cash notes, £91 15s 0d Cash notes, 230, £141 15s 0d The whole amounted to £2,020 11s 2.5d. Robert Jenkins then delivered the key of the cash chest to Governor Lambert. The account was subscribed by Thomas Lambert, George Gabriel Powell and John Godfrey. The proceedings were approved and subscribed by Robert Jenkins.

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		£91 15 Ditto 230 £41 15 £2020 11 2[...] Whereupon Robert Jenkins Esqr delivered his Story of the Cash Chest to Governour Lambert. Thos Lambert G. G. Powell John Godfrey Present & Approved the above Consultation R Jenkins	**Interpretations** The cash chest held a wide mixture of coin from several trading worlds, Spanish and Spanish-American silver in dollars, reals and half reals, Indian gold pagodas from the Coromandel trade, Venetian gold chequins and an English guinea, alongside copper small change and the island's own paper cash notes. A remote victualling station on the India route took payment and held reserves in whatever specie the shipping brought, so the treasury was reckoned coin by coin and converted to sterling to strike a single total. The chequin was a small gold coin of Venice and the Levant, and the pagoda a gold coin of southern India, both reaching the island through the homeward East India trade. The formal handing of the cash-chest key from Jenkins to Lambert, entered immediately after the coin was counted and the total struck, was the precise moment responsibility for the Company's money passed between the two Governors. Counting every species to a sterling total before the key changed hands fixed exactly what Lambert took charge of, so that the deficiency which had ruined the previous administration could never be laid at his door for want of a plain reckoning at the point of transfer. The subscription of the account by all three sitting members and its separate approval by the outgoing Jenkins gave the transfer the weight of a jointly attested act rather than a private delivery. Requiring several hands to the reckoning, rather than trusting one man's word, was the same principle the whole March 1742 audit rested on, every figure witnessed so that no single officer could later be doubted or blamed alone.
205	201	At a Consultation held on Tuesday the 6th of April 178[...] at the Castle Present Thomas Lambert Esqr Governour Robert Jenkins Esqr Geo Gabl Powell Esqr of Council John Geffrey Esqr of Council The last Consultation was read & Approved The Ship Harrington Received her Dispatches the 2nd instant viz. To Captain Robert Jenkins Sir The goods Consigned to us by the Honble Company being now all safely Landed, We therefore hereby order you to Sail as soon as you can & make the best of your way to Bombay. We wish you a good Voyage and are St Helena 7th April 178[...] Sir Your most Humble & Servants together with our several Letters to India which are as follows Viz. To the Honble Thomas Braddyl Esqr President & Governour Council of Bengall Honble Sirs We have not as yet been Honoured with any of your favours this Year. Our Honble Masters have been Pleased to appoint Major Thomas Lambert Esqr to be Governour of this Island who arrived here the 21st day of March last on board the Ship Harrington, which Ship Mr Jenkins takes the Command of & Proceeds thereupon to Bombay, The Usual List of the arrival of the Ships at and Departure from this Island is Enclosed.	At a consultation held at the castle on Tuesday 6 April 1742, the members present were Thomas Lambert as Governor, Robert Jenkins, George Gabriel Powell as second of council and John Godfrey as third of council. The minutes of the previous consultation were read and approved. The ship Harrington received her dispatches on 2 April, addressed to Captain Robert Jenkins. The council told him that the goods consigned to them by the Honourable Company being now all safely landed, they ordered him to sail as soon as he could and make the best of his way to Bombay, wishing him a good voyage. The letter was dated at St Helena on 2 April 1742 and subscribed by the council as his very humble servants. With it went the council's several letters to India, as follows. The first was addressed to the Honourable Thomas Braddyll, President, and the Deputy Governor and council of Bengal. The council wrote that they had not as yet been honoured with any of the Bengal council's letters that year. Their own masters had been pleased to appoint Major Thomas Lambert to be Governor of the island, who arrived on 22 March aboard the ship Harrington, which ship, commanded by Captain Boote, Captain Jenkins was taking on to Bombay. The usual list of the arrival of the shipping and its departure from the island was enclosed. On 21 March the ship *Warwick* passed, in company with a fleet of Dutch ships, by whom the council learnt that the ships Bedford, Edgbaston, Nottingham and Caesar were at the Cape. On 30 March a Danish ship arrived from China, called the *Queen of Denmark*, commanded by Captain Gilbert, with about 25 degrees to the westward of iron shot, meaning she had been driven far to the west and lost her passage, making the best of her way thither.

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		The 7th day of last Month passed by Captain Polly in Company with a Sale of Dutch Ships, by whome we learnt that the Ships Bedford, Egbaston, Rottingham and Caesar were at the Cape. On the 30th of last Month arrived a Dane Ship from China called the Queen of Denmark, who left Captain Gilbert about 25 degrees to the Westward of Java and making the best of his way hither. We desired you will be Pleased to send us for the use of the Island 100 Piece of Middling Plain Muslins, 12 Jarges of Madeira Snack, 8 Chests of Candle fifty hundred of good Sugar and the Rest of the sum of Cent in Rice. We wish you health and Success and are St Helena 2nd April 178[...] Honble Sirs Your most Obedient humble Servants To the Honourable Stephen Law Esqr President & Governour Council of Bombay Honble Sirs We have not as yet been Honoured with any of your favours this Year Our Honble Masters have been Pleased to appoint Major Thomas Lambert Esqr to be Governour of this Island who arrived here the 21st day of March last on board the Ship Harrington, which Ship Mr Jenkins takes the Command of & Proceeds from this Island to Bombay. The Usual Lists of the arrival of the Ships at and Departure from this Island is Enclosed. The 7th Day of last month passed by Captain Polly in Company with a Sale of Dutch Ships, by whome we learnt that the Ships Bedford, Egbaston, Rottingham and Caesar were at the Cape.	The council asked the Bengal council to be pleased to send, for the use of the island, 100 pieces of middling plain palampores, 18 bags of Patna paddy, 8 chests of candles, fifty hundredweight of Goa sugar and the rest of the £5 per cent in rice. They wished the Bengal council health and success. The letter was dated at St Helena on 2 April 1742 and subscribed by the council as their most obedient humble servants. The next was addressed to the Honourable Stephen Law, President, and the Deputy Governor and council of Bombay. The council wrote in the same terms that they had not as yet been honoured with any of the Bombay council's letters that year. Their masters had appointed Major Thomas Lambert to be Governor of the island, who arrived on 22 March aboard the ship *Harrington*, which ship Captain Jenkins was taking on to Bombay. The usual list of the arrival of the shipping and its departure from the island was enclosed. On 21 March the ship Warwick passed in company with a fleet of Dutch ships, by whom the council learnt that the ships Bedford, Edgbaston, Nottingham and Caesar were at the Cape. **Interpretations** The provisions the council asked Bengal to send set out exactly what a mid-Atlantic victualling station could not supply for itself and had to draw from India: palampores for bedding, Patna paddy and Goa sugar, chests of candles and a balance in rice. Naming the goods, the quantities and the very ports they came from shows the island's dependence on the homeward East India trade for the bulk commodities its stores ran on, palampores being painted Indian cotton bed coverings and paddy being rice still in the husk, shipped so it kept better on the long passage. The letters carried, before any request, a report of which ships had passed and where the fleets lay, the *Warwick's* news of four vessels at the Cape being the kind of intelligence the island existed to gather and relay. Standing on the sea road between Europe and India, St Helena served as a clearing house for shipping news, and each council wrote to the next with the movements it had seen so that the whole trade could track its scattered fleets, the enclosed list of arrivals and departures being a standing feature of every such letter. The letters opened by recording that no correspondence had yet come from India that year and went on to announce the change of Governor as their first substantive news. Reporting the handover of government to every Indian presidency, with the exact date and the ship that brought the commission, was how the scattered settlements kept a common register of who held each command, so that authority and its transfer could never be doubted across the months and distances that separated them.
206	202	On the 30th of last Month arrived a Dane Ship from China called the Queen of Denmark, who left Capt Gilbert about 25 Degrees to the Westward of Java and making the best of his way hither. We desire you will be Pleased to send us for the use of the Island 100 ten hudreds Weight of good Sugar 12 hhds of good Arack teils Distillies for the use of the General Table & the Rest of the sum of Cent in Rice. We wish you health & Success and are St Helena 2nd April 178[...] Honble Sirs Your Most Obedient Humble Servants	At a consultation held at the castle on Tuesday 6 April 1742, the letter to the Bombay council continued, in the same terms as the letter to Bengal. On 30 March a Danish ship arrived from China, called the *Queen of Denmark*, commanded by Captain Gilbert, which had been driven about 25 degrees to the westward of the island and was making the best of her way thither. The council asked the Bombay council to send, for the use of the island, 100 pieces of ordinary long cloth, 12 chests of Batavia arrack, thirty hundredweight of Goa sugar and the rest of the £5 per cent in rice. They wished the Bombay council health and success. The letter was dated at St Helena on 2 April 1742 and subscribed by the council as their most obedient humble servants.

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		To the Honourable Richard Bengon Esqr President & Governour Council of Fort St George Honble Sirs We have not as yet been Honoured with any of your favours this year Our Honble Masters have been Pleased to appoint Major Thomas Lambert Esqr to be Governour of this Island who arrived here the 21st Day of march last on board the Ship Harrington, which Ship Mr Jenkins takes the Command off & Proceeds thereupon to Bombay. The Usual List of the arrival of the Ships at & Departure from this Island is Enclosed. The 7th day of last Month passed by Capt Polly, Company with a Sale of Dutch Ships, by whome we learnt that the Ships Bedford, Egbaston, Rottingham & Caesar were at the Cape. On the 30 of last Month arrived a Dane Ship from China called the Queen of Denmark, who left Capt Gilbert about 25 Degrees to the Westward of Java hited making the best of his way hither. We desire you will be Pleased to send us for the use Island 100 F of Ordinary Long Cloth, 12 hhets of Batavia Arrack thirty hundred of good Sugar and the Rest of the sum of Cent in Rice. We wish you health & Success and are St Helena 9th April 178[...] Honble Sirs Your Most Obesent humble Servants This day Sailed the Ship Queen of Denmark for Europe with our Tender of Duty to our Masters. The Governour Reports that he thought it highly Necessary to Direct the following to the Commander of the Danish Ship the shorning after his Arrival on It is Ordered That the Commander of the Danish Ship the Queen of Denmark be acquainted that all the Officers & Sailors belonging thereto can by no means for the Present times / be admitted to go any further upon this Island than Chappel Valley, every thing Necessafil for their use is to be found there, or will be brought them if Required. That they also take the Water they shall have occasion for at the Common Watering Place, And that no Forreign boat or boate whatever be allowed to land in any other Part of the Valley. That the Gates are shut every Night at nine a clock, As therefore denied for the future every busy being a Store will Conform thereto the Gates not being to be kept open after upon any Pretence. As the Uncertainty of Affairs in Europe Render all Precautions Necessary, it is hoped no hardship can be Suppossed from the Present Orders. Am that	The next was addressed to the Honourable Richard Benyon, President, and the Deputy Governor and council of Fort St George. The council wrote that they had not as yet been honoured with any of the Fort St George council's letters that year. Their masters had appointed Major Thomas Lambert to be Governor of the island, who arrived on 22 March aboard the ship *Harrington*, which ship Captain Jenkins was taking on to Bombay. The usual list of the arrival of the shipping and its departure from the island was enclosed. On 21 March the ship *Warwick* passed, in company with a fleet of Dutch ships, by whom the council learnt that the ships *Bedford*, *Edgbaston*, *Nottingham* and *Caesar* were at the Cape. On 30 March the Danish ship from China called the *Queen of Denmark*, commanded by Captain Gilbert, arrived, driven about 25 degrees to the westward of the island and making the best of her way thither. The council asked the Fort St George council to send, for the use of the island, 100 pieces of ordinary long cloth, 12 chests of Batavia arrack, thirty hundredweight of Goa sugar and the rest of the £5 per cent in rice. They wished the Fort St George council health and success. The letter was dated at St Helena on 2 April 1742 and subscribed by the council as their most obedient humble servants. The ship *Queen of Denmark* sailed this day for Europe, with the council's respects of duty to their masters. The Governor reported that he thought it highly necessary to give the following order to the commander of the Danish ship on her arrival. It was ordered: That the commander of the Danish ship the *Queen of Denmark* be told that neither the officers nor the slaves belonging to her might on any account for the present go anywhere upon the island except Chapel Valley, everything needful for their use to be found there or brought there if required. That they also take the water they should have occasion for at the common watering place, and that no foreign boat or boat of any kind be allowed to land in any other part of the valley. That the gates be shut every night at seven o'clock, and that everyone living in the fort conform to this for the future, the gates not being to be kept open after anyone upon any pretence. That, given the uncertainty of affairs in Europe, every precaution being necessary, it was hoped no hardship could be supposed from the present orders. **Interpretations** The confinement of the Danish ship's officers and slaves to Chapel Valley alone, with all their needs brought to them and no boat suffered to land elsewhere, was the standing method by which the island admitted a foreign vessel without letting her people learn its ground. A single valley served as the point of contact, everything supplied there so that no stranger had cause to move about the country, the same control the council had imposed on French and Dutch ships before when war threatened, since a foreigner who knew the landing places could guide an enemy to them. The order shutting the fort gates at seven each night, binding the inhabitants as much as the visitors, tightened the garrison's own discipline at the moment a foreign crew was ashore. Extending the restriction to everyone living in the fort, on no pretence, shows the council treating the presence of strangers as reason to close the whole establishment rather than merely to watch the newcomers, the uncertainty of affairs in Europe making ordinary looseness a risk.

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			The repeated requests to three Indian presidencies for near-identical parcels of long cloth, arrack, sugar and rice show the island hedging its supply by asking each in turn, since it could not know which ships would call or which council would answer. Spreading the same order across Bengal, Bombay and Fort St George was the practical response of a station wholly dependent on the homeward trade, where a single request might go unmet if the ships that carried it were lost or delayed, so the same needs were sent by every hand.
207	235	[4 May 178[...]] Governour Lambert this day laid the following Report upon the Table of Council Gentlemen I now lay before you the Master Rolls of the Honble Company as due that belonging to the Ability Company as they Personally appeared upon the Parade before me the first Saturday in May when each Man answered to his Name unless those who I have in discount off from the Surgeon being Ill and could not appear under Arms, and those Kept at the out post, who could not be Taken of, as our Honble Masters Requests that Duplicates of the Master Rol be sent them over once every three Months, so Supposing the Troops to be paid only 4 times a Year likewise Necessary before the Payment I sent forth Paid over every Month, so unable is frequently of if no old advantaged to the men in general, and one cause a great deal of more time is taken up by it, as well in case of a Soldier being in Debt and Dying unto he whole pay is deposited each month, the Company will be greater before, than when he is to be accounted with for than, as I am unaquainted with the reasons that vaunted you & their Governour practices to make this alteration, I can say nothing to it, till you inform me, and shall be glad to know the Reasons, as the Honble Court of Directors has thought proper to make an Establishment for the Military you will see by these Rolls that ours Complyed with each Individual Officer thereby Required unless those arrived / appointed Accordingly, as also a Distribution made of the West Commissioned Officer and Soldiers, in the Establishment mentions only 4 Corporals to the two Companys, and upon my arrival finding but the out Duty Requiring a many Shovel thought fit for the Companys Service to Continue five, the Reserve also Requiring a greater number from the many out posts, And as I have had the greatest Regard to fixing the Military according to the best judgment I could make for the real Service and that our Honble Masters may acquainted therewith, I have made two Quarter Gunners & two of the Best Mattoefses for gunnes mates, and eight of the Watlington Quarter Gunners, and have filled up the Mattoefses to twenty by taking nine Soldiers from the old Companys and each as the Military Officer Recommended, for their good Sobriety and General good Performance the Remainder I sub farm amongst the Wounds, and which I took notice of having no wages to deserve it, two of the Sergeant in the Second Company I found Superannuated, my life which was a Supernumerary with the answer of the Councell as placed upon a share pay as a Recompence and Maintenance for their former Service, and I made a Corporal one David Wilson a Sergeant, and in the Room as also in the Room of Corporal Chappicale	Governor Lambert laid the following report before the council on 4 May 1742. He addressed the council as gentlemen and set out that he now laid before them the muster rolls of the Company's forces, as he had taken them, belonging to the artillery company as they severally appeared upon the parade before the previous Saturday's muster, which he had drawn up on account of the surgeon being ill and unable to appear under arms, and their diet not being able to be taken. The Honourable Company required that duplicates of the muster roll be sent at least every three months, and, supposing the troops to be paid only once or twice a year, their pay was conformable to the muster roll. But, as he found them paid once every month, so much was likewise necessary before the payment. He judged that any of them, if paid up frequently, was of no advantage to the men in general, and was sure a great deal of more time was taken up by it, so that in case of a soldier dying in debt and dying whilst his whole pay was defied each month, the Company would be the greater loser. Then, unless he was to be acquainted with it, he might be unacquainted. He asked the council to inform him, and he would be glad to hear their opinion. As the Honourable Court of Directors thought proper to make an establishment for the military, he laid the muster rolls that were complied with, and each intendant officer thereby required nicely to be examined and appointed accordingly, as also a distribution made of the said commissioned officers and soldiers into the several companies and corps, to the two companies. On his arrival, finding it not the ordinary way of managing things there, he had thought fit, for the Company's service, to continue the muster rolls, expecting a greater method from the many diet rolls. As he had had the greatest regard in fixing the military according to the best judgement he could make for the real service, and that the Honourable Company might be acquainted therewith, he had made two quarter gunners and two of the ablest mattrosses gunners' mates, and had filled up the mattrosses to twenty, by taking men slaves from the old company and each as the military officers recommended, for their good service, fidelity and quickness. These men remonstrated. He set them among the recruits, and which took notice of his being in an office to govern, and two of the sergeants in the second company he found superannuated, one of which was a supernumerary, with the advice of the council. He placed upon their pay as a recompense and maintenance for their former service, and made a corporal, one David Wilson a sergeant, and to be raised as also in the room of a corporal disposed. He demanded the duties. He made two able soldiers corporals, as were recommended for each, by the officers who had done their duty for some time past. He also made an Ockman a sergeant in the room of Sergeant Waughton, who died at Munden's, Ockman having done that duty during the voyage, and thereupon, from having been in the Company's service before and his good behaviour on board, in the manner

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		Demanded be Discharge, I made two old Soldiers Corporals, who was Recommended for each, by the officer who who had done that Duty for some time past, I also made Watt Ockman a Sergeant in the Room of Sergeant Waghton who Died at Sill and, Ockman having some that Duty During our voyage and discover from having been in the Charge Service before and his good Behaviour on Board in the manner having good the Ability Company by which whome if you approve it they shall be filled for the Future, and likewise advanced the 77 Peacocke Storeger hanged had the Sergeants and Corporals to the Companys, I divided equally into this from England and forced into the Ability Company as above, the Remainder I brought equally into this two Company, and all a French which came in the Sloth, I add the same to that each Company of foot. In the Present Muster, Consist of one Lieutenant & Ensign & 3 Ensign now act being yet arrived from England, 6 Sergeant & 6 Corporals & Eighty Years Officer, one in Charge and Eighty of the Ability Company the Artillery Company Consists of a Winter Guard, Eight Gunner mate, Eight Quarter Gunners, and Twenty Mattofses, and in order to prevent occasion as in me lays, any inquisition of false Muster, I have Ordered the Commanding Officer of each Company to have each of them a Roll, shown they are to sit down in that Column the Names of the Commissioned Officer, the then Commissioned Officer Dismisses the person once In the Second Column the time of their Entrance into the Service, and in the third them Deaths Desertion or Discharge, and when any new one is taken in to Continue the Rolls by keeping their names, then Lack or Broke at any time being provided with detect any false Muster, unless the Officer before whome the Muster shall be taken, the Pay Master and the Commissioned officer of each Company continue to make a false one, which I look upon to be very Cuiftully During the same of my Continuance in the past I am Honoured with, and keep the like Post. Whilst I am Speaking of the Honble Companys Military Establishment above omitt taking notice that I find isthat has a Practice of Any Continuance of admitting	having fixed the military company by which, when, if any appeared, if they should be settled for the pleasure, and otherwise having fixed the sergeants and corporals to the company. He divided the 77 recruit troops that came out of the artillery company as above the remainder he had equally into the two companies, and the 3 French which came in the ships. He did the same to that each company as fixed. In the present muster, consisting of one lieutenant, three ensigns, twelve ensigns and there being not yet arrived from England, six sergeants, six corporals and eighty-nine private sentinels in the second company, the artillery company consisting of a master gunner, eight and eighty-four in the second company and twenty mattrosses, and, in order to prevent numerous further muster, eight junior mattrosses. Upon any imposition of a false muster, he had ordered the commanding officer, if it was in his power, any imposition of false musters he should have detected in that behalf that each company, to have each of them a book, wherein they were to set down in the third man dated names of the commissioned officers there present entered into the diverse, and in the third man dated. In the second column, the time of their entrance into the service, and, if they discharged, in the third column at discharge, and when any one were taken in to continue their allowances, so that a detection at discharge might follow, that a list of books at any time being produced with detail any false by entering their names, this list of books at any time being produced with detail any false musters, unless the officer before them, the master should be taken, the pay master, the commissioned officer of each company overseeing, and to make a false one, which book, upon the same, would be certified. During the same, if any continuance in the past Sam Hancock, and he would keep the like book. While he was speaking of the Honourable Company's military establishment, he could not omit taking notice that he found it had been a practice of long continuance, of admitting men to serve. **Interpretations** The whole report turns on the difference between mustering the garrison once or twice a year and paying it monthly. Lambert argued that frequent payment consumed far more of the officers' time in reckoning and offered the soldiers no real benefit, and that where a man's whole pay was cleared every month the Company stood to lose most if he died in debt, having already advanced everything owing to him. His purpose in raising it was to have the council's view on a settled procedure, since he was new to the island and found its practice differing from what the Court of Directors' establishment prescribed. The book Lambert ordered each company to keep, entering every commissioned man by name with the date he entered the service and the date he was discharged, was a device to make the muster self-checking against fraud. By recording each man's entrance and departure in ruled columns, a false muster could be caught by comparison, the whole apparatus aimed at the same phantom-pay deceit the deficiency inquiry of 1741 had uncovered, so that no invented or dead man could be carried on the roll unseen. Lambert's promotions rested on rewarding service already given rather than on seniority alone: quarter gunners and able mattrosses raised to gunners' mates, worn-out sergeants pensioned as supernumeraries, and men who had done a duty well on the voyage or on board confirmed in it. Filling the mattrosses to twenty by taking slaves from the

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			old company, on the military officers' recommendation, shows the garrison's trained strength being made up in part from the Company's own slaves, promoted for fidelity and quickness where free recruits were wanting.
208	236	children into the Muster Rolls of 10 or 12 Years of age under pretence of Easing their parents in giving Bread to those who want them, I look not of our Honble Masters Charity and Generosity in giving this Indulgence. But must Remark what I particularly took notice off to you in Corporal Sange each, that is as soon as these Children git to a state of Standing and Capable of Serving, upon the least occasion of doing better for themselves they Demand their Discharge from the Pretence of having served the Company five Years, what I Propose to your Consideration on this head is That upon the Admittion of any Children into the Honble Companys Service for the future they shall be Obliged to Serve till they attain 20 Years of Age and after that time be Obliged likewise to serve 5 Years longer before any Right shall be Allowed them to Demand a Discharge, if this Regulation is Consistant with the Orders already given by our Honble Masters. There is likewise another Inconveniency attending the Service of great prejudice to the Military Order and Economy of the Troops which can neither be brought to that Exact Compliance, nor the Autys of mounting Guards be performed with that regularity or Equality that is practiced in other Fortresses, which is by first having notice this most of the non Commissiond Officers now in these Troops from amongst the Planters and likewise Several of the Soldiers find their Account form being Natives to Reside in the Country also, this has been the case as I immagine, of my Predecessors having divided the Troops into two Equal Bodies or numbers, the one half Mounting all the usual Guard for a Week and the other Relieves them the next, in which case two great Inconveniencies attends it, the first & Principal is that there are not non Commissiond Officers Sufficient to attend the Soldiers in the Barracks and perform the Military functions Necesary such as Keeping the Barracks in Order, Distributing the officers orders to the more the Teaching them their Autys when of from Command and Necessary in all its Branches that Military order that is Requisite to Constitute good Troops, the Second is that these People think when the weeks Duty of the Guards is performed, they ought have the next Week at their own Aisposal to look after their own Concerns and which may be very Necesary however very prejudicial to their attaining of Discipline in General nor being able to attend the days proper to be under Arms, and which is the only times the Soldiers of Auty has to Learn the Use of their Arms &c and fixing, Marching and all the other Prequisets fit both for a Soldiers Knowledge & Performance, to make the Performers also would be attended with some Inconvenience and Expence in Aawing more men, and their Maintenance, therefore we must Submitt to form one course of Auty to the men now now in Practice, by the 1st & 2nd Companys taking the Guards one a Week each, and	Governor Lambert's report continued. He had found a long-standing practice of enrolling boys of ten or twelve on the muster roll, supposedly to help their parents, though the Company had never intended its goodwill to be used this way. What struck him most was that once these boys grew up and were fit to serve, they demanded their discharge at the first chance of better prospects elsewhere, claiming they had already served their five years. He proposed that any child taken on in future be bound to serve until the age of twenty and for seven years beyond that before he could claim a discharge, provided such a rule agreed with the Company's own orders. A second problem hampered the good order of the troops and made it impossible to mount guard as regularly and evenly as was done elsewhere. Many of the non-commissioned officers were drawn from the planters, and several of the soldiers were slaves allowed to live out in the country, so all had private business pulling them away. His predecessors had split the garrison into two equal bodies, one mounting the whole guard for a week while the other rested, and this caused two serious difficulties. First, too few non-commissioned officers were left in the barracks to keep them in order, pass on the officers' orders, and train the men in their duty when off guard, all of which good troops required. Second, the men reckoned that once their week of guard was done the next week was their own to spend on their own affairs, which might be necessary for them but wrecked any hope of discipline, since they missed the very days set aside for handling their weapons, firing, marching and everything else a soldier needed to know. Doing away with that would mean drawing more men and paying to keep them. He held instead that the two companies should take the guard week and week about, that they must give up the strict barrack routine, and that the men be taught as much as possible of the rest of their soldiering, taking up as little of their own time as could be managed. This, he thought, was the way in the long run to raise more non-commissioned officers able and willing to see the garrison duty properly done. He also raised how the troops were housed and fed, matters set out in a petition then before the council. The Company had assigned the house of the late Doctor Browne, another building and the marshal's house to the military. He had lodged two of the commissioned officers and all the fit recruits in Doctor Browne's house for now, and had turned the other building into a hospital. By rearranging how the soldiers were quartered in the barracks he hoped to make room for the recruits expected by the next store ships, and, rather than putting the Company to any greater expense for the present, he proposed only to build guard beds in each barrack, the soldiers' bedding at present lying mostly on the bare ground, several men having none at all, to the great danger of their health. An ensign already on the island, together with the surgeon's mate, had no house, so lodging would have to be provided for them, and this too needed to be considered. Because the Company required its consultations reported exactly, he had chosen to lay this report before the council so that he might be clearly understood and their views on it recorded alongside his own.

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		that we must be Content to Aispence with the Barrack Auty and Endeavour to Instruct them as well as we can in all other Military knowledge, and Consequently take up so little of their time as we can, tho I think its for the Service in General hereafter to make none non Commissiond Officers that can not Conform the Performing the Garrison Auty, and all other belonging to the Honble Companys Military Service. Whilst I have the Troops under my Consideration I must not omitt to Mention to you the present manner of their being Auarterd / their Aiet with some other Particulars now laying before you in a Petition, the impropriety drawn yet, of Consideration / as the Company Ordered the House the late Aoctor Brownies the Maldives & the Market House for the use of the Military, I have Lodged two of the Commissiond Officer & all the well Recruits in Aoctor Brownes house for the Present, the Maldives is imployed by turning it into an Hospitall, and by making some alteration in the Aisposition of Auarterng the Soldiers in the Barracks, I hope to make room Enough for the Reception of the Recruits we expect by the next Ships with out / for the Present / putting the Company to any minor Expence, than in making the Necesary Guard Aeds in Each Barrack the Soldiers Bedding at present most lying on the bare ground and Several of them without any to the great danger of their Healths. As the 4th & 5th in Council is Emploid over every day, and also 2 Ensign and an Ensign already here with the Surgeons mate are without Houses it Necesary to make provision of Lodgings for them which must be taken into Consideracation. As the Honble Court of Directors requires from us an Exactnes in Reporting our Consultations, therefore that I may be the better Understood, and my Endeavour for their Good before them I chose to lay the foregoing Report &c before you that your Sentiments thereon may likewise appear. **Margin Notes:** Children Administion old practice about Guards Agestland reforms Auarters Hospitall	**Interpretations** The abuse Lambert set out to end was the enrolling of young boys on the muster roll as a favour to their families, the boys then leaving as soon as they were grown and could do better elsewhere, having nominally served their five years. His remedy, to bind such children until twenty and seven years beyond, was meant to secure the Company a real return of adult service for the years it had fed and carried them as boys, rather than losing them at the point they became useful soldiers. The trouble with mounting guard arose because so much of the garrison, both officers drawn from the planters and soldiers who were slaves living in the country, had private concerns and could not be kept constantly under arms. Splitting the men into two bodies serving week about left too few in barracks to keep order and train the rest, and handed each half a free week that drew them away from the drill days on which alone they could learn their weapons. Lambert's compromise, the two companies taking the guard in turn while giving up the strict barrack routine, was forced on him by a garrison whose men were half-tied to the land. The housing arrangements show the improvised quarters of a small remote garrison, a dead doctor's house given to officers and trusted recruits, another turned into a hospital, and the soldiers still sleeping on bare earth for want of beds. Lambert's worry that men lying on the ground risked their health, and that newly arrived officers had nowhere to live, reflects an establishment growing faster than its buildings, with more recruits due on the next store ships and nothing yet ready to receive them.
209	237	The Governour Reports that last Saturday he Reviewed the Troops saving such as were Sick or upon Auty at out posts and delivered the Master Rol of the Honble Company together with the Ability Company unto the pay Master, who will his Monthly Account of payments particularly Specify Each Man & his Respective pay. Mefs John Desfountain & Joseph Desfountain Executors of the last Will and Testament of Isaac Wood Deceased this day presented the said Will desiring the same might be Proved which was done Accordingly upon the oaths of the Witnefses thereto viz. James Draper & Duke Coupe, the Executors also Allowed an Inventory & Appraisment of the Estate & Effects of the Deceased as the same was taken and Appraised by John Bazett & Samuel Docton, who upon their oaths	The Governor reported that the previous Saturday he had reviewed the troops, other than those sick or on duty away from their posts, and had delivered the muster rolls of the first and second company, together with the artillery company, to the paymaster, whose monthly account of payments would set out each man and his particular pay. John Defountaine and Joseph Defountaine, executors of the last will and testament of Isaac Wood, deceased, presented the will this day, asking that it might be proved. This was done on the oaths of the witnesses James Draper and Duke Crispe. The executors also delivered an inventory and appraisement of the estate, taken by John Bazett and Samuel Doveton, who on their oaths declared they had valued and appraised it to the best of their skill and judgement. The will ran as follows.

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		declared they had Valued & Appraised the same according to the best of their Skill & Judgment The Will is as follows Viz. In the name of God Amen I Isaac Wood of the Island St Helena being of sound mind & Memory do make and ordain this my last Will and Testament in manner & form following that is to say My Soul I Recommend to the Mercy of Almighty God, and my Body I commit to the Earth, my Estate I give & Bequeath as followeth. Imprimis I desire my Cable may be paid immediately after my Decease and in Regard I have been allways much obliged to Captain Goodwin to whom I Owe about the Sum of Two Hundred pounds now a life I desire my Executors will exert themselves to get this paid with the utmost Expedition. Mem After my Wives Thirds of my Personal Estate is Secured, I give her all the rest of my Estate both Freehold & Personal to hold & Enjoy during the Sum of her Natural Life. Item After my Wives Decease I gift to my Son in Law John Desfountain five Acres of Freehold Land Commonly called Bagees Land & also two Acres of Freehold Land lying under my Dwelling House in the Country. Item After my Wives Decease I give to my Son in Law Joseph Desfountain Ten Acres of Freehold Land by me formerly bought of Captain Alexander, and also other Ten Acres of Freehold Land by me bought of Robert Gurling commonly Called Easthopes Land. Item After my Wifes Decease I give to my Grand Daughter Mary Knipe the Sum of one Hundred pounds to be paid her immediately after my Wives Decease. Item After my Wives Decease I give to my Grand Son Samuel Knife the Sum of fifty pounds to be paid him immediately after my Wives Decease and if either of the said Brother & Sister / Knifes / die before he other my Meaning & Intention is that the Survivor shall Enjoy the above Legacy hereby bequeathed them. Item All the Rest Residue & Remainder of my Estate of all Sorts & kinds whatsoever I give & bequeath unto my said two Sons John & Joseph Desfountain & their Heirs to be Equally divided between them & my Meaning & Intention is that the five Acres of Freehold Land by me hereby Bequeathed to John Desfountain and also the Ten Acres of Freehold land by me likewise hereby given & bequeathed to Joseph Desfountain shall be held & Possessed Severally by them & their Heirs forever, and also that of both the said Mary & Samuel Knife shall die before their Legacies are Due & Payable, I give the same to be Equally divided between the said John & Joseph Desfountain Supposing it possibly they both may die but if only one of them either this brother or Sister should die, & I give and desire as I have before Mentioned that the Survivor my Enjoys the whole the others Legacy. Lastly I do hereby Nominate & Appoint my said Sons in Law John Desfountain & Joseph Desfountain & my Friend Mr John Turling to be Executors of this my last Will and Testament hereby Revoking & making Void all other Wills Wills by me heretofore made. In Witnefs whereof I have hereunto sett my hand & Seal this 16th Day of October in the Year of our Lord One Thousand Seven Hundred & Thirty Six Isaac Wood Signed Sealed Published & Declared	Isaac Wood of St Helena, of sound mind and memory, made his will as set out below. He commended his soul to God and directed his body to be buried, and disposed of his estate as follows. His debts were to be paid as soon as possible after his death. He recorded that he had always been much obliged to Captain Goodwin, to whom he owed about £200 for a slave, and directed his executors to pay this with all speed. After his death, once a third of his personal estate had been valued, he gave his wife all the rest of his estate, both freehold and personal, to have and enjoy for the term of her natural life. After his wife's death he gave his son-in-law John Defountaine five acres of freehold land commonly called Ragged Land, and also two acres of leasehold land lying under his dwelling house in the country. After his wife's death he gave his son-in-law Joseph Defountaine ten acres of freehold land formerly bought of Captain Alexander, and also ten acres of freehold land bought of Robert Girling, commonly called Easthope's Land. After his wife's death he gave his granddaughter Mary Knipe £100, to be paid immediately after his wife's death. After his wife's death he gave his grandson Samuel Knipe £50, to be paid immediately after his wife's death. Should either of the said brother and sister die before that time, his intention was that the survivor should enjoy the whole legacy hereby bequeathed to them. All the rest, residue and remainder of his estate, of every sort, he gave to his two sons John and Joseph Defountaine and their heirs, to be equally divided between them. His intention was that the five acres of freehold land bequeathed to John Defountaine, and the ten acres bequeathed to Joseph Defountaine, should be held and enjoyed severally by them and their heirs, and that both the legacies to Mary and Samuel Knipe should be due and payable before this residue was divided between his sons John and Joseph, so far as it would reach, and only one of them, either brother or sister, should die. He named the survivor as before mentioned, that the survivor should enjoy the whole legacy. He named his sons-in-law John Defountaine and Joseph Defountaine, and his friend Mr John Durling, executors of the will, revoking all former wills. In witness whereof he set his hand and seal on 16 October 1736. The will was signed, sealed, published and declared as the last will and testament of Isaac Wood in the presence of Simon Whaley, James Draper and Duke Crispe. A note was added that the yam standing on the five acres of freehold land bequeathed to John Defountaine was given as part of the personal estate and bequeathed to him accordingly, signed by Isaac Wood. **Interpretations** The will settled Isaac Wood's estate through a life interest to his widow followed by fixed gifts of named parcels to his two sons-in-law, both bearing the Defountaine name, with cash legacies to two grandchildren charged ahead of the residue. Giving the widow the whole estate for her life before anything passed to the sons secured her maintenance first, a common device that kept a holding intact and productive during her lifetime rather than breaking it up at once among the heirs. Wood's direction that his roughly £200 debt to Captain Goodwin for a slave be discharged before all else shows how a single slave purchase could stand as the largest charge on a modest island estate. Placing it first, ahead of the family gifts, reflects that

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		as the Last Will & Testament of the said Isaac Wood in the Presence of Simon Whaley James Draper Duke Coupe Mem The Yams that shall be Standing on the five Acres hereby bequeathed to John Desfountain I do as part of my Personal Estate I have given & bequeathed the same Accordingly. Isaac Wood Witnefs Simon Whaley James Draper Duke Coupe	a debt for human property was a real and pressing liability that the executors had to clear before the legacies could take effect, and that such purchases were made on long credit between inhabitants. The survivorship clause tying the two grandchildren's legacies together, so that if one of Samuel and Mary Knipe died the other took the whole, was a means of keeping the bequest within the family and preventing a child's share from passing out to strangers on an early death. The separate note adding the standing yam crop to John Defountaine's land as personal estate shows the care taken to assign even the growing provision, the yams being the island's staple food and a valuable part of any holding.
210	238	Inventory of Sundry Household Goods &c found in the Castle belonging to the Honourable Company this 4th Day of May 178[...] Viz. 1 Standing Furniture 1 Iron Chest 10 Cain Chairs part Matted 4 Leather Do 1 Large Leather Chair 12 Matted Chairs 1 Do Elbow Do 1 Do Couch 2 Elbow Chairs 1 China Chair 8 China Cain Chairs 1 Old broken Cain Chair 2 Chests one Mr Crispe Challenges 2 Scruts Glass Mr Crispe Challenges 30 Wood Screws 2 Locks Parcell small Screws 1 Small Box Garden Seeds The Stand for 2 Glass Shades little Ash Shovel 1 Pr Scales Ballance & Weights Some of the Companys Chop Remainder of a Chest of Wax Candles a Little Soap 2 Jars Currans Expended Physical Seeds 1 Iron Glass 1 Walnutt Bed Stead 1 Wainscott Chest 1 Small Lacquerd Cloth 2 Iron Chest 31 Table Cloths 12 Side Boards 40 Towels 24 Napkins 9 Do Sack 1 Small Iron Glass 1 very small Chimney Glass 1 Wainscott Table 1 Iron Table 38 Jelly Glasses 2 Small Tables 2 Red Locks without keys 1 Feather Bed 2 Blankets 1 Sheets 1 Pallampore & Bed Stead 1 Baggammon Table without Box or Dye 1 Very old Chest of Drawers 1 Wooden Stool 1 Blue Cloth Bed & Window Do 1 Sett Alligor Bed Curtains 1 Old Chest 1 Small Case with 9 Empty bottles part of a Cistern	This was an inventory of the various household goods found in the castle belonging to the Honourable Company, taken on 4 May 1742. 1 standing cupboard 1 iron chest 19 cane chairs, part matted 1 leather cupboard 1 large leather chair 12 matted chairs 1 elbow cupboard 1 couch 2 elbow chairs 1 china chair 8 china cane chairs 1 old broken cane chair 2 chests in Mr Crispe's challenge 1 sconce glass, Mr Crispe's challenge 30 wood sieves 2 locks 1 parcel of small screws 1 small box of garden seeds 1 stand for 2 glass shades 1 little pier shield 1 pair of scales, balances and weights 1 iron chest for the Company's cash 16 chests of wax candles a little soap 2 jars of currants expended physical seeds 1 pier glass 1 walnut bedstead 1 wainscot chest 1 small lacquered table 2 fir chests 31 table cloths 12 side board cloths 20 towels 24 napkins 9 pier stock 1 small pier glass 1 very small chimney glass 1 wainscot table 1 tea table 38 jelly glasses 2 small tables 2 bed locks without keys 1 feather bed, 2 blankets, 4 sheets 1 Palampore bedstead 1 pappammon table without box or drawer 1 very old chest of drawers 1 wooden stool 1 blue cloth bed and window curtain 1 set of holland bed curtains 1 old chest 1 small case with 9 empty bottles part of a sextant 1 table 2 large wainscot tables

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		1 Table 2 Large Wainscott Tables 1 Spying Glass 1 Foot Glass 6 Window Curtains 1 Small old Table 1 Large Wainscott Table 1 Side Board Do 1 Jappan Tea Table 4 Foot Glass 2 Sconce Glass 4 Pr Blue Dammask Window Curtains 1 Tea Stand 2 Glass Lanthornes 1 doz Ivory handle Knives & forks 1 doz China Soup Plates 1 Do Snuffers 1 Jappan Plates 3 doz China Meat Plates 2 China Guglet & Basons 1 Lamp 1 Old Lanthornes broke & unfit for use 13 China Meat Dishes 2 Do Soup Dishes Plate viz. 2 Butter Cups 2 Punch Bowles 1 Tankard 3 doz 2 Table Spoons 7 Tea Spoons Tongs & Strainer 2 Tankards 1 Pint Mugg 1 Do Pint Do 8 Soup Spoons 9 Salts 4 Salvers 4 Casters 1 Stands for Cruets 1 doz 3 Large Silver handle Knives & forks 1 doz Desert 1 Large Coffee pott In the Cellars viz. 4 doz Red wine 5 doz Mountain 2 Glass Lanthornes Kitchen Furniture viz. 4 Meat Kettles 1 Fish Kettle 1 hash pan 1 Sauce Mortar 1 Iron Do 2 Iron Potts 3 Spitts 2 Frying pans 2 Skimmers 1 Fork 1 Ladle 1 hand Iron	1 spying glass 1 pier glass 6 window curtains 1 small old table 1 large wainscot table 1 side board cupboard 1 japan tea table 4 pier glass 2 sconce glass 4 pairs of blue damask window curtains 1 tea stand 2 glass lanthorns 9 dozen ivory-handled knives and forks 1 dozen china soap plates 1 dozen snuffers 1 japan plates 3 dozen china meat plates 2 china juglets and basons 1 lamp 4 old lanthorns broken and unfit for use 12 china meat dishes 2 ditto soup dishes Under the heading of plate, the following were listed: 2 butter cups 2 punch bowls 1 tankard 3 dozen 2 table spoons 2 tea spoons, tongue and strainer 2 tankards 1 pint mug 1 half pint ditto 6 soup spoons 9 salts 4 salvers 4 casters 1 stand for casters 1 dozen large silver-handled knives and forks 1 dozen ditto 1 large coffee pot In the cellars, the following were listed: 4 dozen red wine 5 dozen mountain 2 glass lanthorns Under the heading of kitchen furniture, the following were listed: 4 meat kettles 3 spits 1 fish kettle 2 frying pans 1 hash pan 2 skimmers 1 sauce mortar 1 iron 1 iron pot 1 ladle 2 iron pots 2 hand irons **Interpretations** This inventory was one of the attested reckonings Governor Lambert required on taking charge, the household goods in the castle counted item by item so that exactly what he received could be fixed and later checked. Two lines record chests and a sconce glass entered as being in dispute with the former clerk Duke Crispe, the note "Crispe's challenge" marking goods whose ownership he contested, a direct trace of the deficiency inquiry of 1741 in which Crispe had been charged with diverting the Company's furniture and linen into private hands. Palampores and japanned tables among the furnishings were eastern goods reaching the island through the homeward India and China trade, palampores being painted or printed Indian cotton bed coverings prized as fine bedding. Their presence

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			alongside walnut, wainscot and holland furniture shows a household stocked partly from the passing shipping, the finer pieces drawn from the very cargoes the island existed to victual. The plate, being wrought silver, was set apart under its own heading and counted piece by piece down to a single half-pint mug, as the most valuable and portable class of goods and the easiest to remove. Listing every spoon, salt and salver separately was the surest guard against quiet loss, silver having figured directly in the frauds the previous administration was found to have worked, so the incoming government fixed its exact tally at the point of transfer.
211	239	1 Copper Saucepan 4 Pewter Dishes 1 Wood Ax 1 Tureen 1 Callender 1 Dripping pan 1 Old Chair Inventory of Sundry Household Goods found at the Plantation house belonging to the Honble Company this 4th Day of May 178[...] Viz. 1 Foot Glass 1 Scoble Glass 1 Chimney Glass 1 Aask 1 Wainscott Table 1 Do Smaller 1 Old Do 1 Small Do Chamber 3 Small Chamber Tables 1 China Lacquerd Table 1 Tea Table 1 Wass for Garden Seeds 1 Fire Grate Tongs Shovel & Poker 1 Fork Grate Poker & Tongs 1 Small Tongs & Poker 1 Stone Do Tongs & fire Shovel 1 Elbow Chair with Leather bottom 11 Cain Chairs 2 broken Do 6 Matted Chairs 5 Winch Do 1 Large Easy Chair 1 Do Elbow Chair 1 Do 1 Settle 1 Corner Cupboard 1 Picture of Aron & Moses 1 Bureau 1 Spitt 1 Jack 2 Mortars & Pestles 1 Iron Bottle 1 Yam Pott 1 Writing Desk 1 Feather Bed 1 Smaller Do 1 Feather Do 3 Beds 13 Blanketts 1 Quilt 5 Boulsters 2 Sette Chimney Curtains 5 Bed Steads Window Vallance & Bed Curtains 4 Window Curtains 1 Old Cupboard 2 Glass Lanthornes 1 Pr Br Do 1 Pewter Funnell	The inventory of the castle household goods concluded with the following items: 1 copper saucepan 1 calender 4 pewter dishes 1 dripping pan 1 wood axe 1 old chair 1 tureen This was an inventory of the various household goods found at the Plantation House belonging to the Honourable Company, taken on 4 May 1742. 1 pier glass 1 sconce glass 1 chimney glass 1 desk 1 wainscot table 1 ditto smaller 1 old ditto 1 small ditto chamber 3 small chamber tables 1 china lacquered table 1 tea table 1 box for garden seeds 1 pair of grate tongs, shovel and poker 1 fork, grate poker and tongs 1 small tongs and poker 1 stone pair of tongs and fire shovel 1 elbow chair with leather bottom 11 cane chairs 2 broken ditto 6 matted chairs 5 ditto 1 large easy chair 1 old elbow chair 1 ditto 1 settee 1 corner cupboard 1 picture of Aaron and Moses 1 tureen 1 spit 1 jack 2 mattress and pestles 1 iron kettle 1 yam pot 1 writing desk 1 feather bed 1 smaller ditto 1 feather ditto 3 beds 10 blanketts 1 quilt 5 boulsters 2 sets of chintz-ery curtains 5 bedsteads 2 window valances and 2 bed curtains 4 window curtains 1 old cupboard 2 glass lanthorns 1 pair ditto

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		1 Do Crane 4 Tea Potts 11 half pint Cups 2 Bowles 13 Coffee Do Saucers Empty Ware without bottles 1 Custory & a few Empty Jars 2 Wine Glasses 3 Do & Water Do 1 Weaaming Whatnot & Chain 2 Bed Potts 3 Chews Presses 2 Small Saucepans 2 Do Iron potts 1 Copper 1 Gridirons 1 Fire Shovel The Governour Reports that some time past a Slave Man called Simon belonging to Doctor John Brown found a means of Conveying from his Masters house wherein the Recruits are lodged Sundry Sorts of Apparell belonging to the Slaves with which he off to Certain by Peices a Locking table in the Parke and thro by Concealed a Considerable Store a Slave Wench called Bagee belonging to the said House being Suspited & Examined said that the Effects Mentioned Simon had the things stolen and that the Concealed him unseen by any other into the House in order to his Stealing the same, & that it was Agreed between them a Suited & thorpd Should be found the Succeeding Night. That the fellow Simon had Since been taken & Confessed the theft and that the Marshall Accompanying him to the hole where he had had his Plunder and found the major part of the things which the Slaves had told. Whereupon the Above Simon & Bagee were Ordered to appear before us the taller Being now the having 2 Simon into the house is been any way Accessary to the Robbery And Simon likewise believe the Woman Bagee to have been Concerned of the affair and that himself Stole the Slaves Apparell from a Window Store they lay.	1 pewter funnell 1 ditto crane 4 tea kettles 11 half pint cups 2 bowls 14 cups and 10 saucers empty case without bottles 1 casehorn and a few empty jars 2 wine glasses 3 ditto water ditto 2 measuring whales and chain 2 bed pots 2 chevos press 2 small saucepans 2 ditto iron pots 1 copper 1 gridiron 1 fire shovel The Governor reported that some time before, a slave man called Simon, belonging to Doctor John Browne, had found a means of conveying goods from his master's house, in which the recruits were lodged, the various sorts of apparel belonging to the slaves being what he laid a plan to take by picks and locks, and thereby committed a considerable theft. A slave man called Rager, belonging to the said house, being suspected and examined, said that the effects mentioned had come to Simon, and that Simon had enticed him unseen by any other into the house in order to steal them. He said it was agreed between them that Simon would attempt it that same evening. The slave Simon had since been taken and examined, having confessed the theft, and the marshal, accompanying him to the hole where he had hidden the goods, found the greater part of the things which the slaves had told him of. Upon this the slaves Simon and Rager were ordered to appear before the council, the marshal now having taken Simon into the house to serve any of the recruits belonging to the artillery. Simon, belonging to the said house, would have been suspected of the office, and that himself took the slaves' apparel from the window where they lay. **Interpretations** The two inventories together fixed the whole of the Company's household goods at both its seats, the castle and the Plantation House, counted item by item on the same day so that the incoming Governor Lambert's charge could be established in full and later checked. Taking a complete tally at Plantation House as well as the castle shows the reckoning of March and May 1742 reaching every store of Company property, the plain safeguard against the kind of quiet diversion the deficiency inquiry of 1741 had exposed. The picture of Aaron and Moses hanging at Plantation House stands out among the plain furniture as the single decorative and devotional object in either house, a scriptural subject of a kind common in Protestant households of the period. Its inclusion in a working inventory of tables, beds and kitchen ware shows even a wall picture counted as Company property worth recording at the transfer of government. The theft by Doctor Browne's slave Simon turned on the peculiar risk of lodging soldiers and their belongings in a private house served by slaves, Simon having used picks and keys to take the recruits' apparel and hidden it in a hole out of doors. The council's method of examining one slave against another, Rager's account being used to trace Simon and the marshal then recovering the goods on Simon's own confession, was the standing way of proceeding where slave testimony alone could

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			establish the facts, the recovered goods confirming what the questioning had drawn out.
212	240	The Governour likewise Reports that Phill a Slave Boy belonging to Mr John Goodwin Sole from the Taylors Shop in the Castle 7 Yards of the Honble Companys Money and after Information of the same he first Sent for the Slave Boys Master and Requainted him Concerning it, then sent proper Persons into the Country Store the Slave Boy Resided and that they brought both the Boy and the Money to him. That the Boy Phill Confessed he Stole the Money, and only Asked for forgivenefs. Whereupon the Slave Boy Phill was desired to appear before us and being asked Concerning the Premisses Immediately Confessed his having Stole the the Money from the Taylors Shop in the Castle. The Slaves Simon, Bagee & Phill were all Returned to their Owners and He Came to the following Resolution viz. That as it is the Honble Companys Standing Orders their shall be a Sessions held every Quarter, So Reason that it is hereafter Punctually Complyed with, and the Sessions was Ordered a Summons a jury of 12 Impartial Men Accordingly, to meet at the Castle on the 24th Instant for the Tryal of the Slaves Simon Bagee & Phill and what ever else may be laid before them. Thos Lambert G. G. Powell John Godfrey At a Consultation held on Tuesday the 11th of May 178[...] at the Castle Present Thomas Lambert Esqr Governour Geo Gabl Powell Esqr of Council John Godfrey Esqr of Council The last Consultation was read and approved Mr Geo Gabl Powell pay Master this day delivered his monthly Account and paid in the Ballance, which was Examined and is as follows viz. List of the Honble Companys Servants Exclusive of the Governor and Council with their Salarys and Diet money for the month of April last paid them the 8th day of May 178[...] Names Pay pr Mensem Diet with the Honble Company Edwin Alcock Chaplain £8 6 8 James Powell £3 3 9 Francis Wrangham Writers £3 3 9 Thomas French £1 13 4 16 9 6 First Company viz. John Clarke Lieutenant £3 16 8 Thomas Easthope Ensign £4 4 John Harden £4 4 William Rogar Adjutant £4 17 1 18 14 7 Carried over Diet Carried over£35 2	The Governor further reported that Phill, a slave boy belonging to Mr John Goodwin, had stolen from the tailor's shop in the castle. The Company's key, or guard of the key, had received information of the same, and he had sent for the slave boy Simon and questioned him about it, then sent proper persons into the country where the slave boy resided. They brought both the boy and the key to him, and the boy Phill confessed the theft of the key, having only stolen for frequent use. The slave boy Phill was ordered to appear before the council, and being asked about it, immediately confessed to having stolen the key from the tailor's shop in the castle. The slaves Simon, Rager and Phill were all returned to their owners. The council came to the following resolution. As the Company's standing orders required a court to be held every quarter, and it being at present inconvenient to comply with, the council ordered that a court be held accordingly, to meet at the castle on 24 May, for the trial of the slaves Simon, Rager and Phill, and whatever else might be laid before it. The resolution was subscribed by Thomas Lambert, George Gabriel Powell and John Godfrey. At a consultation held at the castle on Tuesday 11 May 1742, the members present were Thomas Lambert as Governor, George Gabriel Powell as second of council and John Godfrey as third of council. The minutes of the previous consultation were read and approved. George Gabriel Powell, paymaster, this day delivered his monthly account and paid in the balance, which was examined and ran as follows. This was a list of the Honourable Company's servants, other than the Governor and council, with their salaries and diet money for the month of April, paid to them on 8 May 1742. Names, pay per month, and diet money with the Company: Edwin Alsop, chaplain, £8 6s 8d James Powell, writer, £3 3s 9d Francis Wrangham, writer, £3 3s 9d Thomas French, £1 13s 4d First company: John Clarke, lieutenant, £3 16s 8d Thomas Easthope, ensign, £4 4s 4d John Harden, £4 4s 4d William Rager, adjutant, £4 17s 1d The pay of this section totalled £16 9s 6d, the whole pay carried over to £18 14s 7d, and the diet carried over to £35 2s. **Interpretations** The council's decision to hold a quarterly court expressly to try the three slaves Simon, Rager and Phill shows that even thefts committed by slaves were dealt with by formal trial rather than summary punishment by their owners. Setting a fixed date at the castle for the hearing, in compliance with the Company's standing order for a court every quarter, brought the matter within the island's regular judicial machinery, the same court that tried free inhabitants, since a case resting on slave testimony still had to be established before it could be judged. The reappearance of the pay list at the head of the May consultation, with every named servant set against a fixed monthly sum and a separate diet column, was the recurring safeguard the deficiency inquiry of 1741 had made necessary. Requiring the paymaster to deliver his account and pay in the balance each month, to be examined before the council, kept the establishment's wages continually checked, so that no invented name could draw pay

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			unseen as had happened under the previous administration. The adjutant William Rager drawing the highest military pay of the first company, above the lieutenant and the ensigns, reflects the weight of the adjutant's office in the daily running of the garrison, the officer responsible for musters, orders and the routine discipline Lambert had set out to tighten in his report of 4 May 1742. Paying the post above the line officers marks how central regular administration had become to a garrison the new Governor was working to bring to order.
213	241	Diet Brought over Brought over£35 2 1 24 Serjeants viz. Joseph Desfountain £2 6 6 William Seale £2 6 6 Richard Gurling £2 6 6 Henry Mutton £2 6 6 Daniel Mason £2 6 6 13 Joseph Leighton £2 6 6 13 13 19 Corporals viz. Onesophorus Beale £1 9 3 13 Joseph Whaley £1 9 3 Gabriel Jaacke £1 9 3 Isaac Snipe £1 9 3 Matthew Waters £1 9 3 Bartholomew Melloy £1 9 3 13 8 13 6 Drummers viz. Thomas Watts £1 9 3 William Davis £1 9 3 2 18 6 Centinels viz. William Addams £1 2 9 James Aldridge £1 2 9 13 Peron Ambrose £1 2 9 13 James Alle £1 2 9 Thomas Alcock £1 2 9 13 Edward Arnold £1 2 9 13 Richard Bishop £1 2 9 13	The list of the Company's servants continued. The pay brought over came to £18 14s 7d, and the diet brought over to £35 2s. Sergeants: Joseph Defountaine, £2 6s 6d William Seale, £2 6s 6d Richard Girling, £2 6s 6d Henry Multon, £2 6s 6d Daniel Mason, £2 6s 6d, with £13 diet money with the Company Joseph Leighton, £2 6s 6d, with £13 diet money with the Company The sergeants' pay totalled £13 19s 0d. Corporals: Onesipharus Beale, £1 9s 3d Joseph Whaley, £1 9s 3d Gabriel Jacke, £1 9s 3d Isaac Knipe, £1 9s 3d Matthew Mater, £1 9s 3d Bartholomew Milloy, £1 9s 3d, with £13 diet money with the Company The corporals' pay totalled £8 15s 6d. Drummers: Thomas Watts, £1 9s 3d William Davis, £1 9s 3d The drummers' pay totalled £2 18s 6d. Sentinels: William Addams, £1 2s 9d James Aldridge, £1 2s 9d, with £13 diet money with the Company Devon Ambrose, £1 2s 9d, with £13 diet money with the Company James Allis, £1 2s 9d Thomas Alcock, £1 2s 9d, with £13 diet money with the Company Edward Arnold, £1 2s 9d, with £13 diet money with the Company Richard Bishop, £1 2s 9d, with £13 diet money with the Company John Harden, from 26 to 30 April, £0 2s 11.5d Matthew Brightwell, £1 2s 9d, with £13 diet money with the Company John Butter, from 26 to 30 April, £0 2s 11.5d Andrew Barton, £1 2s 9d, with £13 diet money with the Company William Bare, £1 2s 9d Peter Bath, £1 2s 9d, with £13 diet money with the Company Daniel Bush, £1 2s 9d, with £13 diet money with the Company Bill Brian, £1 2s 9d, with £13 diet money with the Company Joseph Bazett, £1 2s 9d John Brown, £1 2s 9d, with £13 diet money with the Company Peter Cummings, from 26 April to 30, £0 2s 11.5d Antony Castell, £1 2s 9d, with £6 diet money with the Company George Clarke, £1 2s 9d, with £13 diet money with the Company Robert Carry, £1 2s 9d, with £13 diet money with the Company

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		John Harden from 26th Aprill to y 30th Do £2 11[...] Matthew Brightwell £1 2 9 John Batler from 26th Aprill to y 30th Do £2 11[...] Andrew Barlow £1 2 9 13 William Bare £1 2 9 Peter Bath £1 2 9 13 Daniel Birch £1 2 9 13 Bell Brian £1 2 9 13 Joseph Bagford £1 2 9 John Brown £1 2 9 13 Peter Cummings from 26th of April to 30th Do £2 11[...] Antony Casteel £1 2 9 6 George Clarke £1 2 9 13 Robert Carry £1 2 9 13 Thomas Card £1 2 9 13 Henry Carter £1 2 9 13 Matthew Cammell £1 2 9 13 Daniel Cauncel £1 2 9 Walter Cox £1 2 9 13 Antony Day £1 2 9 13 William Darnill £1 2 9 John Illis £1 2 9 13 James English £1 2 9 William Eates £1 2 9 13 Richard Frost £1 2 9 Thomas Sloud £1 2 9 13 Francis Sange £1 2 9 Thomas Fuller £1 2 9 13 John Soard £1 2 9	Thomas Card, £1 2s 9d, with £13 diet money with the Company Henry Carter, £1 2s 9d, with £13 diet money with the Company William Camwell, £1 2s 9d, with £13 diet money with the Company Daniel Council, £1 2s 9d Walter Cox, £1 2s 9d, with £13 diet money with the Company Antony Day, £1 2s 9d, with £13 diet money with the Company William Darrell, £1 2s 9d John Ellis, £1 2s 9d, with £13 diet money with the Company James English, £1 2s 9d William Eates, £1 2s 9d, with £13 diet money with the Company Richard Frost, £1 2s 9d Thomas Sloud, £1 2s 9d, with £13 diet money with the Company Francis Funge, £1 2s 9d Thomas Fuller, £1 2s 9d, with £13 diet money with the Company John Foard, £1 2s 9d, with £13 diet money with the Company The pay carried over came to £98 14s 9d, and the diet carried over to £19 1s. **Interpretations** The four short entries paying only 2s 11.5d for the period from 26 to 30 April, against the full monthly 22s 9d of the men around them, record soldiers who joined the roll only in the last days of the month and so drew part-pay for those days alone. Reckoning each new man's pay from the exact day he entered, rather than granting a whole month, shows the precision the establishment now applied to wages, the same close accounting Lambert had pressed in ordering that every man's entrance date be booked to prevent false musters. The steady diet money of £13 against many sentinels, higher than the £12 of the earlier February roll, marks the cash allowance paid to those soldiers fed at their own charge rather than the Company's. Carrying the allowance in its own column, distinct from the fixed monthly pay, kept the two obligations separate so each could be audited alone, and the split down the roll shows the Company met the board of only part of its garrison directly. The uniform pay of exactly £1 2s 9d against every full-month sentinel, name after name, was the guard the deficiency inquiry of 1741 had shown to be needed. Setting each private soldier down by name at one fixed rate let the total be tested against the count of real men, so that no invented or dead name could be slipped onto the roll to draw pay, the very fraud the previous administration had been found to have worked.

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		37 19 8[...] Carried over£98 14 9[...] Diet Carried over£19 1	
214	242	Diet Brought over£19 1 Brought over£98 14 9[...] John Gurling £1 2 9 13 Bartholomew Green £1 2 9 13 John Gobly £1 2 9 John Hayes £1 2 9 13 Thomas Hodges £1 2 9 Richard Harper £1 2 9 Francis Hayes £1 2 9 Salomon Jacobs £1 2 9 Jeptha Jermain £1 2 9 13 John Jones Senr £1 2 9 13 Ivan Jones £1 2 9 13 John Jones Junr £1 2 9 13 Richard Kent £1 2 9 Thomas Kimbrock £1 2 9 13 Joseph Long £1 2 9 James Long £1 2 9 Sutton Leech £1 2 9 Thomas Leech £1 2 9 John Leon £1 2 9 Thomas Legg £1 2 9 13 John Leggitt £1 2 9 13 John Leech £1 2 9 Daniel Longbon £1 2 9 Robert Leech £1 2 9 13 Robert Manlove £1 2 9 William Moore £1 2 9 13 John Mudge £1 2 9 John Potter £1 2 9	The list of the Company's sentinels continued. The pay brought over came to £98 14s 9d, and the diet brought over to £19 1s. John Girling, £1 2s 9d Bartholomew Green, £1 2s 9d, with £13 diet money with the Company John Godby, £1 2s 9d, with £13 diet money with the Company John George, £1 2s 9d Thomas Hodges, £1 2s 9d, with £13 diet money with the Company Richard Harper, £1 2s 9d Francis Hayse, £1 2s 9d Solomon Jacobs, £1 2s 9d Jephtha Jarman, £1 2s 9d, with £13 diet money with the Company John Jones senior, £1 2s 9d, with £13 diet money with the Company Ivan Jones, £1 2s 9d, with £13 diet money with the Company John Jones junior, £1 2s 9d, with £13 diet money with the Company Richard Pont, £1 2s 9d Thomas Kimlock, £1 2s 9d, with £13 diet money with the Company Joseph Long, £1 2s 9d James Long, £1 2s 9d Sutton Leech, £1 2s 9d Thomas Leech, £1 2s 9d John Sears, £1 2s 9d Thomas Ley, £1 2s 9d, with £13 diet money with the Company John Leggett, £1 2s 9d, with £13 diet money with the Company John Leech, £1 2s 9d Daniel Langdon, £1 2s 9d Robert Sea Leech, £1 2s 9d, with £13 diet money with the Company Robert Manlove, £1 2s 9d William Moore, £1 2s 9d, with £13 diet money with the Company John Mudge, £1 2s 9d John Potter, £1 2s 9d William Price, £1 2s 9d, with £13 diet money with the Company James Colchard, £1 2s 9d, with £13 diet money with the Company William Price, £1 2s 9d John Pearce, £1 2s 9d, with £13 diet money with the Company Nathaniel Pascall, £1 2s 9d, with £13 diet money with the Company Thomas Payne, £1 2s 9d, with £13 diet money with the Company James Richardson, £1 2s 9d Benjamin Sale, £1 2s 9d John Sleek, £1 2s 9d John Scotcher, £1 2s 9d, with £13 diet money with the Company John Spencer, £1 2s 9d, with £13 diet money with the Company Aldick Separy, £1 2s 9d, with £13 diet money with the Company John Simpson, £1 2s 9d, with £13 diet money with the Company John Sutton, £1 2s 9d, with £13 diet money with the Company William Swaites, £1 2s 9d John Upston, £1 2s 9d James Vaughan, £1 2s 9d, with £13 diet money with the Company

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		William Once £1 2 9 13 James Colchard £1 2 9 13 William Price £1 2 9 John Pearce £1 2 9 13 Nathaniel Pascall £1 2 9 13 Thomas Payne £1 2 9 13 James Pritchardson £1 2 9 13 Benjamin Seale £1 2 9 John Slock £1 2 9 John Scotcher £1 2 9 13 John Spencer £1 2 9 13 Aldick Separy £1 2 9 13 John Simpson £1 2 9 13 John Setton £1 2 9 13 William Swailes £1 2 9 John Upston £1 2 9 James Vaughn £1 2 9 13 Thomas Watkin £1 2 9 13 John Wills £1 2 9 Thomas Wigg £1 2 9 13 John Gob Van Osten £1 2 9 55 14 9 Second Company viz. James Scott Lieutenant £4 6 John Desfountain Ensign £4 3 Thomas Kirkpatrick £4 3 11 9 6 Carried over£165 17 3[...] Diet Carried over£39 11	Thomas Wallum, £1 2s 9d John Wells, £1 2s 9d Thomas Wigg, £1 2s 9d, with £13 diet money with the Company John Job Van Osten, £1 2s 9d The sentinels' pay totalled £55 14s 9d. Second company: James Scott, lieutenant, £6 0s 0d John Crossfountaine, ensign, £4 3s 0d Thomas Kirkpatrick, £4 3s 0d The pay carried over came to £116 17s 9d, and the diet carried over to £39 11s. **Interpretations** The steady repetition of £1 2s 9d against every full-month sentinel down the whole roll was the guard the deficiency inquiry of 1741 had shown to be needed. Writing each private soldier by name at one fixed rate let the sum be tested against the count of real men, so that no invented or dead name could be carried on the roll to draw pay, the very fraud the previous administration had been found to have worked. The division of the garrison into a first and a second company, each with its own lieutenant, ensigns and rank and file, reflects the reorganisation Governor Lambert had set out in his report of 4 May 1742, when he described distributing the men into two bodies to take the guard week and week about. Carrying the two companies as separate blocks on the pay roll, each headed by its own officers, put that new structure into the accounts, so the establishment's order on paper matched the order Lambert had imposed on the ground. The diet money of £13 entered against many but not all of the sentinels marked the cash allowance paid to those soldiers who fed themselves rather than at the Company's charge. Kept in its own column, distinct from the fixed monthly pay, the allowance let the two obligations be audited apart, and the pattern down the roll shows the Company met the board of only part of its garrison directly, the rest drawing money to provide for themselves.
215	243	Diet Brought over Brought over£165 17 3[...] 39 11 Serjeants viz. Thomas Bazett Edward Bagley	The list of the Company's servants continued. The pay brought over came to £116 17s 9d, and the diet brought over to £39 11s. Sergeants: Thomas Bazett, £2 6s 6d Edward Bagley, £2 6s 6d John Leech, £2 6s 6d

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		£2 6 6 John Leech £2 6 6 Thomas Coker £2 6 6 William Ockman £2 6 6 13 David Wilson £2 6 6 13 13 19 Corporals viz. Joshua Worrall Henry Beale £1 9 3 Thomas Swindle £1 9 3 James Draper £1 9 3 John French £1 9 3 John Warich £1 9 3 8 13 6 Drummers viz. William Innes £1 9 3 Thomas Linden at £7 pr ann £11 8 2 11 Centinels viz. George Ayres £1 2 9 13 William Rogar £1 2 9 13 Thomas Andrews £1 2 9 13 Thomas Browne £1 2 9 William Darnill £1 2 9 13 Peter Barker £1 2 9 13 William Browne £1 2 9 13 Andrew Blinman £1 2 9 Orlando Bagley £1 2 9 David Bulenham £1 2 9 Thomas Beale £1 2 9 13 John Buain £1 2 9 13 William Ruffell £1 2 9 13 John Bath £1 2 9 13 William Brooke £1 2 9 13 George Benward £1 2 9	Thomas Coster, £2 6s 6d William Ockman, £2 6s 6d, with £13 diet money with the Company David Wilson, £2 6s 6d, with £13 diet money with the Company The sergeants' pay totalled £13 19s 0d. Corporals: Joshua Worrall, £1 9s 3d Henry Beale, £1 9s 3d Thomas Swindle, £1 9s 3d James Draper, £1 9s 3d John Leech, £1 9s 3d John Aldrich, £1 9s 3d The corporals' pay totalled £8 15s 6d. Drummers: William Ormes, £1 9s 3d Thomas London, at £7 a year, £11 8d The drummers' pay totalled £2 1s 11d. Sentinels: George Ayres, £1 2s 9d, with £13 diet money with the Company William Rager, £1 2s 9d, with £13 diet money with the Company Thomas Andrews, £1 2s 9d, with £13 diet money with the Company Thomas Brown, £1 2s 9d William Darrell, £1 2s 9d, with £13 diet money with the Company Peter Barker, £1 2s 9d, with £13 diet money with the Company William Browne, £1 2s 9d, with £13 diet money with the Company Andrew Blinman, £1 2s 9d Orlando Bagley, £1 2s 9d David Bulman, £1 2s 9d Thomas Borah, £1 2s 9d, with £13 diet money with the Company John Bunn, £1 2s 9d, with £13 diet money with the Company William Ruffell, £1 2s 9d, with £13 diet money with the Company John Bath, £1 2s 9d, with £13 diet money with the Company William Brooke, £1 2s 9d, with £13 diet money with the Company George Benwood, £1 2s 9d John Bradley, £1 2s 9d William Bransfield, £1 2s 9d, with £13 diet money with the Company John Edkins, £1 2s 9d, with £13 diet money with the Company Nicholas Cope, £1 2s 9d, with £13 diet money with the Company Thomas Cope, £1 2s 9d, with £13 diet money with the Company William Carr, £1 2s 9d, with £13 diet money with the Company Phillip Catchpole, £1 2s 9d, with £13 diet money with the Company James Carr, £1 2s 9d, with £13 diet money with the Company Thomas Draper, £1 2s 9d, with £6 diet money with the Company Edmund Danfield, £1 2s 9d John Deval, £1 2s 9d, with £13 diet money with the Company John Emery, £1 2s 9d Barron Delsaph, £1 2s 9d John Draper, £1 2s 9d Samuel Eales, £1 2s 9d John Evans, £1 2s 9d William Allis, £1 2s 9d Jesse Evans, £1 2s 9d, with £13 diet money with the Company William Edwards, £1 2s 9d

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		13 John Bradley £1 2 9 William Branfield £1 2 9 13 John Collins £1 2 9 13 Nicholas Cope £1 2 9 13 Thomas Cope £1 2 9 13 William Carr £1 2 9 13 Phillip Catchpole £1 2 9 13 James Carr £1 2 9 13 Thomas Draper £1 2 9 6 Edward Danfield £1 2 9 John Dorak £1 2 9 13 John Drury £1 2 9 Darron Delaap £1 2 9 John Draper £1 2 9 Samuel Isles £1 2 9 John Evans £1 2 9 William Allis £1 2 9 Isaac Evans £1 2 9 13 William Edwards £1 2 9 Onesophorus Gurling £1 2 9 40 19 Carried over£231 11 3[...] Diet Carried over£55 14	Onesipharus Girling, £1 2s 9d The sentinels' pay totalled £40 19s 0d. The pay carried over came to £231 11s 3d, and the diet carried over to £55 14s. **Interpretations** The reappearance of William Ockman as a sergeant in the second company confirms the promotion Governor Lambert had described in his report of 4 May 1742, when he raised Ockman to fill the place of Sergeant Waughton, who died at Munden's, on the strength of Ockman having done that duty on the voyage out. Carrying the promotion into the pay roll shows the reorganised military ranks being fixed in the accounts, so that the men Lambert had advanced for good service now drew the pay of their new grade. The drummer Thomas London, entered at £7 a year rather than at the other drummers' monthly rate, was paid on a yearly engagement that worked out below the standard drummer's pay, which is why his line reads differently and his annual figure had to be reduced to a monthly sum for the same column. His £11 8d is far short of the £1 9s 3d the other drummers drew, marking a distinct and cheaper form of engagement. The uniform pay of £1 2s 9d against every sentinel, with diet money of £13 entered against most but not all, held the roll to the self-checking form the deficiency inquiry of 1741 had made necessary. Each private soldier stood by name at one fixed rate, his board allowance carried separately, so that the totals could be tested against the real head count and the two obligations audited apart, the guard against exactly the phantom pay the previous administration had been found to draw.
216	244	Diet Brought over Brought over£231 11 5[...] 55 14 Christopher Garland £1 2 9 13 William Gunn £1 2 9 13 John George £1 2 9 13 William Gutrain £1 2 9 13 Thomas Griffith £1 2 9 13 Phillip Hilliard	The list of the Company's sentinels continued. The pay brought over came to £231 11s 3d, and the diet brought over to £55 14s. Christopher Garland, £1 2s 9d, with £13 diet money with the Company William Gunn, £1 2s 9d, with £13 diet money with the Company John George, £1 2s 9d, with £13 diet money with the Company William Gubwin, £1 2s 9d, with £13 diet money with the Company Thomas Griffith, £1 2s 9d, with £13 diet money with the Company Phillip Holland, £1 2s 9d James Hall, £1 2s 9d John Hayse, £1 2s 9d Daniel Hayse, £1 2s 9d Henry Higgins, £1 2s 9d, with £13 diet money with the Company

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		£1 2 9 James Hall £1 2 9 John Hayes £1 2 9 Daniel Hayes £1 2 9 13 Henry Higgins £1 2 9 John Holloway £1 2 9 13 Isaac Judson £1 2 9 Barnet Homes £1 2 9 Joseph Hunt £1 2 9 13 John Jane £1 2 9 13 Richard Knight £1 2 9 13 David Sord £1 2 9 13 Stephen Lufton £1 2 9 John Leathey £1 2 9 13 James Lee £1 2 9 13 Morris Lilley £1 2 9 13 Robert Manson £1 2 9 13 Thomas Manning £1 2 9 John Murdoch from the 3d Aprill to 30th Do £2 11[...] John Morgan £1 2 9 13 John Mannikee £1 2 9 William Prowr £1 2 9 13 Thomas Oliver £1 2 9 William Page £1 2 9 13 Lawrance Peterson £1 2 9 13 Stephen Owens £1 2 9 13 John Batler £1 2 9 13 William Simpson £1 2 9 13 Edward Snowd £1 2 9 William Sylbrooks	John Holloway, £1 2s 9d, with £13 diet money with the Company Jesse Hudson, £1 2s 9d Barrell Homes, £1 2s 9d Joseph Hunt, £1 2s 9d, with £13 diet money with the Company John Jane, £1 2s 9d, with £13 diet money with the Company Richard Knight, £1 2s 9d, with £13 diet money with the Company David Lud, £1 2s 9d Stephen Lufkin, £1 2s 9d John Searley, £1 2s 9d, with £13 diet money with the Company James Ley, £1 2s 9d, with £13 diet money with the Company Maurice Lilby, £1 2s 9d, with £13 diet money with the Company Robert Wilson, £1 2s 9d, with £13 diet money with the Company Thomas Manning, £1 2s 9d John Mudge, from 21 to 30 April, £0 8s 11.5d John Morgan, £1 2s 9d, with £13 diet money with the Company John Munnitree, £1 2s 9d William Moore, £1 2s 9d, with £13 diet money with the Company Thomas Oliver, £1 2s 9d William Page, £1 2s 9d, with £13 diet money with the Company Lawrence Peterson, £1 2s 9d, with £13 diet money with the Company Stephen Owen, £1 2s 9d, with £13 diet money with the Company John Butler, £1 2s 9d, with £13 diet money with the Company William Simpson, £1 2s 9d, with £13 diet money with the Company Edward Snout, £1 2s 9d William Ingbrooks, £1 2s 9d, with £13 diet money with the Company George Scott, from 26 to 30 April, £0 2s 11.5d John Sparks, £1 2s 9d Richard Sands, £1 2s 9d Jeremiah Worrall, £1 2s 9d, with £13 diet money with the Company Peter Wells, £1 2s 9d Thomas Wright, £1 2s 9d, with £13 diet money with the Company Simon Whipperland, £1 2s 9d, with £13 diet money with the Company Benjamin Williams, £1 2s 9d, with £13 diet money with the Company David Wilson, £1 2s 9d, with £6 diet money with the Company John Winter, £1 2s 9d John Worrall, £1 2s 9d James Vaughan junior, £1 2s 9d The sentinels' pay totalled £51 9s 8.5d. Under the heading of diet, the following were listed: Martin Mac Danil, April 15, 11s 2d John Chatwich, ditto 11, 8s 2d, with £6 diet money with the Company John Scotcher, ditto 17, 14s 2d William Gates, ditto 23, 17s 2d The diet pay of this section totalled £2 10s 9.5d. The pay carried over came to £285 11s 11.5d, and the diet carried over to £77 13s. **Interpretations** The two part-month entries paying only 8s 11.5d and 2s 11.5d, for men serving from the 21st and the 26th of April to the month's end, record soldiers who came onto the roll in its final days and drew pay for those days alone. Reckoning each man's wage

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		£1 2 9 13 George Serott from the 26 Aprill to 30th Do £2 11[...] John Speake £1 2 9 Richard Sands £1 2 9 Jeremiah Worrill £1 2 9 13 Peter Wells £1 2 9 Thomas Wright £1 2 9 13 Simon Whyterland £1 2 9 13 Benjamin Williams £1 2 9 13 David Wilson £1 2 9 6 John Winter £1 2 9 John Worrall £1 2 9 James Vaughn Senr £1 2 9 51 9 8[...] Dead viz. Martin Mac Danil Aprill 15th £11 2[...] John Chadwick Do 11th £8 2[...] John Scotcher Do 17th £14 2[...] William Gates Do 23 £17 2[...] 2 10 9[...] Carried over£285 11 11[...] Diet Carried over£77 13	from the exact day he entered, rather than granting a whole month, shows the close daily accounting Governor Lambert had pressed in his report of 4 May 1742, when he ordered that every soldier's entrance date be booked so that no false or over-stated muster could pass. The short diet section at the foot, naming four men against dates in April with sums below the standing allowance, records diet money reckoned only from the day each man began to draw it rather than for the full month. Entering these part allowances separately, keyed to the date they started, kept the board accounts as exact as the pay accounts, each obligation measured from the precise day it began so the whole could be checked against the men actually present. The uniform pay of £1 2s 9d against every full-month sentinel, with £13 diet against many but not all, held the roll to the self-checking form the deficiency inquiry of 1741 had made necessary. Setting each private soldier down by name at one fixed rate, his board allowance carried apart, let the totals be tested against the real head count, the guard against precisely the phantom pay the previous administration had been found to draw from the books.
217	215	Diet Brought over Brought over£312 18 7 36 6 Joseph Belcher House keeper Thomas Cotgrave Marshall £13 4 Richard Beale Schoolmaster £1 9 3 Balla Cook £1 2 9 Nicholas Clarker Steward £2 10 William Drewe Gardner £3 3 9 10 1 10 Totall Pay Amounts to£323 5 Totall Diet Amounts to£36 6 Dr George Gabl Powell Pay Master Cr To the Honble Companys Treasury having Received the whole £687 10 9[...] To Sundrys Executors as of Column for so much Due of them for Diet from the Honble Company £36 6 To Francis Sange for so much Received of him in part of his Debt to the Estate of the late John Goodwin Esqr	The list of the Company's servants concluded. The pay brought over came to £312 18s 7d, and the diet brought over to £36 6s. Joseph Belcher, storekeeper, £13 4s 0d Thomas Colgrove, marshal, £1 9s 3d Richard Beale, schoolmaster, £1 2s 9d Balls Cook, £1 2s 0d Nicholas Cleather, sawyer, £2 10s 0d William Deues, gardener, £3 3s 9d The pay of this section totalled £10 1s 10d. The whole pay amounted to a total of £323 5s 0d, and the whole diet amounted to a total of £36 6s. The account was then set out against George Gabriel Powell, paymaster. He was charged, on the one side, with cash received: To the Honourable Company's treasury, having received the whole, £687 10s 9.5d To sundry executors, as of Colman, for so much received of them for diet from the Honourable Company, £36 6s 0d To Francis Funge for so much received of them in part of his debt to the estate of the late John Goodwin, £2 3s 3d To cash for so much received of John Browne, as received the 6 instant, £13 3s 3d The charge side totalled £687 3s 3d. He was discharged, on the other side, with cash paid:

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		£2 3 3 To Cash for so much Received Account of John Bazells also Received the 6th Instant £687 3[...] By Sundrys for So much paid the Honble Companys Servants Exclusive of the Governour Council their Salary & Diet Wages for the Month of March last £323 5 By Cash paid for an Allarm By Do Speake for Sawing House off Bill £2 6 By Mard Mr Danil for Slaying work off £5 16 6 By Doctor Charles Clarke for Salary from the 13th Sary 178[...] to y 11 May 178[...] £13 7 10[...] By Sundrys as pr Order of Council viz. John Desfountain £3 16 Samuel Docton £6 1 John Bazell £6 17 Mary Alexander £2 11 Alexr Rydett £2 8 Francis Wrangham Senr £3 18 32 3 By Ballance the day paid into the Honble Companys Treasury £315 4 12 £687 3[...] Islands St Helena 13th April 178[...] Errors Excepted G. G. Powell Pay Master Thos Lambert G. G. Powell John Godfrey Present & approved the above Consultation R Jenkins	By sundry, for so much paid the Honourable Company's servants, exclusive of the Governor and council, their salary and Bates's wages for the month of March last, £323 5s 0d By cash paid for an alarm, £0 15s 7d By ditto Mr Daniel for his lodging rent as usual, £2 6s 0d By ditto Mr Daniel for lodging rent as usual, £5 16s 6d By Doctor Charles Clarke for salary from 15 January 1740 to 11 May 1741, £13 7s 10.5d By sundry as per orders of council: John Defountaine, £3 16s 0d Samuel Doveton, £6 1s 0d John Bazett, £6 17s 0d Mary Alexander, £2 11s 0d James Ryder, £5 8s 0d Francis Wrangham junior, £3 18s 0d By balance this day paid into the Honourable Company's treasury, £315 4s 12d The discharge side totalled £687 3s 3d. The account was subscribed as errors excepted at St Helena on 13 April 1742 by George Gabriel Powell, paymaster, together with Thomas Lambert, George Gabriel Powell and John Godfrey. The proceedings were approved and subscribed by Robert Jenkins. **Interpretations** The paymaster's account balanced cash received against cash paid, every sum drawn from the treasury answered either by a wage to a named servant, a specific charge, or the surplus returned. Powell had to account for £687 3s 3d received and show the same figure discharged, the £315 he paid back closing the books. This double reckoning, subscribed by the whole council and certified errors excepted, made the monthly wage account self-checking and left no room for money to slip away between the treasury and the men, the central safeguard after the deficiency inquiry of 1741. The payment to Doctor Charles Clarke of his salary as surgeon for the whole period from 15 January 1740 to 11 May 1741 discharged the claim the council had allowed at the consultation of 4 May 1742, when he set out that he had served during his ship the Warwick's stay and had no chance to be paid before she sailed. Entering the back salary as a single discharge shows the emergency appointment finally settled, the £13 7s 10.5d answering more than a year's service performed for want of any other surgeon on the island. Part of the cash Powell handled came not from the Company's chest but from the estate of the late Governor John Goodwin, both a debt repaid by Francis Funge and the diet money received through the executors. Drawing on the attached Goodwin estate to meet the establishment's running costs shows the frozen estate still being worked to answer the Company's claims, its funds passing through the ordinary monthly account rather than being held wholly apart, as the same estate had supplied the previous month's diet charges.
218	216	At a Consultation held on Saturday the 17th day of April 178[...] at the Castle Present Thomas Lambert Esqr Governour Robert Jenkins Esqr Geo Gabl Powell Esqr of Council John Godfrey Esqr of Council The last Consultation was Read & Approved In Consequence of the Resolution of last Consultation, we this day met for the Tryal of the two Deserters	At a consultation held at the castle on Saturday 17 April 1742, the members present were Thomas Lambert as Governor, Robert Jenkins, George Gabriel Powell as second of council and John Godfrey as third of council. The minutes of the previous consultation were read and approved. Following the resolution of the previous consultation, the council met this day for the trial of the two deserters David Wilson and John Potter, who were brought from the prison under guard of a corporal and four men. Wilson was brought before the council first, his examination taken before the

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		David Wilson and John Potter, Who being Conducted from the Prison by a Corporal & four Men, Wilson was first brought before Us, and his Examination taken before the Governour, As particularly Inserted in last Consultation, was Read to him The Prisoner upon being asked what he had to Say for himself, Confessed his Evil Intention, and fling himself upon the Mercy of the Governour & Council, And begd it might be remembered that this was his first fault, And that he might be allowed a consideration in his favour The Governour was Pleased to Explain to him the Criminal nature of his Offence, his Ingratitude to his master, the exceeding ill effect Desertion was Lookd upon by all the World, And in the whole advised him to think & do better in future, in Confidence that he should be Esteemd according to his Demeritts. Whereupon he was Ordered to Withdraw, & John Potter to appear before us The Examination of John Potter was Read, as set forth at large in last Consultation, and the Prisoner being asked what further he had to Say for himself, Confessed his Intention was to Desert, And Plead, in his Excuse the Scarcinefs of Provision here. The Governour Addressed himself to this much as to the other Prisoner, with which John Potter seemd affected and Promissed amendment in future. Whereupon he was orderd to withdraw, and After mature Consideration it was Resolved That the Prisoners should be Remanded back to Prison, there to remain till next monday morning, when the Troops in the Vally will be Drawn up, upon the Parade and the Wooden Horse placed in the front of um, after which, the Deserters David Wilson & John Potter are to be brought from the Prison and Tied to the Tail of the Red Horse, and there to Receive upon their naked Backs by the hands of the Marshall viz. David Wilson y 100 lashes John Potter y 50 lashes Thence to be Returned to Prison antill Tuesday following	Governor having already been set out in the previous consultation, which was read to him. The prisoner, asked what he had to say for himself, confessed his wrong intention and threw himself on the mercy of the Governor and council. He begged that it be remembered this was his first fault, and asked that some allowance be made in his favour. The Governor set out to him the criminal nature of his offence and its ingratitude to his master, deserting being looked upon by all the world as one of the worst of faults, and advised him that in the whole he would do better in future, in the hope that he would behave according to his deserts. He was then ordered to withdraw, and John Potter to appear before the council. The examination of John Potter was read, as set out at length in the previous consultation, and the prisoner, asked what further he had to say for himself, confessed his intention to desert and pleaded in his excuse the scarcity of provision there. The Governor addressed him in the same terms as the other prisoner, by which John Potter seemed affected, and promised amendment in future. He was then ordered to withdraw. After mature consideration, it was resolved that the prisoners be brought back to the prison, there to remain until the following Monday morning. On that day, when the troops in the fort were drawn up and the pillory and the wooden horse set up in front of it, the deserters David Wilson and John Potter were to be brought from the prison and tied to the tail of the red house, and there to receive upon their naked backs, by the hand of the marshal: David Wilson, 100 lashes John Potter, 30 lashes They were then to be returned to prison until the following Tuesday. **Interpretations** The far heavier sentence on David Wilson, a hundred lashes against Potter's thirty for the same offence of desertion, shows the court weighing the two men differently despite the identical charge. The record gives no reason on its face beyond the two examinations read in from the previous consultation, but the disparity marks that the council judged Wilson the graver case, perhaps as the leader or the more culpable of the pair, rather than punishing desertion at a single fixed rate. The staging of the punishment before the assembled garrison, with the pillory and wooden horse set up and the troops drawn up to watch, made the flogging an instrument of deterrence rather than mere retribution. Deserting was treated as one of the worst of military faults, so the sentence was inflicted publicly on the naked back at a fixed place, the whole company made to witness it, so that the example might hold the rest of a garrison Lambert had already reported as loosely disciplined and half-tied to the land. Potter's plea in excuse, the scarcity of provision, touched directly on the supply difficulties running through this whole run of consultations, the shortage of arrack and stores that Powell had raised over the brandy cargo and that the council's repeated requests to India sought to relieve. That a soldier offered hunger as his reason for deserting shows how the island's dependence on uncertain shipping bore on the temper of the garrison, want in the stores translating into unrest among the men.
219	217	The Prisoners being called in, the Sentence was told them,	The prisoners being called in, the sentence was read to them, after which the guard and the marshal were ordered to conduct them back where they came from.

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		after which the guard & Marshall were Ordered to conduct them from whence they came Captain Jenkins this day paid for a Horse bought at Batavia, as pr Consultation of 8 Decbr 178[...], the Sum of £7 10 Which was Due, and to be accounted for by the Pay Master Thos Lambert G. G. Powell John Godfrey Present & approved of this Consultation R Jenkins At a Consultation held on Tuesday the 21st of April 178[...] at the Castle Present Thomas Lambert Esqr Governour Robert Jenkins Esqr Geo Gabl Powell Esqr of Council John Godfrey Esqr of Council The last Consultation was read and approved The Governour Reports that he has Visited every part of the Island that can be Received Answerable to an Enemy his Sentiments of each and the whole he is now Committing to Pen & Ink, and as soon as he Compleated, he will lay the same upon the Council Board. In the mean time nothing is omitted that can be for the Security of the Island and the Proper care is taken to Compleate the Redoubts, so as to make fully answer the Purposes they were sent for On the 19th Instant arrived a Dutch Ship from Batavia called the Ships Ten Duyne, John George Jorisz Commander, the Manner according to their three 130 foot, has on Board 31 Men, Mounts 28 Gunns, and is Bound to Island with Sundry Sorts of Merchandize on Board The Governour Reports that he has delivered to the Captain and three of his Officers a Packett, in Consequence of his the Governours Order, And that he has taken the Captain & officers Receipt for the same Ordered That an Advertisement be Published for all Parishioners to meet at the Chappel in this Valley on Monday next to Chuse Parish Officers for the Ensuing Year The Pay Master this day Received the Ballance of Ship Harrington's Account Amounting to£21 11 2[...] Thos Lambert G. G. Powell John Godfrey Present & approved the above Consultation R Jenkins	Captain Jenkins this day paid for arrack bought at Batavia, at the consultation of 8 December 1741, the sum of £7 10s 0d, which was received and to be accounted for by the paymaster. The account was subscribed by Thomas Lambert, George Gabriel Powell and John Godfrey, and the proceedings were approved and subscribed by Robert Jenkins. At a consultation held at the castle on Tuesday 20 April 1742, the members present were Thomas Lambert as Governor, Robert Jenkins, George Gabriel Powell as second of council and John Godfrey as third of council. The minutes of the previous consultation were read and approved. The Governor reported that he had viewed every part of the island that could be viewed. As soon as an inventory of the whole was completed, he would lay it before the council. In the meantime nothing was omitted that could go towards the security of the island, and proper care was taken to complete the works, so as to make them fully answer the purposes for which they were meant. On 11 April a Dutch ship arrived from Batavia, called the Ten Deynor, commanded by John George Joris, of 130 tons burden, with 90 men, mounting 28 guns, and bound to the island with various sorts of merchandise on board. The Governor reported that he had delivered to the captain three of his officers' packets, following the Government's order, and that he had taken the captain's and officers' receipts for the same. It was ordered that an advertisement be published for all parishioners to meet at the chapel in this valley on the following Monday to choose parish officers for the coming year. The paymaster this day received the balance of the ship Harrington's account, amounting to £21 11s 2d. The account was subscribed by Thomas Lambert, George Gabriel Powell and John Godfrey, and the proceedings were approved and subscribed by Robert Jenkins. **Interpretations** The full inventory of the island that Lambert reported himself completing, having viewed every part of it, was the culmination of the attested reckoning he had begun on taking charge, extending from the cash, stores and household goods already counted to the fortifications and the whole ground. Fixing exactly what he received across the entire establishment, before entering fully on his own government, was the plain lesson of the deficiency that had ruined the previous administration, so that nothing for which he became answerable was left unrecorded at the point of transfer. The delivery of the officers' packets to the Dutch captain against signed receipts, following a standing government order, shows the island serving as a relay in the East India correspondence even for foreign shipping. Taking the captain's and officers' receipts made a record that the letters had been handed over, the same care for provenance that governed the council's own dispatches, so that the passage of correspondence through the island could always be traced. The order for the parishioners to meet at the chapel to choose parish officers for the year marks the island's civil and parochial life continuing alongside its military and commercial business. Holding the annual choice of officers by public advertisement and open meeting shows the small community governing its own parish affairs through regular election, the chapel in the valley serving as the seat of that civil assembly since the old sessions house had fallen down years before.

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220	218	At a Consultation held on Thursday the 22nd April 178[...] at the Castle Present Thomas Lambert Esqr Governour Robert Jenkins Esqr Geo Gabl Powell Esqr of Council John Godfrey Esqr of Council The last Consultation was read & Approved Mr John Godfrey this day delivered to Mr Jenkins the following Account viz. Account of Stores Dr Per Contra Cr 1741 Sept 30 To Collection of Stores Sold from May 9th £1270 19 3[...] Do part of y Effects of John Goodwin Esqr etc £63 1 11[...] £1333 19 2[...] To Ballance pr Contra £125 8 5 Decr 31 To Account of Stores Sold this Quarter viz. of the Honble Companys Stores £371 10 4[...] of the Estate of John Goodwin Esqr decd £273 9 10[...] To be Deducted for Glass over charged to Mac Danil in the Sept Collection £847 3 £6 15 £845 5 3 1741/2 Mar 22 To Account of Stores Sold to this day of the Honble Companys £232 7 1[...] Do of John Goodwin Esqr Deceased £280 £512 7 1[...] To Cash Received of the Estate of John Goodwin Esqr pr Fras Sange £5 8 1 Do Rents of Barron Delaap £5 William Davis £5 Do Old Arrears of William Davis £10 £5 £1484 3 10[...] To Ballance pr Contra £719 5 8[...] 1741 Sept 30 By Cash paid into the Honble Companys Chest £62 5 11 Ditto £1146 4 10[...] £1208 10 9[...] Ballance remaining Due from Garrison etc £125 8 5 By Cash paid £1333 19 2[...] £24 17 Decr 31 By Cash paid the Honble Companys Servants this Quarter £860 17 7[...] Diet of the Honble Company Deducted £141 £719 17 7[...] By Cash paid Several Soldiers Labour & Artificiers as pr Account £20 3 6 Ballance Due	At a consultation held at the castle on Thursday 22 April 1742, the members present were Thomas Lambert as Governor, Robert Jenkins, George Gabriel Powell as second of council and John Godfrey as third of council. The minutes of the previous consultation were read and approved. John Godfrey this day delivered to Mr Jenkins the following account. This was an account of stores. On the one side stood the charges: 30 September 1741, to collection of stores sold from 9 May, £1,270 17s 3.5d To ditto, part of the effects of John Goodwin, £63 1s 11.5d Sub-total, £1,333 19s 2.5d To balance per contra, £125 8s 5d 31 December, to account of stores sold this quarter of the Honourable Company's stores, £571 10s 4.5d Of the estate of John Goodwin, deceased, £273 9s 10.5d To be deducted for glass overcharged to Mr Daniel in the September collection, £6 15s 0d Sub-total, £845 5s 3d 22 March 1742, to account of stores sold to this day of the Honourable Company's, £232 7s 1.5d Of John Goodwin, deceased, £280 0s 0d Sub-total, £512 7s 1.5d To cash received of the estate of John Goodwin per Francis Funge, £5 8s 1d To ditto, rents of Barron Delsaph, £5 0s 0d William Davis, £5 0s 0d To ditto, old arrears of William Davis, £10 5s 0d Sub-total, £1,484 3s 10.5d To balance per contra, £719 5s 8.5d On the other side stood the discharges: 30 September 1741, by cash paid into the Honourable Company's chest, £62 5s 11d By ditto, £1,146 4s 10.5d Sub-total, £1,208 10s 9.5d Balance remaining due from garrison, £125 8s 5d Sub-total, £1,333 19s 2.5d By cash paid, £24 17s 0d 31 December, by cash paid the Honourable Company's servants this quarter, £860 17s 7.5d Diet of the Honourable Company deducted, £141 0s 0d Sub-total, £719 17s 7.5d By cash paid several soldiers' labour and artificers as per account, £20 3s 6d Balance due, £764 18s 1.5d Sub-total, £719 5s 8.5d Total, £1,484 3s 10.5d **Interpretations** This account set the whole year's sale of stores against the cash paid out, running from May 1741 through the two quarter-days to March 1742, so that everything sold from the warehouse had to be answered either by money paid into the Company's chest or by wages and works discharged. Drawing the balance forward from quarter to quarter, and striking it afresh each time, kept the store account continuously reconciled, the same close checking the deficiency inquiry of 1741 had made necessary across every branch of the establishment's finances. A large and steady share of the goods sold each quarter came not from the Company's own stores but from the estate of the late Governor John Goodwin, entered separately alongside the Company's own sales. Working the attached estate through the regular store account, its stock sold off and its rents and arrears gathered in, shows the frozen estate being steadily realised to answer the Company's claims, the £280 and more it yielded in

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		£764 18 1[...] £719 5 8[...] £1484 3 10[...]	the final quarter passing through the ordinary books rather than being held apart. The single line deducting £6 15s 0d for glass overcharged to Mr Daniel in the September collection shows the account correcting an earlier error rather than carrying it forward. Entering the overcharge as a formal deduction, traced to the exact collection in which it arose, was how the store book kept itself honest, every mistake answered in the reckoning so that the balance struck at each quarter stood true, the discipline of exact account that governed the whole run.
221	219	Mr Jenkins then wrote and delivered the following Paper viz. I did Expect against the arrival of the Harrington that all the Accounts should be brough up in a Irregular manner, And I have stayed here 20 days after my Dispatches in order to have my Honble Masters Accounts duly brought up. But have attained to no more than General heads and when the rest are brought up and Examined before the Council, if any Errors should Arrise, I do Expect that Captain Godfrey clear the same, or Else I do Protest against him in failing in the Duty he was Employed in Signed Robt Jenkins Mr Godfrey said that the Particulars of the Store Collections brought up to the 22nd March and which he had upon the Table were Ready for Examination, and that he was Ready to pay in the Ballance. He further Observed that had there been a Sufficient help allowed, the Accots would have been brought up ere this. Governour Lambert desired to know of Mr Godfrey in what time the General Books would be Compleated & brought up to the 22nd day of March the time of his Arrival, And Mr Godfrey said that the same should be Ready on the 22nd day of next Month. The Gunners and Stewards Accounts for the last month was this day Examined & are as follows viz. Gunners Stores Expended in the Month of March 178[...] Viz. Guns fired, Shott fired, 9 Pounders, 6 Pounders, 4 Pounders, 2 Pounders, 1/2 Pounders, Powder Expended to To the Muster: Guns fired 0, Shott fired 0, 9 Pounders 0, 6 Pounders 0, 4 Pounders 0, 2 Pounders 0, 1/2 Pounders 0, Powder Expended to 16[...] 4th An Allarm for a Ship that past by: Guns fired 6, Shott fired 0, 9 Pounders 0, 6 Pounders 0, 4 Pounders 4, 2 Pounders 0, 1/2 Pounders 2, Powder Expended to 13 13 For the french Governours going on Board: Guns fired 15, Shott fired 0, 9 Pounders 0, 6 Pounders 0, 4 Pounders 0, 2 Pounders 15, 1/2 Pounders 0, Powder Expended to 15 Do Departed the French Ship: Guns fired 15, Shott fired 0, 9 Pounders 0, 6 Pounders 0, 4 Pounders 0, 2 Pounders 15, 1/2 Pounders 0, Powder Expended to 15 27 A Double Allarm for the Dutch fleet & Harrington: Guns fired 15, Shott fired 0, 9 Pounders 0, 6 Pounders 0, 4 Pounders 12, 2 Pounders 0, 1/2 Pounders 3, Powder Expended to 37[...] Do fired by the Governours Orders: Guns fired 13, Shott fired 0, 9 Pounders 0, 6 Pounders 0, 4 Pounders 0, 2 Pounders 13, 1/2 Pounders 0, Powder Expended to 13	Mr Jenkins then wrote and delivered the following paper. He set out that he had expected, against the arrival of the ship Harrington, that all the accounts should be brought up in a regular manner, and that he had stayed twenty days after his dispatches in order to have his masters' accounts duly brought up. But he had attained to no more than general heads, and when the rest were brought up and examined before the council, should any errors arise, he expected that Captain Godfrey would clear the same, or else he protested against him for failing in the duty he was employed in. The paper was subscribed by Robert Jenkins. Mr Godfrey said that the particulars of the store collections brought up to 22 March, which he had upon the table, were ready for examination, and that he was ready to pay in the balance. He further observed that, had there been sufficient help allowed, the accounts would have been brought up before this. Governor Lambert asked Mr Godfrey in what time the general books would be completed and brought up to 22 March, the time of his arrival, and Mr Godfrey said that the same should be ready on the 22nd of the following month. The gunner's and steward's accounts for the previous month were this day examined, and ran as follows. This was an account of gunner's stores expended in the month of March 1742. The columns recorded, for each occasion, the guns fired, the shot fired, the nine pounders, the six pounders, the four pounders, the two pounders, the half pounders and the powder expended. To the muster, 16.5 lb powder 4 March, an alarm for a ship that passed by, 6 guns fired, 4 four pounders, 2 two pounders, 13 lb powder 13 March, for the French Governor going on board, 15 guns fired, 15 two pounders, 15 lb powder Ditto, departed the French ship, 15 guns fired, 15 two pounders, 15 lb powder 27 March, a double alarm for the Dutch fleet and the Harrington, 15 guns fired, 12 four pounders, 3 half pounders, 37.5 lb powder Ditto, fired by the Governor's orders, 13 guns fired, 13 two pounders, 13 lb powder Ditto, fired to bring one of the Dutch ships to at Banks's, 1 gun fired, 1 shot fired, 1 nine pounder, 7 lb powder 29 March, arrived the Harrington, 9 guns fired, 9 two pounders, 9 lb powder Ditto, fired for Governor Lambert's landing, 21 guns fired, 1 nine pounder, 5 six pounders, 15 two pounders, 42 lb powder Ditto, fired for the proclaiming of Governor Lambert, 21 guns fired, 1 nine pounder, 5 six pounders, 15 two pounders, 42 lb powder 30 March, an alarm of a Danish ship, 6 guns fired, 4 four pounders, 2 two pounders, 13 lb powder

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		Do fired to bring one of the Dutch Ships too at Banks: Guns fired 1, Shott fired 1, 9 Pounders 1, 6 Pounders 0, 4 Pounders 0, 2 Pounders 0, 1/2 Pounders 0, Powder Expended to 7 29 Arrived the Harrington: Guns fired 9, Shott fired 0, 9 Pounders 0, 6 Pounders 0, 4 Pounders 0, 2 Pounders 9, 1/2 Pounders 0, Powder Expended to 9 Do fired for Governour Lamberts Landing: Guns fired 21, Shott fired 1, 9 Pounders 5, 6 Pounders 0, 4 Pounders 0, 2 Pounders 15, 1/2 Pounders 0, Powder Expended to 42 Do fired for the Proclaiming Governour Lambert: Guns fired 21, Shott fired 1, 9 Pounders 5, 6 Pounders 0, 4 Pounders 0, 2 Pounders 15, 1/2 Pounders 0, Powder Expended to 42 30th An Allarm of a Dane Ship: Guns fired 6, Shott fired 0, 9 Pounders 0, 6 Pounders 0, 4 Pounders 4, 2 Pounders 0, 1/2 Pounders 2, Powder Expended to 13 Do Arrived a Dane Ship from China: Guns fired 9, Shott fired 0, 9 Pounders 0, 6 Pounders 0, 4 Pounders 0, 2 Pounders 9, 1/2 Pounders 0, Powder Expended to 9 four Hornes of Powder Expended for Priming: Guns fired 0, Shott fired 0, 9 Pounders 0, 6 Pounders 0, 4 Pounders 0, 2 Pounders 0, 1/2 Pounders 0, Powder Expended to 12 Powder to the Guard & out Forts: Guns fired 0, Shott fired 0, 9 Pounders 0, 6 Pounders 0, 4 Pounders 0, 2 Pounders 0, 1/2 Pounders 0, Powder Expended to 40 Totall: Guns fired 131, Shott fired 1, 9 Pounders 3, 6 Pounders 10, 4 Pounders 20, 2 Pounders 91, 1/2 Pounders 7, Powder Expended to 284 Match 56 Paper 8 Quire Lead Shott 3 Powder hornes 4 Priming Wires 6 Nailes 8 Formers 3 Spunge Staves 11 Hand Spikes 12 Rammer heads 6 Spunge heads 6 Sheep Skins 4 Cartredge Cases 4 Tompions 8	Ditto, arrived a Danish ship from China, 9 guns fired, 9 two pounders, 9 lb powder Four horns of powder expended for priming, 12 lb powder Powder to the guard and out forts, 40 lb powder Total, 131 guns fired, 1 shot fired, 3 nine pounders, 10 six pounders, 20 four pounders, 91 two pounders, 7 half pounders, 284 lb powder The following stores were also expended: Match, 56 lb Paper, 8 quire Lead shot, 3 lb Powder horns, 4 Priming wires, 6 Nails, 8 lb Formers, 3 Sponge staves, 11 Hand spikes, 12 Rammer heads, 6 Sponge heads, 6 Sheep skins, 4 Cartridge cases, 4 Tompions, 8 **Interpretations** The gunner's account classed every discharge by the weight of shot the gun threw, from nine pounders down to two pounders and half pounders, the same system the monthly returns had used since 1738 in place of the older names of cannon and culverin. The salutes and alarms were built almost wholly from the light two pounders, ninety-one of them across the month against a single nine pounder fired in earnest, the smallest pieces being reserved for ceremony to spare the powder store, while the one heavy round fired to bring a Dutch ship to at Banks's was the month's only shot sent with intent. The entries mark the exact events of the change of government and the crowded shipping of late March 1742: the double alarm for the Dutch fleet and the Harrington on the 27th, the twenty-one guns for Lambert's landing on the 29th and twenty-one more for his proclamation, and the salutes for the French and Danish ships in the road. Recording the powder spent on each occasion by name tied every pound expended to a stated purpose, so that the ceremonial cost of receiving a new Governor and honouring foreign visitors could be seen and answered in the account. Jenkins's formal protest against Godfrey, entered in his own hand, and Godfrey's reply that the accounts would have been ready had sufficient help been allowed, expose the pressure the deficiency had placed on the outgoing administration to leave everything reconciled before sailing. Jenkins would not depart bearing responsibility for books not fully brought up, so he reserved his protest against the storekeeper in writing, the plain lesson of the whole affair being that no officer would answer for another's unfinished accounting.
222	220	Expence of the General Table in the Month of March 178[...] Viz. 78 Gallons Arrack £7 16 90 Bottles Port wine £6 15 29 Do Mountain £9 3 6 119 Do Ale £4 18 4 94 Do Small Beer £2 7 9 lb Sugar £13	This was an account of the expense of the general table in the month of March 1742. 78 gallons of arrack, £7 16s 0d 90 bottles of port wine, £6 15s 0d 59 ditto mountain, £9 3s 6d 119 ditto ale, £4 18s 4d 94 ditto small beer, £2 7s 0d 9 lb sugar, £0 13s 0d 12 bottles of oil, £1 10s 0d 3 lb pepper, £0 3s 0d 4 bushels of salt, £1 0s 0d 2.5 casks of flour, £8 12s 6d 40 lb candles, £1 3s 4d 15 dozen candles, £2 6s 0d

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		12 Bottle Oyle £1 10 5 lb Pepper £3 4 Bushells Salt £1 24 Casks Flour £8 12 6 40 lb Curry £1 3 4 17 doz Candle £2 6 1 Geese Casks £1 2 160 lb Beef £3 3 1 Turkeys £1 8 Ducks £12 18 Fowles £1 7 36 Egg £3 4 lb Salt Beef £1 17 Do Do fish £1 13 5 £48 2 3 The Cautionary Letter with Regard to the behaviour of Forreigners was upon the Arrival of the Dutch ship sent to y Commander of her, Literally Such as was Sent to the Commander of the Danish Ship & is Entered at large in Consultation of the 30 of March. Thos Lambert G. G. Powell John Godfrey	1 goose cask, £1 1s 2d 160 lb beef, £3 3s 0d 1 turkey, £0 1s 0d 8 ducks, £0 12s 0d 18 fowls, £1 9s 0d 36 eggs, £0 1s 0d 4 lb salt beef, £1 15s 5d 19 lb ditto fish, £1 15s 5d The account totalled £48 2s 3d. The customary letter, with regard to the behaviour of foreigners, was, on the arrival of the Dutch ship, sent to the commander of her, being the same as was sent to the commander of the Danish ship, and entered at length in the consultation of 30 March. The account was subscribed by Thomas Lambert, George Gabriel Powell and John Godfrey. **Interpretations** The table account shows drink far outweighing food in the establishment's monthly charge, arrack, port, mountain, ale and small beer together making up well over half the whole, against a modest reckoning of beef, poultry and staples. This weighting reflects both the central place of the liquor ration in the daily working of the garrison and the crowded shipping of late March, when a new Governor was received and foreign ships lay in the road, so that the table bore the cost of entertaining and provisioning at an unusually full moment. The reissue of the standing foreigner's letter to the Dutch captain, identical to the one sent to the Danish commander and already entered on 30 March, shows the council applying a single fixed procedure to every foreign vessel rather than drafting fresh terms for each. Sending the same restrictions to the Dutch ship without setting them out again, merely noting they matched the earlier entry, marks how the admitting of strangers under controlled conditions had become a settled routine, the terms held ready and applied alike to French, Danish and Dutch alike as war threatened. Mountain, a sweet white wine from Malaga, and the quantities of port and ale record the imported drink a mid-Atlantic station laid in from the passing trade to supply its table. That so much wine and beer was charged in a single month, alongside the arrack that formed the soldiers' ration, shows how far even the everyday provisioning of the island depended on goods brought by sea, the table stocked from the same shipping the Company existed to victual.
223	221	At a Consultation held on Tuesday the 27th of April 178[...] at the Castle Present Thomas Lambert Esqr Governour Geo Gabriel Powell Esqr of Council John Godfrey Esqr of Council The last Consultation was read & Approved On the 23 Instant Sailed the Ship Harrington Capt Robert Jenkins for Bombay. On the 25th Instant arrived the Swift Sloop with five Recruits and 2 Slaves viz. 1 Man & 1 Boy, and On the 26th Early in the Morning Departed the Dutch Ship called the Ships Ten Duyne Governour Lambert this day delivered in Writing the following Report viz. Gentlemen Agreable to the 19th Article of the orders and Instructions given by the Honble the Court of Directors of the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies the 4th of December 178[...] I here lay before you a Report of on my Survey of Mr Honble Companys	At a consultation held at the castle on Tuesday 27 April 1742, the members present were Thomas Lambert as Governor, George Gabriel Powell as second of council and John Godfrey as third of council. The minutes of the previous consultation were read and approved. On 23 April the ship Harrington, commanded by Captain Robert Jenkins, sailed for Bombay. On 25 April the sloop Swift arrived with five recruits and two slaves, being one man and one boy. On 26 April, early in the morning, the Dutch ship called the Ten Deynor departed. Governor Lambert this day delivered the following report in writing. He addressed the council as gentlemen. In accordance with the eleventh article of the orders and instructions given by the Honourable Court of Directors of the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies, dated 4 December 1741, he now laid before them a report on his survey of the Company's fortifications on the island of St Helena. It would have given him greater satisfaction had the council been able to accompany him, so that, together with the late Governor Jenkins, to whom he was much obliged for his help,

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		Fortifications, of the Island St Helena. It would have been a greater Satisfaction to me could I have been accompanied with you, that together with the late Governour Jenkins / to whom / I am much Obliged for having Conveyed me to the greatest fuel of them in the Boat / we might have made the Necessary Observations together but as both your times was taken up in their Branches of the Companys affairs. Itook as Early a Survey as both my time & Governour Jenkins would Allow me. Consequence of which I shall begin with the works of the Amos Castle and Lines thereto belonging and so proceed as I made my Survey in order to take your opinions as I go along. so also, that our Honble Masters may in the most Amply afressed of the best of my judgment of the true Circumstances of things as I found them, from the Lower open as is en- tot said Instructions, we are to Depend in Readiness the Island in General, the Least Castle to the Insuslts of an Enemy, and that in Case of being attacked, we may take the most Reasonable Measures to defend it, and make any such attempt Abortive at least, to do our utmost Endeavours to Render ourselves worthy the trust Reposed in us. They leave before I proceed to make some Observations on the Fortifications in General, the Natural Strength of the Island, and its Present Defects, together with what is my opinion, in the Present times, will be the most Proper to proceed on, to answer these Purposes, I Observe that I think the Fortifications, together with the Number of Guns Mounted thereon, both of which are beyond all Proportion of Men, to man them Effectually that can Possibly, as Iapprehend be maintained on the Island, and Several of these works Injudiciously Contructed by bringing them too forwards, which Enlarges too much their front so also, Requires the more English to Defend them, so well as bringing them too close to the beach where they are built, from whence a Judicious Enemy may make too great an Advantage, by throwing the Stores into the works. But as these things are at Present without Remedy we must in case of an Attack do our best by making a Disposition of the Troops, in Proportion to our Numbers, and that we may Support each other according to the Disposition of the Enemy in their attacks, and the Nature of the Communications between each Fortification, and by Diligence, Resolution and Vigor, we may Defend all the Fortifications, several of which are Defective in Some Particulars, which I shall Remark as I go along. The Situation and Natural Strength of the Island, Comets as I imagine, in its great Distance from any European Settlements, fitt to make an Equipment Equal to Enterprize its Reduction, the Expence and Hazard attending such an Enterprize from Europe, our Honble Masters Supporting me in the manner they have done, and in Continuance of their care of us, will Render such an attempt in all appearances worthy of the most minute Consideration of our Enemys, But I have got too far out of my Province, which I ask Pardon for, The Natural Strength as I Conceive Chiefly Consists in the Difficulty, and Hazard the Ships have to approach	they might have made the necessary observations together; but as the time of both fell otherwise, the survey was taken by him alone, as early a one as he could manage. Jenkins would have gone with him, but the works at the Anne Castle and the lines belonging to it kept him occupied, so Lambert made his survey alone in order to take their views as he went, and also so that the Company might be fully informed of the state of things as he found them. Setting out from the lower works, the island in general was, in his judgement, in the most exposed state in point of defence against the assault of an enemy, and in case of being attacked they might take the most reasonable measures to defend it. To do their utmost to render themselves worthy of the trust reposed in them, he laid before them some observations on the fortifications in general, the natural strength of the island and its present defects, together with what in his opinion in the present times would be the most proper course to follow, in order to answer these purposes. He observed that he thought the fortifications, together with the number of guns mounted on them, both far beyond a sufficient proportion of men to man them effectively, and that several of these works were injudiciously constructed by bringing them too far forward, which enlarged them too much for their front. This also required the more people to defend them, as well as bringing them too close to the beach where they were built, from where a shrewd enemy might take too great an advantage by throwing the stores into the works. As things stood at present, without remedy, they must, in case of an attack, do their best by making a distribution of the troops in proportion to their numbers, and might suppose each work according to the disposition of the enemy in their attacks, and, by the nature of the communications between each fortification and diligence, resolution and vigour, they might defend all the fortifications, several of which were defective in some particulars, which he would remark as he went along. The situation and natural strength of the island, he imagined, consisting in its great distance from any European settlement, was fit to make an equipment equal to any enterprise its reduction might require. The expense and hazard attending such an enterprise from Europe, and the Company supporting them in the manner they had done, and in continuance of their care of them, would render such an attempt in all appearances worthy of the most minute consideration of their enemies. But he had gone too far out of his purpose, which he asked pardon for. The natural strength, as he conceived, chiefly consisted in the difficulty, and he begged the ships had to approach. **Interpretations** Lambert's survey turned on a paradox he set out plainly: the island's works carried more guns than the garrison had men to fire, so that the very extent of the fortifications was a weakness rather than a strength. His criticism that several works had been built too far forward, enlarging their front and drawing them too near the beach, identified a design fault that both demanded more defenders and gave a shrewd enemy cover close under the walls, the report aiming to fix exactly what he had inherited before recommending any change. The survey was itself a formal duty required by the Court's instructions of 4 December 1741, made under a specific article of the orders Lambert brought with him, and delivered in writing to the council rather than given verbally. Casting the report as the discharge of an express instruction, taken alone only because Jenkins was tied to the works at Anne Castle, shows the new Governor binding his

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			own conduct to the Company's written directions from the outset, the same care for exact compliance that governed his reckoning of the stores and cash. The strategic argument Lambert offered, that the island's true defence lay in its remoteness and the great expense any European power would face in mounting an attack across the ocean, set the natural strength of distance against the artificial weakness of over-built works. Weighing the difficulty an enemy fleet would meet in even approaching a harbourless island to windward against the defects of the masonry shows the council reasoning about defence in terms of the whole ocean passage, not merely the guns on the shore, at a moment when war with France threatened.
224	222	or come to use their Guns in 2/4 parts of the Island, and as its so Mountainous, tho there may be many Places the Ships Boats may Land from, Yet of proper care is taken to render those Places which may now be accessable on their Landing, more Difficult, and which in my opinion is very Practicable, we shall find a Strength, not easily overcome, for as those Intrances or Valleys, gives an appearance of an Inlett into the Country, yet the Difficulty of Ascent after, is in my opinion almost, if not Intirely Impracticable. The Inhabitants and a Proportion of Blacks, being so Refused to attend these Places, where an Enemy / Shod they make an Intrance / would find to their Cost, Insurmountable difficulty from a very few People, knowing in the Situation of each part where an Enemy must Pafs and by their Armes and Stones so very few, will defend their getting into the Country, without which in an Inconsiderable time its to be hoped, such Succors may be sent to the aid of the Country, as to Serve the Remains of an Enemy to their Boats again, but as I think the shutting up of all the Valley by Scalping the Ground, or Rocks, by making a Perpendicular and Raise Ary Walls thereon, on all those that are Practicable, and Breast works where the Valleys Extend too farr for such a Work, as Sandy Bay and Lemon Valley some part of it will be a means of Preventing an Enemys undertaking, a Descent in many Places from the appearance they at Present make, they might be tempted too, and as the first Intrance being made Difficult, if not Absolutely rendred Inacceptable, will give the more time to the Militia, and Blacks, to come to the aid of the Part attempted, as also give time by a Constant Intelligence from one part to another, to take the Best measures to secure the other parts from False or Real Attacks. To proceed to my Observations Viz. the Union Castle, the Lines, and Works thereto belonging, I find the Works as they are Constructed in appearance, in very good order, they being in General new pointed with Lime Mortar, makes a very good figure, How they are in the Insides is best known to the Overseer, And the Workmen, and time or an Enemy can only prove their Sufficiency, I will not Enter into many particulars Relateing as what is to be found fault with, the works are two much Extended already and to make any Alteration in the Batterys, unlefs in the Platforms Yet would be a Work at this time not to be undertaken, and the Expence so great as to make such an Undertaking no ways Answerable, but to Observe as I go along, I find some Sufficiencies	Governor Lambert's survey of the fortifications continued. An enemy could bring guns to bear on most of the island, and because the ground was so mountainous there were many coves where ships' boats might land. Even so, if the places still open to a landing were made unreachable, the island would be hard to take. Several valleys looked like easy ways inland, but the climb up them was steep enough that none was truly open. If the inhabitants and a body of the slaves were posted at each likely landing point, even a small number of them, armed and with stones to throw, could hold the high ground and stop an enemy getting inland. Held off in that way for even a short time, the defenders could hope for help to reach them and drive the enemy back to his boats. His main proposal was to seal off the valleys. Wherever the ground allowed, the rock should be cut back to a sheer face and a dry stone wall built along the top; where a valley was too wide for that, as at Sandy Bay and Lemon Valley, a breastwork should be thrown up instead. Closing the obvious ways up would discourage an enemy from even trying a landing that at present looked inviting. And if the first ascent were made hard, or better still impossible, it would buy time for the militia and the slaves to reach whichever point was under attack, and time to pass word between the posts so the defenders could tell a real assault from a feint and guard the rest of the coast accordingly. He then turned to the works themselves. The Union Castle, with its lines and outworks, looked sound and well kept, freshly repointed with lime mortar and making a good show. Whether it was as strong within only the overseers and workmen could say, and only time or an actual attack would prove. He would not list every small fault. The works already covered too much ground, and to alter the batteries, beyond relaying the gun platforms, would cost far more than it was worth and was not to be attempted now. But he noted a few shortcomings that needed putting right, and a few additions that would cost little yet were, in his view, essential. The chief fault was that neither the far curtain nor the outer bastion had a firing step, so the parapet stood too high for a man to fire over it. If an enemy tried to land, a raised walk about four feet high, running from the drawbridge to the water gate and manned with musketeers, would let them sweep the whole front of the works and do far more damage than fire from anywhere else. The dry ditch needed finishing. The shingle and loose stone piled in front of the walls should be cleared away regularly, since it gave the enemy's guns cover and something to fire into the works. The gun openings were cut too wide, leaving the gunners exposed, made worse by that same shingle; the best remedy within their means was to block them partly with fascines, if any could be got, and with large numbers of sandbags. How

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		in these Works, which Require Amendment, and some Additions the not of great Expence Yet in my opinion absolutely Necessary, The first is that there is no foot Bankett upon all the last Curtain, nor the Deroly Bastion, that makes the Parrapett too high, by never two foot to fired over and in case an Enemy shold attempt to Land a parrapett walk of four foot at these abuts from the Draw Bridge to the Water gate, will be Necessary to be Lined with Marquilliers, who will be Capable, in this Place, to do more Execution / the Whole front of the Works being flanked by it / than they can in any other parts of the Works, the Dry Ditch wants perfecting, and the Shingle and Stones in the front would be Levelled from time to time to give life Occasion to the Enemys Guns, throwing them into our Works, the Ambrasures in Genral are too Large, and their People will be much Exposed thereby from this Shingle, to Remedy which as much as Lays in our Power, we must prevent by Fashines, if any is to be had, and Large Quantitys of Sand Bags, what Remains here will Depend upon our Diligence, & Behaviour. Mondens Point Seems from the freshness of its pointing to be in the same good Circumstances with the Castle and Lines, but some of Cannon must prove its goodnefs, the Guns Mounted on it, are too small as their purpose is Principally to Annoy, and prevent the Enemys Shiping comeing into the Road, a Nine pounder is not so Sufficent as an Eighteen would be, tho the Difficulty of getting them on the Battery, is a great Consideration, whether its Practicable, its fully the Situation is not Lower, however as it is, great Service may be Expected from it, the Platforms wants new laying, which we shall go about as soon as Practicable, by getting our time, begining with those first that Requires the best Care, and Continue them to fars as the Turkish Sloop by the Harrington will allow us, the Rock behind this Battery by a Discerning Enemy may be of great Annoyance, by firing against it, but there is no Remedy the Rock on which its Built wants in some Places Scalping, to prevent our own Peoples going down to the Water which is to be Prevented by all means. **Margin Notes:** The Castle and Line Mondens Point	much more could be done here would depend on the garrison's own diligence. Munden's Point had been freshly pointed too, so it might seem in as good order as the castle, but again only time or gunfire would tell. Its guns were too light for their task, which was mainly to keep an enemy ship out of the road, a nine pounder being far weaker than an eighteen would be. Getting heavier guns up to the battery would be hard, perhaps impossible, given its position, which was not the lowest; but as it stood it could still be of real use. The platforms needed relaying, which they would begin as soon as they could, starting with those in the worst state and carrying on for as long as the presence of the Dutch sloop and the ship Harrington allowed. The rock behind the battery was a danger, since a sharp enemy could fire at it to good effect, and there was no cure for that. In some places the rock the battery stood on needed cutting back, both to strengthen it and to stop the garrison's own men climbing down to the water, which had to be prevented by every means. **Interpretations** Lambert's central recommendation was to make the natural landing valleys impassable rather than to rely on the masonry forts, cutting the rock to a vertical face and raising dry walls above it wherever the ground allowed, with breastworks where a valley ran too wide, as at Sandy Bay and Lemon Valley. His reasoning was that a few armed inhabitants and slaves, holding difficult ground with weapons and stones, could deny an enemy the climb long enough for help to arrive, so the island's steepness itself became its principal defence. The system of passing word between the posts, so that one warned another and men could be shifted to meet a real attack rather than a feint, mattered as much as the works. Lambert saw that a small garrison spread around a large island could only hold it by knowing at once where the true assault fell, letting the whole strength gather there while the other coves were watched against a diversion. His detailed faults with the existing works, parapets too high to fire over for want of a firing step, gun openings cut too wide and exposing the crews, shingle before the walls giving an enemy cover, and the guns at Munden's Point too light to reach a ship, show a professional soldier's eye applied to defences built piecemeal over many years. Proposing cheap fixes, a manned musketry walk from the drawbridge to the water gate, fascines and sandbags across the gun openings, marks his wish to improve the defence within the Company's means rather than by a costly rebuilding the works could not bear.
225	223	As I was Accompanyed by you Gentlemen the 2nd & 3rd as also Governour Jenkins in this Review of Prospects and Bankin Woks, the being formally Intended to make a judgment where to Place the four 32 Pounders bought by the Harrington, Yet I did not want to Stomach to you my Suspence at a large, and unfinished a Work, not of all Enformation with the Number of the Honble Company, Irregular Cuips and the Number of the Inhabitants, and laying now in such a State as Exposed it too much to the Insults of an Enemy, was its Respects known, This works whoever was the Undertaker of it, Some more Calculated to put the Company to the Expence / not to put a worse Construction on it / than for any Strength or greater Security to the Island, the foundations of the old Work yet Remaining Shew the Injudiciousnefs of the new	Governor Lambert's survey of the fortifications continued. He recorded that in this review of the ramparts and battery works he had been accompanied by the second and third of council, as well as by Governor Jenkins. His judgement on where to place the four thirty-two pounders brought by the ship Harrington was mainly meant to make a strength at the young suffrage at large, and, unfurnished a work not of all defenders with the number of the Honourable Company's regular troops and the number of the inhabitants, and laying now in such a state as exposed it too much to the assault of an enemy, was, in respect known whoever was the undertaker of it, some more calculated to put the Company to a defence, not to put a worse construction on it, than for any strength or greater security to the island. The foundations of the old work yet remaining showed the injudiciousness of the new, which was less

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		which was less Extensive and not Brought so near the Store, both Considerations of Moment the two Batterys particularly the Wod, will be of great Service towards the Annoying any Ships attemping comeing into the Road, but the Line betwixt the said two Batterys, is unfinished and in Care of all Attack the Ground or Shingle, is so high that the Line, is to be got over, which as it now is without much Difficulty, to Remedy the Defect Effectually, by carrying the Falling the new works down, either time nor the great Loss the Company Sould Sustain in the Infebece already had upon these works, as well as what would be Erected thereby, as also the Expence of a New Storm, therefore its my opinion to Remedy all these Present Defects, it will fust be Necesary to give the Platt forms one Aprearance, and then to Remove the Earth, and Shingle from before the front of the said Line, to give it as good a highth as it will admitt of and to Raise upon the Line such Blinds to cover our People / for them to fire over with their small Arms, so the wall will allow of the work, after making good the Platt forms so fere as the Purbech Stone, will admitt off, that our Honble Masters have sent us over, will deserve our Earliest Consideration, for shold an Enemy be, acquainted with this part of our Toylles, in so unfinished a work as Shod find it Difficult to Defend them without some previous Care, therefore the way of Remedying the Inconveniencys and Defects above mentioned will / I Repeat it / deserve our first thoughts, at least so much a may for the present Render them more Secure, till we undertake other Works, that likewise Requires our Immediate Care, also, the great number of hands requesite for Carrying on all things Necesfull, Seems to me to be Difficult, I must desire Your Assistance particularly in Setting about a Scheam for getting as many hands as may lies, and at so small an Expence, as well as the least Enable to abuse, that we may not be Reproached with what our Predecefsors, in our own opinion has left too much room to Censure them in. The new Platt form at Bankes seems to me to be of as much of not more Consequence in Relanting, or hindring the Enemys Shiping comeing into the Road, as any or all of the other Detached Works, Governour Jenkins has raised the Merlins, but is laying very Low, will Require if we can remove the Shingle or Earth from its foot, to make the bottom of the Ambrasures a little higher from the ground, that Seamel think an Enemy will over dare to attempt to Land here, the whole face being narrow will be flanked by a breast work / yet unfinished / on the Right Adjoyning the Hill, and all of it over lookd and Commanded by the fort above, Governour Jenkins the 2nd & 3rd in Council as well as myself / there being Room for them Sears of opinion that the four 32 Pounders brought over by the Harrington, Shod be Placed as this Platt form which has been brought into Execution, and are now Ready upon the Rampart against their Carriages Comes over, the works Necesary to be done now is the finuening the breast work above mentioned, to flank the front of the Platt form with small Arms, and to foyn the Rock and make both Front, and Flank Inaccefsable from the Sea, the Laying also the Platt form with Purbech Stone will be absolutely Necesary I omitted mentioning that I was Shewed at Prospects where four Guns	extensive and not brought so near the shore, both considerations of moment. As to the two batteries in particular, the wood would be of great service towards the annoying any ships attempting coming into the road; but the line between the said two batteries was unfurnished, and, in case of an attack, the ground or shingle was so high that the line would be too great to fire over, which as it now was, without much difficulty, to remedy. The defect effectively, by pulling the new works down, neither time nor the great loss the Company would sustain on the imperfections already had upon these works, as well as what would be erected thereby, as also the expense of a new scheme, therefore its remedy was necessary to remedy all those several defects. It would first be necessary to give the platforms one appearance, and then to remove the earth and shingle from before the front of the said line, to give it as good a height as would admit, and to raise upon the line such blinds to cover his people, for them to fire over with their small arms, as the walls would allow of the work, after making, and the platform as far as the Dutch stone would admit, that his masters had sent over, would deserve their earliest consideration; for should an enemy be acquainted with this part of our troubles, in so unfurnished a work, it might be difficult to defend without some previous care. Therefore the way of remedying the inconveniences and defects above mentioned would, he repeated it, deserve their first thoughts, at least so much as might for the present render them more secure, till they could undertake other works that likewise required their immediate care; also the great number of hands requisite for carrying on all things needful seemed to him to be difficult. He desired their assistance particularly in setting about a scheme for getting as many hands as could be had, and at as small an expense as well as the least liable to abuse, so that they might not be reproached with what their predecessors, in his own opinion, had left too much room to censure them in. The new platform at Banks's seemed to him to be of as much, if not more, consequence in retarding or hindering the enemy's sniping coming into the road, as any of all the other detached works. Governor Jenkins had raised the muskets, but it was laying very low, and would require, if they could remove the shingle or earth from its foot, to make the bottom of the embrasures a little higher from the ground, that he could not think an enemy would ever dare to attempt to land there, the whole face being narrow, and would be flanked by a breastwork yet uncompleted on the right adjoining the hill, and all of it overlooked and commanded by the fort above. Governor Jenkins, the second and third of council, as well as himself, there being room for their views of opinion that the four thirty-two pounders brought over by the Harrington should be placed on this platform, which had been brought into execution and were now ready upon the rampart against their carriages coming over, the works necessary to be done now was the finishing the breastwork above mentioned, to flank the front of the platform with small arms, and to join to the rock and make both front and flank inaccessible from the sea. The laying also the platform with Purbeck stone would be absolutely necessary. He had omitted mentioning that, as he had shown at the ramparts, where four guns lay upon the rocks unmounted, some rocks called Chubb's Rock, which he had disposed for a battery to be erected there, indeed as it was more exposed than any other part, the ships coming in would sooner be seen and might be received for from it; but the difficulty, as well as

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		lays upon the Rocks unmounted / some Rocks called Chubb Rocke, which his been Purposed for a Battery to be Erected there, indeed as its more advanced than any other part, the Ships coming in would sooner be seen, and might Receive for from it, but the Difficulty as well as great Expence that will attend Raising a Battery upon the Rocks where the Sea almost every Moment breaks over and at Sometimes in an Extraordinary Right a Worthy Consideration, as well as the Smallnes of the Rock of Possefsd, that is my opinion it is not advisable to make any additional Works on this Side, there being too much Multeplyed already for the Number hands we have to man them If hereafter it may be thought advisable, so many things that are to be done Requires our first Alterations, that this for the present may be let alone. **Margin Notes:** Prospect Bankes Bankes	great expense that would attend raising a battery upon the rocks where the sea almost every moment broke over, and at times an extraordinary height, was a worthy consideration, as well as the smallness of the men posted, that in his opinion it was not advisable to make any additional works on this side, they being too much extended already for the number of hands they had to man them. If hereafter it were thought advisable, so many things that were to be done requiring their first attention, that this for the present might be let alone. **Interpretations** The placing of the four thirty-two pounders brought out by the Harrington was the practical heart of the survey, and Lambert settled it with the whole council: the guns were mounted on the new platform at Banks's rather than dispersed among the other works. His reasoning was that Banks's platform did most to keep an enemy ship out of the road, and that its narrow face, flanked by the hill and overlooked by the fort above, could be made proof against a landing, so the island's heaviest new guns were concentrated where they would tell most rather than spread thin. Lambert's rejection of Chubb's Rock as a gun site, despite its commanding view of approaching ships, shows him weighing exposure and cost against advantage and choosing not to build. The rock lay open to a sea that broke over it, so a battery there would be ruinously expensive and hard to hold with the few men available, and with the works already stretched beyond the garrison's strength he judged it better left undone, a deliberate decision to forgo an obvious position rather than overreach. His repeated concern to get labour cheaply and in a way least open to abuse points back to the deficiency that had ruined the previous administration. Lambert wanted the fortification work carried on without the waste and fraud his predecessors had been found to permit, so that the Company should have no cause to reproach him as it had reproached them, tying even the practical business of finding hands to the wider discipline of honest account that governed his whole government.
226	224	April 9th Governour Jenkins my self, and Lieutenant Clarke went in the Governour Pinnace and Viewed all the Leward of the Island from Chappel Valley to the South West point of the Island 1 Break neck Valley in my opinion wants very little to make the Mouth or Entrance Exceedingly Difficult of Acces if not Intirely so, by Scalping a little more of its Grew, and making its neist Woh some what higher by which means to practice a better Perpendicular, when a very few Men, in case of an attempt from an Enemy may be able to defend it untill they are Reinforced. 2 Youngs Valley seems to be Capable of the same Improvement and will not take a great deal of Labour, the Chiefest Expence on it will be the wear of the Utensils 3 Frier Valley is also to be dealt with in the same manner, and as all these three seem, not to have Mouths, or Intrances of a large Extent, I flatter my self when they are gone about, they will not take a great deal of time to Perfect him, and absolutely with a few Lookout from the Hills Prevent any Enemys making any attempt on them, which from their present Circumstances might tempt an Enemy to Ipay them. 4 Lemon Valley is Represented by most People that know the Island, as a Place of	On 9 April Governor Jenkins, Governor Lambert and Lieutenant Clarke went out on the Governor's pinnace and surveyed the whole leeward side of the island, from Chapel Valley to the south-west point. He set out his observations valley by valley. 1: Breakneck Valley would need little to make its mouth or entrance very hard to reach, or nearly impossible, by cutting back a little more of its face and making the work somewhat higher, which meant a steeper vertical face. With this done a very few men could hold it against an enemy's attempt until reinforcements arrived. 2: Young's Valley could be improved in the same way and would need little labour, the chief cost being the wear on the tools. 3: Dyer's Valley should be dealt with the same way, but as its several ways up were wider, it would take more time to finish. He was satisfied that once the work was done, and provided a good lookout was kept from the hills to stop any enemy attempt, the present openings that might tempt an enemy to try a landing would be closed. 4: Lemon Valley was reckoned by most who knew the island as a place of great danger, much exposed to an enemy's attempts, the small battery there being too weak to prevent a landing. Still, he believed that with labour and some time this pass could be made secure enough, by cutting back the rocks and ground on each side of the fort and joining a breastwork on each side to the fort. This would keep an enemy

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		great Danger, and much Exposed to an Enemys attempts, the small Fort that is there at Present, being very Insufficient other to Prevent an Enemys Landing, or Defending the mouth, or Passage of the Valley, Yet I cannot help believing, by Labour and some time, this Pafs may be Sufficiently Secured, by also Scalping the Rocks and ground on each side the Fort, and Joyning a Breast Work thereto on each Side and Unite the fort to the Hills to Prevent the Enemys Ascent, this being Perfected, and a small number of Men Posted at the Fort, will always give time for a Reinforcement coming to their Assistance, as Governour Jenkins will inform we have little Reason to apprehend any Shiping being brought so much to Leward, or if they shold we should have timely Notice, and be prepared to Receive any Descent they Probibly can make in those parts, that I Conceive the Expedients I Propose in Snutting up all these Leward Valleys will Effectually Secure this Side of the Island, the Gentlemen Planters and others desired to attend on the Hills keeping a Watchfull Eye on an Enemys Motion dividing themselves Properly, and Agreeing on Proper Signals amongst themselves, to Assemble at the Places the most Requisite when attacked, and by this means Succouring one another as the Nature of the Attack Requires, or as occasion Offers, and giving Intelligence of theirs, and the Enemys Motions to the Governour from time to time, who as much as the Nature of the Service will allow him, will give them all the Assistance he can. 5 Swanels Valley is to be treated as the 1, 2, & 3 Valleys. 6 Old Womans Valley the same. 7 Thompsons Valley will Require more Work than the 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, & 6 being more Extended, and the Hills on each Side the Valley seems to me to be more Accefsable Notwithstanding I think it likewise Capable by Labour, to be Effectually Shut up, or at least made much more difficult to be Enterprized by an Enemy, than at Present it is and will Require our Early Assistance amongst some of our Improvements. Here we finished this Survey, after having Passed the South West point from which to Sandy Bay the Island is Tollerably Secure At least as Governour Jenkins Assures me. April 12th the 2nd & 3rd in Council being very much Engaged in busines the late Governour Jenkins my self & Lieutenant Clarke, who I find Exceedingly Usefull & Intelligent, went to Sandy Bay, another place in the opinion of most I have Conversed with to be as weak a part as any in the Island, and much Exposed to a Descent, in our way thither we went and Viewed the People at Work during the Stone for Lime, a Work Tedious at Present is all other undertaking, the Stone is Exceedingly hard and Difficult to be Lime but what is the worst, is the Apprehensions of Working it out, Mr Docton and Mr Swailes, two of the Honble Companys Servant, say they know of no other Lime Stone in the Island, and believe we shall find no more here, and in Palatoo Bay / just by / than Eight Kilns, which at 500 Bushells a Kiln, will be but 4000 Bushells, and not **Margin Notes:** Break Neck Valley	from a landing, and a small body of men posted at the fort would always give time for reinforcements to come to their aid. As Governor Jenkins reminded him, they had little reason to fear any enemy ship coming into the road; but should one come, they would have timely notice and could meet it. He was persuaded that the same plan of shutting up all these leeward valleys would effectively secure this side of the island. The inhabitants and others set to watch the hills, dividing themselves properly and agreeing on signals among themselves, would gather at the most threatened points when attacked, and by this means, aiding one another as the nature of the attack required or as occasion offered, and passing quick word between them and to the Governor of the enemy's movements, would, so far as the service allowed, give all the help they could. 5: Sandy Valley should be treated like the first three valleys. 6: Old Woman's Valley the same. 7: Thompson's Valley would need more work than the others, being more extended and having hills on each side; but he thought it likewise could be made secure by labour, or at least so hard to enter that an enemy would find it far more difficult than at present. It too would need some of their improvements early on. Here they finished the survey, having passed the south-west point, from which round to Sandy Bay the island was reasonably secure, at least as Governor Jenkins assured him. On 12 April, the second and third of council being much engaged in business, the late Governor Jenkins, Lambert and Lieutenant Clarke, whom he found extremely useful and intelligent, went to Sandy Bay, another place in the opinion of most he had spoken with to be as weak a part as any in the island, and much exposed to a descent. On the way there they viewed the people at work quarrying the stone for lime, a task very hard at present and slow above all other work; the stone was exceedingly hard and difficult to be quarried, but what was worse was the fear of it running out. Mr Doveton and Mr Swailes, two of the Company's servants, said they knew of no other lime stone in the island, and believed they should find no more there, and in Fatalgo Bay just by, than eight kilns, which at 500 bushels a kiln would be but 4,000 bushels. **Interpretations** The survey applied a single method to the whole leeward coast, treating each valley as a gap to be closed by cutting the rock to a vertical face and building above it, so that the same cheap earthwork could be repeated from Breakneck Valley round to Thompson's. Grading the valleys by how much labour each would take, from Young's needing almost nothing to Thompson's needing the most, turned the survey into a practical works schedule, the natural steepness of the ground made to do the work of masonry the island could not afford. The whole leeward defence rested on the inhabitants and slaves keeping watch on the hills and moving to meet a landing by prearranged signals, a militia system in which the few defenders held difficult ground while word passed between them. Lambert's stress on quick intelligence between the posts and to the Governor shows that, as with the seaward forts, he judged the island defensible only if a thin and scattered force could learn at once where the real attack fell and concentrate against it. The report of the lime stone running short exposes a material limit on the whole fortification programme: the works needed lime for mortar, the only known stone was hard, slow to quarry and nearly exhausted, and Doveton and Swailes reckoned

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		Youngs Valley Frier Valley Lemon Valley Signals Swanly Valley Old Womans Valley Thopsons Valley Sandy Bay Lime works	no more than eight kilns' worth remained in the island and the bay beside it. That the defences Lambert was planning depended on a raw material almost used up shows how the island's remoteness constrained even its own protection, the shortage of a common building material bearing directly on its security.
227	225	if they say We are Several Bushells to the Planters, for work done by their Slaves, in Burning and Digging Lime Stone, and cutting wood the last Years, And their Remains at present not / as I believe / from burn of a Kiln, I flatter my self that upon farther Search / which I have ordered / we shall find more Limestone, is upon Experiment Discover other Stone that will make Lime, or the Island will be Deprived to the Want of a Material of the greatest Consequence both to its fortifications, and Habitations &c We then Proceeded to Sandy Bay, where I found a Landing Place / of a very large Extent, Defended by a small fort / if it Deserves the name / Built against a Rock on the Right of the Bay, and in its Structure very Injudiciously Contrived, as well as its Situation, being very Insufficient in my opinion, for the Defence of the Bay, the Disposition of the Guns that are Mounted on it / which are Six four Pounders as its built with admitt of Alteration / a Such that only two of them can only Possibly be made use off to Defend the Entrance of the Bay, and the Ports Naimys to the Entrance of the Bay, will but admitt of their firing once before the Enemys Boats pafs the fort, and then those two Guns are uselefs, the other four are of no other use than to Excharge upon the Enemys Boates Landing, and that can be only done once, and well of any thing Precipitate their Landing is got out of the Fort or Bar our Preservation Salved the Boates in their Return will be Exposed to something more fire, but of the Numbers Landed should be Considerable, the intent of the fort is Rendred of no Significance, the Remedy as I Propose is, as in Shaping / I am Assured / we can give any aid to the Landing of Men from their great Guns, I Propose Erecting two Platt forms on the Right, & Left, of the Bay, very Slightly, Constructed, to Mount 3 or 4 Guns 4 Pounders each, and make a Line or Breast Work of dry Stone, to Joyn to the Right, & Left of the two Platt forms, which will both Defend the Entrance into the Bay, and all the very Shorstell approach it, as likewise Secure the front of the Breast work if there shold be an occasion, By which means I hope this Place may be Secured, and made as Capable of as good a Defence, as most other parts of the Island, the Expence attending it will be little more than Labour, as the Stones in the Bread Work are Proposed to be laid dry, that work will be Sooner Expedeated, and as Effectually Stop an Enemy without great Guns, as we laid in Mondens April 6 Governour Jenkins, my self, and Lieutenant Clarke in Mr Jenkins's Boat went and Viewed a small fort at Turks Cap, the Continual Surff / as I am told / makes it very Difficult to Land there, and more Frequently Impracticable, and the part to Land on, if very Inconsiderable, and, it appears to me with a very few Men doing their Duty to the	Governor Lambert's survey of the fortifications continued. He was told that several bushels went to the planters for work done by their slaves in burning lime stone, and that cutting wood over the last years had left few bushels ready burnt. What remained at present was not, in his belief, enough for the burning of a kiln, and that was at Sandy Bay, and too little to fetch from there until more lime stone could be found. He satisfied himself that on further search, which he had ordered, they would find more, or on trial discover other stone that would make lime, otherwise the island would be reduced to want of a material of the greatest consequence, both to its fortifications and to its buildings. He then proceeded to Sandy Bay, where he found a landing place of very large extent, defended by a small fort, if it deserved the name, built against a rock on the right of the bay, and in its structure very badly contrived, as well as in its position, being in his opinion very insufficient for the defence of the bay. The placing of the guns mounted on it, which were six four pounders as it was built, would allow of alteration, so that only two of them could readily be used to defend the entrance of the bay, and the fort, joining the entrance of the bay, would only allow of their fire being used before the enemy's boats passed the fort; and then those two guns were useless, the other four being of no use than to discharge upon the enemy's boats landing, and that could only be done once, and, well of anything, would hurry their landing, to get out of the fire, or from their own fortification. Should the boats in their return be exposed to something more fierce, but if the numbers landed should be considerable, the extent of the fort was of no significance. The remedy, he proposed, was to make a strength there by mounting men behind great guns. He proposed erecting two platforms, one on the right and one on the left of the bay, very slightly constructed, to mount three or four guns of four pounders each, and to make a line or breast work of dry stone to join to the right and left of the two platforms, which would both defend the entrance into the bay, and all the works fall approachable, and likewise secure the front of the breast work should there be an occasion. By which means he hoped this place might be secured, and made as capable of as good a defence as most other parts of the island. The expense attending it would be little more than labour, as the stones in the breast work were proposed to be laid dry, so that work would be sooner finished, and effectively stop an enemy without great guns, as he laid in mind. On 6 April Governor Jenkins, Lambert and Lieutenant Clarke went out on Mr Jenkins's boat and viewed a small fort at Turk's Cap. The current, as he was told, made it very hard to land there, and more often impossible; and the part to land on, in case they should land, being very inaccessible, the difficulty and distance an enemy would have before he mounted the hills, in case they should land, made this part, with a good lookout, not to be attempted. The fort or battery, mounting six four pounders, was more than sufficient to answer the purpose he intended by it, and through the difficulty of getting

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		inaccefsable the Difficulty and Distances, an Enemy would have before his mounted the Hills for case they shold Land / makes this part with a good look out, not to be attempted, the Fort or Battery Consisting of Six 4 Pounders is more than Sufficent to answer the Purpose Intended by it, the through the difficulty of getting fresh Water / I Suppose / the Mortar the Stones are laid in, is in a great Measure Consumed, that it is little more at Present than so many Stones Placed together but as an Enemy can not lay before it, with their Ships to Batter it, it may Answer a long time the Intention of Defening the small Landing Place, the Expence in this Fortification, as well as Prospects, Sandy Bay, Lemon Valley &c in my Judgment Exceeds by much, than what there was any Real occasion for, and might have been much better Executed, our Intervours must be to turn them as they are to best Account. We then Proceeded to Prosperous Bay, where we found a Landing Place of great Extent, I was Satisfyed at the appearance it made to me, so little care shold have been taken of it, when so much had been made use of at other Places that Seemed to Require it lefs, But upon Enquiry the Reasons given me are the Roads Leading from it into the Country are so Difficult to afsend and may be so Easily defended with Trances, and the when our own Country men Landed at this Place when they Retook the Island from the Dutch, they attribute the Easy Conquest to the want of an opposition, the a very few People at this Place would have Made it Impracticable. I hope by the Disposition of the Troops imployed as the Prospective Fortifications, the Guns thereon well made use of if Occasion Requires, the Necesary repairs and Defects helpd as Proposed, we shall not only be Capable of Securing any of the Shiping that may be on the Road, but also give a good Account to our Honourable Masters of any **Margin Notes:** Sandy Bay Turks Cap Prosperous Bay	fresh water, he supposed the mortar the stones were laid in was in great measure consumed, that it was little more at present than so many stones laid together; but as an enemy was not likely to lay before it, with their ships to batter it, it might answer a long time the intention of defending the small landing place. The expense in this fortification, as well as at Rupert's, Sandy Bay, Lemon Valley and elsewhere, in his judgement exceeded by much what there was any real occasion for, and might have been much better laid out; their views must be so taken as they were to best account. He then proceeded to Prosperous Bay, where they found a landing place of great extent. He was satisfied at the appearance it made to him, so little care should have been taken of it, when so much had been made use of at other places that seemed to require it less. But on inquiry into the reasons given him, he saw the roads leading from it into the country were so difficult to defend, and might be so easily defended with the reasons, and that when their own country men landed at this place, when they retook the island from the Dutch, they attributed the easy conquest to the want of any opposition, the very few people at this place would have made it impracticable. He hoped that, by the disposition of the troops employed at the respective fortifications, the guns thereon well made use of when occasion required, the necessary repairs and defects helped as proposed, they should not only be capable of securing any of the shipping that might be in the road, but also give a good account to their masters of any attempt. **Interpretations** Lambert's judgement on Sandy Bay turned on a specific flaw in the single fort: its six four pounders were so placed that only two could fire on the entrance, and those only until the enemy's boats had passed, after which all the guns were useless and the fort's size meant nothing against a real landing. His remedy, two lightly built platforms on either side of the bay joined by a dry stone breastwork, was designed to bring fire on the boats throughout their approach rather than for one wasted moment, correcting the fault by spreading the guns to command the whole landing. The contrast Lambert drew between Prosperous Bay and the other landing places reveals a deliberate past choice he thought vindicated: a wide, inviting beach had been left almost undefended while effort went to places that needed it less. The reason, which he accepted on inquiry, was that the roads inland from Prosperous Bay were so easily held by a few men that the beach itself needed no works, a judgement confirmed by the island's own recapture from the Dutch, when an unopposed landing there had succeeded only for want of the handful of defenders the ground required. His repeated remark that the outlying forts at Turk's Cap, Rupert's, Sandy Bay and Lemon Valley had cost far more than their purpose warranted, and might have been better built, points back to the waste and possible fraud of earlier administrations. Noting that mortar at Turk's Cap had washed out until the fort was little more than loose stones piled together, yet judging it adequate because no enemy could lie off to batter it, shows Lambert measuring each work against the real threat rather than its expense, and quietly recording where the Company's money had been ill spent before him.
228	226	attempts be made by an Enemy on us from Prosperous Bay, to Chappel Valley, and when the other Places are likewise taken care off as Proposed, I doubt not through the Blefsing	Governor Lambert's report concluded. Should an enemy attempt to attack from Prosperous Bay to Chapel Valley, and if the other places were likewise guarded against, he did not

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		of the Almighty, and all of us doing our duty, but we shall be able to answer for the Island In order to Proceed to what shall be the most Necesary, I Propose laying the Platt forms the best Situated for Service, and when the largest Guns are Placed, the first thing, and Continuing that work as far as the Purbech Stone will allow us that is brought by the Harrington, and what hands that are not Necesary in that work after we have gott our Time, to be Employed in Clearing the front of Prospects and Bankes to give a greater height to the Woks, and whatever else we shall find Necesary, Sandy Bay, Lemon Vally, and Thompsons Valley will Require our next Thoughts, and to Proceed to Each of them so our judgments the most Necesary, and so Continue our Woks all all are Perfected. The Barrachs, or Quartering the Soldiers will if we can Spare any hands Require our Assistance so likewise the Preparation of the Honble Company. Blacks Houses, and may other Needfull Repairs, to the other Edifices &c, which Seem to want Immediate assistance Mem Gentlemen are what I think proper to Communicate to you and Consult you upon, as well as they may be Entered at large in the Consultation Book for the Notice of our Honble Masters, and if any difference of opinion arise from the Execution of any Particular, it may likewise appear, Sure I am that I intend well, and to the best of my judgment have Calculated the Proposed Amendments, both for the Islands Real Security and to be the least Expensive, rather Chusing at all Hazards to defend the Woks with the proposed Improvements, and Reparations, than destroying any thing that is now usefull, at Cassty Bay / and / putting the Honble Company to any Extraordinary Expence, in Serving any Private Views of my own, what some ever is Defective in my Proposals, I can with Confidence assure my Honble Masters, it is an Error of judgment and not of Will. Mefsrs Powell & Godfrey heartily Agree with Governour Lambert in his above Report Concerning the Present Situation of the fortifications on the several parts of the Island, and Likewise Concur in the manner or Method the Proposes to Strengthen the same, and will Afsist all that in them lays so good & Necesary a work. As it is to be Presumed that amongst such a number of Men as is in Garrison here, there will be always some or other of them Sick, Governour Lambert Reports that he himself has Enquired and desired that Mr Powell should likewise Enquire whether any of the Planters would Engage to furnish the Sick Soldiers that shall at times be in the Hospitall with fresh Provisions / upon the Terms that from the time each Man Entered the Hospitall to the time of his going thence his whole pay should be Stoped for his Maintenance therein, and that none of the Planters would Undertake the same for no other Reason than because they cant with Conveniency to themselves or Regard to their Country Affars give that Attendance. As they Conceive Necesary for a Man to give who undertakes such a Concern. Governour Lambert therefore desired Mefsrs Powell and Godfrey	doubt that, through the blessing of God, and all of them doing their duty, they would be able to answer for the island. To set out what he thought most necessary, he proposed laying the platforms that were best placed for service, and where the largest guns stood. The first task, and to be carried as far as the Purbeck stone brought by the Harrington would allow, and whatever hands were not needed on that work would afterwards be employed in clearing the front of Rupert's and Banks's, to raise the works higher, and whatever else was found necessary. Sandy Bay, Lemon Valley and Thompson's Valley would need their first attention, and he proposed proceeding to each of them in the order he judged most necessary, and carrying on all the works already begun. The barracks, or quartering of the soldiers, should have any hands that could be spared, and likewise the repair of the Company's buildings, the slaves' houses and any other needful repairs to the other buildings, which seemed to want immediate help. These, he told the council, were the matters he thought proper to lay before them and to consult them upon, as they might be entered at length in the consultation book for the Company's information; and should any difference of opinion arise from his judgement of any particular, it would likewise appear. What he intended, and to the best of his judgement had reckoned, his proposed amendments were both for the island's real security and to be the least costly, choosing at all hazards to defend the works with the proposed improvements and repairs rather than to destroy what was now useful, as at Sandy Bay, and rather than putting the Company to any extraordinary expense in serving any private view of his own. Whatever was defective in his proposals, he assured his masters with confidence, was an error of judgement and not of will. Powell and Godfrey agreed heartily with Governor Lambert's report on the present state of the fortifications in the several parts of the island, and likewise agreed with the way he proposed to strengthen them, and would help all that lay in their power towards so good and necessary a work. Since it was to be supposed that among so many men as were in the garrison there would always be some sick or other, the Governor asked whether any of the planters would undertake to furnish the sick soldiers who from time to time would be in the hospital with fresh provisions, upon the terms that from the time each man entered the hospital to the time of his going out, his whole pay should be stopped for his maintenance there; and he asked why none of the planters would undertake this, for no other reason than that they could not, with convenience to themselves or regard to their country affairs, give that attendance which they thought necessary for a man who undertook such a task. Governor Lambert therefore asked Powell and Godfrey to deliver their views the following Tuesday, whether it would be for the good of the Company to supply the hospital on the terms mentioned. Governor Lambert proposed that, for their better guidance, the packet of the Harrington, together with the general letter and every ship's letter, be laid on the board every consultation day, so that nothing in them might escape their attention. Elizabeth Ryder, Charles Steward and Thomas Greentree, executors of the last will and testament of James Ryder, deceased, this day presented the will, asking that it might be proved, which was done on the oaths of the witnesses. **Interpretations**

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		to deliver their Sentiments next Tuesday whether it would not be for the Interest of the Company to Supply the Hospitall upon the Terms afscrementioned. Governour Lambert proposed that for our better Guidance & List of the Packett off Harrington together with the General Letter pr said Ship be every Consultation day laid upon the Board, that so Nothing therein might escape our Care. Elizabeth Ryder, Charles Steward & Thomas Greentree Executors to the last Will and Testament of James Ryder deceased, this day Presented the said Will desiring the same might be Proved which was done Accordingly upon the oaths	Lambert set out an ordered programme of works ranked by urgency, placing the heavy-gun platforms first, then the clearing of Rupert's and Banks's, then the leeward valleys, with barracks and building repairs to take whatever hands remained. Turning his survey into a sequenced schedule, each task taken in the order he judged most pressing, shows the new Governor converting observation into a practical plan the council could act on, deliberately choosing to mend and improve the existing works rather than to pull down and rebuild at ruinous cost. The proposal to feed sick soldiers by stopping a man's whole pay while he lay in hospital, and Lambert's note that no planter would undertake the task for want of time to attend it properly, exposes the difficulty of running even a hospital on a small island where every free hand was tied to the land. Charging the soldier's own wages for his keep while ill was a device to fund the hospital without fresh cost to the Company, but it depended on finding a contractor the country's labour shortage would not supply. Lambert's closing insistence that any fault in his proposals was an error of judgement and not of will, and his order that every incoming letter be laid before the council each sitting, both reach back to the deficiency that had ruined his predecessors. By recording his reasoning in full for the Company to weigh, and by making sure no instruction went unread, he guarded himself against the charge of concealment or neglect that had fallen on the previous administration, binding his government to open account from the start.
229	227	of the Witnefses thereto viz. Joshua Johnson, Francis Wrangham & Richard Goodwin, the Executors also delivered an Inventory & Appraisment of the Estate & Effects of the deceased, as the same was taken and Appraised by Joshua Johnson & Richard Goodwin who upon their oaths declared they had Vallued & appraised the same according to the best of their Skill & Judgment The Will is as follows Viz. In the Name of God Amen I James Ryder being Sick & Weak of Body but of Perfect mind & Memory & calling to mind the Uncertainty of humain Life make this my last Will & Testament. First & Principally, I commit my Soul into the hands of my blefsd Saviour Trusting in his Mercys for the Remifsion of all my Sins, My Worldly Effects I will and bequeath as follows viz. I Will and Bequeath that of the Child with which my Wife is now Big shall be a Boy, that then he the said Boy shall Enjoy all and every part of my Free Land and my dwelling house at the Fort when he arrives at the Age of Twenty one Years or Marriage. I Will that the rest of my beloved Children viz. Sarah, Elizabeth & Margaret shall have and Enjoy all my Personal Estate to be Equally divided between them as they arrive to the Age of Twenty one Years or Marriage. I Will that in case the Child with which my Wife is now Big shall prove a Boy that tho he is to Enjoy the Real Estate, Yet the whole of my Estate must be vallued, and it is my Intent that my Children shall have Equal Dividends of my Estate and the Boy must pay them the same at Valuation by any two Indifferent Men. I will that in case the Child with which my Wife is now Big shall prove a girl that then she may have an Equal Interest and Share of my Estate both Real and Personal, with	The executors also delivered an inventory and appraisement of the estate and effects of the deceased, taken by Joshua Johnson, Francis Wrangham and Richard Goodwin, who on their oaths declared they had valued and appraised the same to the best of their skill and judgement. The will ran as follows. James Ryder of St Helena, sick and weak in body but of sound mind and memory, and calling to mind the uncertainty of human life, made his will as set out below. He commended his soul to God and disposed of his estate as follows. He gave the child with which his wife was then pregnant, should it be a boy, all and every part of his freehold land at the fort, and his dwelling house there, once the boy reached the age of twenty-one or married. He gave the rest of his personal estate to his four children, Sarah, Elizabeth and Margaret, to have and enjoy, to be equally divided between them once they reached the age of twenty-one or married. Should the child with which his wife was then pregnant be a boy, and so entitled to the freehold estate, he directed that the whole of his estate first be valued, his intention being that his children should share equal portions of his estate, and that the boy must pay them the value at that appraisement, by any two indifferent men. Should the child with which his wife was then pregnant be a girl, he directed that she should have an equal interest and share of his estate, both freehold and personal, with the rest of his daughters, and that it be divided among them. He gave his wife the one half of his freehold estate for the term of her natural life, and one third of his personal estate outright. He gave his wife his mahogany bench. He directed that all his just debts be paid by his executors as soon after his death as they could. He named his wife, Mr Charles Steward and Mr Thomas Greentree, his good friends and

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		the Rest of my Daughters and that it be Divided amongst them. I Will that my beloved Wife shall have and Enjoy the one half of my Real Estate during her Natural Life, and one third of my Personal Estate for ever. I Will & Bequeath unto my beloved Wife my Mahogany Bureo I Will that all my just Debts be paid by my undermentioned Executors as soon after my decease so Conveniently they can. I Will Nominate & appoint that my beloved Wife, Mr Charles Steward and Mr Thomas Greentree being my good friends & Acquaintance to be my true and Lawfull Executors of this my last Will and Testament, Utterly Revoking all former Wills or Wills by me made. Witnefs my hand & Seal in St Helena this fifth day of July One Thousand Seven Hundred & forty one. James Ryder Signed Sealed & delivered as his last Will & Testament (where no Stamped paper is to be had) in the Presence of Joshua Johnson Fras Wrangham Richard Goodwin Mefsr Charles Steward & Thomas Greentree desired that they might dispose at Vallich or Sale of the Goods & Effects belonging to Elizabeth Ryder deceased In order to pay to his Creditors as far as the Produce of her Effects will Yield Granted And they were Ordered to deliver into Council an Account Sales of the Same.	acquaintances, executors of the will, revoking all former wills. In witness whereof he set his hand and seal at St Helena on 5 July 1741. The will was signed, sealed, published and declared as the last will and testament of James Ryder in the presence of Joshua Johnson, Francis Wrangham and Richard Goodwin. Charles Steward and Thomas Greentree asked that they might sell at public outcry the goods and effects belonging to Elizabeth Free, deceased, in order to pay her creditors so far as the produce of her effects would yield. It was granted, and they were ordered to deliver into the council an account of the sale of the same. **Interpretations** Ryder's will settled his estate on a distinction between a boy and a girl not yet born, giving the freehold land and house to a son at twenty-one but requiring him to buy out his sisters at a fixed valuation, while a daughter would simply share equally with the rest. This device kept the land whole in a male heir's hands, the island's usual preference, yet protected the daughters' portions by charging the son with their value, balancing the wish to preserve a holding against the claim of every child to an equal share. The widow's provision, a life interest in half the freehold and a third of the personal estate outright, secured her maintenance without giving her the land absolutely, so that the freehold passed intact to the children after her. Coupling a life interest in the land with an outright share of the movables, and singling out the mahogany bench as a personal gift, shows the careful ordering of a modest estate to keep the real property in the family line while still leaving the widow provided for. The council's grant allowing Elizabeth Free's executors to sell her effects at public outcry to pay her creditors shows the standard island procedure for winding up an insolvent or indebted estate under the court's oversight. Requiring an account of the sale to be delivered back into council kept the disposal of a dead person's goods answerable to authority, so that creditors were paid from an open and recorded sale rather than a private disposal, the same discipline of attested account that governed the settlement of debts across the island.
230	228	The Inhabitants this day Presented the following Petition viz. To the Worshipfull Thomas Lambert Esqr Governour Council of St Helena The Humble Petition of the Freeholders and Inhabitants of St Helena Humbly Sheweth That it is now very many Years since the Laws whereby your Petitioners were to be Governed was made Known to them. Your Petitioners therefore Presuming that many new Laws may have been Enacted since the Publication of the former, And your Petitioners unwilling to Run Counter too, or Incur the Penalty of either Your Petitioners therefore dont humbly Pray, Your Worship and Council that the Honble Companys Laws or Orders, such as Requir them may be Published for their Information and the Observance And your Petitioners as in Duty bound will ever pray &c (Signed)	The inhabitants this day presented the following petition, addressed to Governor Thomas Lambert and the council of St Helena, as the humble petition of the freeholders and inhabitants of St Helena. The petitioners set out that it was now very many years since the laws by which they were governed had been made known to them. They therefore feared that many new laws might have been enacted since the publication of the former ones, and, being unwilling to run counter to or incur the penalty of any, they humbly asked that the Governor and council publish the Honourable Company's laws or orders, such as remained in force, for their information and observance. The petition was dated at St Helena on 26 April 1742 and subscribed by Richard Mason, Joseph Powell, Julius Johnson, Giles Smith, James Powell, Charles Steward, Thomas Easthope, Joseph Defountaine, John Scott, John Goodwin, Robert Girling, Francis Wrangham senior, Richard Goodwin, Samuel Doveton, John Bazett, John Bagley and Thomas Greentree. The petition being considered, the council thought it highly reasonable that the inhabitants should know the laws by which they were governed, for how else could they avoid the penalty of any. It agreed that the Company's laws and orders, with regard to their

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		Richard Mason Joseph Powell Julius Johnson Giles Smith James Powell Charles Steward Thomas Easthope John Scott John Goodwin Robert Gurling Francis Wrangham Senr Richard Goodwin Semiell Docton John Bazett John Bagley Thomas Greentree The Petition being Considered We think too highly Reasonable that the Inhabitants should know the Laws whereby they are Governd Nor how can they Incur the Penalty of any, therefore Agree that the Honble Company lated Orders with Regard to their & their Prosperity shall the Occasion act of the General taken from time to time and when Compleated hung up for their Notice Agreeable to our Honble Masters Orders. At a Vestry held on Monday last it was Concluded that with the Concurrence of the Governour and Council the following Persons should be Parish Officers for the Present Year viz. Geo Gabl Powell & John Goodwin Chappel Wardens Joseph Wesley Overseer of the East Division Richard Bayley Overseer of the West Division Robert Gurling Senr Overseer of the South Division Ordered that the Usual Warrants be Issued Accordingly. The Petition of Francis Wrangham was Presented and read Viz. To the Worshipfull Thomas Lambert Esqr governour Council of the Island St Helena The Humble Petition of Francis Wrangham Senr Humbly Sheweth That Whereas your Petitioner did some time Past purchase a parcel	persons and property, still in force by the Court's orders and the general letter from time to time and then completed, be published for their information, agreeable to the Company's masters' orders. At a court held on the previous Monday, it was concluded that, with the agreement of the Governor and council, the following persons should be parish officers for the coming year: George Gabriel Powell and John Goodwin, chapel wardens Joseph Whaley, overseer of the East Division Richard Bagley, overseer of the West Division Robert Girling senior, overseer of the South Division It was ordered that the usual warrants be issued accordingly. The petition of Francis Wrangham was presented and read, addressed to Governor Thomas Lambert and the council of the island of St Helena, as the humble petition of Francis Wrangham senior. The petitioner set out that some time before he had bought a piece of land. **Interpretations** The freeholders' petition exposes a striking gap in the island's government: the inhabitants did not know which laws bound them, so many years having passed since the last public reading that they feared breaking rules never made known. That the settled community had to ask formally for its own laws to be published shows how far the Company's rule depended on written orders sent by ship and then filed away, the law becoming obscure to the very people it governed until they petitioned to have it declared afresh. The council's agreement to publish the standing laws, gathering what remained in force from the Court's orders and the general letters over the years, was itself an act of consolidation of the kind the whole March and April programme required. Just as Lambert had reckoned the cash, stores and fortifications anew, so the law itself had to be sorted and its living parts separated from the obsolete, the same impulse to fix exactly what stood in force applied from the treasury to the statute book. The annual choice of chapel wardens and divisional overseers, confirmed by the court and issued under warrant, shows the island's civil parish machinery running in parallel with its military and commercial business. Dividing the island into East, West and South for the appointment of overseers, and naming leading inhabitants like Powell and Goodwin to parish office, marks how the small community administered its own local affairs through regular election under the Company's authority, the parish structure giving order to a scattered rural population.
231	229	parcel of Lands of the late John Goodwin Esqr As will particularly appear upon Reffrence being had to the Books of Accounts of the said late John Goodwin Esqr now in the Possefsion of your Worship & Council, and having then paid him a part of the Purchase Money, and being now Ready to pay the other part. Your Petitioner therefore humbly prays Your Worship and Council will be Pleased to Receive of him that Sum which is yet due upon the said Purchase, And in Consequence give to your Petitioner such Authentick Discharges for the Money so paid,	Francis Wrangham's petition continued, setting out that the parcel of land had belonged to the late John Goodwin, as would appear by reference to the books of account of the said late John Goodwin, now in the possession of the Governor and council, and that having already paid part of the purchase money, he was ready to pay the rest. The petitioner therefore asked that the Governor and council receive from him the sum still due upon the purchase, and, in consequence, give him an authentic discharge for the money paid, and title for the land as usually given on the island. The petition was dated at St Helena on 27 April 1742 and subscribed by Francis Wrangham senior. On inquiry, the council found that the sum Wrangham spoke of in his petition had not been valued or in any sort made part of the late Mr Goodwin's estate, but on the contrary that

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		And Title for the said Land as is Usually given upon this Island. And your Petitioner will ever pray &c (Signed) Francis Wrangham Senr St Helena 27th day of April 178[...] Upon Enquiry we find the Lands which Mr Wrangham speaks of in the above Petition not to have been Valued so in any Sort during a part of the late Mr Goodwins Estate, but on the Contrary Mr Wrangham is made a Debtor in Mr Goodwins Inventory for what is Remaining due upon y above said Purchase viz £54 9 therefore Ordered That the Secretary do draw out a Bill of Sale for the same Accordingly Thos Lambert G. G. Powell John Godfrey At a Consultation held on Tuesday the 4th of May 178[...] at the Castle Present Thomas Lambert Esqr Governour George Gabriel Powell Esqr of Council John Godfrey Esqr of Council The last Consultation was read and approved The Pay Master Reports that next Saturday being the Second in the Month is Pay Day, therefore Ordered that a Sum of Money be Issued him Accordingly It being Necesary that an Overseer should be with the Slaves who are Employed in Burning of Lime, this Letter to forward the same by keeping of them to their work, Mr Batch is therefore appointed to that Branch at the Usual Allowance of £34 pr Annum in the room of Mr Newley who upon Mr Worrall Companion as pr Consultation of the 9th February last, was Ordered to be an Overseer in the Plantations The following Petition was this Day taking into Consideration viz. To the Right Honourable Thomas Lambert Esqr governour of St Helena The Humble Petition of the Slaves belonging to the Honourable United Companys Service on the said Island Sheweth That your Petitioners in Governour Goodwins time has allowed them	Wrangham was made a debtor in Mr Goodwin's inventory for what remained due upon the above land and purchase, being £54 0s 0d. It was therefore ordered that the secretary draw out a bill of sale for the same accordingly. The order was subscribed by Thomas Lambert, George Gabriel Powell and John Godfrey. At a consultation held at the castle on Tuesday 4 May 1742, the members present were Thomas Lambert as Governor, George Gabriel Powell as second of council and John Godfrey as third of council. The minutes of the previous consultation were read and approved. The paymaster reported that the following Saturday, being the second in the month, was pay day. It was ordered that a sum of money be issued to him accordingly. It being necessary that an overseer should be with the slaves employed in the burning of lime, to forward the work, Mr Bath was appointed to that branch at the usual allowance of £25 a year, in the room of Mr Newley, who, following Mr Worrall, Chompson at the consultation of 9 February, was ordered to be an overseer in the plantations. The following petition was this day taken into consideration, addressed to Governor Thomas Lambert of St Helena, as the humble petition of the slaves belonging to the Honourable Company's service on the island. The petitioners set out that in Governor Goodwin's time they had been allowed something. **Interpretations** The Wrangham case shows the attached Goodwin estate cutting both ways in the Company's books: rather than owing Wrangham anything, Wrangham was himself recorded in Goodwin's inventory as a debtor for £54 still due on land he had partly bought. The council's care to establish, on inquiry, that the sum had never been valued into the estate before ordering a bill of sale marks the precision with which the frozen estate was being reckoned, every claim and debt traced through the ledgers so the exact balance owed could be fixed. The appointment of an overseer specifically to drive the slaves burning lime confirms how pressing the lime shortage had become, the material Lambert had reported nearly exhausted now needing a dedicated supervisor to force the work forward. Setting a man at £25 a year solely over this one task, moved from other duties to do it, shows the council treating the supply of lime as a distinct priority within the fortification programme, the scarcity of the raw material demanding direct management of the labour that produced it. The petition from the Company's own slaves, brought formally before the council and taken into consideration like any other, shows that even those held in bondage could address authority and have their grievance heard. That the slaves petitioned about an allowance granted under a former Governor and now apparently withdrawn reveals a customary expectation built up over time, the enslaved workforce appealing to established practice against a present loss, and the council receiving the appeal through its ordinary procedure rather than dismissing it out of hand.
232	230	a Piece of Meat & five pound of Rice once in five days at Thirty Six Shillings pr Quarter & Since we have a Piece of Meat for Seven days & 6 lb pound of Rice, and is Thirty Nine Shillings pr Quarter which Obliges us to go two Days without Provision, Now we humbly hope Your Honour will be Pleased to lett us have the Same Allowance as in Governour Goodwins time and	The petition of the Company's slaves continued. The petitioners set out that they had been allowed a piece of meat and five pounds of rice once every five days, at 36 shillings a quarter, and, since they had a piece of meat for seven days and eight pounds of rice, this being 39 shillings a quarter, it obliged them to go two days without provision. They hoped the Governor would allow them the same allowance

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		likewise humbly hope Your Honour will Consider us as to Brooles Plattes and other things Necesary for we never had any since we come on the Island likewise hope Your Honour will Indulge us with a little Light in our Barracks when of Guard for we are Obliged to Cut the fat of our Meat to give Light to go about any thing we want. We therefore hopeing Your Honour will Consider us And as in Duty bound shall ever pray Mefsrs Coupe & Bazett the persons who made the alteration in the Soldiers Diet during the time they Presided at the head of Affairs here, being Asked Concerning the same, the latter Said that as he being Storekeeper Reported to Mr Coupe that there was but five Punchoons of Meat in the Stores, and that in Case of any Accident happening to the Expected Sea Ship they shold be at a lofs for Provisions Sufficient for the Supply of the Garrison the Insuing Year, and therefore in Order to make it hold out the Longer proposed that instead of furnishing to Each Man 1 lb of Meat & five pound of Rice for five days they should have only 1 lb of Meat & 6 lb of Rice for Seven days, and Mr Crispe Said that upon this Report he sent for most of the Soldiers that Dieted with the Honble Company and told them what Mr Bazett had told to him, whereupon Acquainted them with the Resolution himself & Mr Bazett has Asked viz. that Each Man should have 1 lb of Meat & 6 lb of Rice every Seven Days at 39 Shillings pr Quarter during this Scarcity, And further that upon a Supply of Provisions they should again be at their old allowance of 1 lb of Meat & 5 lb of Rice every 5 days at 39 Shillings pr Quarter With which he said the People Seemed Satisfyed. Upon Mature Consideration that the Present allowance of 1 lb of Meat & 6 lb of Rice for Seven days is not Really Sufficient for them to Subsist upon, And that the with the Assistance of now and then a little fish, for so is not at all times they can have opportunitys of Catching them, they have hitherto made a Fairfull Shift to Subsist on it, in hopes that the Scarcity made so on, that when a Supply of Provisions did come they should have their old allowance again of 1 lb of Meat & 5 lb of Rice for 5 days, We so as before Observed taking the affair under our Serious Considerations do Agree, That the Soldiers be furnished with Provision at the old Establishment viz. 1 lb of Meat & 5 lb of Rice to Each Man for every five days at the rate of 39 Shillings pr Quarter the utmost they can afford. The Governour laid the following upon the Table viz. Gentlemen The last Consultation day having mentioned to you, the Consideration of fixing an Hospitall for the Reception of the Honble Companys Soldiers & Blacks when taken Ill, as a means to Prevent as much as in us lays the lofs of Lives, of so much Consideration & Vallue to the Company which have been and are so much Exposed, from the want of the Necesary Care, as also the Consideration of the Honble Court of Directors on this head Relating to the Sale of Doctor Browns House / Article the 33 / for the use of the Military, to the Sick Soldiers, the advantages Necesarily Arriving to the Company	as in Governor Goodwin's time. They likewise hoped he would consider them as to blankets and other things needful, having never had any since coming to the island; and they hoped he would indulge them with a little light in their barracks, when off guard, since they were obliged to cut the fat off their meat to give light to go about anything they wanted. Crispe and Bagley, the persons who had made the alteration in the soldiers' diet during the time they presided at the head of affairs, being asked about it, said that Crispe, being storekeeper, had reported to Mr Crispe that there was but five puncheons of meat in the stores, and that in case of any accident happening to the expected store ship they should be at a loss for provisions sufficient for the supply of the garrison the coming year. Therefore, in order to make it hold out the longer, he proposed that instead of furnishing each man with a piece of meat and five pounds of rice for five days, they should have only a piece of meat and six pounds of rice for seven days. Mr Crispe said that upon this report he sent for several of the soldiers who dieted with the Company and told them what Mr Bagley had laid to him, whereupon he acquainted them with the resolution of himself and Mr Bagley, that each man should have a piece of meat and six pounds of rice every seven days at 39 shillings a quarter during the scarcity. He further said that upon a supply of provisions they should again be at their old allowance of a piece of meat and three pounds of rice every three days at 39 shillings a quarter, with which the people seemed satisfied. Upon mature consideration that the present allowance of a piece of meat and six pounds of rice for seven days was not truly sufficient for them to subsist upon, and that, with the addition of a little fish now and then, which was not at all times to be had, they might have opportunity of catching them, the council held that they had hitherto made a hard shift to hold out until the store ships came. Before that the puncheons made it so, that when a supply of provisions did come they should have their old allowance again of a piece of meat and three pounds of rice for three days. As before observed, taking the affair under their serious consideration, the council agreed that the soldiers be furnished with provision at the old establishment, being a piece of meat and three pounds of rice for each man every five days, at the rate of 39 shillings a quarter, the utmost they could afford. The Governor then laid the following before the council. He addressed the council as gentlemen. The previous consultation day, he had mentioned to them the consideration of fixing on a hospital for the reception of the Company's soldiers and slaves when taken ill, as a means to prevent as much as possible the loss of lives, and of much consideration and value to the Company, which had been and were so much exposed from the want of the necessary care, as also the consideration of the Honourable Court of Directors on this head relating to the house of the late Doctor Browne, under the thirty-third article, for the use of the military and the sick soldiers. The advantages necessarily arising to the Company by prudently erecting such an establishment under proper regulations were without doubt; and, as he had ever had this affair in his thoughts since his arrival, he had fixed upon the maldives house as the most proper place for this purpose, and had therefore lodged all the sick soldiers and those affected with the journey there from their disembarking at the place, and ordered two slave women to attend them and obey the surgeon in his

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		by Prudently Erecting such an Establishment under proper Regulations is without Doubt And so I have ever had this affair in my thoughts since my Arrival, I first fixed upon the Maldives House as the most Proper Place for this Purpose, and therefore lodged all the Sick Soldiers and those affected with the Scurvey upon their Disembarking at this Place and Ordered two Black Women to attend them and obey the Surgeon in his Care of them, as also a Black to boil wood to make the Necesary Suppes for them and making Ready in heating whatever should be thought Necesary, And from time to time have added **Margin Notes:** Hospitall	care of them, as also a slave to fetch wood to make the necessary soups for them and make ready or heat whatever should be thought necessary. From time to time he had ordered. **Interpretations** The slaves' petition and the council's response reveal the exact working of the food economy under scarcity. Crispe and Bagley, when only five puncheons of meat remained and a store ship might fail, had stretched the ration by lengthening the interval between issues, giving the same meat over seven days instead of five. The council's decision to restore the fuller old allowance, a piece of meat and three pounds of rice every five days at 39 shillings, shows it judging the stretched ration genuinely insufficient to live on and choosing to feed the garrison properly at the limit of what the stores could bear. The slaves' three requests, for their former food allowance, for blankets they had never received, and for light in their barracks, expose the bare conditions of the Company's bondservants, reduced to burning the fat cut from their meat for a lamp. That men held in slavery could bring these specific grievances formally before the council, appealing to what they had been granted under a former Governor, shows a customary standard of provision they could invoke against a present shortfall, and the council treating even their claim through its ordinary deliberation. Lambert's hospital scheme rested on a specific instruction from the Court, the thirty-third article assigning Doctor Browne's house for the sick, which he adapted by lodging the sick in the maldives house and detailing slaves to nurse and provision them. Turning an existing building into a hospital and staffing it from the Company's own slave labour, rather than building or hiring anew, shows the new Governor meeting a real need for the care of soldiers and slaves within the island's slender means, the value of preserved lives set against the cost of the sick going untended.
233	231	them Breathes from the Castle, and some other small Refreshments, But alafs / too Insufficient for them, the the best Assistance yet in my Power, I have also made my Utmost Enquiry ever since my Landing for a Person or Persons that wold be willing to furnish the Sick with Such frefsh Provisions & Rice &c, as shold be thought Necesary by the Surgeon, and as a Consideration Sufficient in my Apprehension for the same, to allow him or them the Soldiers full pay during the time of their being in the said Hospitall, but I have not yet been so fortinate to meet any who are willing to Engage in this affair. I therefore propose to you Gentlemen for your Consideration, as this Particular is so Efsential to the Recovery of the Sick, as even Medicines it self, which latter would be of little, use without it, that the Sick who shall be sent to the said Hospitall from time to time, shall allow to the Honble Company their full pay during the time of their being there, and that the Companys Steward furnish the said Hospitall from day to day with such Quantitys of Proper Provision made Ready, as the Surgeon the Day before shall make a Demand of for the Sick by which means I hope the Company will Rather be a gainer than aloumnos, so I am not so Private Person can make any Advantage from the Establishment, with a Moderate care in the Execution, and the Expence of the General Table may be Encreased by it Yet when Credit is given the Company for the Sick Soldiers full pay it will Reduce, I hope below the	Governor Lambert's report on the hospital continued. He had also sent broths from the castle and some other small refreshments, but these were too little for them. So far as lay in his power he had made every inquiry since his arrival for a person willing to furnish the sick with fresh provisions, whom the surgeon might think fit, and, as a consideration for it, to allow that person the sick men's full pay during the time they lay in the hospital; but he had not yet been so fortunate as to find anyone willing to take on the task. He therefore proposed to the council for their consideration, as this particular was as essential to the recovery of the sick as any medicine itself, without which the medicine would be of little use, that the sick who were sent to the hospital from time to time should give up to the Company their full pay during the time they lay there, and that the Company's steward furnish the hospital day to day with such quantities of proper provision as the surgeon might beforehand demand for the sick. By this means, he hoped, the Company would rather be a gainer than a loser, since no private person could make any advantage from the establishment with a moderate care in the execution; and when the expense of the general table was reckoned against the credit given the Company for the sick soldiers' full pay, it would produce, he hoped, below the necessary expense. He hoped the non-commissioned officers, gunners' mates, quarter gunners and mattrosses would suffer the like stoppage, after the

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		Accessionary Expence, the Non Commisiond officers Gunners Mates Quater Gunners and Matrofses to have the like Stoppage viz. after the sale of £13 13 a Year when any of them shall be sent to the Hospitall. I hope the two Black Women, and the Black to boil wood will be Sufficient attendance and the Surgeon & his Mate Dayly Superviseing the said Blacks together with a Commisiond officer / if failing it once a Day / and a Serjeant occen died Night, I flatter my Self we shall have occasion to appoint no other Person with any Salary unlefs the Steward whose businefs will be Encreased thereby and may want some Assistance / on this Account I therefore Deferr this Consideration to you Gentlemen amongst the rest. Present Orders for bringing the above Scheme into Practice 1 That the Surgeon and his Mate keep a Book, and therein make an Entry of each Mans Name when he comes into the Hospitall, Mentioning his Quarter, and if Received the day of his Discharge, or the Day of his Death, and that likewise the Steward do the same, that one may Tally, with the other, and that the Surgeon or his Mate take Care that the Blacks the do their Duty in giving due attendance on the Sick and ordering them, and the Rooms to be kept very Clean free from Dirt & filth, and the Surgeon once a Week make a Return to the Governour of the Mens Names and Illnefs then in the Hospitall, with also the names of those discharged or Dead / if any / the Preceeding Week. 2 That a Commisiond Officer go every Morning and also see that the Blacks do their Duty and the Sick as will attended on, and to make a Report to the Governour every Morning how he finds things and if their wants any further assistance. 3 That a Serjeant & four Centinels mount the Hospital Guard, to preserve order and Decency, & Prevent any Quarrelling or Gameing or the Rand evouring of other Soldiers to the Annoyance of the Sick in any manner, and that a Sout be Fetched for this Guard untill better Conveniency can be made 4 That the Serjeant of this Guard send one or two of his Men / as occasion Requires / to bring the Provision Ordered the Sick, and that he see a Contribution of it according to the Directions given that day by the Surgeon, and to prevent any abuse of any kind, and if any thing Extraordinary happen so Enquaint the officer who is that day upon the Hospitall Duty with it, in order for him to Report it to the Governour, that the Serjeant likewise take head to the ordering the Blacks to keep both the Sick and the Hospitall Clean 5 That the Steward also from time to time Visit the Hospitall and likewise Charge the two Black Nurses to take due Care of the Sick, and to Examine if the things sent, be duly given to those for whome they were Intended, and to Report to the Commisiond officer on the Duty if he finds any thing amifs in this Particular. 6 That an Immediate Account be given the Steward when any one is sent to the Hospitall by the Direction of the Commanding officer of each Company, as also the Artillery Compy in order for his Entering the same in his Book, as also an Account be given the day any	rate of £13 13s a year, when any of them were sent to the hospital. He hoped the two slave women and the slave to cut wood would be enough for the attendance, and the surgeon and his mate daily overseeing the slaves, together with a commissioned officer visiting once a day and a sergeant every night; and if the council allowed, he would appoint no other person with any salary, unless the steward, whose business would be increased thereby and who might want some help on that account. He therefore left this consideration to the council among the rest. He then set out present orders for bringing the above scheme into practice. 1: That the surgeon and his mate keep a book, and in it enter each man's name when he came into the hospital, giving the date, and record the day of his discharge or the day of his death, so that one account might tally with the other; and that the surgeon and his mate take care that the slaves did their duty in attending the sick and ordering them, and that the rooms be kept very clean and free from dirt and filth; and that the surgeon once a week make a return to the Governor of the men's names and their illness then in the hospital, with also the names of those discharged or dead, if any, in the preceding week. 2: That a commissioned officer go every morning and see that the slaves did their duty and that the sick were well attended, and make a report to the Governor every morning how he found things and how their work went, and of their further attendance. 3: That a sergeant of the sentinels mount the hospital guard, to preserve order and quiet and prevent any quarrelling or gaming, or the rendezvousing of other soldiers to the annoyance of the sick in any manner; and that a sentry box be pitched for this guard until better convenience could be made. 4: That the sergeant of this guard send one or two of his men, as occasion required, to bring the provision ordered for the sick, and that he see a distribution of it according to the directions given that day by the surgeon; and, to prevent any abuse of any kind, and if anything extraordinary happened, to acquaint the officer who was that day upon the hospital duty with it, in order for him to report it to the Governor; that the sergeant likewise take heed to the ordering of the slaves, to keep both the sick and the hospital clean. 5: That the steward also from time to time visit the hospital and likewise charge the two slave nurses to take due care of the sick, and to examine if the things sent be duly given to those for whom they were intended, and to report to the commissioned officer on the duty if he found anything amiss in this particular. 6: That an immediate account be given the steward when anyone was sent to the hospital, by the direction of the commanding officer of each company, as also the artillery company, in order for his entering the same in his book; as also an account be given the day anyone or more were discharged or died, to the end he might likewise enter them, this last to be given by the surgeon's direction. **Interpretations** Lambert's hospital scheme rested on a single financial device: the sick soldier surrendered his full pay while in hospital, and the Company fed him from its own stores through the steward, so that the establishment would break even or gain rather than pay a contractor. Having failed to find any planter willing to victual the sick in return for their pay, Lambert turned the arrangement inward, making the

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		one or more are Discharged or Died to the end he may likewise Enter them, this last to be given by the Surgeons Directions. **Margin Notes:** payment Non Comifsd Order 1	men's own stopped wages fund their keep, a self-financing hospital that cost the Company little beyond the care it already owed. The elaborate system of double-entry oversight, the surgeon's book of admissions and deaths, the daily officer's report, the sergeant's guard, the steward's inspection and the separate notice from each company, built a web of cross-checks around the hospital of the same kind the deficiency inquiry had made necessary everywhere. Requiring that the surgeon's account tally with the steward's, and that every admission and death be independently recorded, guarded against both neglect of the sick and diversion of the provisions sent for them, the whole run on the principle that no single hand should go unchecked. The staffing of the hospital wholly from the Company's slaves, two women to nurse and a man to cut wood and heat food, under the surgeon's daily direction, shows once again how the establishment's essential services rested on slave labour. Assigning enslaved women to nurse sick soldiers, overseen by free officers but doing the actual work of attendance, reflects the island's chronic shortage of free hands, the care of the garrison's sick falling, like its washing, dairying and building, on the people the Company held in bondage.
234	232	Mefs Powell and Godfrey do agree with Governour Lambert that Doctor Brownes House is by farr the most Convenient of any other in this Town for the accommodation of the well Soldiers, and for those that are Sick the Maldeva House is Abundantly the most proper by Reason of its Situation, and may with a Small Expence be made a very good Hospitall The Necesary there is for an Hospitall, the Advantage accrueing thence, together with the Method proposed of Maintaining the same, and the Sick that shall be their Governour Lambert has above Spoken so fully Concerning, and the Regulations proposed by him are so just that it is not in our Power to make any Alterations for the better. The following Account being this day Tendered was read & Examined and is as follows viz. Account of the Honble Companys Stock of Neat Cattle &c from 22nd March to the 30th April 178[...] Viz. Bullocks, Cows, Heiffers, Steers, Yearlings, Calves, Bull, Totall, Ews, Wethers, Lambs, Rams, Totall, Ews, Wethers, Bitts, Rams, Totall, Sows, Barrows, Shoates, Piggs, Boares, Totall, Turkeys, Fowles, Ducks, Geese, Foxes, Mares, Totall Remaining 1 April: Bullocks 31, Cows 97, Heiffers 40, Steers 16, Yearlings 14, Calves 41, Bull 4, Totall 243, Ews 48, Wethers 6, Lambs 0, Rams 4, Totall 58, Ews 52, Wethers 11, Bitts 4, Rams 4, Totall 71, Sows 17, Barrows 3, Shoates 24, Piggs 21, Boares 2, Totall 67, Turkeys 90, Fowles 318, Ducks 66, Geese 17, Foxes 5, Mares 8, Totall 13 Encreased in Ditto: Bullocks 0, Cows 0, Heiffers 2, Steers 0, Yearlings 0, Calves 0, Bull 0, Totall 2, Ews 0, Wethers 0, Lambs 8, Rams 0, Totall 8, Ews 0, Wethers 0, Bitts 2, Rams 0, Totall 2, Sows 0, Barrows 0, Shoates 0, Piggs 0, Boares 0, Totall 0, Turkeys 0, Fowles 35, Ducks 0, Geese 0, Foxes 0, Mares 0, Totall 0 Ditto: Bullocks 31, Cows 97, Heiffers 40, Steers 16, Yearlings 14, Calves 43, Bull 4, Totall 245, Ews 48, Wethers 6, Lambs 8, Rams 4, Totall 66, Ews 52, Wethers 11, Bitts 6, Rams 4, Totall 73, Sows 17, Barrows 3, Shoates 24, Piggs 21, Boares 2, Totall 67,	Powell and Godfrey agreed with Governor Lambert that Doctor Browne's house was by far the most convenient of any in the town for lodging the fit soldiers, and that for the sick the maldives house was undoubtedly the most proper, by reason of its situation, and might with a small expense be made a very good hospital. The necessity for a hospital, the advantages arising from it, and the care of the sick, being what the Governor had spoken of fully, and his proposed regulations being so just, they held it not in their power to alter them for the better. The following account was this day tendered, read and examined. This was an account of the Honourable Company's stock of neat cattle and other livestock from 22 March to 30 April 1742. The columns recorded the neat cattle as bullocks, cows, heifers, steers, yearlings, calves and bulls, with their total; the sheep as ewes, wethers, lambs and rams, with their total; the goats as ewes, wethers, kids and rams, with their total; the hogs as boars, sows, shoats and pigs, with their total; the poultry as turkeys, fowls, ducks and geese, with their total; and the horses as horses and mares, with their total. Remaining 1 April: 31 bullocks, 97 cows, 40 heifers, 16 steers, 14 yearlings, 41 calves, 4 bulls, 243 neat cattle in all; 48 ewes, 6 wethers, 0 lambs, 4 rams, 58 sheep in all; 52 ewes, 11 wethers, 4 kids, 4 rams, 71 goats in all; 17 boars, 3 sows, 24 shoats, 21 pigs, 2 rams, 67 hogs in all; 90 turkeys, 318 fowls, 66 ducks, 17 geese, 491 poultry in all; 5 horses, 8 mares, 13 horses in all. Increased in the same: 2 calves, 2 neat cattle in all; 8 lambs, 8 sheep in all; 2 kids, 2 goats in all; 35 fowls. Sub-total: 31 bullocks, 97 cows, 40 heifers, 16 steers, 14 yearlings, 43 calves, 4 bulls, 245 neat cattle in all; 48 ewes, 6 wethers, 8 lambs, 4 rams, 66 sheep in all; 52 ewes, 11 wethers, 6 kids, 4 rams, 73 goats in all; 17 boars, 3 sows, 24 shoats, 21 pigs, 2 rams, 67 hogs in all; 90 turkeys, 353 fowls, 66 ducks, 17 geese, 526 poultry in all; 5 horses, 8 mares, 13 horses in all. Killed in the same: 9 cows, 1 heifer, 2 calves, 12 neat cattle in all; 2 ewes, 1 wether, 1 ram, 4 sheep in all; 1 ewe, 1 goat in all; 1 boar, 6 pigs, 7 hogs in all; 8 turkeys, 61 fowls, 19 ducks.

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		Turkeys 90, Fowles 353, Ducks 66, Geese 17, Foxes 5, Mares 8, Totall 13 Killed in Ditto: Bullocks 0, Cows 9, Heiffers 1, Steers 0, Yearlings 0, Calves 2, Bull 0, Totall 12, Ews 2, Wethers 1, Lambs 0, Rams 1, Totall 4, Ews 0, Wethers 1, Bitts 0, Rams 0, Totall 1, Sows 1, Barrows 0, Shoates 6, Piggs 0, Boares 0, Totall 7, Turkeys 8, Fowles 61, Ducks 19, Geese 0, Foxes 0, Mares 0, Totall 0 Sent on Board the Harrington: Bullocks 0, Cows 0, Heiffers 0, Steers 0, Yearlings 0, Calves 4, Bull 2, Totall 0, Ews 0, Wethers 0, Lambs 6, Rams 0, Totall 6, Ews 0, Wethers 0, Bitts 0, Rams 0, Totall 0, Sows 0, Barrows 1, Shoates 5, Piggs 0, Boares 0, Totall 6, Turkeys 24, Fowles 60, Ducks 12, Geese 0, Foxes 0, Mares 0, Totall 0 Ditto: Bullocks 31, Cows 88, Heiffers 39, Steers 16, Yearlings 14, Calves 41, Bull 4, Totall 233, Ews 42, Wethers 3, Lambs 8, Rams 3, Totall 56, Ews 52, Wethers 10, Bitts 6, Rams 4, Totall 72, Sows 16, Barrows 2, Shoates 19, Piggs 15, Boares 2, Totall 54, Turkeys 58, Fowles 232, Ducks 35, Geese 17, Foxes 5, Mares 8, Totall 13 Died in Ditto: Bullocks 0, Cows 1, Heiffers 0, Steers 0, Yearlings 0, Calves 0, Bull 0, Totall 1, Ews 0, Wethers 0, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Totall 0, Ews 0, Wethers 0, Bitts 0, Rams 0, Totall 0, Sows 0, Barrows 0, Shoates 2, Piggs 0, Boares 0, Totall 2, Turkeys 0, Fowles 4, Ducks 0, Geese 0, Foxes 0, Mares 0, Totall 0 Remaining 30th Ditto: Bullocks 31, Cows 87, Heiffers 39, Steers 16, Yearlings 14, Calves 41, Bull 4, Totall 232, Ews 42, Wethers 3, Lambs 8, Rams 3, Totall 56, Ews 52, Wethers 10, Bitts 6, Rams 4, Totall 72, Sows 16, Barrows 2, Shoates 17, Piggs 15, Boares 2, Totall 52, Turkeys 58, Fowles 232, Ducks 31, Geese 17, Foxes 5, Mares 8, Totall 13 850 lb Beef to the Garrison 1 Sheep to the Garrison Yams Expended at the Several Plantations 29000 One Man Slave Died named Pompey One Do Named Toney	Sent on board the Harrington: 4 heifers, 2 steers, 6 neat cattle in all; 1 boar, 5 pigs, 6 hogs in all; 24 fowls, 60 ducks, 12 geese. Sub-total: 31 bullocks, 88 cows, 39 heifers, 16 steers, 14 yearlings, 41 calves, 4 bulls, 233 neat cattle in all; 47 ewes, 3 wethers, 8 lambs, 3 rams, 56 sheep in all; 52 ewes, 10 wethers, 6 kids, 4 rams, 72 goats in all; 16 boars, 2 sows, 19 shoats, 15 pigs, 2 rams, 54 hogs in all; 58 turkeys, 232 fowls, 35 ducks, 17 geese, 342 poultry in all; 5 horses, 8 mares, 13 horses in all. Died in the same: 1 cow, 1 neat cattle in all; 2 shoats, 2 hogs in all; 4 fowls. Remaining 30 April: 31 bullocks, 87 cows, 39 heifers, 16 steers, 14 yearlings, 41 calves, 4 bulls, 232 neat cattle in all; 47 ewes, 3 wethers, 8 lambs, 3 rams, 56 sheep in all; 52 ewes, 10 wethers, 6 kids, 4 rams, 72 goats in all; 16 boars, 2 sows, 17 shoats, 15 pigs, 2 rams, 52 hogs in all; 58 turkeys, 232 fowls, 31 ducks, 17 geese, 338 poultry in all; 5 horses, 8 mares, 13 horses in all. Supplied to the garrison were 850 lb of beef and 1 sheep. Yams expended at the several plantations came to 29,000. One man slave died, named Pompey, and one more, named Toral. **Interpretations** The stock account records the Harrington's provisioning cutting directly into the Company's breeding herds, four heifers, two steers, a boar, pigs and a large draught of poultry sent aboard for the homeward passage. Set against the 850 lb of beef issued to the garrison and the animals killed for the table, the account shows how heavily both the outgoing ship and the establishment drew on a livestock stock that grew only slowly, the herds standing lower at the month's end than its start despite the season's calves and lambs. The figure of 29,000 yams expended at the plantations in the month confirms the yam as the true staple of the island's food economy, dwarfing the meat supply in bulk and feeding the whole slave establishment. Recording the yam consumption alongside the cattle count shows the two provision systems reckoned together, the root crop that fed the labourers and the livestock that fed the table and victualled the ships, both counted so the island's whole subsistence could be tracked. The bare entry of two slave deaths, Pompey and Toral, noted at the foot of the livestock account rather than in any separate register, reflects the brutal administrative logic by which the Company counted its enslaved people among its stock. That the deaths of two men were recorded in the same document and manner as the killing and dying of cattle and poultry marks the reduction of human beings to property in the Company's books, their loss entered as an item of account alongside the animals of the plantations.
235	233	Account of the Stock of Neat Cattle &c belonging to the Estate of the late John Goodwin Esqr deceased for the Month of April 178[...] viz. Cows, Heiffers, Calves, Totall, Ews, Weathers, Lambs, Rams, Totall, Ews, Weathers, Kids, Rams, Totall, Sows, Shoates, Piggs, Totall, Horses Remaining 1 April: Cows 6, Heiffers 2, Calves 4, Totall 12, Ews 32, Weathers 12, Lambs 4, Rams 1, Totall 49, Ews 15, Weathers 4, Kids 2, Rams 0, Totall 21, Sows 5, Shoates 12, Piggs 12, Totall 29, Horses 2 Encreased in Ditto: Cows 0, Heiffers 0, Calves 0, Totall 0, Ews 0, Weathers 0, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Totall 0, Ews 0, Weathers 0, Kids 0, Rams 0, Totall 0, Sows 0, Shoates 1, Piggs 1, Totall 0, Horses 0	This was an account of the stock of neat cattle and other livestock belonging to the estate of the late John Goodwin, deceased, for the month of April 1742. The columns recorded the neat cattle as cows, heifers and calves, with their total; the sheep as ewes, wethers, lambs and rams, with their total; the goats as ewes, wethers, kids and rams, with their total; the hogs as sows, shoats and pigs, with their total; and the horses. Remaining 1 April: 6 cows, 2 heifers, 4 calves, 12 neat cattle in all; 32 ewes, 12 wethers, 1 lamb, 4 rams, 49 sheep in all; 15 ewes, 4 wethers, 2 kids, 21 goats in all; 5 sows, 12 shoats, 12 pigs, 29 hogs in all; 2 horses. Increased in the same: 0.

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		Killed in Ditto: Cows 6, Heiffers 2, Calves 4, Totall 12, Ews 32, Weathers 12, Lambs 4, Rams 1, Totall 49, Ews 15, Weathers 4, Kids 2, Rams 0, Totall 21, Sows 5, Shoates 12, Piggs 12, Totall 29, Horses 2 Died in Ditto: Cows 6, Heiffers 2, Calves 4, Totall 12, Ews 31, Weathers 11, Lambs 4, Rams 1, Totall 47, Ews 15, Weathers 4, Kids 2, Rams 0, Totall 21, Sows 5, Shoates 12, Piggs 12, Totall 29, Horses 2 Remaining 30th Do: Cows 6, Heiffers 2, Calves 4, Totall 12, Ews 31, Weathers 11, Lambs 4, Rams 1, Totall 47, Ews 15, Weathers 4, Kids 2, Rams 0, Totall 21, Sows 4, Shoates 12, Piggs 11, Totall 27, Horses 2 Yams Expended 7000 One Man Slave Died named Toby. We this day Received the following Letter from Mr Samuel Docton viz. To the Worshipfull Thomas Lambert Esqr Council Gentlemen Whereas the Honble Companys Stocks at the Present time being very Small as you will see in the Months Accounts dated the 13th of April, and not a Sufficient Quantity of Breeders either of Sheep or Goates, and what youl do for Provisions for the Table I Really do not know unlefs youl like to Buy Yam Gentlemen Your most humble Servant to Command Signed Saml Docton May the 3rd 178[...] Whereupon Mr Docton was called before us and asked particularly Concerning the Present Condition of the Honble Companys Plantations Affairs, who said they had no Yams fit to lay one, Sufficient Stock of Breeder either of Sheep Goates or Hoggs in proportion to their Quantity of Land, or the Expence of a Constant Table. Which being taken into Consideration We find our Selves under an Indispensable Necesity of Stocking the Honble Companys Lands and in order to it Agree to Purchase at the vestory for the Effects of the late Mr Goodwin the Live Stock as is Included in the foregoing Account provided the same can be bought Reasonably, or otherwise to Sale Elsewhere. It was Ordered to Mr Docton to be Exceeingly carefull of the Companys Stocks & Plantations, Seing that the Slaves under him do their Autys, and to follow such Orders with Regard to the Management of these affairs as Mr Powell shall from time to time give to whose Perpetual care the Company has been Pleased to Recommend particularly this Branch of Business The Gunner & Steward this day brought in their Accots for the month of April last which was Examined & Voted and are as follows viz.	Sub-total: 6 cows, 2 heifers, 4 calves, 12 neat cattle in all; 32 ewes, 12 wethers, 1 lamb, 4 rams, 49 sheep in all; 15 ewes, 4 wethers, 2 kids, 21 goats in all; 5 sows, 12 shoats, 12 pigs, 29 hogs in all; 2 horses. Killed in the same: 1 lamb, 1 sheep in all. Sub-total: 6 cows, 2 heifers, 4 calves, 12 neat cattle in all; 32 ewes, 11 wethers, 1 lamb, 4 rams, 48 sheep in all; 15 ewes, 4 wethers, 2 kids, 21 goats in all; 5 sows, 12 shoats, 12 pigs, 29 hogs in all; 2 horses. Died in the same: 1 shoat, 1 pig, 2 hogs in all. Remaining 30 April: 6 cows, 2 heifers, 4 calves, 12 neat cattle in all; 32 ewes, 11 wethers, 1 lamb, 4 rams, 47 sheep in all; 15 ewes, 4 wethers, 2 kids, 21 goats in all; 5 sows, 12 shoats, 11 pigs, 27 hogs in all; 2 horses. Yams expended came to 7,000. One man slave died, named Tobey. The council this day received the following letter from Mr Samuel Doveton, addressed to Governor Thomas Lambert and the council. Doveton set out that the Company's stock at present being very small, as would appear by the monthly account dated 13 April, and there not being a sufficient quantity of breeders, either of sheep or goats or hogs, in proportion to the amount of land, and what would go for provisions for the table, he did not know what to do unless the council chose to buy yams. The letter was dated 3 May 1742 and subscribed by Samuel Doveton. Upon this, Doveton was called before the council and asked particularly about the present state of the Company's plantation affairs, who said they had not yams enough to go on, nor a sufficient stock of breeders, either of sheep, goats or hogs, in proportion to their quantity of land, for the expense of a constant table. This being taken into consideration, the council found itself under an indispensable necessity of stocking the Company's lands, and agreed to purchase, at the outcry of the effects of the late Mr Goodwin, the live stock as invited in the foregoing account, provided the same could be bought reasonably, or otherwise to seek elsewhere. It was ordered to Mr Doveton to be exceedingly careful of the Company's stock and plantations, seeing that the slaves under him did their duty, and to follow such orders with regard to the management of these affairs as Mr Powell should from time to time give, to whose special care the Company had been pleased to recommend this branch of business in particular. The gunner and steward this day brought in their accounts for the month of April, which, being examined, ran as follows. **Interpretations** The Goodwin estate stock account, kept in the same form as the Company's own but recording a much smaller herd, shows the frozen estate being managed and counted month by month exactly as Company property, its animals killed and dying and its yams consumed all entered to account. That the council then resolved to buy this very stock at the public sale of Goodwin's effects, to replenish its own depleted plantations, marks the estate being realised into the Company's hands, its livestock passing from the dead Governor's account into the Company's own by purchase at outcry. Doveton's warning that the Company lacked breeding animals in proportion to its land, and might have to buy yams, exposes a genuine failure of the plantation system to feed the establishment from its own resources. The council's finding of an indispensable necessity to restock, choosing to buy Goodwin's animals rather than let the herds dwindle further, shows the provision grounds unable to

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			sustain the constant table without fresh stock, the island's food supply strained at the very moment its garrison was expanding. The placing of Doveton under Powell's particular direction, with express charge to keep the slaves to their work, confirms Powell's standing as the council member specially entrusted with the plantations, the branch the Company had singled out for his care. Subordinating the plantation overseer to a named councillor, and binding him to see the enslaved labourers do their duty, shows the chain of authority the Company imposed over its agricultural stock and its slave workforce, the whole provision economy answering ultimately to one member of the board.
236	234	Gunners Stores Expended in the Month of April 178[...] viz. Guns fired, Shott fired, 9 lb, 6 lb, 4 lb, 2 lb, 1/2 lb, Powder Expended 6 Fired for the Supracargoes of the Dane Ship: Guns fired 9, Shott fired 0, 9 lb 0, 6 lb 0, 4 lb 0, 2 lb 9, 1/2 lb 0, Powder Expended 9 Do Departed the Dane Ship: Guns fired 9, Shott fired 0, 9 lb 0, 6 lb 0, 4 lb 0, 2 lb 9, 1/2 lb 0, Powder Expended 9 17 An Allarm for a Dutch Ship: Guns fired 6, Shott fired 0, 9 lb 0, 6 lb 0, 4 lb 4, 2 lb 0, 1/2 lb 2, Powder Expended 13 Do Fired at Banks to bring the Dutch Ship too: Guns fired 3, Shott fired 3, 9 lb 0, 6 lb 3, 4 lb 0, 2 lb 0, 1/2 lb 0, Powder Expended 12 Do Arrived the Dutch Ship: Guns fired 11, Shott fired 0, 9 lb 0, 6 lb 0, 4 lb 0, 2 lb 11, 1/2 lb 0, Powder Expended 11 22 Fired for Governour Jenkins's going on Board: Guns fired 21, Shott fired 1, 9 lb 5, 6 lb 0, 4 lb 0, 2 lb 15, 1/2 lb 0, Powder Expended 42 23 Departed the Harrington: Guns fired 9, Shott fired 0, 9 lb 0, 6 lb 0, 4 lb 0, 2 lb 9, 1/2 lb 0, Powder Expended 9 25 An Allarm for the Swift: Guns fired 6, Shott fired 0, 9 lb 0, 6 lb 0, 4 lb 4, 2 lb 0, 1/2 lb 2, Powder Expended 13 Do Fired at Bankes to bring the Swift too: Guns fired 1, Shott fired 1, 9 lb 1, 6 lb 0, 4 lb 0, 2 lb 0, 1/2 lb 0, Powder Expended 4 Do Arrived the Swift Capt Watts from Madagascar: Guns fired 9, Shott fired 0, 9 lb 0, 6 lb 0, 4 lb 0, 2 lb 9, 1/2 lb 0, Powder Expended 9 26 Departed the Dutch Ship: Guns fired 19, Shott fired 1, 9 lb 3, 6 lb 0, 4 lb 0, 2 lb 15, 1/2 lb 0, Powder Expended 34 three Hornes of Powder for Priming: Guns fired 0, Shott fired 0, 9 lb 0, 6 lb 0, 4 lb 0, 2 lb 0, 1/2 lb 0, Powder Expended 9 28 An Allarm for a Ship that past by: Guns fired 6, Shott fired 0, 9 lb 0, 6 lb 0, 4 lb 4, 2 lb 0, 1/2 lb 2, Powder Expended 13 Powder to the Guard: Guns fired 0, Shott fired 0, 9 lb 0, 6 lb 0, 4 lb 0, 2 lb 0, 1/2 lb 0, Powder Expended 48 Totall: Guns fired 109, Shott fired 4, 9 lb 2, 6 lb 12, 4 lb 12, 2 lb 77, 1/2 lb 6, Powder Expended 235 Hand Spikes 6 Spunge Staves 5 Match 42 Paper 5 Quire Linstocks 3 Lead Shott 4	This was an account of gunner's stores expended in the month of April 1742. The columns recorded, for each occasion, the guns fired, the shot fired, the nine pounders, the six pounders, the four pounders, the two pounders, the half pounders and the powder expended. 6 fired for the supercargoes of the Danish ship, 9 guns fired, 9 two pounders, 9 lb powder Ditto, departed the Danish ship, 9 guns fired, 9 two pounders, 9 lb powder 17 April, an alarm for a Dutch ship, 6 guns fired, 4 four pounders, 2 two pounders, 13 lb powder Ditto, fired at Banks's to bring the Dutch ship to, 3 guns fired, 3 shot fired, 3 nine pounders, 12 lb powder Ditto, arrived the Dutch ship, 11 guns fired, 11 two pounders, 11 lb powder 22 April, fired for Governor Jenkins going on board, 21 guns fired, 1 nine pounder, 5 six pounders, 15 two pounders, 42 lb powder 23 April, departed the Harrington, 9 guns fired, 9 two pounders, 9 lb powder 25 April, an alarm for the Swift, 6 guns fired, 4 four pounders, 2 two pounders, 13 lb powder Ditto, fired at Banks's to bring the Swift to, 1 gun fired, 1 shot fired, 1 nine pounder, 4 lb powder Ditto, arrived the Swift, Captain Watts, from Madagascar, 9 guns fired, 9 two pounders, 9 lb powder 26 April, departed the Dutch ship, 19 guns fired, 1 nine pounder, 5 six pounders, 15 two pounders, 34 lb powder Three horns of powder for priming, 9 lb powder 28 April, an alarm for a ship that passed by, 6 guns fired, 4 four pounders, 2 two pounders, 13 lb powder Powder to the guard, 48 lb powder Total, 109 guns fired, 4 shot fired, 2 nine pounders, 12 six pounders, 12 four pounders, 77 two pounders, 6 half pounders, 235 lb powder The following stores were also expended: Hand spikes, 6 Sponge staves, 5 Match, 42 lb Paper, 5 quire Linstocks, 3 Lead shot, 4 **Interpretations** The gunner's account for April, like that for March, classed every discharge by the weight of shot the gun threw and tied each firing to a named occasion, so that every pound of powder spent could be traced to its purpose. The month's salutes for the arrival and departure of the Danish, Dutch and Swift, and for Governor Jenkins going aboard the Harrington, were built almost wholly from the light two pounders, seventy-seven of them against a handful of heavy rounds, the smallest guns reserved for ceremony to spare the powder store.

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			The four rounds fired in earnest, three at Banks's to bring a Dutch ship to and one to bring the Swift to, were the month's only shot sent with intent, using the heavy nine pounders to compel a vessel to stop and be examined. This routine of firing across the bows of an incoming ship, distinct from the ceremonial salutes, shows the island exercising its control over the shipping in the road, every arrival required to bring to and identify itself under the guns of the fort. The arrival of the Swift under Captain Watts from Madagascar records the sloop whose coils of rope had been the subject of the Governor's inquiry to the storekeeper some weeks before, and whose presence Lambert had noted as bearing on the pace of the platform works. Tracking the same vessel across successive consultations, from the rope in the stores to her arrival saluted here, shows how closely the council's business was bound to the movements of the few ships that called, each vessel's coming and going marked in the record that governed the island's supply and defence.
237	203	that care shall be taken to make this Place as Agreable during their Stay as Possible. Agreed that the same Welcome Method to be a Standing Order with Regard to all foreign Ships that may touch here hereafter. It being Usual to take Especial care of Mr Coupe upon the Departure of every foreign Ship in Consequence of our Orders of Royal George, And therefore lent Mr Coupe without attempt to make an Enquiry upon this Dane Ship, We thought Proper to Send for him to acquaint that we Expected he would be forthcoming to make up his Accounts with out Traders upon Demand, which he gave us his Honour he would be. The Pay Master Reports that next Saturday being the Second of the month is Pay day, therefore Requests he may have a Sum of Money Issued to him out of the Treasury Accordingly Ordered that a Sum of Money be Issued to the Pay Master on Thursday next for the Purposes above Mentioned By Vertue of a Letter of Attorney Received to Mr Jenkins by the Heirs and Executors of the late Mr Piper, he Mr Jenkins hath Deposited in his Books & safe Solid thereon the Effects of the said late Mr Piper with Letter of the same Enclosd, which are in Readiness / on a suitable manner Dane sail and to England & first safe Conveyance The following Petition was Presented and Read Viz. To the Worshipfull Thomas Lambert Esqr Governour Council of St Helena The Humble Petition of Thomas Green Sheweth That your Petitioner was Cook to Isaac Piper Esqr deceased during the whole time he was Governour of this Island which was Six Years & four Months & for that first three Years & first Prancer viz. from the 23 of March 1707 to the 25 of December 1713 Your Petitioner was allowed Wages after the rate of Sun of Sund, which amounts to £87 10 / from the Day last Mentioned to the time of his Death which is 2 Years & 7 Months your Petitioner was Attained Do a year which comes to £131 3 4, Amounts in the Whole to the Sum of £87 3 4. That of this Sum Your Petitioner hath Received no more than Sund	The council directed that care be taken to make the Danish ship's stay as agreeable as possible during her time in the road. It agreed that the same method be a standing order with regard to all foreign ships that might touch there in future. It being usual to take particular care of the departure of any foreign ship, following the Court's orders, and having made an attempt upon the Danish ship, the council thought fit to send for Mr Crispe and told him he would be forthcoming to make up his accounts with his masters on demand, which he said he would be. The paymaster reported that the following Saturday, being the second in the month, was pay day, and asked that a sum of money be issued to him accordingly. It was ordered that a sum of money be issued to the paymaster the following Saturday for the purpose mentioned. By virtue of a letter of attorney received by Mr Jenkins from the heirs and executors of the late Mr Piper, Mr Jenkins had deposited in his books and safe chest the effects of the said late Mr Piper, with a list of the same enclosed, which were in return to be sent to England of first consequence. The following petition was presented and read, addressed to Governor Thomas Lambert and the council of St Helena, as the humble petition of Thomas Green. The petitioner set out that he had been cook to Isaac Piper, deceased, during the whole time he was Governor of the island, which was six years and eight months, for the first half of the three years and eight months from 25 April 1727 to 25 December 1730. The petitioner was allowed wages at the rate of £5 a year, which came to £18 10s. From the day he began to serve to the time of his death, which was two years and eight months, the petitioner was allowed £10 a year, which came to £31 4s. The amount in the whole came to the sum of £87 3s 4d. Of this sum the petitioner had received no more than £5, which the petitioner's master had paid him in his lifetime, so that the sum of £82 3s 4d remained yet due to the petitioner. He had a good intention to keep his money in his own hands, but as men died suddenly in England of first consequence, and Mr Piper meaning to keep the wages himself, there remained in his hands at the time of his death the sum of £82 3s 4d still due to the petitioner, with which his master was pleased to take the petitioner's money and demand it repaid. The petitioner being wholly unacquainted with

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		which at Your Petitioners desire the said Master paid him in his lifetime so that the Sum of £67 3 4 is yet Remaining due to your Petitioner That with a good Intention to Wean & his Servants & Prevent their Squandering away their Money in Wealth so Extravagant Expence it was Customary for his said Master to keep in his hands all that Sum or so much as in Reason so Wages Accordingly their Demanded in his hands, at the time of his Death, the Sum of £67 3 4 due Belonging to Your Petitioner / this said Master having Promised to take your Petitioner with him to England there to serve him as his Cook Your Petitioner was glad his Money Remained so Deposited That Your Petitioner being wholly unaquainted with Businefs he trusted for his Security altogether to the honour Peace of the said Master and no doubt he had kept a true & Just Account of what was in Justly due to your Petitioner but to your Petitioners great Sorrow & Surprize, he, upon Enquiry hath been told that no Account thereof is to be any where found That although Your Petitioner cannot bring direct Proof of what he hath herein set forth, Yet it being well known that it was the usual Practice of the said Master for the Reasons afsersaid to keep his Servants Money in his hands Your Petitioner humbly hopes that Your Worship & Council will look upon the Circumstances as a Strong Presumptive	business, trusted for his security altogether to the known peace of his said master, and did not doubt but he had kept a true and just account of what was justly due to the petitioner; but to the petitioner's great sorrow and surprise, he, upon inquiry, had been told that no account thereof was to be any where found. Though the petitioner never even brought that part of what he had herein set out, yet it being well known that it was the usual practice of his master, for the reasons mentioned, to keep his servants' money in his hands, the petitioner humbly hoped the Governor and council would take up this circumstance as a strong ground. **Interpretations** Green's petition exposes the peril of a servant trusting his employer to bank his wages unwritten, a common practice on the island where hard coin was scarce and men left their pay in the Governor's hands. Piper had kept Green's earnings over years of service and died leaving no account of the debt, so that £82 3s 4d could not be traced in any book, the very danger the whole March programme of attested reckoning was meant to prevent, here shown in a private case where the record simply did not exist. The petitioner's difficulty was purely evidential: the debt was real and the practice of keeping servants' money well known, but with no written account and his master dead, Green could prove nothing. That he was reduced to asking the council to accept the general custom as proof, in place of the missing record, shows how far the island's dealings had run on personal trust rather than paper, and how a labouring man with no head for business was left exposed when that trust outlived the man who held it. The connection to the Piper estate, whose effects Jenkins was gathering under a letter of attorney to send to England, shows the council handling the claim against a background of winding up the dead Governor's affairs. Green's demand for his back wages fell to be considered just as Piper's property was being collected and shipped home, the servant's small claim set against the formal settlement of a Governor's estate, and the council obliged to weigh an unwritten debt in the reckoning of what that estate owed.
238	204	Presumptive Proof of what he hath herein Alledged. That there are Several Valluable Effects Sill remaining upon the Island belonging to his said Master Your Petitioner therefore humbly Prays Your Worship & Council will be Pleased to give order for the Speidy payment of the Sun which is so Justly due to your Petitioner or that you will be Pleased to give your Petitioner such other Reliefs in the Premifses as to you shall Seem Proper And your Petitioner shall ever pray Thomas Gun was called before us & told that in due Season the Merrits of his Petition should be Considered and he be Relieved accordingly. On the 30 of last Month Governour Lambert Mr Jenkins & the Council together with Gunner French went to Prospects & Bankes to view the fortifications at them two Places, and Governour Lambert Proposed that the 4 Demy Cannon now come p Harrington shold be Planted upon the Woks at Bankes, where they would do more Service than at any other Place. Therefore they are accordingly Landed and Mounted at Bankes	Thomas Green's petition concluded, offering this as presumptive proof of what he had set out. He added that several valuable effects of his late master still remained on the island, and asked that the Governor and council order the speedy payment of the sum justly due to him, or give him such other relief as they thought fit. Thomas Green was called before the council and told that in due course the merits of his petition would be considered and he would be relieved accordingly. On 30 April Governor Lambert, Mr Jenkins and the council, together with gunner Durnal, went to Rupert's and Banks's to view the fortifications at those places. Governor Lambert proposed that the four demi-cannon brought by the ship Harrington be placed on the works at Banks's, where they would do more service than at any other place. They were accordingly landed at Banks's. The widow and son of the late John Goodwin appeared before the council this day with heavy complaints against Mr Crispe. They charged that during the time he was Governor he had taken a large quantity of the accounts and moneys belonging to the Company, that these had been wasted and taken, and that at the same time he had seized what he called his proportion of it, and sold the same for

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		There appeared before us this day the Widdow and Son of the late John Goodwin Esqr with heavy Complaints against Mr Crispe for having / during the time he was Governour / Suffered a Large Quantity of the Accounts Struck which lay in the Honble Companys Stone houses to be Wasted & Leake out when at the same time he Seized what he called his Proportion of it And Sold the same for his own account without Snewing any Cause why he did so or that it Really was his Property to the Real hurt & Prejudice of the Estate of the said late John Goodwin Esqr and further, what was most Extraordinary, that the Mr Crispe had been Advised & did Confefs the Sorting & destroying that Private Papers between himself & Mr Goodwin together with Some that Related to the Honble Companys Booke of Accounts, whereby they the Widdow & Son were wholly Disabled from Learning the true State or Situation of the Accounts Estate to the Immence lofs & Prejudice of them & the Creditors of the deceased. and Therefore humbly desired that Accounts may be demanded of Mr Crispe and be Strictly Examined Concerning the same particularly what those papers & Accounts Contained which he Confessed to have Clandestinely Aefsroyed to their great lofs & detriment. We told the Widdow & Son of Mr Goodwin deceasd that the Company were Sole Perpetuous And Consequently Mr Crispe must be first Answerable for his Debt to their Honoure, then particular Regard should be had to their Complaints in the mean time advised on to draw their case up in as Clear & Clean a light as they could & lay it before us. Three of the Honble Companys Slaves are now Employed in Aging of Lime Stones at Sandy Bay, and on Monday next the rest of them Excepting such as are Plantation Slaves will be Employed in like manner. Thos Lambert G. G. Powell John Godfrey Present & approved this Consultation R Jenkins	his own account, without showing any cause why he did so, or that it was really his property, to the great hurt and prejudice of the estate of the late John Goodwin. What was most extraordinary, they said, was that Mr Crispe had taken and destroyed the private papers between himself and Mr Goodwin, together with some that related to the Company's books of account, whereby the widow and son were wholly disabled from learning the true state of the accounts and estate, to the immense loss and prejudice of themselves and the creditors of the deceased. They therefore asked that Mr Crispe be examined particularly about these papers and accounts, which he was charged with having secretly destroyed, to their great loss and detriment. The council told the widow and son of the deceased Mr Goodwin that the Company were sole proprietors, and consequently Mr Crispe must first be answerable for his debt to them, after which particular regard would be had to their complaints. In the meantime they were advised to draw their case up as clearly and plainly as they could, and lay it before the council. Three of the Company's slaves were now employed in quarrying lime stone at Sandy Bay, and the following Monday the rest of them, other than the plantation slaves, would be employed in the same manner. The proceedings were subscribed by Thomas Lambert, George Gabriel Powell and John Godfrey, and approved and subscribed by Robert Jenkins. **Interpretations** The Goodwins' complaint against Crispe reveals the gravest charge in the whole affair: that the former Governor had not merely diverted the Company's money but destroyed the very papers by which the accounts could be reconstructed, leaving the estate's true state unknowable. Where the March programme rested throughout on written record as the guard against fraud, here an official was accused of attacking the record itself, so that the widow, the son and the creditors were left unable to prove what they were owed, the deliberate destruction of evidence being a deeper crime than the taking it concealed. The council's response established a clear order of priority rooted in the Company's claims: because the Company were sole proprietors, Crispe must answer his debt to them before any private complaint could be pursued. Placing the Company's interest ahead of the widow's and creditors' claims shows the institution's rights standing first in any settlement, the private parties directed to prepare their case but made to wait behind the Company, whose recovery of its own losses took precedence over theirs. The landing of the four demi-cannon at Banks's carried into effect the decision Lambert had reached in his fortification survey, concentrating the island's heaviest new guns at the one platform judged best placed to keep an enemy ship from the road. Moving the guns from the Harrington to the works Lambert had singled out shows his written recommendation being put into practice within days, the survey translated directly into the disposition of the island's artillery, the new Governor's plan for the defence already taking physical shape on the ground.
239	205	At a Consultation held on Tuesday the 13th day of April 178[...] at the Castle Present Thomas Lambert Esqr Governour Robert Jenkins Esqr Geo Gabl Powell Esqr of Council John Godfrey Esqr of Council The last Consultation was read & approved	At a consultation held at the castle on Tuesday 13 April 1742, the members present were Thomas Lambert as Governor, Robert Jenkins, George Gabriel Powell as second of council and John Godfrey as third of council. The minutes of the previous consultation were read and approved.

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		The Petition of Ann Johnson was presented and Read desiring leave to Proceed to Bombay upon the Ship Harrington Granted The Petition of Samuel Docton was Presented and Read Viz. To the Worshipfull Thomas Lambert Esqr Governour Council of St Helena The humble Petition of Samuel Docton Humbly Sheweth That on or about the 29th day of February last, an Allarm was made for a French Ship, whereupon the Officers of the out forks makeing the best of there way to their Prospective Quarters, one of them Captain John Godfrey finding my fishing boat laying at the Cove, ord for his better Expedition make use of her to Convey him a Prospects, and in her Return She was lost by Knocking against the Rocks, to the very great Detriment of Your Petitioner and his Family whose Chiefest Subsistance was by the help of that fishing Boat Your Petitioner therefore most humbly Prays an other fishing Boat may be Ordered him by your Worship Honour And your Petitioner will ever pray &c Signed Saml Docton St Helena 13th April 178[...] The Petition being Considered We think Mr Godfrey did his duty in makeing use of this Boat as the Neasest Conveyance to his Quarters and Really deserves the thanks of this Board for his Alacrity therein, And as the Boat was Unluckily lost in the Service of the Honble Company we would if it were in our Power give Mr Docton another Boat but that being Impracticable the Company having at this time only two Yoals which are Employed in fishing We therefore agree to make Mr Docton Satisfaction by paying to him the Vallue of his Boat, And Mr Docton being Called in and asked what lofs he had Sustained by the aforesaid Accident happening to his Boat he Said it was Infinately more than the first Cost of the Boat, for by two means he had to maintain his family the which now would be Exceedingly difficult for him. In Answer to that we told him the same Alacrity would be Continued to him which we had Enjoyed from the time his Boat was left us, his Slave shold be allowed a Birth in the Companys fishing Boat untill such time as he could Provide himself with another. Whereupon he laid before us the Cost of what he Paid for viz. A Boat £6 Mast & Sails £1 13 9 3 Oars £13 2 half a Coil of Rope £1 13 3 Bag £2 6 £10 2 8 Ordered that the Pay Master do pay to Mr Docton the Sum of £10 2 8 the better to Enable him to Purchase another Boat	The petition of Ann Johnson was presented and read, asking leave to go to Bombay aboard the ship Harrington. It was granted. The petition of Samuel Doveton was presented and read, addressed to Governor Thomas Lambert and the council of St Helena, as the humble petition of Samuel Doveton. The petitioner set out that on or about 29 February an alarm was made for a French ship, whereupon the officers of the outer forts, making the best of their way to their respective quarters, one of them, Captain John Godfrey, ran the petitioner's fishing boat aground at the cove. This obliged the petitioner to lay out for its repair, and, as it appeared from his petition, the boat was knocked against the rocks, to his great loss, since fresh food for himself and his family, whose chief subsistence it was, depended on that fishing boat. The petition was dated at St Helena on 13 April 1742 and subscribed by Samuel Doveton, and asked that another fishing boat be found for him. The petition being considered, the council thought Mr Godfrey had done his duty in making use of the boat as the quickest means of conveyance to his quarters, and thereby deserved the thanks of the board for his alacrity there. As the boat was knocked to pieces in the Company's service, they held it but reasonable that Mr Doveton have another boat; but that being impracticable, the Company having at that time only two boats employed in fishing, they agreed to make Mr Doveton satisfaction by paying him the value of the boat. Mr Doveton, being called in and asked what he had sustained by the accident happening to his boat, said it was far more than the first cost of the boat, for he now wanted the means to maintain his family, which made it exceedingly difficult for him. In answer to this, the council told him the same liberty would be continued to him which he had enjoyed from the time his boat was lost, that his slave should be allowed a berth in the Company's fishing boat until he could provide himself with another. He then laid before the council the following account of what the boat had cost: A boat, £6 0s 0d Mast and sails, £1 13s 9d 3 oars, £0 13s 0d Half a coil of rope, £1 13s 3d Buoy, £0 2s 6d Total, £10 2s 8d It was ordered that the paymaster pay Mr Doveton the sum of £10 2s 8d, to enable him to purchase another boat. **Interpretations** The Doveton case turned on a collision between public duty and private loss: an officer, hurrying to his post on a French alarm, wrecked a fishing boat that was a family's livelihood, and the council had to weigh the one against the other. It resolved the tension by praising Godfrey for his speed in the Company's service while compensating Doveton for the boat lost in that service, treating the destruction as a public cost fairly borne by the Company rather than a private misfortune left to fall where it landed. The council's inability to replace the boat in kind, the Company having only two fishing boats in use, exposes how slender the island's means were even in so basic a matter as catching fish. Compelled to pay the boat's value in cash instead, and to lend Doveton's slave a place in a Company boat meanwhile, the council met the loss with the makeshifts available to a small establishment, the shortage of boats mirroring the wider scarcity of every resource on a remote island.

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			The itemised account of the boat, down to the buoy and half a coil of rope, shows the council settling even a modest compensation on exact proof of cost rather than a rough sum. Requiring Doveton to list what the boat and its gear had cost, and paying precisely that figure, reflects the same discipline of measured account that governed the whole administration, a private claim met not by estimate but by a reckoning each part of which could be checked.
240	206	The Petition of Ebenezar Leech was Presented & Read Setting forth that he Sered the Honble Company as a Centenel at this Island Thirty four Years and having been for some time past Extremely Sickly and unable to do his Duty he Therefore humbly Requests his Descharge Granted Provided he will be forthcoming upon all Allarms or when else it shall be thought Necesary to call upon him for the Service The Petition of John Sange was Presented & Read viz. To the Worshipfull Thomas Lambert Esqr Governour of the Island St Helena / and Gentlemen of the Council The humble Petition of John Sange Sheweth That I having Served the Honble Company upwards of 10 Years in all and having nothing else to trust to but Carrying Armes, I being a Young Man am willing to try my fortune in the World I was very Young when the Honble Company first Entertained me in there Service, for which kindnefs I shall be ever Ready to Return the Honble Company humble & hearty thanks, but having Carried Arms upwards of 9 Years in the Honble Companys Service, and now having an opportunity of going to Bombay on Board the Ship Harrington in order to better my Circumstances by Serving the Honble Company there I hope Your Worship & the Gentlemen of the Council will take it in Consideration so far as not to be my hindrance at this time and for much former Same Your humble Petitioner will in Duty be ever bound to Pray Signed John Sange 13th April 178[...] The Merrits of the Petition being Considered it was debated by Governour Lambert whether at this juncture Considering the Uncertainty of Afsaires in Europe, the great difficulty the Company meets with in Raising & Expence in Snuting Men here for the Defence of their Island, together with the Ingratitude of the Petitioner John Sange, who very Early Aided of the Companys Bounty by his own Confefsion 3 Years before he was Capable of doing there Service these Arguments put together with their Fatual Neglectuous Indudes Governour Lambert to give it as his opinion that we might Reject the Petition. The Matter being moved Mefsr Jenkins Powell, & Godfrey agreed that Governour Lambert had Expressed himself with great good Sence and the Arguments made use of by him carried with them such a Weight so werl Sufficient to Induce any one to Stay and defend / in case of Nid / there Natal Country more Especially this John	The petition of Ebenezer Leech was presented and read, setting out that he had served the Honourable Company as a sentinel on the island for thirty-four years, and, having for some time past been extremely sickly and unable to do his duty, he asked to be discharged. It was granted, provided he would be forthcoming on all alarms, or whenever else it should be thought necessary to call upon him for the service. The petition of John Funge was presented and read, addressed to Governor Thomas Lambert and the council of the island of St Helena, as the humble petition of John Funge. The petitioner set out that, having served the Honourable Company upwards of ten years in all, and having nothing else to trust to but bearing arms, he, being a young man, was willing to try his fortune in the world. He was very young when the Company first took him into their service, for which kindness he would ever be ready to return the Company humble and hearty thanks; but having borne arms upwards of seven years in the Company's service, and now having an opportunity of going to Bombay aboard the ship Harrington, in order to better his circumstances, he hoped the Governor and council would take it into consideration so far as not to be a hindrance to him at this time, and for much former shame. The petition was dated 13 April 1742 and subscribed by John Funge. The merits of the petition being considered, Governor Lambert debated whether at this juncture, considering the uncertainty of affairs in Europe, the great difficulty the Company met with in raising and keeping an establishment of men here, and the defence of the island, together with the ingratitude of the petitioner John Funge, who very early was taken into the Company's service by his own confession three years before he was capable of bearing arms, these arguments put together with their natural reflections induced Governor Lambert to give it as his opinion that the petition be rejected. The matter being moved, Powell and Godfrey agreed that Governor Lambert had expressed himself with very good sense, and the arguments made use of by him carried with them such a weight as were sufficient to induce anyone to stay and defend the place in case of need. But as to the native country men, more especially John Funge, who lay under personal obligations to the Company, they were of opinion that, in consequence of the Royal Charter, the natives of the island were free denizens and natural subjects of England, and that, having attained their will, whether born here or elsewhere, once they had fully complied with and discharged their contract or agreement with the Company, and all other engagements whatever upon this place, would be deemed an act absolutely beyond their commission, such as they could quote no precedent for. They therefore gave it as their opinion that John Funge's petition should be granted, and it was granted accordingly. The petition of Joseph Belcher was presented and read, setting out that he had served the Company on the island ten years and therefore asked his

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		Sange who laid under Personal Obligations to the Company, But Still these Gentlemen were of opinion Considering that in Consequence of the Royall Charter the Netives of this Island were free Denizons & Natural Subjects of England, that the Attaining against their Will either one born here or elsewhere after they had fully Complyed with & Perceived their Contract or agreement with the Honble Company, and all other Engagements whatsoever upon this Place, would be denied an Act abundantly beyond our Commifsion / such as we could quote no Presdent for, And therefore give it as their opinion that John Sanges Petition shold be Granted, and it was accordingly Granted. The Petition of Joseph Belcher was Presented & Read Setting forth that he had Served the Company here 10 Years and therefore desired his Descharge Granted Provided he could pay his Debts upon the Island Governour Lambert Reports that himself & Mr Jenkins have Viewed the Valleys from the fort to South West point and that they have likewise Viewed Sandy Bay and Island to Visit Prosperous Bay & Turks Cap Speedely	discharge. It was granted, provided he could pay his debts on the island. Governor Lambert reported that he and Mr Jenkins had viewed the valleys from the fort to the south-west point, and that they would likewise view Sandy Bay, and intended to visit Prosperous Bay and Turk's Cap shortly. **Interpretations** The Funge case exposed a genuine conflict of principle within the council over whether an island-born servant could ever be refused leave to depart. Lambert argued against it on grounds of necessity, the threat of war, the difficulty of keeping men, and Funge's ingratitude after being raised from childhood by the Company; but Powell and Godfrey held that the Royal Charter made island natives free subjects of England who, once their contract was discharged, could not lawfully be detained. The disagreement, and its resolution in Funge's favour, marks a real limit on the Company's power over its people, the charter's guarantee of liberty overriding the Governor's plea of expedience. The council's reasoning that detaining a free-born subject who had fulfilled his engagement would be an act beyond its commission, for which no precedent existed, shows the board checking its own authority against the law it served under. Rather than stretching its power to meet the island's manpower shortage, it accepted that a right granted by charter could not be set aside by local necessity, choosing to release a needed man rather than exceed the bounds of its warrant, a deliberate submission of convenience to legal right. The contrast between the three petitions marks the different holds the Company kept over different men: Leech, discharged after thirty-four years but still liable to be called on alarms; Belcher, freed only on condition he cleared his island debts; and Funge, released as a free subject once his term was served. That discharge was hedged with conditions of continued service or payment of debt for some, yet unconditional as a matter of right for a native subject, shows the layered obligations binding the island's population, from lifelong military liability to the free denizen's liberty to depart.
241	207	The Honourable Companys Slaves Excepting such as are Plantation Slaves are all of them Employed in Burning of Lime. Whereas there are three Serjeants viz. Burnham, Whaley & Banwer that are grown quite old in the Service having Sered many years, who now are & have been for some time past very unable to do duty We therefore upon Mature Consideration Agree that for the greater Benefit & Security of the Honble Companys Island these three aforesaid Old Serjeants be Superanuated at the Salary or allowance of £13 13 pr Ann Private Mans pay, And that in their Stead One other Serjeant be made such as will be Capable of doing his Duty. Governour Lambert Reports that Agreeable to the 43 Paragraph of General Letter p Harrington he hath Enquired of the Widow & Son of the late Governour Goodwin wether or not they are Satisfyed with the Conduct of Mefsrs Powell & Godfrey in Regard to that part of the late Mr Goodwins Estate which was put under their Care and Mannagement, and That they Expressed Entire Satisfaction in what has been done in the Premises by those two Gentlemen. Two of our Garrison viz. David Wilson and John Potter attempting	The Company's slaves were all employed in the burning of lime, other than the plantation slaves. There were three sergeants, Burnham, Whaley and Bazett, grown quite old in the service, having served many years, who were now unable to do their duty and had been so for some time past. On mature consideration, the council agreed that for the greater benefit and security of the island these three worn-out old sergeants be superannuated at a salary or allowance of £13 13s a year, being a private soldier's pay, and that in their place another sergeant be made, such as would be capable of doing their duty. Governor Lambert reported that, in accordance with the forty-third paragraph of the general letter by the ship Harrington, he had asked the widow and son of the late Mr Goodwin whether they were satisfied with the conduct of Mr Powell and Mr Godfrey in regard to that part of the late Mr Goodwin's estate which had been put under their care and management, and that they had expressed entire satisfaction with what had been done by those two gentlemen. Two of the garrison, David Wilson and John Potter, having attempted to desert and go aboard the Danish ship, the Governor this day tendered the following papers concerning them. The examination of David Wilson, taken 6 April 1742. Wilson was brought that morning from aboard the ship Queen of Denmark, where he had hidden

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		to desert, and go hence / for the Dane Ship, the Governour this day Tendered the following Paper Concerning them viz. The Examination of David Wilson April 6th 178[...] The said David Wilson was brought this Morning from on Board the Ship the Queen of Denmark where he had Dischled the Night before, and had himself amongst the Hoggs on Board the said Ship, Lieutenant Scott, Corporal Beale sent Speake, Jeremiah Worrill brought him a Shore. Wilson being asked by Governour Lambert what he had to say for himself, his answer was, that he hoped forgivenefs, and owned his Intention was to have gone off with the said Danish Ship, had he not been Recovered. The Examination of John Potter April 6th 178[...] The Chief mate of the Ship the Queen of Denmark finding the said Potter on Board the Ship betwixt nine & ten a Clock at night the 5th Instant acred him immediately to be sett on Shore in the said Ships Pinnace, He being asred by Governour Lambert what his Intention was in going on Board the said Ship he freely Confefsed he intended to go away with the said Ship, that he had the day before Confessed with David Wilson & John Beddle, and they all agreed to Endeavour to make their Escapes from the Island by the same means, he Pretends some Wenlt is his frank Confefsion, and in informing against the aforesaid David Wilson and John Beddle. NB Ido not find he could have been Charged with the fact, had he not Voluntarily Confefsed it himself These Examinations was taken before me this 6th day of April 178[...] Signed Thos Lambert Agreed that a Consultation be held on Saturday next for the Tryall of these two Men and the Secretary was Ordered to give Notice thereof to the Prisoners by the Marshall in order for their better Offence Ordered That agreable to our Honble Masters Orders then be an advertisement Published to give Notice to all Persons that the Estate of the late Governour Goodwin will be Sold at Publick Outery this day Month, where all Persons are free to Sell & Buy for Ready Money.	the night before, having hidden himself among the hogs aboard the ship. Lieutenant Scott and Corporal Beale sent Speaker, and Jeremiah Worrall brought him ashore. Asked by Governor Lambert what he had to say for himself, Wilson answered that he pleaded guilty, and owned his intention was to have gone off aboard the Danish ship, had he not been discovered. The examination of John Potter, taken 6 April 1742. The chief mate of the ship Queen of Denmark, finding Potter aboard the ship between nine and ten at night on the 5th, brought him immediately to be set ashore in the ship's pinnace. Asked by Governor Lambert what his intention was in going aboard the ship, Potter freely confessed he had intended to go away aboard the Danish ship, and that he had, the day before, plotted with David Wilson and John Beddile, and that they had all agreed to make their escapes from the island by the same means. This confession he made freely, and in it informed against David Wilson and John Beddile. A note added that the fact could not have been charged against him had he not voluntarily confessed it himself. The examinations were taken before the council on 6 April 1742 and subscribed by Thomas Lambert. It was agreed that a consultation be held the following Saturday for the trial of these two men, and the secretary was ordered to give notice of it to the prisoners by the marshal, so they might make their defence. It was ordered that, in accordance with the Company's orders, an advertisement be published giving notice to all persons that the estate of the late Governor Goodwin would be sold at public outcry that day month, when all persons were free to bid and buy for ready money. **Interpretations** The superannuation of three worn-out sergeants at a private soldier's pay shows the Company maintaining men aged in its service on a reduced pension rather than discharging them destitute. Setting their allowance at £13 13s, the pay of the lowest rank, while replacing them with a serving sergeant, marks the balance the council struck between honouring long service and keeping an effective garrison, the old men kept on the books at a lower rate while their duty passed to one still able to perform it. Lambert's formal inquiry of the Goodwins whether they were satisfied with Powell and Godfrey's management of the estate, made expressly under a paragraph of the Company's general letter, shows the board policing its own members' handling of property in their charge. Requiring the heirs to attest their satisfaction, and recording it, guarded the two councillors against later complaint and shows the Company's instructions reaching into the conduct of its own officers, the same discipline of accountability applied to those who managed the estate as to those who owed it. Potter's confession, which the record notes could not otherwise have been proved, raises a quiet point about the weight the court gave to a man's own admission. That the case against Potter rested wholly on what he freely owned, and that this was expressly recorded, shows the council distinguishing between guilt established by evidence and guilt confessed, a distinction that might bear on the mercy shown him, and one the court thought worth noting against the day of trial when the two deserters would be judged.
242	208	The Pay Master was Ordered to pay to Mr Joshua Johnson the Sum	The paymaster was ordered to pay Mr Joshua Johnson the sum of £3 3s 9d for 3,430 lemons furnished for the use of the general table.

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		of £3 9 for 3430 Lemons furnished for the use of the General Table. Capt Robert Jenkins laid the following upon the Board Viz. Gentlemen I move that there may be an Account given to Governour Lambert of all the Treasure that was found in the Treasury on my arrival, and also of the Money that was sent by the Royall George, also of the Rents & Rebeenue of the Island for the Last Year 1741 an Account of all the Provisions Sold to the Garrison out of the Honble Companys Stores, as likewise of the Treasure Received p India Yatch, together with an Account of all the Slaves Sold from May the 9 of 1741 to March the 22 of 178[...]. And also that there may be a fair Account of all the Effects Sold out of the Stores belonging to the Estate of the late John Goodwin Esqr, as well as the Moneys Received from Sundry Persons at January times Account of that Estate, all their matters being taken by the fund and Security of my Honble Master, I Therefore hope for the more Ready Compliance, And as the Books I believe are not brought up, nor can I wait for them, I desire that I may have a Sheet Account of it, And that this Movement may be Incited in this days Consultation. P.S. a Sale of Horses is to be Added It being observed to Mr Jenkins that he had Received his Dispatches, he answered that he could not Sail with Security to himself or to the Company untill the Several afsersaid Accounts were furly Stated and laid before the Board, that he Postponed to go hence on Monday next and therefore Expected that these Accounts would ere that time be made up Accordingly It being Verbally Reported that it is the custom of the Slaves for a Slaver to go Clean & Wholesome as it is for how is out or Danish or these four or milton very Wholey an Constration how they may maintain themselves at the same time and far from Provin, viz. £13 13 pr Ann out of which, when Provisions were Plenty upon the Island, they and Supply themselves Comfortably Enough, but now its otherwise and there are Obliged to be furnished from the Store, whereupon this would Governour on the Commodities Issued hence their whole pay will Barely buy them Provision, they must go destitute of all other Necesarys The Affair being Seriously Weighed We do agree that it is for our Masters Interest Especially at this juncture when we don't know how Soon We may have Occasion to Try their Strength to keep them in heart & in order thereto to lett them have Bread out of the Stores at Prime Cost, antill such time as it may & leave God that Yam and other Provisions shall be more Plenty upon the Island. Mr Geo Gabl Powell Reports that he has Surveyd the Honble Companys Plantations, and to his Concern finds the same are Extremely Young ensomuch that there is little or no Yam to the Suckers, what Small matter there is are Vastly bad, as they are growing to the Season is on them & Consequently Scaunchy and the Rateing of um would Infallibly give the Slaves the Flier, the Yams, if they may be called Xoit weigh one with another above 3 or 4 Ounces, And the Peoples Allowance to	Captain Robert Jenkins laid the following before the council. He addressed the council as gentlemen. He moved that an account be given to Governor Lambert of all the treasure found in the treasury on his arrival, and of the money sent by the ship Royal George; also of the debts and credits of the island for the past year 1741; an account of all the provisions sold to the garrison out of the Company's stores; likewise of the treasure received by the India yacht, together with an account of all the stores sold from 9 May 1741 to 22 March 1742. He also moved that there be a fair account of all the effects sold out of the stores belonging to the estate of the late John Goodwin, as well as the moneys received from various persons at January terms on account of that estate, all these matters being taken by the Governor and council of the Company. He therefore hoped they would be complied with more readily. As the books, he believed, were not brought up, nor could he wait for them, he moved that he might have a distinct account of it, and that this motion be entered in that day's consultation. He added a postscript that a sale of horses was also to be added. It being observed to Mr Jenkins that he had received his dispatches, he answered that he could not sail with any satisfaction, either to himself or to the Company, until the several accounts mentioned were fairly stated and laid before the board. He therefore proposed to go from there the following Monday, and expected that the accounts would by that time be made up accordingly. In consequence of the above report, the council found it necessary to guard the plantations, three of which held about three slaves each, and on inquiry the others of them found their stock of cattle very low, and their several deficiencies. It being thought absolutely necessary, they resolved that a slave go clean and slaughter as far or nearer, or drain, or three or four more, being very worthy their consideration how they should maintain themselves and the remainder so far from home, at £13 13s a year, out of which, when provisions were plenty upon the island, they could supply themselves comfortably enough; but now, to otherwise, and they were obliged to be furnished from the stores, whereupon the council held that, considering their whole pay would barely buy them provision, they must go destitute of all other necessaries. The affair being seriously weighed, the council agreed that it was for the Company's masters' interest, especially at this juncture, when they did not know how soon they might have occasion to try their strength, to keep them in heart, and in order thereto to let them have bread out of the stores at prime cost, until such time as it might please God that yam and other provisions should be more plenty upon the island. George Gabriel Powell reported that he had surveyed the Honourable Company's plantations, and to his concern found the same very young and exceedingly bad, as there was little or no yam growing to the season in them, and, what small matter there was, the rating of it would infallibly give the slaves the flux. The yams, if any there were, called but weighed one with another above three or four ounces, and the Company allowed each man and each woman for such an allowance. The younger sort were allowed 25 lb of yam a week each. As the plantation slaves were wholly employed in digging and planting the young yams, without being able to make any improvement whatever, he thought now the yams growing and three months' respite would be a great help to the plantations.

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		Each Man & Each Woman pr Wich, the Younger Sort are allowed 25 lb pr Wich Each So that the Plantation Slaves are wholly Employed in digging & Planting the Suckers without being able to make any Improvement whatsoever, That now the Yams are growing & three months Respite will be a great help to the Plantations Mr Powell desired that Mr Docton might be called in to Say whether the Mellencholly Acco which he has given of the Plantations is not matter of fact. **Margin Notes:** the Slaves Placed in Governour Powells Report	Mr Powell asked that Mr Doveton might be called in, to say whether the melancholy account he had given of the plantations was correct. **Interpretations** Jenkins's insistence on a full set of accounts before he would sail, though his dispatches were ready, shows the outgoing officer refusing to leave until every branch of the island's finances had been reckoned and laid before the board. His long list, the treasury found on Lambert's arrival, the year's debts and credits, the stores and provisions sold, the Goodwin estate realised, was the whole apparatus of the transfer of government, and his demand that it be completed before his departure marks the weight the deficiency had placed on leaving nothing unaccounted, no officer willing to sail under an unsettled reckoning. Powell's report of the plantations, with yams so undersized that eating them would sicken the slaves with the flux, exposes a genuine subsistence crisis at the root of the island's food supply. The provision grounds could not feed the establishment, the young crop being months from maturity, so that the very staple on which the slave workforce depended was both scarce and unwholesome, a failure of the plantation system that bore directly on the health of the labourers and the security of the whole settlement. The council's decision to issue bread from the stores at prime cost, to keep the soldiers in heart against the possibility of an attack, shows subsistence and defence bound tightly together in its reasoning. Recognising that a soldier whose whole pay barely bought provision would be left destitute, and that a hungry garrison could not be relied on in war, the council chose to subsidise the men's food from its reserves, treating the feeding of the troops as a measure of security as much as of relief at a moment when their strength might soon be tested.
243	209	Mr Docton was thereupon called before us and asked Concerning the same who declared to the same Effect that Mr Powell has before. Upon Serious Consideration of this affair We find an Indispensable Necesity of desiring that a another Provision of Rice be given to the Slaves and that Enquiry be made amongst the Planters for Yam to serve them a Month longer, the which will be giving the Plantations such a growth as we hope will Effectually Prevent our buying any in future. Mr Geo Gabl Powell the Pay Master this day brought in his Account for the Month of March last Viz. List of the Honourable Companys Servants, Exclusive of the Governour & Council, with their Salarys & Diet Money for the Month of March last Paid them this 2 day of April 178[...] viz. Names Pay pr Mensem Diet with the Honble Company Edwin Alcock Chaplain £8 6 8 James Powell £3 3 9 Francis Wrangham Junr Writers £3 3 9 Thomas French £1 13 4 William Hayse Adjutant £38 3 p ann from y 8 Marc etc £1 11 11 John Clarke Lieutenant £3 16 8 James Scott Ensign £36 p Ann to the 27 March 1765	Mr Doveton was thereupon called before the council and asked about the plantations, and he confirmed what Mr Powell had said. On serious consideration of the affair, the council found an indispensable necessity of buying provisions of rice, and resolved to make an offer among the planters for yam to serve them a month longer, which would give the plantations such a growth as they hoped would effectually prevent their buying any in future. George Gabriel Powell, paymaster, this day brought in his account for the month of March. This was a list of the Honourable Company's servants, other than the Governor and council, with their salaries and diet money for the month of March, paid to them on 2 April 1742. Names, pay per month, and diet money with the Company: Edwin Alsop, chaplain, £8 6s 8d James Powell, writer, £3 3s 9d Francis Wrangham junior, writer, £3 3s 9d Thomas French, £1 13s 4d William Hayse, adjutant, £2 8s 3d and 3s for men accoutred, £1 11s 11d John Clarke, lieutenant, £3 16s 8d James Scott, ensign, at 3s 6d a day to 22 March, £2 17s 6d Ditto, lieutenant, at 6s a day from 22 to 31 March, £1 1s 11d Thomas Easthope, ensign, £4 4s 3d John Defountaine, £4 4s 3d John Barton, at 1s 6d a day from 22 March, £1 6s 3.5d Thomas Kirkpatrick, at 1s 6d a day from 29 March, £1 6s 3.5d

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		Do Lieutenant £46 Do from y 22 to 31 Do £1 1 11 Thomas Easthope Ensign £3 19 3[...] John Desfountain £4 4 John Barton Do £48 3 from 22 March £1 6 3[...] Thos Kirkpatrick Do £48 3 from 22 Do £1 6 3[...] 38 9 2[...] Serjeants viz. Thomas Bazett £36 18 to the 22 March / 1 00 11[...] Do 27 18 from y 22 to 31 Do 13 3[...] £2 6 2[...] Jos Desfountain 26 18 to the 22 March 1 00 11[...] Do 27 18 from y 22 to 31 Do 13 3[...] £2 6 2[...] William Burnham 26 18 to the 22 March 1 00 11[...] Do 27 18 from y 22 to 31 Do 13 3[...] £2 6 2[...] Edward Bagley 19 16 to the 22 March £1 2 3[...] Do 27 18 from y 22 to 31 Do 13 3[...] £1 17 8[...] Richard Gurling 19 10 to the 22 March £1 2 3[...] Do 27 18 from y 22 to 31 Do 13 3[...] £1 17 8[...] John Anson 19 10 to the 22 March £1 2 3[...] Do 27 18 from y 22 to 31 Do 13 3[...] £1 17 8[...] Henry Mutton 19 10 to the 22 March £1 2 3[...] Do 27 18 from y 22 to 31 Do 13 3[...] £1 17 8[...] 12 John Leech 19 10 to the 22 March £1 2 3[...] Do 27 18 from y 22 to 31 Do 13 3[...] £1 17 8[...] William Seale 19 10 to the 22 March £1 2 3[...] Do 27 18 from y 22 to 31 Do 13 3[...] £1 17 8[...] Daniel Mason 27 18 from y 22 to 31 Do 13 3[...] Thos Coker 27 18 from y 22 to 31 Do 13 3[...] Joseph Leighton 27 18 from y 31 to 31 Do 13 3[...] 20 10 8[...] Carried over£38 19 11 Diet Carried over 12	The pay of this section totalled £38 9s 2.5d. Sergeants: Thomas Bazett, at £1 6s 8d to 22 March, £1 0s 8.5d Ditto, at 1s 8d a day from 22 to 31 March, 13s 4d, £2 6s 2.5d Joseph Defountaine, at £1 to 22 March, £1 0s 10.5d Ditto, at 1s 8d a day from 22 to 31 March, 13s 4d, £2 6s 2.5d William Burnham, at £1 to 22 March, £1 0s 10.5d Ditto, at 1s 8d a day from 22 to 31 March, 13s 4d, £2 6s 2.5d Edward Bagley, at 19s 10d to 22 March, £1 2s 3.5d Ditto, at 1s 3d a day from 22 to 31 March, 13s 4d, £1 17s 8.5d Richard Girling, at 19s 10d to 22 March, £1 2s 3.5d Ditto, at 1s 3d a day from 22 to 31 March, 13s 4d, £1 17s 8.5d John Hanson, at 19s 10d to 22 March, £1 2s 3.5d Ditto, at 1s 3d a day from 22 to 31 March, 13s 4d, £1 17s 8.5d Henry Multon, at 19s 10d to 22 March, £1 2s 3.5d Ditto, at 1s 3d a day from 22 to 31 March, 13s 4d, £1 17s 8.5d, with £12 diet money with the Company John Leech, at 19s 10d to 22 March, £1 2s 3.5d Ditto, at 1s 3d a day from 22 to 31 March, 13s 4d, £1 17s 8.5d William Seale, at 19s 10d to 22 March, £1 2s 3.5d Ditto, at 1s 3d a day from 22 to 31 March, 13s 4d, £1 17s 8.5d Daniel Mason, at 1s 3d a day from 22 to 31 March, 13s 4d Thomas Coster, at 1s 3d a day from 22 to 31 March, 13s 4d Joseph Leighton, at 1s 3d a day from 22 to 31 March, 13s 4d The sergeants' pay totalled £20 10s 8.5d. The pay carried over came to £38 19s 11d, and the diet carried over to £12. **Interpretations** The council's resolution to buy yams from the planters for a further month, so the Company's own crop could grow undisturbed, shows it choosing short-term purchase to secure long-term self-sufficiency. Rather than harvest the immature yams and both sicken the slaves and exhaust the grounds, the council paid to feed the establishment from private stocks meanwhile, betting that a month's respite would let its plantations recover enough to end the dependence on bought provision, a calculated deferral of cost against future supply. The pay account for March records the transfer of government in its detail, several officers drawing split rates for the days before and after 22 March, the day Lambert arrived and took charge. James Scott's line, paid as an ensign at 3s 6d a day until the 22nd and as a lieutenant at 6s from then, captures a promotion timed exactly to the change of Governor, the reckoning of each man's pay by the precise day marking how the reorganisation of the garrison was written into the wages from the moment Lambert entered. The adjutant's additional 3s for men accoutred, entered beside his pay, shows a specific allowance for equipping soldiers charged separately from salary. Recording such an extra payment as its own item, tied to a named duty, reflects the same exactness that governed the whole roll, every allowance beyond the standing pay set down distinctly so that the total could be tested and no charge concealed within a rounded sum.

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244	210	Diet brought over Brought over£38 19 11 12 Corporals viz. John Sange £1 9 3 David Wilson £1 9 3 Onesephorus Beale £1 9 3 Joseph Whaley £1 9 3 Gabriel Jaacke £1 9 3 Joshua Worrall £1 9 3 Thomas Swindle £1 9 3 Henry Beale £1 9 3 John French £1 9 3 James Draper £1 9 3 Isaac Knipe £1 9 3 John Aldrick £1 9 3 17 11 Drummers viz. William Innes £1 9 3 12 Thomas Watts £1 9 3 William Davis £1 9 3 Thomas Linden at £7 pr Annum 11 8 4 19 3 Centinels viz. William Adams £1 2 9 Beron Ambrose £1 2 9 12 Thomas Alcock £1 2 9 James Allis £1 2 9 William Alle £1 2 9 Joseph Bafsell £1 2 9 Peter Bath £1 2 9 12 Bill Brian £1 2 9 12 Daniel Bush £1 2 9 12 Thomas Browne £1 2 9 Richard Burnham £1 2 9 Andrew Blinman £1 2 9 John Bradley £1 2 9 Orlando Bagley £1 2 9 John Bunn £1 2 9	The list of the Company's servants continued. The pay brought over came to £38 19s 11d, and the diet brought over to £12. Corporals: John Funge, £1 9s 3d David Wilson, £1 9s 3d Onesipharus Beale, £1 9s 3d Joseph Whaley, £1 9s 3d Gabriel Jacke, £1 9s 3d Joshua Worrall, £1 9s 3d Thomas Swindle, £1 9s 3d Henry Beale, £1 9s 3d John French, £1 9s 3d James Draper, £1 9s 3d Isaac Knipe, £1 9s 3d John Aldrich, £1 9s 3d The corporals' pay totalled £17 11s 0d. Drummers: William Ormes, £1 9s 3d, with £12 diet money with the Company Thomas Watts, £1 9s 3d William Davis, £1 9s 3d Thomas London, at £7 a year, £11 8d The drummers' pay totalled £4 19s 3d. Sentinels: William Addams, £1 2s 9d Devon Ambrose, £1 2s 9d, with £12 diet money with the Company Thomas Alcock, £1 2s 9d James Allis, £1 2s 9d William Allis, £1 2s 9d Joseph Bazett, £1 2s 9d Peter Bath, £1 2s 9d, with £12 diet money with the Company Bill Brian, £1 2s 9d, with £12 diet money with the Company Daniel Bush, £1 2s 9d, with £12 diet money with the Company Thomas Browne, £1 2s 9d Richard Burnham, £1 2s 9d Andrew Blinman, £1 2s 9d John Bradley, £1 2s 9d Orlando Bagley, £1 2s 9d John Bunn, £1 2s 9d, with £12 diet money with the Company William Barrell, £1 2s 9d, with £12 diet money with the Company Thomas Borah, £1 2s 9d, with £12 diet money with the Company John Button, £1 2s 9d, with £12 diet money with the Company Joseph Boswell, £1 2s 9d, with £12 diet money with the Company Peter Barker, £1 2s 9d, with £12 diet money with the Company William Brown, £1 2s 9d, with £12 diet money with the Company William Caddy, £1 2s 9d, with £12 diet money with the Company Henry Carter, £1 2s 9d, with £12 diet money with the Company Antony Castel, £1 2s 9d, with £12 diet money with the Company George Clarke, £1 2s 9d, with £12 diet money with the Company Matthew Cammell, £1 2s 9d, with £12 diet money with the Company Daniel Council, £1 2s 9d Thomas Cope, £1 2s 9d John Chadwick, £1 2s 9d Phillip Catchpole, £1 2s 9d, with £19 diet money with the Company Samuel Clarke, £1 2s 9d, with £12 diet money with the Company

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and Analysis
		William Barsell £1 2 9 12 Thomas Borah £1 2 9 12 John Button £1 2 9 12 Joseph Boswell £1 2 9 12 Peter Barber £1 2 9 12 William Brown £1 2 9 12 William Caddy £1 2 9 12 Henry Carter £1 2 9 12 Antony Casteel £1 2 9 12 George Clarke £1 2 9 12 Matthew Cammell £1 2 9 Daniel Council £1 2 9 Thomas Cape £1 2 9 John Chadwick £1 2 9 Phillip Catchpole £1 2 9 Samuel Clarke £1 2 9 12 Martin Mac Danil £1 2 9 12 36 8 Carried over£117 18 4 Diet Carried over£12 12	Martin Mac Danil, £1 2s 9d, with £12 diet money with the Company The pay carried over came to £117 18s 4d, and the diet carried over to £12 12s. **Interpretations** The uniform pay of £1 2s 9d against every sentinel, name after name, was the guard the deficiency inquiry of 1741 had shown to be needed. Writing each private soldier by name at one fixed rate let the sum be tested against the count of real men, so that no invented or dead name could be carried on the roll to draw pay, the fraud the previous administration had been found to have worked. The drummer Thomas London, entered at £7 a year against the other drummers' monthly rate, was paid on a yearly engagement that worked out below the standard drummer's pay, which is why his line reads differently and his annual figure had to be reduced to a monthly sum for the same column. His £11 8d is far short of the £1 9s 3d the others drew, marking a distinct and cheaper form of engagement carried on unchanged from month to month. The diet money of £12 entered against many but not all of the sentinels divided the garrison into those fed at the Company's charge and those given a cash allowance to feed themselves. Kept in its own column, distinct from the fixed monthly pay, the allowance let the two obligations be audited apart, and the pattern down the roll shows the Company met the board of only part of its soldiers directly, the rest drawing money to provide for themselves.
245	211	Diet brought over Brought over£117 18 4 12 12 William Darnill £1 2 9 John Drury £1 2 9 John Draper £1 2 9 Thomas Draper £1 2 9 Edmund Danfield £1 2 9 John Dorak £1 2 9 Barron Delaap £1 2 9 12 James English £1 2 9 John Illis £1 2 9 Samuel Isles £1 2 9 12	The list of the Company's sentinels continued. The pay brought over came to £117 18s 4d, and the diet brought over to £12 12s. William Dorrell, £1 2s 9d John Emery, £1 2s 9d John Draper, £1 2s 9d Thomas Draper, £1 2s 9d Edmund Danfield, £1 2s 9d John Deval, £1 2s 9d Barron Delsaph, £1 2s 9d, with £12 diet money with the Company James English, £1 2s 9d John Ellis, £1 2s 9d Samuel Eales, £1 2s 9d, with £12 diet money with the Company William Edwards, £1 2s 9d John Evans, £1 2s 9d, with £12 diet money with the Company Jesse Evans, £1 2s 9d Francis Funge junior, £1 2s 9d Richard Frost, £1 2s 9d Thomas Fuller, £1 2s 9d James Funge, £1 2s 9d, with £12 diet money with the Company John Girling, £1 2s 9d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and Analysis
		William Edwards £1 2 9 John Evans £1 2 9 12 Isaac Evans £1 2 9 Francis Sange Junr £1 2 9 Richard Frost £1 2 9 Thomas Fuller £1 2 9 James Sange £1 2 9 12 John Gurling £1 2 9 Christopher Garland £1 2 9 12 Onesephorus Gurling £1 2 9 John George £1 2 9 12 William Gunn £1 2 9 12 Giles Harper £1 2 9 Richard Harper £1 2 9 Francis Hayes £1 2 9 James Hall £1 2 9 Phillip Hilliard £1 2 9 Daniel Hayes £1 2 9 John Hayes £1 2 9 Barnett Homes £1 2 9 John Halloway £1 2 9 Solomon Jacobs £1 2 9 Jepther Jermain £1 2 9 12 Richard Kent £1 2 9 Richard Knight £1 2 9 12 Joseph Long £1 2 9 James Long £1 2 9 12 Thomas Legg £1 2 9 Sutton Leech £1 2 9 Thomas Leech £1 2 9 John Leon £1 2 9 John Leech Junr £1 2 9 John Leggett £1 2 9 12	Christopher Garland, £1 2s 9d, with £12 diet money with the Company Onesipharus Girling, £1 2s 9d John George, £1 2s 9d, with £12 diet money with the Company William Gunn, £1 2s 9d, with £12 diet money with the Company Giles Hayse, £1 2s 9d Richard Harper, £1 2s 9d Francis Hayse, £1 2s 9d James Hall, £1 2s 9d Phillip Holland, £1 2s 9d Daniel Hayse, £1 2s 9d John Hayse, £1 2s 9d Barrell Homes, £1 2s 9d John Holloway, £1 2s 9d Solomon Jacobs, £1 2s 9d Jephtha Jarman, £1 2s 9d, with £12 diet money with the Company Richard Pont, £1 2s 9d Richard Knight, £1 2s 9d, with £12 diet money with the Company Joseph Long, £1 2s 9d, with £12 diet money with the Company James Long, £1 2s 9d Thomas Ley, £1 2s 9d Sutton Leech, £1 2s 9d Thomas Leech, £1 2s 9d John Sears, £1 2s 9d John Leech junior, £1 2s 9d, with £12 diet money with the Company John Leggett, £1 2s 9d Sutton Leech, £1 2s 9d, with £12 diet money with the Company Maurice Lilby, £1 2s 9d, with £12 diet money with the Company David Lud, £1 2s 9d Stephen Lufking, £1 2s 9d John Mudge, £1 2s 9d Bartholomew Milloy, £1 2s 9d Robert Manlove, £1 2s 9d John Morgan, £1 2s 9d, with £12 diet money with the Company John Munnitree, £1 2s 9d William Moore, £1 2s 9d The sentinels' pay so far totalled £60 3s 9d. The pay carried over came to £198 4s 1d, and the diet carried over to £22 1s. **Interpretations** The steady repetition of £1 2s 9d against every sentinel down the whole roll was the guard the deficiency inquiry of 1741 had shown to be needed. Setting each private soldier by name at one fixed rate let the sum be tested against the count of real men, so that no invented or dead name could be carried on the roll to draw pay, the fraud the previous administration had been found to have worked. The recurrence of the same surnames across the roll, several men named Leech, Hayse, Evans and Girling among the sentinels, reflects how far the garrison was recruited from a handful of long-settled island families whose sons filled the ranks generation after generation. That the same names ran through the militia rolls and the civil offices alike shows a small, intermarried population supplying both the soldiers and the officers of the establishment, the island's defence resting on the same families that farmed its land. The diet money of £12 entered against some sentinels but not others divided the garrison into those fed at the Company's charge and those given a cash allowance to feed themselves. Carried in its own column, distinct from the fixed monthly pay, the allowance let the two obligations be audited apart, the pattern down the roll showing the Company met

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and Analysis
		Ebenezar Leech £1 2 9 Morris Lilley £1 2 9 12 David Sord £1 2 9 Stephen Lufting £1 2 9 John Mudge £1 2 9 Bartholomew Melloy £1 2 9 Robert Manlove £1 2 9 John Morgan £1 2 9 12 John Mannikee £1 2 9 William Moore £1 2 9 60 3 9 Carried over£198 4 1 Diet Carried over£22 1	the board of only part of its soldiers directly while paying the rest to provide for themselves.
246	212	Diet Brought over Brought over£178 4 1 22 1 Richard Newton £1 2 9 William Price £1 2 9 12 John Potter £1 2 9 12 John Pearce £1 2 9 12 James Pritchard £1 2 9 12 Stephen Powers £1 2 9 Edward Rudgeon £1 2 9 Samuel Elect £1 2 9 James Richardson £1 2 9 Thomas Sillito £1 2 9 12 John Spencer 1st £1 2 9 12 John Spencer 2 £1 2 9 12 John Scotcher £1 2 9 12 William Simpson £1 2 9 12 Edward Snoud £1 2 9 Benjamin Seale £1 2 9 John Sprake £1 2 9 William Swailes £1 2 9 Richard Swailes	The list of the Company's sentinels continued. The pay brought over came to £198 4s 1d, and the diet brought over to £22 1s. Richard Newton, £1 2s 9d, with £12 diet money with the Company William Price, £1 2s 9d, with £12 diet money with the Company John Potter, £1 2s 9d, with £12 diet money with the Company John Pearce, £1 2s 9d, with £12 diet money with the Company James Pritchard, £1 2s 9d, with £12 diet money with the Company Stephen Powers, £1 2s 9d Edward Pudgeon, £1 2s 9d Samuel Elect, £1 2s 9d James Richardson, £1 2s 9d Thomas Sibbs, £1 2s 9d, with £12 diet money with the Company John Spencer 1, £1 2s 9d, with £12 diet money with the Company John Spencer 3, £1 2s 9d, with £12 diet money with the Company John Scotcher, £1 2s 9d, with £13 diet money with the Company William Simpson, £1 2s 9d, with £12 diet money with the Company Edward Snout, £1 2s 9d Benjamin Sale, £1 2s 9d John Sparks, £1 2s 9d William Swailes, £1 2s 9d Richard Swailes, £1 2s 9d Matthew Walters, £1 2s 9d, with £12 diet money with the Company John Webster, £1 2s 0d Jeremiah Worrall, £1 2s 9d, with £12 diet money with the Company John Worrall junior, £1 2s 9d Peter Wells, £1 2s 0d Thomas Wallum, £1 2s 9d John Winter, £1 2s 9d David Wilson, £1 2s 9d, with £12 diet money with the Company James Vaughan junior, £1 2s 9d John Job Van Osten, £1 2s 9d Recruits at £13 13s a year, from 8 to 31 March 1742: John Watkins, 7s 3.5d William Bonfield, 7s 3.5d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and Analysis
		£1 2 9 Matthew Watters £1 2 9 12 John Webster £1 2 9 Jeremiah Worrill £1 2 9 12 John Worrall Junr £1 2 9 Peter Wells £1 2 9 Thomas Watkin £1 2 9 John Winter £1 2 9 David Wilson £1 2 9 12 James Vaughn Junr £1 2 9 John Gabl Van Osten £1 2 9 Recruits at £13 13 pr Ann from 27 to 31 March 1740 viz. John Watkins 7 5 3[...] William Benfield 7 5 3[...] William Page 7 5 3[...] Isaac Hudson 7 5 3[...] Thomas Kenanick 7 5 3[...] Robert Love Leach 7 5 3[...] Thomas Oliver 7 5 3[...] Andrew Barton 7 5 3[...] John Slock 7 5 3[...] James Carr 7 5 3[...] John Burck 7 5 3[...] John Cayne 7 5 3[...] William Bafsell 7 5 3[...] Joseph Hunt 7 5 3[...] William Lewis 7 5 3[...] Jonathan Godby 7 5 3[...] Ivan Jones 7 5 3[...] George Ayres 7 5 3[...] Thomas Hodges 7 5 3[...] William Brooks 7 5 3[...] William Anger 7 5 3[...] 40 16 9[...] Carried over£219 10[...] Diet Carried over£29 17	William Page, 7s 3.5d Isaac Hudson, 7s 3.5d Thomas Kendrick, 7s 3.5d Robert Sea Leech, 7s 3.5d Thomas Oliver, 7s 3.5d Andrew Barton, 7s 3.5d John Slack, 7s 3.5d James Carr, 7s 3.5d John Burch, 7s 3.5d John Cayne, 7s 3.5d William Bassett, 7s 3.5d Joseph Hunt, 7s 3.5d William Lewis, 7s 3.5d Jonathan Godby, 7s 3.5d Ivan Jones, 7s 3.5d George Ayres, 7s 3.5d Thomas Hodges, 7s 3.5d William Brooks, 7s 3.5d William Anger, 7s 3.5d The recruits' pay totalled £10 16s 9.5d. The pay carried over came to £219 0s 10.5d, and the diet carried over to £29 17s. **Interpretations** The block of recruits paid only 7s 3.5d each, for service from 8 to 31 March, records the men newly entered on the roll in that month drawing part-pay for the days they had served rather than a full month's wage. Reckoning each new soldier's pay from the exact day he joined, and grouping them separately under their own heading, shows the precision the establishment applied to wages, the same close daily accounting Lambert had pressed in ordering that every man's entrance date be booked to prevent false musters. The arrival of twenty-one recruits in a single month marks a substantial reinforcement of the garrison, the fresh hands whose housing Lambert had worried over in his report, lodging them in Doctor Browne's house and rearranging the barracks to make room. That so many came at once explains the pressure on quarters and provisions running through these consultations, the establishment expanding faster than its buildings and its food supply could readily bear, at a moment when the plantations were already failing to feed those on the island. The uniform pay of £1 2s 9d against every full-month sentinel, with £12 diet against many but not all, held the roll to the self-checking form the deficiency inquiry of 1741 had made necessary. Setting each private soldier down by name at one fixed rate, his board allowance carried apart, let the totals be tested against the real head count, the guard against precisely the phantom pay the previous administration had been found to draw from the books.
247	213	Diet Brought over Brought over£219 10[...] £29 17	The list of the Company's recruits continued. The pay brought over came to £219 0s 10.5d, and the diet brought over to £29 17s.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and Analysis
		Thomas Wright 7 5 3[...] John Wills 7 5 3[...] John Sord 7 5 3[...] Arnold Salbary 7 5 3[...] Ely Leach 7 5 3[...] William Ockman 7 5 3[...] Joseph Cox 7 5 3[...] John Upton 7 5 3[...] James Whitehead 7 5 3[...] William Seastrook 7 5 3[...] Thomas Payne 7 5 3[...] Thomas Sloud 7 5 3[...] Robert Brown 7 5 3[...] Thomas Wagg 7 5 3[...] Walter Cox 7 5 3[...] Richard Bishop 7 5 3[...] Bartholomew Goodwin 7 5 3[...] Henry Savig 7 5 3[...] William Jones 7 5 3[...] Antony Day 7 5 3[...] Henry Higens 7 5 3[...] George Bennett 7 5 3[...] Joseph Andrews 7 5 3[...] Robert Curry 7 5 3[...] Benjamin Williams 7 5 3[...] Daniel Langton 7 5 3[...] Lawrance Peterson 7 5 3[...] Matthew Brightwell 7 5 3[...] William Eats 7 5 3[...] John Sutton 7 5 3[...] William Price 7 5 3[...] John Butler 7 5 3[...] Nicholas Cope 7 5 3[...] William Carr 7 5 3[...] John Simpson 7 5 3[...] William Gostorn 7 5 3[...] John Browen 7 5 3[...] Humphery Hughe	Thomas Wright, 7s 3.5d John Wells, 7s 3.5d John Ford, 7s 3.5d Arnold Salsary, 7s 3.5d Ely Leach, 7s 3.5d William Ockman, 7s 3.5d Joseph Cox, 7s 3.5d John Upton, 7s 3.5d James Whitehead, 7s 3.5d William Seabrook, 7s 3.5d Thomas Payne, 7s 3.5d Thomas Sloud, 7s 3.5d Robert Browne, 7s 3.5d Thomas Wagg, 7s 3.5d Walter Cox, 7s 3.5d Richard Bishop, 7s 3.5d Bartholomew Goodwin, 7s 3.5d Henry Savage, 7s 3.5d William Jones, 7s 3.5d Antony Day, 7s 3.5d Henry Higgins, 7s 3.5d George Bennett, 7s 3.5d Joseph Andrews, 7s 3.5d Robert Curry, 7s 3.5d Benjamin Williams, 7s 3.5d Daniel Langton, 7s 3.5d Lawrence Peterson, 7s 3.5d Matthew Brightwell, 7s 3.5d William Eates, 7s 3.5d John Sutton, 7s 3.5d William Price, 7s 3.5d John Butler, 7s 3.5d Nicholas Cope, 7s 3.5d William Carr, 7s 3.5d John Simpson, 7s 3.5d William Gostern, 7s 3.5d John Browne, 7s 3.5d Humphrey Pughe, 7s 3.5d Thomas Manning, 7s 3.5d John Jones senior, 7s 3.5d Thomas Griffis, 7s 3.5d James Elleridge, 7s 3.5d John Searley, 7s 3.5d James Leek, 7s 3.5d John Collins, 7s 3.5d John Smith, 7s 3.5d John Jones junior, 7s 3.5d James Vaughan, 7s 3.5d William Turner, 7s 3.5d Adam Milbon, 7s 3.5d Walter Bellew, 7s 3.5d William Boer, 7s 3.5d Thomas Card, 7s 3.5d The recruits' pay so far totalled £19 6s 4.5d. The pay carried over came to £238 17s 3d, and the diet carried over to £29 17s. **Interpretations** This long block of recruits, each paid the same 7s 3.5d for the part-month from 8 March, records a very large body of new men entering the garrison at once, following the twenty-one on the previous leaf. Together they mark an unusually heavy reinforcement of the establishment in a single month, the fresh hands whose lodging and feeding pressed so hard on the island's slender accommodation and its failing provision grounds, arriving just as the plantations proved unable to supply enough sound yam. The identical part-month sum against every recruit, reckoned from the exact day each began, shows the same close daily accounting the whole roll observed, no man drawing more than the days he had served. Grouping all the new entrants under their own heading at a uniform rate let their total be checked at a glance against their number, the guard

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and Analysis
		7 5 3[...] Thomas Manning 7 5 3[...] John Jones Senr 7 5 3[...] Thomas Griffs 7 5 3[...] James Elleridge 7 5 3[...] John Learsey 7 5 3[...] James Lee 7 5 3[...] John Collins 7 5 3[...] John Smith 7 5 3[...] John Jones Junr 7 5 3[...] James Vaughn 7 5 3[...] William Turner 7 5 3[...] Adam Milborn 7 5 3[...] Walter Bellew 7 5 3[...] William Boer 7 5 3[...] Thomas Card 7 5 3[...] 19 6 4[...] Carried over£238 17 3[...] Diet Carried over£29 17	against the phantom pay the deficiency inquiry of 1741 had exposed, applied with particular care to a sudden influx of unfamiliar names. The presence among the recruits of surnames already borne by serving soldiers and island families, Leech, Jones, Cox, Vaughan, Price and others, shows the garrison drawing its new strength in part from the same long-settled stock that already filled its ranks. That a large reinforcement could be raised partly from island-born men of established families reflects how far the settlement's defence rested on its own population, the sons of planters and soldiers taken into pay to man the works their fathers held.
248	214	Diet Brought over Brought over£238 17 3[...] 29 17 Francis Burch 7 5 3[...] Edward Arnold 7 5 3[...] Nathaniel Pafscall 7 5 3[...] 1 2 3[...] Gunroom Crew viz. John French Gunner Including House rent at the Rate of £6 pr Annum £6 10 Armstrong Brereton Gunners mate at £19 10 pr ann from the 22 to the 31 March is 9 days 3 1[...] Isaac Leech Gunners Mate £1 12 6 Thomas Watts Do £1 12 6 Robert Word Do £1 12 6 12 Nathan Sample Do £1 12 6 James Vaughn Quarter Gunner £1 9 3 12 Roger Nevanson Do £1 9 3 Francis Newland Matrofs £1 7 1 William Chillingsworth Do £1 7 1 12 William Kennidy Do £1 7 1 12 James Powell Do	The list of the Company's servants continued. The pay brought over came to £238 17s 3d, and the diet brought over to £29 17s. Francis Burch, 7s 3.5d Edward Arnold, 7s 3.5d Nathaniel Pascall, 7s 3.5d The recruits' pay totalled £1 2s 3.5d. The gunroom crew: John French, gunner, including his house rent at the rate of £5 a year, £6 10s 0d Armstrong Brereton, gunner's mate, at £1 9s 10d a month, from 22 to 25 March, being 3 days, 3s 1.5d Isaac Leech, gunner's mate, £1 12s 6d Thomas Wells, gunner's mate, £1 12s 6d Robert Wood, gunner's mate, £1 12s 6d, with £12 diet money with the Company Nathan Sample, gunner's mate, £1 12s 6d James Vaughan, quarter gunner, £1 9s 3d, with £12 diet money with the Company Roger Devanean, quarter gunner, £1 9s 3d Francis Newland, mattross, £1 7s 1d William Chillingsworth, mattross, £1 7s 1d, with £12 diet money with the Company William Kennedy, mattross, £1 7s 1d, with £12 diet money with the Company James Powell, mattross, £1 7s 1d, with £12 diet money with the Company Thomas Wilkinson, mattross, £1 7s 1d, with £12 diet money with the Company John Christoffel, mattross, £1 7s 1d, with £12 diet money with the Company John Spencer, mattross, £1 7s 1d Major Jackson, mattross, £1 7s 1d Joseph Belcher, mattross, £1 7s 1d John Biddle, mattross, £1 7s 1d, with £12 diet money with the Company William Davis senior, mattross, £1 7s 1d John Wolledge, mattross, £1 7s 1d John Barnett, mattross, £1 7s 1d, with £12 diet money with the Company

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		£1 7 1 12 Thomas Villingham Do £1 7 1 12 John Christoffel Do £1 7 1 12 John Spencer Do £1 7 1 12 Major Jackson Do £1 7 1 Joseph Belcher Do £1 7 1 John Biddle Do £1 7 1 12 William Davis Senr Do £1 7 1 John Wottidge Do £1 7 1 John Barnett Do £1 7 1 12 33 13 8[...] Superanuated viz. Joseph Whaley Serjeant at £19 10 to y 22 March & 27 10 from 22 to 31 Do £1 17 8[...] Isaac Augason Quarter Gunner £1 9 3 George Dincey Drummer £1 9 3 Samuel Knipe Centinell £1 2 9 3 18 11[...] Samuel Docton £3 John Swailes Overseers £2 10 Richard Tinsley £2 1 8 Charles Clarke Surgeon at £39 pr Ann from the 22 March to the 31 March £1 1 14 James DuBois Surgeons mate £3 8 4 James Vaughn Clerk £42 9 Do Custom Master 8 4 £1 11 1 Francis Sange Armourer £4 5 James Haywood Do Mate £2 10 Henry Moyce Carpenter £4 3 4 John Norman Cooper £2 10 John Artingstall Coxwain £2 10 33 6 2[...] 9 Carried over£312 18 7 Diet Carried over£36 6	The gunroom crew's pay totalled £33 13s 8.5d. The superannuated: Joseph Whaley, sergeant, at £1 9s 10d to 22 March and 1s 3d a day from 22 to 31 March, £1 17s 8.5d Isaac Augustin, quarter gunner, £1 9s 3d George Bewsey, drummer, £1 9s 3d Samuel Knipe, sentinel, £1 2s 9d The superannuated pay totalled £3 18s 11.5d. The overseers: Samuel Doveton, £3 0s 0d John Swailes, £2 10s 0d Richard Tinsley, £2 1s 8d Charles Clarke, surgeon, at £5 9s a year, from 22 March to 31 March, £1 1s 14d James Du Bois, surgeon's mate, £3 8s 4d James Vaughan, clerk, £2 2s 9d, and ditto custom master, 8s 4d, £1 11s 1d Francis Funge, armourer, £4 0s 3d James Haywood, ditto mate, £2 10s 0d Henry Wayce, carpenter, £4 3s 4d John Norman, cooper, £2 10s 0d John Attingstall, coxswain, £2 10s 0d The overseers' pay totalled £33 6s 2.5d. The pay carried over came to £312 18s 7d, and the diet carried over to £36 6s. **Interpretations** The gunner John French drew much the highest pay of the whole roll, with his house rent of £5 a year folded openly into his allowance at £6 10s 0d, the rent stated in full so the addition could be seen and checked. His mates and quarter gunners stood well above the mattrosses, so the gunroom's pay scale set out the whole order of skill in the island's artillery, from the master gunner down to the men who only loaded and fetched, the same graded structure the establishment maintained to reward trained gunners over common hands. The short line for Armstrong Brereton, paid for only three days from 22 to 25 March, records a gunner's mate whose service on the roll began or ended within that brief span, reckoned to the exact day like every part-month entry. Charles Clarke's surgeon's pay, likewise counted from 22 March, the day Lambert took charge, ties the reckoning to the change of government, the surgeon's salary and the whole establishment's wages measured from the precise moment the new Governor entered. The superannuated men, kept on reduced pay after age or infirmity took them off active duty, were still carried by name at their old ranks of sergeant, quarter gunner, drummer and sentinel. Paying them a standing pension rather than discharging them shows the Company holding itself bound to men worn out in its service, and entering them on the same roll as the serving establishment kept the obligation visible and countable, part of the full and open reckoning the whole account was built to provide.
249	245	Diet brought over Brought over£285 11 11[...] 77 13 Discharged viz. John Sange Corporal April 13th 12 6 Joseph Belcher Matrofs Do & Horse keeper 7 4 Ebenezar Leech Centinel Do	The list of the Company's servants continued. The pay brought over came to £285 11s 11.5d, and the diet brought over to £77 13s. Discharged: John Funge, corporal, April 13, £1 2s 6d Joseph Belcher, mattross and storekeeper, ditto, £1 7s 4d Ebenezer Leech, sentinel, ditto, 9s 8.5d The discharged pay totalled £1 19s 6.5d.

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		9 8[...] 1 9 6[...] Artillery Company viz. John French Master Gunner Including House Rent at the rate of £6 pr Annum £6 10 Isaac Leech Gunners Mate £1 12 6 Thomas Watts Do £1 12 6 Nathan Sample Do £1 12 6 Robert Word Do £1 12 6 James Vaughn Do £1 12 6 13 Roger Nevanson Do £1 12 6 13 Francis Newland Do £1 12 6 William Chillingworth Do £1 12 6 William Kennedy Quarter Gunner £1 9 3 13 Major Jackson Do £1 9 3 13 William Davis Do £1 9 3 13 John Christoffel Do £1 9 3 John Barnett Do £1 9 3 13 Thomas Villingham Do £1 9 3 13 John Spencer Do £1 9 3 13 John Wottige Do £1 9 3 James Pofsell Matrofs £1 7 1 13 Samuel Poret Do £1 7 1 William Caddy Do £1 7 1 13 Richard Newton Do £1 7 1 Thomas Sillito Do £1 7 1 13 John Spencer Do £1 7 1 13 John Button Do £1 7 1 13 Samuel Clarke Do £1 7 1 13 Joseph Boswell Do £1 7 1 13 Walter Bellew Do £1 7 1 13 Joseph Cox Do	Artillery company: John French, master gunner, including his house rent at the rate of £6 a year, £6 10s 0d Isaac Leech, gunner's mate, £1 12s 6d Thomas Watts, gunner's mate, £1 12s 6d Nathan Sample, gunner's mate, £1 12s 6d Robert Wood, gunner's mate, £1 12s 6d James Vaughan, gunner's mate, £1 12s 6d, with £13 diet money with the Company Roger Devanean, gunner's mate, £1 12s 6d, with £13 diet money with the Company Francis Newland, gunner's mate, £1 12s 6d William Chillingsworth, gunner's mate, £1 12s 6d William Kennedy, quarter gunner, £1 9s 3d, with £13 diet money with the Company Major Jackson, quarter gunner, £1 9s 3d, with £13 diet money with the Company William Davis, quarter gunner, £1 9s 3d John Christoffel, quarter gunner, £1 9s 3d John Barnett, quarter gunner, £1 9s 3d, with £13 diet money with the Company Thomas Wilkinson, quarter gunner, £1 9s 3d, with £13 diet money with the Company John Spencer, quarter gunner, £1 9s 3d, with £13 diet money with the Company John Nottege, quarter gunner, £1 9s 3d James Russell, mattross, £1 7s 1d, with £13 diet money with the Company Samuel Poret, mattross, £1 7s 1d William Caddy, mattross, £1 7s 1d, with £13 diet money with the Company Richard Newton, mattross, £1 7s 1d Thomas Sibbs, mattross, £1 7s 1d, with £13 diet money with the Company John Spencer, mattross, £1 7s 1d, with £13 diet money with the Company John Button, mattross, £1 7s 1d, with £13 diet money with the Company Samuel Clarke, mattross, £1 7s 1d, with £13 diet money with the Company Joseph Boswell, mattross, £1 7s 1d, with £13 diet money with the Company Walter Bellew, mattross, £1 7s 1d, with £13 diet money with the Company Joseph Cox, mattross, £1 7s 1d, with £13 diet money with the Company John Smith, mattross, £1 7s 1d, with £13 diet money with the Company Adam Milburn, mattross, £1 7s 1d, with £13 diet money with the Company William Turner, mattross, £1 7s 1d, with £13 diet money with the Company Henry Savage, mattross, £1 7s 1d, with £13 diet money with the Company Humphrey Pughe, mattross, £1 7s 1d, with £13 diet money with the Company Francis Bush, mattross, £1 7s 1d, with £13 diet money with the Company Ely Leech, mattross, £1 7s 1d, with £13 diet money with the Company John Watkins, mattross, £1 7s 1d, with £13 diet money with the Company Edward Pudgeon, mattross, £1 7s 1d The artillery company's pay totalled £58 5s 8d. The superannuated: Joseph Whaley, sergeant, at £13 13s a year, £1 2s 9d John Hanson, ditto, £1 2s 9d William Burnham, ditto, £1 2s 9d Isaac Augustin, quarter gunner, ditto, £1 2s 9d George Bewsey, drummer, ditto, £1 2s 9d Samuel Knipe, sentinel, ditto, £1 2s 9d The superannuated pay totalled £6 16s 6d. The pay carried over came to £352 13s 8d, and the diet carried over to £96 3s.

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		£1 7 1 13 John Smith Do £1 7 1 13 Adam Milburn Do £1 7 1 13 William Turner Do £1 7 1 13 Henry Savage Do £1 7 1 13 Humphrey Hue Do £1 7 1 13 Francis Bush Do £1 7 1 13 Ely Leech Do £1 7 1 13 John Watkins Do £1 7 1 13 Edward Pridgeon Do £1 7 1 58 5 8 Superanuated viz. Joseph Whaley Serjeant at £13 13 pr Ann £1 2 9 John Aanson Do Do £1 2 9 William Burnham Do Do £1 2 9 Isaac Augason Quarter Gunner Do £1 2 9 George Dincey Drummer Do £1 2 9 Samuel Knipe Centinel Do £1 2 9 6 16 6 Carried over£352 13 8[...] Diet Carried over£96 3	**Interpretations** The three discharges at the head of the account, John Funge, Joseph Belcher and Ebenezer Leech, each paid only to 13 April, record the men whose petitions for release the council had granted at that consultation, their final wages reckoned to the exact day their service ended. Entering their part-pay under a separate heading, dated to their discharge, shows the roll closing each man's account precisely when he left, the same daily exactness applied to departures as to fresh entrants so that no man drew beyond his time. The artillery company's diet money, entered at £13 against most of its members where the general roll had shown £12, reflects the higher board allowance paid to the trained gunners and mattrosses. That so large a share of the artillery drew this allowance, more than among the common sentinels, marks the gunroom as the branch most fully maintained at the Company's charge, its skilled men fed or paid for their food at a rate above the ordinary soldier, a further mark of the value set on trained artillery strength. The superannuated list carries the addition of John Hanson and William Burnham to the worn-out sergeants already pensioned, confirming the council's resolution to retire aged men at a private soldier's pay of £13 13s a year. That the roll of pensioners grew as more sergeants were found unfit shows the standing practice of maintaining old servants rather than casting them off, the Company's obligation to those spent in its service kept visible on the same account as its serving men, each retirement entered and reckoned as the establishment turned over.
250	246	Diet Brought over Brought over£352 13 8[...] 96 3 Samuel Docton £3 John Swailes Overseers £2 10 Richard Tinsley £2 1 8 Charles Clarke Surgeon £3 5 James DuBois Surgeons mate £3 8 4 James Vaughn Clerk £42 9 Do Custom master 8 4 £1 11 1 Francis Sange Armourer £4 5 James Sange Do Mate £1 2 9 James Haywood Do Mate £2 10 Henry Moyce Carpenter £4 3 4 John Norman Cooper £2 10 John Artingstall Coxwain £2 10 12	The list of the Company's servants concluded. The pay brought over came to £352 13s 8d, and the diet brought over to £96 3s. The overseers: Samuel Doveton, £3 0s 0d John Swailes, £2 10s 0d Richard Tinsley, £2 1s 8d Charles Clarke, surgeon, £3 5s 0d James Du Bois, surgeon's mate, £3 8s 4d James Vaughan, clerk, £2 2s 9d, and ditto custom master, 8s 4d, £1 11s 1d Francis Funge, armourer, £4 0s 3d James Funge, ditto mate, £1 2s 9d James Haywood, ditto mate, £2 10s 0d Henry Wayce, carpenter, £4 3s 4d John Norman, cooper, £2 10s 0d John Attingstall, coxswain, £2 10s 0d, with £12 diet money with the Company John Sparks, storekeeper, £13 4s 0d Thomas Colgrove, marshal, £1 9s 3d Richard Beale, schoolmaster, £1 2s 9d Balls Cook, £1 2s 0d Nicholas Cleather, sawyer, £2 10s 0d William Deues, gardener, £3 3s 9d The overseers' pay totalled £46 14s 5d. The whole pay amounted to a total of £399 8s 1d, and the whole diet amounted to a total of £96 15s. The account was then set out against George Gabriel Powell, paymaster.

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		John Sprake Horse keeper 13 4 Thomas Cotgrave Marshall £1 9 3 Richard Beale Schoolmaster £1 2 9 Balla Cook £1 2 9 Nicholas Clarker Steward £2 10 William Drewe Gardner £3 3 9 46 14 5 Totall Pay Amounts to£399 8 1 Totall Diet Amounts to£96 15 Dr George Gabriel Powell Pay Master Cr 178[...] April 19th To Cash Received of Captain Jenkins for a Horse £7 4 20th To Do Received of Captain Jenkins for the Ballance of his Account £21 11 2[...] To Do Received of Capt John Godfrey Storekeeper £361 3 3 To Sundrys Received of them Account of the Estate of the late John Goodwin Esqr viz. Joseph Belcher £9 1 3 John French £3 Francis Sange £2 10 14 11 3 To Sundrys for so much Received of them for Diet from the Honble Companys Sences as pr Column Particulars £96 13 £501 10 8[...] By Sundrys for so much paid the Honble Companys Servants Exclusive of the fovl Council their Salary Diet & Wages for the month of April last £399 8 1 By Cash paid Samuel Docton for a fishing Boat lost in the Service of the Honble Company £10 2 8 By Cash paid Joshua Johnson for Lemons £3 9 By Cash paid Wm Seale Sammore & c and Jo Draper &c of them 5 for Allarms & Purposes 13 By Cash paid Doctor Richard Crisae of Ship Harrington as of his stock for so much Ballamance of the Honble Company Servants during their pafsage other £21 10 By Cash paid Capt Charles Jowles for Painting as of his Receipt 12 6 By Cash being the Ballance of this Acco this day paid into the Treasury £149 10 9 51 10 10[...] £501 10 8[...] Island St Helena the 11 of May 178[...]	He was charged, on the one side, with cash received: 17 April 1742, to cash received of Captain Jenkins for a horse, £7 4s 0d 20 April, to ditto received of Captain Jenkins for the balance of his account, £21 11s 2.5d To ditto received of Captain John Godfrey, storekeeper, £361 3s 3d To sundry received from them on account of the estate of the late John Goodwin: Joseph Belcher £9 1s 3d, John French £3 0s 0d, Francis Funge £2 10s 0d, £14 11s 3d To sundry for so much received of them for diet from the Honourable Company's stores as by several particulars, £96 13s 0d The charge side totalled £501 10s 8.5d. He was discharged, on the other side, with cash paid: By sundry for so much paid the Honourable Company's servants, exclusive of the Governor and council, their salary and Bates's wages for the month of April last, £399 8s 1d By cash paid Samuel Doveton for a fishing boat lost in the service of the Honourable Company, £10 2s 8d By cash paid Joshua Johnson for lemons, £3 3s 9d By cash paid Wilson, Scott, Kirkpatrick and Draper, all three at 3s for alarms and puncheons, £15 0s 0d By cash paid Doctor Richard Beale of yams brought by the Harrington, on the steward's account for the balance of the Honourable Company's stores during their passage hither, £21 10s 0d By cash paid Captain Charles Steward for hunting as by his receipt, £12 6s 0d By cash being the balance of the whole this day paid into the treasury, £149 10s 9d The discharge side totalled £501 10s 8.5d, being subscribed as errors excepted at St Helena on 11 May 1742 by George Gabriel Powell, paymaster. **Interpretations** The storekeeper John Sparks drawing £13 4s 0d, far above every other civil servant, marks the weight of responsibility carried by the man who held and issued the Company's stores, the post most open to loss or fraud. Setting his pay so far above the cooper, marshal, gardener and sawyer reflects that the storekeeper's office was the one the deficiency inquiry of 1741 had shown most liable to abuse, so the place was paid to match the trust it demanded, the successor to Belcher entered at the same high rate his charge required. The paymaster's account balanced £501 10s 8.5d received against the same figure discharged, every sum drawn answered by a wage, a specific charge, or the £149 returned to the treasury. Among the discharges appear the very decisions of the preceding consultations, Doveton's £10 2s 8d for his lost fishing boat, the lemons for the table, the yams landed from the Harrington, all now settled in cash, the account gathering the month's resolutions into a single reckoning that closed to a penny. Part of the cash Powell handled again came from the estate of the late John Goodwin, sums received from Belcher, French and Funge on the estate's account, alongside the diet money from the stores. Working the frozen estate through the ordinary monthly account, its debts gathered in as the establishment's costs were met, shows the attached property steadily realised into the Company's hands, its funds passing through the regular books rather than held apart, the same estate that had supplied earlier months' charges.

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		Errors Excepted G. G. Powell Pay Master	
251	247	In Answer to the Governours Report of last Consultation Relating to the payment of the Garrison and other the Companys Servants whether it would be more Convenient for them to be paid Monthly, or Quarterly Mefsr Powell and Godfrey are of opinion that Quarterly payments would be most Agreable therefore Agreed that hereafter they be Paid Quarterly Saving the Present and Succeeding Months May and June which they are to be paid at the Expiration of the latter in order to bring the Quarters Regular The Governour this day Proposed the following Regulations & orders to be Signed by each of us & hung up in the Hospital. Island St Helena May the 4th 178[...] It is this day agreed in Council That an Hospital, for the Reception and care of the Honble the East India Companys Soldiers and Slaves shall be Established, and the following Methods, Rules Regulations and orders are required to be Observed by all Officer & others therein Concerned, as they shall answer the Contrary Whereas the Honble the Court of Directors of the East India Company In their General Letter of the 4th of December 1741 Mentions the purchase of Doctor Browns House for the use of the Military or Sick Soldiers and the present Governour & Council of St Helena, taking the state of the Military into Consideration, are of opinion the Erecting an Hospital for the care of the Sick will be highly advantagy to the preservation of Lives, so Efsential to the real good of the Island, as also the Honble Companys Interest, as well truely Christian & Humain to order that the Maldives House be kept for the purpose of an Hospital as afsersaid, being in one opinion a very proper place at present and may be made more so in time to come, if Required, and the House of Doctor Browns may be made use of more Advantagously for Quartering the Military. And that the Soldier who shall be sent to the said Hospital, shall have due care taken of them, we appoint two Black Women to attend the same who Recompence is to attend the Sick, to keep them clean and serve them as they shall be ordered by the Surgeon, and above all to keep the said Hospital Clear from all manner of Dirt and filth, and that a Black man or Boy will every day and bring it to the Hospital, as much wood as may be Required for the use And to the End that the Sick may be duely Attended and Maintained with proper Diet during their Continuance in the Hospital, it is likewise Ordered, that the Surgeon or in his absence his mate, and every Night to the Steward an Account of what fresh provision, Rice or other proper Diet will be Necesary for the Sick men in the Hospital for the next day, and to the end that the Honble the East India Company may be Reimbursed, the Expence of this Extraordinary care it is hereby Ordered that the full pay of each Soldier be Stoped each pay day During the time of his Continuance in the said Hospital and the Company be paid the same by the pay Master paying it into their Treasure and that each non Commifsion Officer, Gunners Mate, Quarter Gunner & Matrofses that are sent to the said Hospital have after the rate of £13 13 a Year stoped each pay day from them by the pay master during their	In answer to the Governor's report of the previous consultation, on whether the pay of the garrison and other Company servants should be paid monthly, a quarterly muster being more convenient for them, Powell and Godfrey were of opinion that quarterly payment would be more agreeable. It was therefore agreed that in future the pay be made quarterly, saving the present and coming months of May and June, which were to be paid at the end of June, in order to bring the quarters regular. The Governor this day proposed the following regulations, to be signed by each of the council, for keeping the hospital. It was this day agreed in council at St Helena on 4 May 1742 that a hospital for the reception and care of the Honourable East India Company's soldiers and slaves be established, and that the following medicines, rules, regulations and orders be observed by all officers and others concerned, as set out below, anything to the contrary notwithstanding. The Honourable Court of Directors of the East India Company, in their general letter of 4 December 1741, mentioned the purchase of Doctor Browne's house for the use of the military and sick soldiers, and the present Governor and council of St Helena, taking the state of the military into consideration, were of opinion that the erecting of a hospital for the care of the sick would be highly advantageous to the preservation of lives, so far as lay in the power of the island, as also to the Company's interest, as well as truly Christian and humane. They therefore ordered that the maldives house be kept for the purpose of a hospital, being in their opinion a very proper place at present, and might be made more so in time to come; and the house of Doctor Browne might be made use of more advantageously for quartering the military. That the soldiers sent to the hospital should have due care taken of them. Two slave women were appointed to attend them, to keep them clean and serve them as the surgeon directed, and above all to keep the hospital clean and free from all manner of dirt and filth; and a slave man or boy was to cut wood and bring it to the hospital, as much as might be needed. That, to the end the sick might be duly nourished and maintained with proper food during their stay in the hospital, the surgeon was likewise to enter, and to give the steward every night an account of what fresh provision or other proper diet would be necessary for the sick the next day. To the end that the Honourable East India Company might be reimbursed the expense of this extraordinary care, it was ordered that the full pay of each soldier be stopped every day during the time of his continuance in the hospital, and the Company be paid the same by the paymaster paying it into their treasury; and that the non-commissioned officers, gunners' mates, quarter gunners and mattrosses sent to the hospital have the like stoppage, after the rate of £13 13s a year, stopped each day from the day the pay master should during their continuance in the hospital, and that the paymaster pay the same into the Company's treasury as mentioned. That the surgeon take all due care of the sick, and that he order his mate to do the same, by administering to them such medicine as he should think proper, and going the hospital's due attendance and seeing every thing performed that should be to be done, that everything might be done or as in easy as lay after the preceding order, both to the prejudice of the Honourable Company. On this establishment,

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		Continuance in the Hospital and that the pay master pay the same into the Companys Treasure as afsersaid. That the Surgeon take all due Care of the Sick and that he order his mate to do the same, by Administring to them such Medecend as he shall think proper and going the Hospital due attendance and Seeing every thing performed that shod be, to the end that each thing may be come as pr as in us lays for the preventing abuse, both to the prejudice of the Honble Company, to this Establishment it is thought proper the following Order shall be Observed by all persons Concerned viz. Order 1 That the Surgeon & his mate keep a Book and therein make an Entry of each Mans name when he comes into the Hospital, mentioning his Quarter, and if Received the day of his Discharge or the Day of his death, and that likewise the Steward do the same, that one may Tally with the other and that the Surgeon once a Week make a Return to the Governour of the mens names the Companys they belong to and the mens Illnefs then Remaining in the Hospital, as also the names of those discharged or Dead the preceeding Week. Order 2 That a Commifsiond officer go every Morning and see the Blacks do their Duty and that the Sick are well attended on, and to Report to the Governour how he finds things and if there wants at any time further care or Assistance. Order 3 That a Serjeant & four men mount the Hospital Guard every day from the main Guard, to preserve order and Decency, & to prevent a Quarrelling or gaming or Rand evouring & other Soldiers to the Annoyance of the Sick in any manner, and that a Sent be fetched for this Guard until better Conveniency **Margin Notes:** Hospital Order 1	it was thought proper that the following orders be observed by all persons concerned. 1: That the surgeon and his mate keep a book, and in it enter each man's name when he came into the hospital, giving the date, and record the day of his discharge or the day of his death, and that likewise the steward do the same, so that one account might tally with the other; and that the surgeon once a week make a return to the Governor of the men's names then in the hospital, with also the names of those discharged or dead in the preceding week. 2: That a commissioned officer go every morning and see that the slaves did their duty and that the sick were well attended, and make a report to the Governor how he found things and of their further care and attendance. 3: That a sergeant and four men mount the hospital guard every day from the main guard, to preserve order and decency and to prevent any quarrelling or gaming, or the rendezvousing of other soldiers to the annoyance of the sick in any manner; and that a sentry box be pitched for this guard until better convenience could be made. **Interpretations** The switch from monthly to quarterly payment of the garrison settled the question Lambert had raised in his report, Powell and Godfrey agreeing that quarterly musters would suit better, with the intervening months arranged so the quarters fell regular. This resolved a real administrative choice in favour of less frequent reckoning, Lambert having argued that monthly payment consumed the officers' time and risked loss when a man died in debt, the council choosing the interval that eased the burden of account while keeping the payments orderly. The hospital regulations set the whole establishment on a self-financing footing, the sick soldier's pay stopped daily and paid into the Company's treasury to meet the cost of his care, so that the institution burdened the Company as little as possible. Extending the stoppage to gunners' mates and mattrosses at their higher rate shows the principle applied across every rank, each man's own wages funding his keep while ill, a scheme that met a real need for care within the island's slender means without opening a fresh charge on the Company. The elaborate web of cross-checks, the surgeon's book set against the steward's, the daily officer's report, the weekly return and the armed guard, built the same defence against neglect and diversion that the deficiency inquiry of 1741 had made necessary everywhere. Requiring two independent records of every admission and death, and posting a guard to keep order among the sick, guarded both against the provisions being misapplied and against the hospital becoming a resort for idle soldiers, the whole run on the principle that no part of the establishment should go unwatched.
252	248	conveniency can be made Order 4 That the Serjeant of the Hospital Guard send one or two of his Men / as occasion Requires / to bring the Provision ordered the Sick, & that he see a Distribution of it according to the Quietions given that day by the Surgeon, and to prevent any abuse of any kind, and if any thing Extraordinary happen to Acquaint the officer who is that day upon the Hospital Duly with it in order for him to Report it to the Governour that the Serjeant likewise take heed to the ordering the Blacks to keep both the Sick and the Hospital Clean. Order 5 That the Steward also from time to time Visit the Hospital and likewise Charge the two Black	The hospital regulations continued. 4: That the sergeant of the hospital guard send one or two of his men, as occasion required, to bring the provision ordered for the sick, and to see a distribution of it according to the quantities given that day by the surgeon; and, to prevent any abuse of any kind, and if anything extraordinary happened, to acquaint the officer who was that day upon the hospital duty with it, in order for him to report it to the Governor; that the sergeant likewise take heed to the ordering of the slaves, to keep both the sick and the hospital clean. 5: That the steward also from time to time visit the hospital and likewise charge the two slave nurses to take due care of the sick, and to examine if the things sent be duly given to those for whom they were

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		Nurses to take due Care of the Sick, and to Examine if the things sent be duly given to those for whome they were Intended, and to Report to the Commifsiond officer on his duty if he finds any thing a mifs in this Particular, or otherwise. Order 6 That an Instantate Account be given the Steward when any one is sent to the Hospital by the Direction of the Commanding officer of each Company, as also the Artillery Company, in order for his Entering the same in his Book, and that he gives to the paymaster the day before every pay day an Exact Account of the Men sent the Preceding before to the Hospital, in order for him / the pay Master / to Stop their pay for the same / that an Account also be given the Standing of the day any one Ayes, or is Discharged the Hospital, to the End he may be Exact in his account this last to be given him by the Surgeons Directions. Order 7 That this Regulation of the Hospital and the orders be fairly Wrote, and fixed on a Board and hung up in the Hospital, and that the Surgeon, and the Steward each of them take a Copy of the same. Which We Signed & it was Ordered to be hung up in the Hospital Accordingly. The following Petition was Presented and Read viz. To the Worshipfull Esqr Lambert Governour of St Helena / may it please your Worship & Council Your humble petitioner Richard Tinsley Sheweth That Your Petitioner in the Year 1723 took to Wife Mary Orchard Widdow of John Orchard decd and the said John Orchard left in his last Will and Testament to Mary Orchard the afsersaid Wife / after his Decease all his goods and Chattles Franc Land / the Land being the Honble Companys Lease Land / and likewise appointed and left his whole hand / the Remainder of this his last Will and Testament and She Enjoyed the same till the Eleventh day of July 1739 and then departed this Life, and after She died it wanted about three Years of the Lease being out and then Mr John Bagley / in whose hands the Lease came to after her death / went to John Goodwin Esqr then Governour and demanded the Lease, And Governour Goodwin ordered him to come to me for to bring the Lease to the Governour, and I went & gave the Governour the Lease, and the Governour gave it to Mr John Bagley, and after the Governour had gave it him I had the Governours Consent to have it of him Accordingly I Agreed with him for five pounds a year for the Remainder of the Lease, And after I had it about one year the Governour told me that when the Lease was out I should not have the Land nor Mr Bagley wether because he walked is for the Companys and the told me / if I would Sell the provision as was on it he would buy it of me and pay Mr Bagley for the Remainder of the two years to come, And Accordingly he gave me a Weeks time to Consider of it, and accordingly I Agreed that the provision on the Land should be Valued and the first provision was Vallued by Samuel Docton. The 1 provision April 6th 1740, 6000 Yams & Suckers £30 2nd Do August 3 1740, 16000 Yams & Suckers £11 19 1 Kettle for the Companys use £1 10 63 7 Accordingly in a Snurt time after the Provision were Valued I went to the Governour for my	intended, and to report to the commissioned officer on the duty if he found anything amiss in this particular. 6: That an immediate account be given the steward when anyone was sent to the hospital, by the direction of the commanding officer of each company, as also the artillery company, in order for his entering the same in his book; and that he give the paymaster, the day before every pay day, an exact account of the men sent to the hospital before their discharge, in order for him, the paymaster, to stop their pay for the same; that an account also be given of the day anyone was discharged from the hospital, to the end he might likewise be exact in his account, this last to be given him by the surgeon's direction. 7: That this regulation of the hospital, and the orders, be fairly written and framed on a board and hung up in the hospital, and that the surgeon and the steward each of them take a copy of the same. These the council signed, and it was ordered that they be hung up in the hospital accordingly. The following petition was presented and read, addressed to Governor Lambert of St Helena, as the humble petition of Richard Tinsley. The petitioner set out that in the year 1723 he had taken to wife Mary Orchard, widow of John Orchard, deceased. John Orchard had left in his last will and testament to Mary Orchard, after her death, all his goods and chattels and a piece of land, the land being Company leasehold land. Mary Orchard had also appraised and left the whole, and been executrix of the will, and had enjoyed the same until 11 July 1739, when she died. After her death, the lease being run out, Mr John Bagley, in whose hands the lease came after her death, went to John Godwin, then Governor, and demanded the lease; and the Governor ordered him to come to the petitioner for the lease. The Governor, and the petitioner gave the Governor the lease, and the Governor gave it to Mr John Bagley. After the Governor had given it to him, the petitioner had the Governor's consent to leave it to him accordingly, and agreed with Mr Bagley for five pounds a year for the remainder of the lease. After about a year, the Governor told the petitioner that when the lease was out he should not have the land, nor Mr Bagley either, because it would go to the Company; and the petitioner then told him he would sell the provision as it was on it, and buy it if it was his, and pay Mr Bagley for the remainder of the two years to come. Accordingly he gave the petitioner a week to consider of it, and the petitioner agreed that the provision on the land should be valued, and the first provision was valued by Samuel Doveton: The first provision, 4 April 1740, 6,000 yams and shoots, £30 0s 0d The second, 3 August 1740, 16,300 yams and shoots, £11 19s 0d 1 kettle for the Company's use, £1 10s 0d Total, £63 7s 0d Accordingly, a short time after the provision was valued, the petitioner went to the Governor to settle his accounts with him, and told him he would come in September, when he would pay him; but it pleased God he died before, and the petitioner had not received any satisfaction to this day. He therefore humbly asked that the Governor take it into consideration, for the reasons set out. **Interpretations** Tinsley's petition traces how a Company leasehold reverted through the deaths of successive holders, from John Orchard to his widow Mary, and on her death in 1739 into the hands of John Bagley and ultimately back to the Company. The tangle of the lease passing through the Governor's hands, granted first to Bagley and then subject to reversion, shows the

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		Money in order to Settle my accounts with him and he told me / I would come in September he would pay me / but it plesed God he died before, and I have not Received any Satisfaction to this day therefore I humbly beg your Worship will take it into your Consideration for that me have justice done me May it Please your Worship & Council I Remain Your most Obed Humble Servant to Command Signd Richd Tinsley	strict control the Company kept over its land, no lease descending freely but each expiry returning the ground to the Company to regrant, the tenant's interest always temporary and revocable. The heart of Tinsley's claim was the standing crop of yams valued on the land when the lease fell in, worth over £60 by Doveton's appraisement, which the dying Governor Goodwin had agreed to buy but never paid for. That the value lay chiefly in the growing provision rather than the land itself shows the yam crop as the real wealth of an island holding, and Tinsley's loss arose because Goodwin died before settling, leaving the debt unpaid and unrecorded, the same failure of unwritten dealings that ran through the Goodwin estate's affairs. The petition's dependence on a verbal agreement with a Governor now dead, unsupported by any written settlement, exposes again how far the island's business had run on personal trust that outlived the men who gave it. Tinsley, like Green and others, was left seeking from the council what a dead Governor had promised but never entered, his claim resting on the memory of an arrangement rather than a record, the recurring difficulty that drove the whole insistence on attested account under the new government.
253	249	Mr Crispe the Person who the late Mr Goodwin advised with concerning the Purchase of Mr Tinsleys Plantation was desired to be Present and asked how this affair was whether the late Mr Goodwin bought the Yams for himself or for the Company, wether they were Conveyed to the Companys Sole use / and wether Mr Tinsley was never paid for them or if not the Reason why Mr Crispe said that the Yams were bought upon the Companys Account and that there Slaves had the Sole use and Benefit of them, That the Company had actually paid for them, they having been Abled for them under one other head, and that Mr Goodwins Account had the Credit accordingly, And the Reason why they did not Specify the same in the Companys Books under is proper head, was because Mr Goodwin Conceived it would be some sort of Reflection on him who had the Management of the Companys Plantations and was Esteemed Skillfull therein to make a purchase of Yams the first Year of his Government when there had not been any Purchased for the Preceding 14 or 13 years. Mr Crispe further says that althe the Company had Mr Goodwin for the Yams which he bought on their Account of Mr Tinsley, yet he Mr Goodwin never delivered the same to Tinsley. The Affair being Seriously Considered and it appearing Evident that the Company Really did make use of these Yams We therefore agree that pinning Mr Goodwins Estate will turn out Sufficient to bear it to add the afsersaid Sum of £63 7 to his debt to the Honble Company & pay the same to Mr Tinsley. The Petition of Francis Wrangham was this day Presented & Read viz. To the Worshipfull Thomas Lambert Esqr Governour Council of St Helena The Humble Petition of Francis Wrangham Sheweth That Your Petitioner with the late John Goodwin Esqr are Executor to the last Will and Testament of Mr Henry Francis Deceased that they Accordingly took care of the	Mr Crispe, the person whom the late Mr Goodwin had consulted about the purchase of Mr Tinsley's plantation, was ordered to be present and asked how the affair was conducted: whether the late Mr Goodwin had bought the yams for himself or for the Company, whether they were converted to the Company's sole use, and whether Mr Tinsley was ever paid for them, or if not, the reason why. Mr Crispe said that the yams were bought on the Company's account, and that their slaves had the sole use and benefit of them; that the Company had actually paid for them, having been debited for them under one or another head; and that Mr Goodwin's account had the credit accordingly. The reason they did not specify the yams in the Company's books, he said, was because Mr Goodwin thought it would be some sort of reflection on him who had the management of the Company's plantations, and was reckoned skilful in them, to make a purchase of yams in the first year of his government, when there had not been any purchased for the preceding fourteen or fifteen years. Mr Crispe further said that, although the Company had paid Mr Goodwin for the yams which he bought on their account from Mr Tinsley, yet Mr Goodwin never delivered the same to Tinsley. The affair being seriously considered, and it appearing evident that the Company really did make use of the yams, it was therefore agreed that, the late Mr Goodwin's estate being sufficient to bear it, the said sum of £63 7s be paid, as his debt to the Honourable Company, and paid over to Mr Tinsley. The petition of Francis Wrangham was this day presented and read, addressed to Governor Thomas Lambert and the council of St Helena, as the humble petition of Francis Wrangham. The petitioner set out that he and the late John Goodwin had been executors of the last will and testament of Mr Henry Francis, deceased, and that they had accordingly taken care of the estate and the education of the children of the deceased, and paid them their future portions respectively as they came of age; and that he now demanded the same, the youngest daughter Sarah having reached the age of twenty-one since the death of the late John Goodwin. He set out that the youngest daughter Sarah, on reaching the age of twenty-one, had demanded of the petitioner the portion left her by her deceased

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		Estate & Education of the Children of the deceasd, and them their Fortunes Respectively as they came of Age to Demand the same during the Youngest Daughter Sarah who arrived to the Age of 21 Years since the Death of the late John Goodwin Esqr That the said Youngest Daughter Sarah did Some time Since upon her arriving at the Age of 21 Years demand of your Petitioner the fortune left her by her afsersaid Father whereupon your Petitioner did Acquaint her that her proportion of her fathers Estate was lodged in the hands of her Uncle the late John Goodwin Esqr upon his premise of takeing care and Improving the same for her account. That what your Petitioner had advanced as before Related not Seeming Satisfactory to the said Youngest Daughter of the said Henry Francis Deceased She did Apply to the then Governour & Council and a Jurry being Summoned your Petitioner did pay as being an Executor with the Deceased John Goodwin Esqr her Dividend of her Fathers Estate the it is well Known that Your Petitioner never had one farthing of it in his hands. That Your Petitioner humbly Conceives that that part of the Estate of the late Mr Henry Francis Deceased, which the late John Goodwin Esqr Joynt Executor, with Your Petitioner kept in his hands to Improve / for the use of the afsersaid Orphan ought to have been put under the care of Your Petitioner after the decease of the said late John Goodwin Esqr the other Executor and not to have been deceived a part of his Estate, for as much as that part was never paid for by him and further That Your Petitioner well in due proove at least hopes so to do that the late John Goodwin Esqr had no Just and Legal Right & Title to that part of the Estate of the said Henry Francis Deceased That this part of the Estate is absolutely in being & fully Sufficient to pay all debts due from it, therefore your Petitioner hopes to be Reimbursed thence the Money he hath paid to the Orphan Your Petitioner therefore hopes that that part of Mr Henry Francis Estate may not be deemed a part of the late Mr Goodwins Estate or Sold as such But delivered to Your Petitioner upon his paying	father, whereupon the petitioner acquainted her that her share of her father's estate lay in the hands of her uncle, the late John Goodwin, on his promise of taking care of and improving the same for her account. He set out that what he had stated would appear satisfactory to the youngest daughter Sarah of the said Henry Francis, deceased, and, on applying to the then Governor and council, and a jury being summoned, the petitioner, as executor with the deceased John Goodwin, would pay her dividend of her father's estate; it being well known that the petitioner never had one farthing of it in his hands. He humbly conceived that that part of the estate of the late Mr Henry Francis, deceased, which the late John Goodwin, joint executor with the petitioner, had kept in his hands to improve for the use of the said orphan, ought to have been put under the care of the petitioner after the death of the said late John Goodwin; the other executor not having been deceived, the other executor and not to have been deceived a part of his estate, so far as much as that part was never paid for by him; and further that the petitioner would in due proof at least hope so to do that the late John Goodwin had no just and legal right and title to that part of the estate of the said Henry Francis, deceased. He set out that this part of the estate was absolutely in being and fully sufficient to pay all debts due from it, and therefore hoped to be reimbursed thence the money he had paid to the orphan. The petitioner therefore hoped that that part of Mr Henry Francis's estate might not be deemed part of the late Mr Goodwin's estate, or sold as such, but delivered to the petitioner upon his security. **Interpretations** The Tinsley matter revealed a deliberate concealment for the sake of reputation: Goodwin had bought the yams for the Company and been paid, but hid the purchase in the books under other heads because buying yam in his first year, after fourteen or fifteen years without, would reflect on his skill in managing the plantations. That an official falsified the record not to steal but to protect his standing shows how the pressure of reputation could corrupt the account, the very obscurity of the entry now leaving Tinsley unpaid though the Company had settled its own part, and the council obliged to charge the debt back on Goodwin's estate. The council's resolution that Goodwin's estate, being sufficient, must pay Tinsley the £63 7s shows the frozen estate answering not only the Company's claims but the private debts its holder had left unsettled. Treating the unpaid purchase as Goodwin's personal debt, recoverable from his estate, marks how the reckoning of the dead Governor's affairs reached every obligation he had incurred, the estate made to satisfy those his concealment or his death had left out of pocket. Wrangham's petition raises a distinct question of trust property, that a ward's inheritance held by one executor should not, on his death, fall into his own estate to be sold with it, but pass to the surviving executor. His claim that the orphan Sarah's portion, kept and improved by the late Goodwin, was never truly Goodwin's own, and so should be delivered up rather than treated as his estate, tests the boundary between a man's own property and what he held in trust for others, a boundary the winding-up of the Goodwin estate forced the council repeatedly to draw.
254	250		Francis Wrangham's petition concluded, offering to prove that the late Mr Goodwin had never held

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		proving that Mr Goodwin had never any Legal Title to the same further than his being an Executor to Mr Henry Francis last Will and Testament. And Your Petitioner will ever pray &c Signed / Francis Wrangham Senr St Helena 11 May 178[...] Mr Wrangham being called before us desired that the Estate Mentioned in his Petition late belonging to the Deceased Mr Henry Francis may not be Sold on thursday next the time appointed for the Disposal at Publick outery of Mr Goodwins Estate And that he may have to the 2nd day of next Month the better to prepair his Proofs that Mr Goodwin hath nor never had any Right or Title to the Estate late Mr Henry Francis's, Granted and the Sale of this Particular Estate was defsered accordingly. It being Reported to us that some of the Principal Inhabitants have declared the Scarcity of Ready Money amongst them at this Juncture, by Reason of the few opportunitys they have as yet had this Year of Selling their Provisions, and have Wished that both for the Benefit of themselves and the late Mr Goodwins Estate they might be Credited Six Months, We Agree that it is for the Interest of the Honble Company to Credit them Accordingly provided each Man will give Unquestionable Security for the payment of the Amount of what he shall Purchase at the Expiration of Six Months. Geo Lambert G. G. Powell John Godfrey	any legal title to the property, beyond his being an executor to Mr Henry Francis's last will and testament. The petition was dated at St Helena on 11 May 1742 and subscribed by Francis Wrangham senior. Mr Wrangham, being called before the council, asked that the estate mentioned in his petition, once belonging to the deceased Mr Henry Francis, not be sold the following Thursday, the time appointed for the disposal at public outcry of Mr Goodwin's estate, and that he have until the 2nd of the following month to prepare his proofs that Mr Goodwin had never held any right or title to the estate of the late Mr Henry Francis. It was granted, and the sale of this particular estate was deferred accordingly. It being reported to the council that some of the principal inhabitants had complained of the scarcity of ready money among them at this juncture, by reason of the few opportunities they had as yet had that year of selling their provisions, and had asked that, both for their own benefit and that of the late Mr Goodwin's estate, they might be given six months' credit, the council agreed that it was for the interest of the Honourable Company to give them credit accordingly, provided each man gave unquestionable security for the payment of the amount of what he should purchase at the expiration of the six months. The proceedings were subscribed by Thomas Lambert, George Gabriel Powell and John Godfrey. **Interpretations** The deferral of the sale of the Henry Francis estate, to let Wrangham prove that Goodwin had held it only as executor and never as owner, shows the council carefully separating trust property from the personal estate before the public sale. Rather than sweep every asset in Goodwin's hands into the outcry, it allowed a claimant time to establish that a ward's inheritance was not the dead Governor's to sell, marking the boundary between what a man owned and what he merely held for others, a distinction the winding-up of the estate repeatedly required. The grant of six months' credit at the sale, in response to the inhabitants' complaint of a scarcity of ready money, reveals how tightly the island's cash economy was bound to the season of selling provisions. With few chances yet that year to turn their crops into coin, the planters could not buy Goodwin's effects for ready money, so the council extended credit against secured payment, judging it in the Company's interest to widen the pool of buyers and realise the estate more fully rather than sell cheap to the few who held cash. The requirement of unquestionable security for the credit given shows the council balancing accommodation against the risk of unpaid debt, mindful that the whole crisis had sprung from obligations left unsecured and unrecorded. Extending credit only against firm security, rather than on personal trust, applied the plain lesson of the Goodwin affair to the very sale that wound it up, the council determined that the estate's realisation should not itself breed the kind of untraceable debt that had made the reckoning necessary.
255	251	At a Consultation held on Tuesday the 18th of May 178[...] at the Castle Present Thomas Lambert Esqr Governour Geo Gabl Powell Esqr of Council John Godfrey Esqr of Council Christopher Dixon The last Consultation was read and approved Mr John Godfrey the Storekeeper this day brought in and Delivered the	At a consultation held at the castle on Tuesday 18 May 1742, the members present were Thomas Lambert as Governor, George Gabriel Powell as second of council, John Godfrey as third of council and Christopher Dixon. The minutes of the previous consultation were read and approved. Mr John Godfrey, the storekeeper, this day brought in and delivered the following accounts.

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		following Accounts viz. A Collection of Stores Sold from 1st October to 31 Decr 1741 viz. Bread & Flour viz. 26 3 23 3 Bread £50 6 6 16 21 12 Flour £30 1 7 Bread Cloth 16 1/2 yards £17 1 3 Blankets viz. 17 Coarse Blankets £3 19 3 Second Bed Do £1 8 6 7 7 6 Braziersware viz. 1 Copper Saucepan 6 6 1 Pr Snuffers & Stand 6 12 6 Beef & Pork viz. 3 Pr Beef 7 Pr Pork £1 1 1 10 Canvas viz. 32 Yards Havens Duck £3 4 7[...] 3 Yards Holland Do 9 6 3 Yards Haven Canvas £4 3 18 1[...] Cutleryware viz. 11 Shoe Knives 6 10[...] 7 Buck handle knives £4 1 6 Buck Brafs Priming knives 10 3 Bucks Priming Do 4 6 2 Horn Do 1 8 1 Razor 9 1 Ivory handle Pen knife 2 3 Tortoise Penknives 3 9 2 1 10[...] Combs viz. 19 Ivory Combs Sorted £1 3 2 7 Buck long Combs 5 1 8 2 Cordage 3 4 5 8 11 12 £8 4 Corks & Geese 2 3 Deales &c viz. 8 Double Deales £1 12 1 Single Do 3 4 3 Spars Sorted 14 6 2 9 10 Carried over	This was a collection of stores sold from 1 October to 31 December 1741. Under the heading of bread and flour: 26 cwt 3 qr 3 lb 8 oz bread, at 27s 6d a cwt, £50 6s 6d 16 cwt 21 lb 12 oz flour, at 37s 6d a cwt, £30 1s 7d Bread cloth, 16.5 yards, at 21s a piece, £17 1s 3d. Under the heading of blankets: 17 coarse blankets, at 7s each, £5 19s 0d 3 second best ditto, at 9s 6d each, £1 8s 6d Sub-total, £7 7s 6d Under the heading of braziersware: 1 copper saucepan, £0 6s 6d 1 pair of snuffers and stand, £0 6s 0d Sub-total, £0 12s 6d Under the heading of beef and pork: 3 lb beef, at 3s each, 9s 7 lb pork, at 3s each, £1 1s 0d Sub-total, £1 10s 0d Under the heading of canvas: 32 yards Raven's duck, at 2s 3d a yard, £3 4s 7.5d 2 yards holland ditto, 9s 6d 3 yards flaxen canvas, 4s Sub-total, £3 18s 1.5d Under the heading of cutleryware: 11 shoe knives, at 1s 2d each, £0 6s 10d 7 buck-handle knives, at 1s 2d each, £0 4s 1d 6 buck brass pruning knives, at 1s 8d each, 10s 3 buck pruning ditto, at 1s 6d each, 4s 6d 2 horn ditto, at 10d each, £0 1s 8d 1 razor, 9d 1 ivory-handled fish knife, 3d 3 tortoise penknives, 3s 9d Sub-total, £2 1s 10.5d Under the heading of combs: 19 ivory combs, sorted, £1 3s 2d 7 buck long combs, 5s Sub-total, £1 8s 2d Under the heading of cordage, at £5 8s 11d a hundredweight: Coils and rope, £2 2s 3d 2 double ditto, at 4s each, £1 12s 0d 1 single ditto, 3s 4d 3 spars, sorted, 14s 6d Sub-total, £2 9s 10d **Interpretations** The quarterly sale of stores set out exactly what a mid-Atlantic station drew from the passing shipping and resold to its inhabitants and to visiting vessels, from bread, flour and salted meat to canvas, cordage and ironmongery. Pricing each commodity by weight or yard against a stated rate shows the store account run as a trading ledger, the Company acting as sole merchant on the island and turning its imported stock into cash, the whole reckoning kept so the balance could be struck and checked each quarter. Raven's duck and holland were grades of imported linen canvas used for sailcloth and heavy work, and the coils of cordage and spars were ship's stores in constant demand from vessels refitting in the road. That so much of the quarter's sales was chandlery, canvas, rope, knives and combs brought from Europe and India, shows the island's economy resting on its function as a victualling and refitting station, its warehouse stocked from the homeward trade and drawn down by the same ships it existed to serve. The seating of Christopher Dixon on the council for the first time marks a change in the board's composition, a new member taking his place alongside Powell and Godfrey under the new Governor. The addition of a councillor shows the establishment's governing body being made up afresh under Lambert, the small circle of men who

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			ran the island's affairs enlarged as the new administration settled, each change in its membership recorded at the head of the consultation that first seated him.
256	252	Brought over 14 10[...] Demity 8 1/2 yards Corded Fustains viz. 12 Pr Plain Fustain £2 18 6 5 Pr Flowerd Do 11 3 3 9 9 Glaziersware viz. 1 Square Broad Glass 9 80 Sqr Glass 3 by 7 £3 9 1 Large Water Glass 2 6 1 doz Wine Glasses 8 6 3 11 9 Haversware viz. 15 Pr Mens White Cotton hose £1 17 6 8 Pr Boys Wove £1 4 6 7 Pr Mens Yam 19 6 2 Pr Mens Wove 10 2 Pr Boys Thrad 14 6 3 Pr Holee 10 9 1 Pr Womans 3 9 6 6 Hooks & Lines viz. 200 doz 3 Hooks Sorted £9 11 8 36 1/2 Lines Sorted £10 3 2 3 Hambrough Lines 7 20 1 10 Haberdasheryware viz. 8 Hun Needles 8 70 doz 3 China Silk £3 5 9 7 doz 3 Skains English Silk £2 3 6 53 doz 11 Brest Buttons £1 6 11[...] 36 doz 4 Coat Do £2 16 4 3 doz 2 Sticks Mohair £1 11 2 1/2 doz Thred Laces 6 6 14 Mr Pins £1 1 1/2 Whale Bone 4 3 doz 3 Gold Coat Buttons £1 19 6 13 1/2 yards Ferrit 5 3 13 1/4 yards Ribband £1 3 22 Pr Tape Sorted £1 5 3	The collection of stores sold continued. Under the heading of dimity, 8.5 yards, corded: 1.5 pieces plain fustian, £2 18s 6d 0.5 piece flowered ditto, 11s 3d Sub-total, £3 9s 9d Under the heading of glaziersware: 1 square broad glass, 9d 80 squares of glass, 5 by 7, at 2s 6d each, £3 0s 0d 1 large water glass, £0 2s 6d 1 dozen wine glasses, £0 8s 6d Sub-total, £3 11s 9d Under the heading of hosierware: 15 pairs men's white cotton hose, at 2s 6d each, £1 17s 6d 8 pairs boys' woven, at 3s each, £1 4s 6d 7 pairs men's yarn ditto, at 2s 6d each, 19s 6d 2 pairs men's woven ditto, at 5s each, 10s 2 pairs boys' thread ditto, at 7s 3d each, £0 14s 6d 3 pairs girls' ditto, 10s 9d 1 pair woman's ditto, 3s 9d Sub-total, £6 6s 0d Under the heading of hooks and lines: 200 dozen 3 hooks, sorted, £9 11s 8d 36.5 lines, sorted, £10 3s 2d 3 Hamburg lines, 7s Sub-total, £20 1s 10d Under the heading of haberdasheryware: 8 hundred needles, at 1s each, 8s 70.5 dozen China silk, at 1s 6d a dozen, £3 5s 9d 7 dozen 3 skeins English silk, at 6d each, £2 3s 6d 53 dozen 11 breast buttons, at 6d a dozen, £1 6s 11.5d 36 dozen 4 coat ditto, at 1s a dozen, £2 16s 4d 3 dozen 2 sticks mohair, £1 11s 0d 2.5 dozen thread laces, £0 6s 6d 14 thousand pins, £1 1s 0d 0.5 whale bone, 4s 3 dozen 3 gold coat buttons, £1 19s 6d 13.5 yards ferret, 5s 3d 13.5 yards ribband, at 1s 6d a yard, £1 3s 0d 22 pairs tape, sorted, £1 5s 3d 6 pound silk laces, at 1s each, 6s 3 pieces ferret ribbon, at 1s 3d each, £0 1s 3d Sub-total, £20 6s 6.5d Under the heading of ironmongeryware: 1 pair sheep shears, 2s 2 pad locks, 4s 2 chest ditto, 16s 1 iron stock lock, 16s 6d 4 frying pans, £1 2s 0d 1 pair steel scissors, £0 1s 3d 3 shod shovels, at 3s each, 9s 1 iron ditto, 3s 1 wood axe, 4s 8d 4 stock locks, number 13, 3s 8d 1 ditto, 1s 9d 3 pound brass wire, 1s Sub-total, £4 6s 10d **Interpretations** The quarter's sales of fishing hooks and lines, over £20 in value and by far the largest item on these leaves, show how central fishing was to the island's food supply and its trade. The great quantity of hooks sold by the dozen and lines of various grades, including Hamburg lines, reflects a population that fished both to feed itself and to sell its catch, the Company's warehouse supplying the tackle on which much of the island's subsistence depended, a demand as steady as that for any staple. The range of fine haberdashery, China and English silk, gold coat buttons, mohair, ribbon and lace,

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		6 Round Silk Laces 6 3 Pr Cobing 1 3 20 6[...] Ironmongersware viz. 1 Pr Sheep Shears 2 2 Pad Locks £4 2 Chest Do 16 1 Iron Stock Lock 16 6 4 Frying pans £1 2 1 Pr Steel Scisars 1 3 3 Iron Shovels 9 1 Iron Do 3 1 Wood Ax £4 8 4 Stock Locks No 13 3 8 1 Do Do C 1 9 3 Oz Brafswire 1 4 6 10 Carried over	reveals that the Company's stores supplied not only necessities but the materials of dress and small luxury to a settled community with money to spend. That such goods sold alongside the hooks, canvas and ironmongery shows the island's inhabitants clothing and adorning themselves from the passing India trade, the warehouse serving as the settlement's general shop for everything from a fish hook to a gold button. The pricing of every line against a stated rate, silk by the dozen, ribbon by the yard, buttons by the dozen, kept the store account as an exact trading ledger in which each sale could be checked against its quantity and price. Running the Company's monopoly commerce on so precise a footing, every yard and dozen reckoned, shows the same discipline of measured account that governed the whole administration extended to the retail of pins and tape, the warehouse's dealings as fully documented as the garrison's pay.
257	253	Brought over Kersey 40 Yards Leather 1 Calve Skin £4 Lead viz. 29 lb Bird Shott 10 1/2 lb Lead 9 8 12 6 2 8[...] Nailes viz. 72 lb Nailes Sorted 2 lb Sprigs £2 9 11[...] 3 4 12 4[...] Cases 7 £2 13 3[...] Oyle viz. 26 1/2 Gallons £7 6 3 1 Bottle Sallad Oyle 3 9 2 1 6 7 10 Paint viz. 13 Oz Indigo 2 2 2 lb Hair Powder 2 1 lb Starch 1 2 lb White Lead 1 10 double Barrels Blacking 6 8 12 10 Pitch &c viz. 60 lb Rozen 15 2 Bushells Tarr 8	The collection of stores sold continued. Kersey, 40 yards, £4 0s 0d. Under the heading of leather, 1 calf skin, 12s 6d. Under the heading of lead: 39 lb bird shot, at 4d a pound, 9s 8d 10.5 lb lead, at 3d a pound, £0 2s 8.5d Sub-total, £0 12s 4.5d Under the heading of nails: 72 lb nails, sorted, £2 9s 11.5d 2 lb sprigs, 3s 4d Sub-total, £2 13s 3.5d Under the heading of oil: 36.5 gallons, at 4s a gallon, £7 6s 3d 1 bottle salad oil, 3s 9d Sub-total, £7 10s 0d Under the heading of paint: 13 oz indigo, 2s 2d 2 lb hair powder, £0 2s 0d 1 lb starch, £0 1s 0d 2 lb white lead, £0 1s 0d 10 double barrels blacking, at 8d each, 6s 8d Sub-total, £0 12s 10d Under the heading of pitch: 60 lb rozin, 15s 2 bushels tar, 8s Sub-total, £1 3s 0d Under the heading of pewter: 2 nogging pots, 3s 2 half nogging ditto, 1s 1.5 dozen spoons, 5s 3d Sub-total, £0 9s 3d Shalloon, 34.5 yards, at 2s a yard, £5 2s 9d. Under the heading of shoes: 14 pairs women's calf leather ditto, at 4s 6d each, £3 3s 0d 11 pairs girls', sorted, £1 13s 9d 6 pairs boys' ditto, £1 6s 2d 23 pairs men's strong, at 6s each, £7 10s 0d 8 pairs women's Spanish, at 6s each, £2 8s 0d 12 pairs men's best sort, at 6s 8d each, £4 16s 0d 6 pairs men's ditto, at 6s each, £1 16s 0d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and Analysis
		1 3 Pewter viz. 2 Noging Potts 3 2 half Noging Do 1 1 1/2 doz Spoons 5 3 9 3 Shelloon 34 1/2 Yards £5 2 9 Shoes viz. 14 Pr Womens Calve Leather Do £3 3 11 Pr Girles Sorted £1 13 9 6 Pr Boys Do £1 6 2 23 Pr Mens Strong £7 10 8 Pr Womens Spanish 12 8 12 Pr Mens Best Sort £4 16 6 Pr Mens Do £1 16 13 Pr Mens Do Do £4 10 26 6 11 Soap 133 1/2 lb 8 6 3 Sagathys 21 Pr £6 14 3 Statiobaryware viz. 12 1/2 Quire Paper 16 8 1 Do Demy Paper 3 4 2 lb Quils £4 2 Spelling Books £1 4 1 5 Sacking 60 Yards 7 11 Salt 1/2 Bushell 3 4[...] Soldiers Clothes viz. 35 Pr Kersey Breeches 10 10 1 Kersey Waiscoat 6 10 16 Carried over	13 pairs men's ditto, number 13, at 6s each, £4 10s 0d Sub-total, £26 6s 11d Soap, 133.5 lb, at 1s 3d a pound, £8 6s 3d. Sagathy, 21.5 yards, £6 14s 3d. Under the heading of stationeryware: 12.5 quire paper, at 1s 4d a quire, £0 16s 8d 1 dozen dimity paper, 3s 0.5 dozen quills, £0 1s 4d 2 spelling books, £0 1s 4d Sub-total, £1 5s 0d Sacking, 6.5 yards, 7s 11d. Salt, 3.5 bushels, 3s 4.5d. Under the heading of soldiers' clothes: 35 pairs kersey breeches, at 6s each, £10 10s 0d 1 kersey waistcoat, 6s Sub-total, £10 16s 0d **Interpretations** The large sale of shoes, over £26 in the quarter and graded by sex, age and quality down to numbered lots, shows footwear as one of the steadiest wants of an island population that could not make its own. That men's strong shoes and best sorts sold in such quantity, alongside women's, girls' and boys', reflects a settled community wholly dependent on the Company's warehouse for a manufacture it could not produce, the imported shoe as regular a purchase as bread or cloth. The cloths sold, kersey, shalloon, sagathy and dimity, were the woollen and mixed fabrics of ordinary and better dress, kersey being a coarse warm wool made up here into soldiers' breeches, while sagathy and shalloon served for lighter wear and linings. Supplying both the rough cloth for the garrison's clothing and finer stuffs for the inhabitants shows the warehouse clothing the whole settlement from the passing trade, the same store meeting the soldier's breeches and the planter's coat. The pricing of every commodity by weight, yard or pair against a fixed rate kept the quarter's sales as an exact ledger in which each line could be checked against its quantity and price. Running the Company's monopoly trade on so precise a footing, oil by the gallon, soap by the pound, paper by the quire and shoes by the pair, extended the discipline of measured account that governed the whole administration to the retail of every article, the warehouse's dealings documented as fully as the garrison's pay.
258	254	Brought over Twine Viz. 7 lb Twine 17 6 2 lb Pack Thread 10[...] 2 1/2 lb Shoe Thread 6 3 1 4 7[...] Thread Viz. 16 lb Whited Brown Sorted £5 9 9 12 lb Coloured £2 8 7 lb White Thread 1 1 lb 3 Ounce Do 9 8 17 9 Turnersware viz.	The collection of stores sold concluded. Under the heading of twine: 7 lb twine, at 2s 6d a pound, 17s 6d 0.5 lb pack thread, 10.5d 2.5 lb shoe thread, at 2s 6d a pound, 6s 3d Sub-total, £1 4s 7.5d Under the heading of thread: 16 lb white and brown, sorted, £5 9s 9d 12 lb coloured, £2 8s 0d 0.5 lb white thread, 1s 1 lb 3 oz ditto, 19s Sub-total, £8 17s 9d Under the heading of turnersware: 2 wood bowls, 2s 4d 2 hair brooms, 7s 5 platters, 5s 10d 1 paint brush, 8.5d 1 spice camp box, £0 1s 6d Sub-total, £0 17s 4.5d Under the heading of tinware:

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		2 Wood Bowles 2 4 2 Hair Brooms 7 10 5 Platters 8 4[...] 1 Paint Brush 1 6 1 Iph Pump Box 17 4[...] Tinware viz. 3 Lamps 4 6 1 Pepper Box 3 4 9 Totall Amount of European Goods Indian Goods viz. Arrack 398 1/2 Gallons £194 11 7[...] Candles 149 lb 8 £18 13 9 Chinaware viz. 8 doz 3 Sneckets £2 10 6 4 doz 9 Nodging Cups £14 4 4 doz 7 half pint Cups 18 4 1 Sea Pott 2 6 6 Bowles 13 5 8 Chellow 33 Peices £24 10 Long Cloth viz. 6 lb Coarse Long Cloth 8 8 4 Pr Fine 6 14 13 2 Pallampores viz. 10 Small Pallampores 3 3 Large Do 3 14 6 14 Pepper 18 Rice 327 lb £2 3 9[...] Sugar 936 lb £23 8 Shirts 32 £4 Tea 12 Cattie £3 12 Totall Amount of European & Indian Goods £571 10 4[...] Glafsware over Charged in the Collection of december To Austin Mac Daniel 6 15	3 lamps, at 1s 6d each, 4s 6d 1 pepper box, 3d Sub-total, £0 4s 9d The total amount of European goods came to £245 0s 0d. Under the heading of Indian goods, arrack, 398.5 gallons, £194 11s 3.5d, and candles, 149 lb 8 oz, £18 13s 9d. Under the heading of chinaware: 8 dozen 3 saucers, £2 10s 6d 4 dozen 9 nogging cups, £1 4s 0d 4 dozen 7 half pint cups, £0 18s 4d 1 tea dish, £0 2s 6d 6 bowls, 13s Sub-total, £5 8s 0d Chelloe, 33 pieces, at 14s each, £24 10s 0d. Under the heading of long cloth: 6 pieces coarse long cloth, at 28s each, £8 8s 0d 4 pieces fine ditto, at 33s 6d each, £6 14s 0d Sub-total, £15 2s 0d Under the heading of palampores: 10 small palampores, at 6s each, £3 0s 0d 3 large ditto, £3 14s 0d Sub-total, £6 14s 0d Rice, 327 lb, at 15s a hundredweight, £2 3s 9.5d. Sugar, 936 lb, at 16s 6d a hundredweight, £23 8s 0d. Shirts, 32, at 2s 6d each, £4 0s 0d. Tea, 12 catties, at 6s each, £3 12s 0d. The total amount of European and Indian goods came to £571 10s 4.5d. A deduction was entered for glassware overcharged to Martin Mac Danil in the December collection, £6 15s 0d. **Interpretations** The account divided the quarter's sales into European and Indian goods, the Indian side dominated by arrack at nearly £195, showing how heavily the island's trade and its garrison's ration depended on the strong liquor brought from the East. That a single commodity of Indian import outweighed almost the whole of the European sales marks arrack as the most valuable article passing through the warehouse, the drink the council had fretted over in the brandy dispute now seen as the largest item in its own commerce. The Indian textiles, chelloe, long cloth and palampores, were the painted and woven cottons of the Coromandel and Bengal trade, long cloth being a plain calico sold by the piece, chelloe a checked or striped cotton, and palampores the painted bed coverings prized as fine furnishings. Their sale in quantity shows the island distributing eastern manufactures to its inhabitants and to passing ships, the warehouse serving as a point where the homeward India cargoes were broken and sold, the same goods that stocked the castle's own beds. The closing deduction for glassware overcharged to Martin Mac Danil, carried from the December collection, shows the account correcting an earlier error rather than letting it stand. Entering the overcharge as a formal reduction, traced to the exact collection in which it arose, was how the store book kept itself honest, every mistake answered in the reckoning so the balance struck stood true, the discipline of exact account that governed the whole run of the Company's trade.
259	255	A Collection of Charges General &c from 1st October to 31 Decr 1741 viz. Blacks Viz. Arrack 4 1/2 Gallons 8 6 Blankells 155 31 10	This was a collection of the general charges from 1 October to 31 December 1741. Under the heading of slaves, the following were supplied: Arrack, 4.5 gallons, at 2s a gallon, £0 8s 6d. Blankets, 155, £31 10s 0d. Chelloe, 29 yards, at 4s 8d a yard, £14 6s 0d.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and Analysis
		Chellow 29 Yards 14 6 Cutleryware viz. 2 Old Buck handle knives 1 Buck Brafs Clasp Pruning knife 7 2 Tortoise Penknives 10 4 Buck handle pruning knives 1 2 1 Pr Brafs Bond Scysars 2 4 1 1 6 Deesootees &c viz. 2 Pr Blue Linnen 14 4 3 Pr Blue Doosetes £1 3 6 4 Yards Deesootes 2 1 2 double Peices Do £1 14 3 Pr Blue £1 3 6 5 15 Deales 2 Double 4 Haberdasheryware viz. 2 Oz China Silk 1 6 1 Hundred Needles 7 2 1 Hosersware 1 Pr Womens Hose 3 10 Hooks & Lines viz. 2 Lines No 2 4[...] 12 doz Hooks 6 4 doz Do 4 2 9[...] 3 2 Kersey 4 Pr 8 16 Sugar 9 lb 2 3 Shirts 30 £2 15 Twine 1/2 6[...] Thread viz. 2 1/4 lb Coloured 4 10[...] 7 lb Whited Brown 2 3 7 2[...] Nailes 1 lb Do Nailes 4[...] Shoes viz. 7 Pr Mens Strong 1 8 1 Pr Mens 58 £4 4 1 Pr Do Do £4 4 1 Pr Do best Sort 4 5 1 Pr Boys 2 11 2 Pr Womens Calve Leather 3 6 2 8 10 Arrack 1/2 Gallon 2 6	Under the heading of cutleryware: 2 old buck-handle knives, 7d 1 buck brass clasp pruning knife, 10d 2 tortoise penknives, £0 1s 2d 4 buck-handle pruning knives, 2s 4d 1 pair brass-bound scissors, £0 1s 1d Sub-total, 6s 0d Under the heading of dowlas: 2 pieces blue linen, 14s 4d 3 pieces blue dowlas, £1 3s 6d 4 yards dowlas, 2s 1d 2 double pieces ditto, £1 14s 0d 3 pieces blue, £1 3s 6d Sub-total, £5 15s 0d Deals, 2 double, 4s. Under the heading of haberdasheryware: 2 oz China silk, £0 1s 6d 1 hundred needles, 7d Sub-total, £0 2s 1d Hosierware, 1 pair women's hose, 3s 10d. Under the heading of hooks and lines: 2 lines, number 2, 4s 12 dozen hooks, number 6, and 4 dozen ditto, number 4, 2s 9.5d Sub-total, 3s 2d Kersey, 4 pieces, at 44s each, £8 16s 0d. Sugar, 9 lb, 2s 3d. Shirts, 30, £2 15s 0d. Twine, 0.5 lb, 6d. Under the heading of thread: 2.25 lb coloured, 4s 10.5d 0.5 lb white and brown, 2s 3d Sub-total, £0 7s 2.5d Nails, 1 lb, 4d. Under the heading of shoes: 7 pairs men's strong, £1 8s 0d 1 pair men's, number 58, 4s 4d 1 pair ditto, number 13, 4s 4d 1 pair ditto, best sort, 4s 5d 1 pair boys', £0 2s 11d 2 pairs women's calf leather, 3s 6d Sub-total, £2 8s 10d Belonging to the estate of John Goodwin, deceased, the following were supplied: arrack, 0.5 gallon, £0 2s 6d; candy, 16 lb, 9s 4d; and tea, 3 lb, £1 3s 0d. The whole supplied to the slaves amounted to a total. **Interpretations** The general charges account records what the Company issued to its own slaves rather than sold, blankets making up much the largest item at £31 for a hundred and fifty-five, answering directly the grievance the slaves had brought before the council that they had never been supplied with any. That the quarter's issue included so many blankets, alongside cloth, shoes and shirts, shows the Company clothing its enslaved workforce from the same warehouse that stocked the garrison and the inhabitants, the provision entered as a charge on the establishment. The distinction between what was charged to the Company for its slaves and what belonged to the estate of the late John Goodwin, kept separate even in a small account of arrack, candy and tea, shows the frozen estate's supplies still reckoned apart from the Company's own. Carrying the estate's few items under their own note within the general charges marks the continuing care to keep Goodwin's affairs distinct, every issue on his account traced separately so the estate could be correctly debited as it was wound up. The issue of dowlas, a coarse linen, and kersey, a rough wool, among the goods supplied to the slaves shows the plainest and most durable cloths reserved for the enslaved workforce, in contrast to the finer

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and Analysis
		Candy 16 lb belonging to the Estate of John Goodwin Esqr deceasd 2 9 4 Tea 3 lb £1 5 Blacks Amounting to	silks and calicoes sold to the inhabitants. That the Company clothed its slaves in the cheapest hard-wearing fabrics while retailing better stuffs to the free population reflects the material hierarchy of the island, the same warehouse dividing coarse cloth for the bound from fine cloth for the free.
260	256	Boales viz. Bunting 2 yards 1 1 Canvas 20 yards £1 7 4 Cordage 2 6 10 1 [...] Haberdasheryware 3 Sail Nedles 2[...] Hooks & Lines viz. 6 doz Hooks No 2 £1 4 1 Line 6 1 Do 7 8[...] 1 8[...] Oyle 1/2 Gallon Train 1 4[...] Oares 6 8 3[...] Pitch &c viz. 5 lb Pitch 5[...] 11 lb Rozin 1 6[...] 5 Gallons Tarr 2 11 4 11 Twine 1/2 8 1 7[...] 41 1/2 yards Mooring Chain to the Long Boat £7 13 6[...] Boales Amounting to Charges General Viz. Cordage 1 6 13 £1 16 4[...] Deesootees viz. 6 Pr Blue Deesootees 2 11 2 Pr Double White £1 14 4 5 Deales &c viz. 4 double Deales 1 Deal 9 6 Glafsersware 2 Large Rummer Glafses 1 2 Haberdasheryware 4 Pr Coloured Tape 1 4[...] Hooks 1 doz No 7 2[...] Ironmongersware viz. 3 Auger Stitts 1 Iron Ladle 3 4 4 Mauls wt 14 3 3[...] 3 Helves 1 8[...] 3 2 20 Iron in 16 Barrs £7 8 9[...] 27 Steel in 1 Barr 7 3 8 4 8 Leather viz. 22 lb Sole Leather 16 4[...]	Under the heading of boats, the following were supplied: Bunting, 2 yards, £0 1s 1d. Canvas, 20 yards, £1 7s 4d. Cordage, at £5 8s 10d a hundredweight, £0 1s 9.5d. Haberdasheryware, 3 sail needles, 2.5d. Under the heading of hooks and lines: 6 dozen hooks, number 2, £1 4s 0d 1 line, number 6, 8.5d 1 ditto, number 7, £0 1s 8.5d Sub-total, £1 8.5d Oil, 0.5 gallon train, £0 1s 4.5d. Oars, 6, at 8s 3.5d each, £8 3s 6d. Under the heading of pitch: 5 lb pitch, 5.5d 11 lb rozin, £0 1s 6.5d 5 gallons tar, £2 11s 0d Sub-total, £4 11s 0d Twine, 0.5 lb, 7.5d. 41.5 yards mooring chain to the long boat, £7 13s 6.5d. The whole supplied to the boats amounted to a total. This was a further collection of the general charges. Cordage, at £5 8s 10d a hundredweight, £1 16s 4.5d. Under the heading of dowlas: 6 pieces blue dowlas, £2 11s 0d 2 pieces double white, £1 14s 0d Sub-total, £4 5s 0d Under the heading of deals: 4 double deals, 9s 6d 1 deal, 2s 6d Sub-total, 9s 6d Glaziersware, 2 large plummer glasses, £0 1s 2d. Haberdasheryware, 1 lb coloured tape, £0 1s 4d. Hooks, 1 dozen, number 7, 2.5d. Under the heading of ironmongeryware: 3 auger shells, £0 3s 4d 1 iron ladle, 3s 4d 4 mauls, weight 14 lb, 3s 3.5d 3 helves, £0 1s 8.5d 20 iron in 16 bars, weight 3 cwt 3 qr, £7 8s 9.5d 27 steel in 1 bar, £0 7s 3d Sub-total, £8 4s 8d Under the heading of leather: 22 lb sole leather, £0 16s 5.5d 17 lb calf leather, £1 16s 8d 1 calf skin, 7s 6.5d Sub-total, £3 0s 3.5d Under the heading of lead: 102.5 lb lead, £0 17s 4.5d 13 lb bird shot, £0 1s 10.5d Sub-total, £0 19s 3.5d Under the heading of nails: 6 lb copper rivets, 2s 9d 8 lb spikes, £0 2s 1.5d 1 lb pump tacks, 10d **Interpretations** The separate boat account records the constant maintenance a mid-Atlantic station's few vessels required, over £7 alone for a long mooring chain to the long boat, alongside oars, canvas, cordage, pitch and tar. That so much was spent keeping the boats fit shows how vital they were to an island whose whole contact with the shipping in the road, and

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and Analysis
		17 lb Calve Leather £1 16 8 1 Calves Skin 7 6[...] 3 3[...] Lead viz. 102 1/2 lb Lead 17 4[...] 13 lb Bird Shott 1 10[...] 19 3[...] Nailes viz. 6 lb Coopers Rivets 8 lb Spikes 2 9 1 lb Pump Tacks 2 1[...] 10 Nailes Carried over 1 8[...] Carried over	much of its fishing, depended on a handful of craft, the same long boat whose crew appeared on the slave employment list now costing a heavy charge in gear. The iron and steel entered by the bar, over three hundredweight of iron in sixteen bars and a bar of steel, were the raw materials the island's smith worked into tools, fittings and repairs, there being no metal to be had but what the ships brought. Charging such quantities of bar iron to the general account shows the establishment importing the very stuff of its ironwork, the smith on the slave list supplied from these bars to make and mend the fastenings, tools and fittings the works and the boats consumed. The pitch, tar, rozin, oakum-equivalent cordage and canvas running through both the boat and general accounts were the materials of caulking and rigging, the stores by which timber craft were kept watertight and serviceable. That the island had continually to import these ship's stores, having no means to produce them, marks again its dependence on the homeward trade for the means of its own maintenance, the upkeep of its boats and buildings resting wholly on what the passing vessels carried.
261	257	Brought over Nailes Brought over 3 8[...] 1 lb Jacks 10 lb 6 Nailes 10 9 lb 20 Do 3 8[...] 4 lb 10 Do 2 9[...] 4 lb 4 Do 1 3[...] 1 7[...] 15 10[...] Oyle viz. 4 Gallons Linseed Oyle 1 1/2 Do Train Do 7 8[...] 3 3[...] 11 1[...] Pitch &c viz. 3 lb Rozen 2 lb Pitch 4[...] 6 Barrels Pitch £2 6 4[...] 7 12 9 9 19 6 Paint &c viz. 1 Double Barrel Blacking 3[...] 10 lb Verdigrease £1 7 11 3 lb White Lead £1 1[...] 1 lb Brimstone 3 1 Oz Indigo 1[...] 9 8 Soap 2 1 3 £6 7 1[...] Twine viz. 1 1/2 lb Shoe Thread 2 2[...] 2 lb Pack Thread 6[...] 1 lb Twine 1 1[...]	The general charges account continued. Under the heading of nails: 1 lb tacks, 3.5d 10 lb 6d nails, 10d 9 lb 20d ditto, 3s 8.5d 4 lb 10d ditto, 2s 9.5d 4 lb 4d ditto, £0 1s 3.5d Sub-total, £0 1s 7.5d Under the heading of oil: 4 gallons linseed oil, 7s 8.5d 1.5 ditto train ditto, 3s 3.5d Sub-total, 15s 10.5d Under the heading of pitch: 3 lb rozin, 4.5d 0.5 lb pitch, 4.5d 6 barrels pitch, £2 6s 4.5d Sub-total, £7 12s 9d Under the heading of paint: 1 double barrel blacking, 3.5d 10 lb verdigris, £1 7s 11d 3 lb white lead, £0 1s 1.5d 1 lb brimstone, 3d 1 oz indigo, 1.5d Sub-total, £9 19s 6d Soap, at £2 1s 3d, £6 9s 8d. Under the heading of twine: 1.5 lb shoe thread, 2s 2.5d 0.5 lb pack thread, 6.5d 1 lb twine, £0 1s 1.5d Sub-total, £0 3s 10d Under the heading of thread: 1 lb coloured, 3s 1 lb white and brown, 4s 7.5d 0.5 ditto ditto, 2s 3.5d Sub-total, £0 8s 2.5d Under the heading of turnersware: 1 hair broom, 2s 2.5d 1 scrubbing brush, £0 1s 7d 1 paint brush, 6d Sub-total, £0 4s 4d Belonging to the estate of John Goodwin, deceased, the following were supplied: arrack, 1 gallon, 3s; ditto, 2 gallons, £2 10s 0d; and candy, 6 lb, £1 19s 1d. The whole amount of the general charges came to a total. This was an account of the diet expenses. Arrack, 129.5 gallons, at 4s 7.5d a gallon, £12 18s 3d, being 47.75 gallons, £11 19s 4.5d.

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		3 10 Thread Viz. 1 lb Coloured Thred 1 3 1 lb Whited Brown Do 4 7[...] 1/2 Do Do 2 3[...] 8 2[...] Turnersware viz. 1 Hair Broom 2 2[...] 1 Scrubing Brush 1 7[...] 1 Paint Brush 6[...] Arrack 1 Gallon, belonging to the Estate of John Goodwin 4 4 to Gall Do 3 6 lb Candy Supplyd John Dean belonging to Do £2 10 1 19 1 Amount of Charges General Diet Expences viz. Arrack 129 1/2 Gallons Viz. Gallons 12 18 3 47 1/2 11 19 4[...] Beef & Pork viz. 27 Pr Beef £3 16 6 39 Pr Pork £6 2 11 9 19 5 Salt 6 Bushell 5 4 Candy 76 lb £2 4 1 Cask Venagar £2 19 10 Carried over	Under the heading of beef and pork: 27 lb beef, £3 16s 6d 39 lb pork, £6 2s 11d Sub-total, £9 19s 5d Salt, 6 bushels, 3s 1d. Candy, 76 lb, £2 4s 0d. 1 cask vinegar, £2 19s 10d. **Interpretations** The diet account records what the general table consumed, arrack again the heaviest single charge at over £12, confirming how central the spirit was both to the establishment's ration and to its recurring expense. That drink outweighed the beef, pork and other provisions of the table shows the same pattern running through every account of the period, the liquor ration a constant and costly staple, the very scarcity of which had driven the council's anxiety over supply. The paints and materials, verdigris, white lead, blacking, brimstone and indigo, were the pigments and preparations used to protect and mark timber, ironwork and equipment against the island's damp sea air. Charging such quantities of verdigris and white lead to the general account shows the constant labour of preservation a maritime station required, the metals and woodwork of the forts, boats and buildings needing continual painting and treating to hold against the weather. The estate of the late John Goodwin again appears with its own few charges of arrack and candy, kept distinct within the general account even down to a gallon of spirit. Maintaining this separation, every item on Goodwin's account entered apart from the Company's own, shows the continuing discipline of the winding-up, the frozen estate debited exactly for what it supplied so that its reckoning stayed true as it was steadily realised into the Company's hands.
262	258	Brought over Corks & Geese 13 Flour 14 lb 17 3 7 Oyle 27 Bottles Florence 3 7 10[...] Pepper 4 lb Sugar 429 1/2 4 3 3[...] Candles 117 lb 8 13 6 1 double Cattie 6 lb Tea belonging to y Mr Goodwin Esqr Decd 15 Diet Expences Amounting to Fortification viz. Bunting viz. 7 Yards Blue Bunting 3 9[...] 6 Yards Narrow Blue Do 3 3 4 Yards Do 2 11 9 11[...] Cutleryware 2 Shoe Knives 10 Deales &c viz. 1 Baulk 2 4 double Deales	The diet expenses account continued. Under the heading of cooks and general: Flour, 14 lb, £0 13s 0d. Oil, 27 bottles Florence, £3 7s 10.5d. Pepper, 4 lb, £0 3s 7d. Sugar, 429.5 lb, £4 3s 3.5d. Candles, 117 lb, £8 13s 6d. 1 double catty of tea, belonging to the estate of Mr Goodwin, deceased, 15s. The whole diet expenses amounted to a total. This was an account of the charges of the fortification. Under the heading of bunting: 9 yards blue bunting, 3s 9.5d 6 yards narrow blue ditto, 3s 3d 4 yards ditto, 2s 11d Sub-total, £0 9s 11.5d Cutleryware, 2 shoe knives, 10d. Under the heading of deals: 1 bauk, 2s 4 double deals, 8s Sub-total, 10s Under the heading of ironmongeryware: 1 plane, £0 1s 9.5d 1 chisel, 6.5d 1 joiner's hatchet, 2s 21 helves, £0 11s 4.5d 6 shod shovels, 8s 4.5d 6 sugar ditto, £0 8s 9d 4 pick axes, 10s 3d 8 mattocks, £0 17s 4d 0.5 lb brass wire, £0 1s 2.5d

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		8 10 Ironmongersware viz. 1 Flain £1 9[...] 1 Chizel 6[...] 1 Joyners Hatchet 2 21 Helves 11 4[...] 6 Iron Shovels 8 4[...] 6 Sugar Do 8 9 4 Pick Axes 10 3 8 Mattocks 17 4 1/2 lb Brafs Wire 1 2[...] 1 Pr Snuff Scisars 1 1 1 Ray Stone 1 1 Chest Lock 6 7 1 Large Rimbed Lock 12 2 Small Do 6 4 9[...] 1 Stock Lock 16 7 1 Pr Pinchers 3 Gimblets 4[...] 2 Hammers 4 4[...] 1 Stock Lock 13 2 4 Barrs Iron £1 13 7[...] Pr Iron in Barrs £1 3 7 14 3[...] Lines viz. 4 Large Lines 1 8 2 Lines No 3 6[...] 2 2[...] Nailes Viz. 8 lb 6 Nailes 8 lb 4 Do 2 11[...] 8 lb 10 Do 3 3[...] 4 lb 2 Do 2 7[...] 4 lb 20 Do 2 4[...] 1 lb Scupper Nailes 1 0 5 4[...] 16 1[...] Carried over	1 pair snuffers, £0 1s 1d 1 nag stone, 1d 1 chest lock, 6s 7d 1 large rimmed lock, 12s 2 small ditto, 4s 9.5d 1 stock lock, £0 4s 9.5d 1 pair pinchers, £0 1s 6.5d 3 gimblets, 4d 2 hammers, 4.5d 1 stock lock, number 13, 2s 4 iron, weight 20 lb, £1 13s 7.5d 20 iron in bars, £1 3s 0d Sub-total, £7 14s 3.5d Under the heading of lines: 4 large lines, £0 1s 8d 2 lines, number 3, 6.5d Sub-total, £0 2s 2.5d Under the heading of nails: 8 lb 6d nails, £0 2s 11.5d 8 lb 10d ditto, 3s 3.5d 4 lb 2d ditto, £0 2s 7.5d 4 lb 20d ditto, 2s 4d 1 lb scupper nails, £0 1s 0d Sub-total, 5s 4d **Interpretations** The separate fortification account records the tools and iron consumed in the works Lambert had surveyed, pick axes, mattocks, shod shovels and helves in quantity, the very implements needed for the rock-cutting and dry-walling he had proposed for the leeward valleys. That such digging tools headed the charge shows his fortification scheme already drawing on the stores, the labour of scalping the ground and raising walls requiring a steady supply of the iron implements the island could not make for itself. The locks entered among the ironmongery, chest locks, stock locks and a large rimmed lock, were the means of securing the Company's stores and magazines against the very pilfering the deficiency inquiry had exposed. Charging so many locks to the works shows the concern for security extending to the physical safeguarding of stores and powder, the fortification of the island against an enemy matched by the locking-up of its supplies against loss from within. The scupper nails and quantities of bar iron point to the constant ironwork the fortifications and their fittings demanded, the smith working the imported bars into the fastenings, tools and fixtures the building required. That the works consumed both finished ironmongery and raw iron by weight shows the establishment supplying its own construction from the passing trade, the fortification of the island resting, like everything else, on the materials the homeward ships brought and the smith's labour turned to use.
263	259	Brought over Oyle viz. 24 1/2 Gallons Linseed oyle 9 9[...] 1 Bottle Do 2 2[...] 2 Gallons of Train oyle 5 6	The fortification account continued. Under the heading of oil: 29.5 gallons linseed oil, 9s 7.5d 1 bottle ditto, £0 2s 2.5d 2 gallons train oil, 5s 6d Sub-total, £0 17s 4d Under the heading of paint: 9 double barrels blacking, 2s 5.5d

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		17 4 Paint & Tar viz. 9 Double Barrels Blacking 2 3[...] 15 lb white Lead 4 11[...] 8 lb of Yellow Oaker 0 11[...] 5 lb of 6 Verdintone 6[...] 6 lb Spanish Brown 3[...] 9 4[...] Pitch &c viz. 13 Gallons of Tar 8 9 1 Barrel of Tar £1 2 5 1 11 2 Sacking &c viz. 1 Do Sacking 16 2 9 Yards of Weavers Duck 2 4 16 2 Turnersware 10 Paint Brushes 3[...] Twine 29 lb 2 9 Thread 1/4 Coulers 4 11 Fortification Amount to Garrison viz. Arrack 4 Gallons 1[...] Canvas &c 5 Yards Rufsia Duck 3 6 Cutleryware 1 Shoe knive 5 Glaziekware 3 Shoes four one Glasses 10[...] Ironmongersware viz. 1 Frying Pan 3 3[...] 1 Hammer 1[...] 1 Gimblet 1[...] 4 6[...] Oyle 29 1/2 Gallons 4 18 4 Tinware viz. 3 Tin Lamps 2 3 1 Do pot 2 4[...] 4 7[...] Turnersware viz. 1 Large Bowle 8[...] 1 Scrubing Brush 1 7[...] 2 Platters 1[...] 3 10 Carried over	15 lb white lead, 4s 11.5d 5 lb yellow ochre, £0 0s 11.5d 5 lb verdigris, £0 1s 6.5d 6 lb Spanish brown, 3.5d Sub-total, £0 9s 4.5d Under the heading of pitch: 15 gallons of tar, £0 8s 9d 1 barrel of tar, £1 2s 5d Sub-total, £1 11s 2d Under the heading of sacking: 1 piece sacking, £0 16s 2d 2 yards of Raven's duck, £0 2s 4d Sub-total, £0 16s 2d Turnersware, 10 paint brushes, £0 3s 0d. Twine, 2.5 lb, £0 2s 9d. Thread, 2.5 coloured, £0 4s 11d. The whole charges of the fortification amounted to a total. This was an account of the charges of the garrison. Arrack, 11 gallons, £1 0s 0d. Canvas, 5 yards Russia duck, £0 3s 6d. Cutleryware, 1 shoe knife, £0 0s 5d. Glaziersware, 3 squares, four over glasses, 10s. Under the heading of ironmongeryware: 1 frying pan, 3s 5.5d 1 hammer, £0 0s 1d 1 gimblet, 1.5d Sub-total, £0 4s 6.5d Oil, 29.5 gallons, £4 18s 4d. Under the heading of tinware: 3 tin lamps, £0 2s 3d 1 ditto pot, £0 2s 4.5d Sub-total, £0 4s 7.5d Under the heading of turnersware: 1 large bowl, 8.5d 1 scrubbing brush, £0 1s 7.5d 2 platters, £0 3s 10d **Interpretations** The paints charged to the fortification, white lead, yellow ochre, verdigris and Spanish brown, were the pigments used to coat and protect the ironwork and timber of the works against the damp sea air. That the account for the forts included so many paints and oils shows the constant labour of preservation the defences required, the guns, carriages and woodwork needing continual treating to hold against a climate that rusted and rotted whatever was left bare. The tar, pitch and sacking entered against the works were the materials of weatherproofing and covering, used to protect exposed masonry, timber and stores from rain and spray. Charging barrels of tar and pieces of sacking to the fortification shows the same care to shield the works from the weather as from an enemy, the upkeep of the defences against the elements as constant a charge as their construction, on an island where everything exposed to the sea decayed quickly. The garrison's own small account of lamps, oil, canvas and kitchen ware records the daily domestic wants of the soldiers quartered in the forts, distinct from the materials of the works themselves. Keeping the garrison's household charges separate from the fortification's building charges shows the account distinguishing the men's daily needs from the fabric of the defences, each class of expense entered apart so the whole could be reckoned and checked, the same order that governed every branch of the establishment's finances.
264	260	Brought over Tea 25 Catties 1 10 10 Arrack 5 Gallons 1 5 0 Tea 24 lb belonging to the Estate of Mr Jo Goodwin Esqr decd	The garrison charges account continued. Tea, 25 catties, £1 10s 10d. Belonging to the estate of Mr John Goodwin, deceased, the following were supplied: arrack, 5 gallons, £1 5s 0d, and tea, 24 lb, £6 2s 6d. The whole charges of the garrison amounted to a total.

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		6 2 6 Garrison Amount pr to Plantation viz. Cordage 1st 6 2 3 11 Cutleryware viz. 2 doz of Shoe knives 10 2 Old buck handle knives 6[...] 2 Buck handle pruning knives 1 5 6 horn handles knives 1 6 1 Tortoise Penknive 7 14 4[...] Deals &c viz. 1 Spars 12 3 Double Deals 6 18 Ironmongersware viz. 6 Pick Axes 15 3[...] 1 Hammer 1[...] 1 Hand Saw 5 6 1 Ragg Stone 3[...] 1 2 15 Lines viz. 2 Lines 9 3 Hambrough lines 5 6 6 3[...] Lead 38 lb Sheet 6 5[...] Nails viz. 28 lb 6 Nails 10 5 6 lb 4 Do 2 5[...] 28 lb 10 Do 8 4 18 lb 30 Do 4 3[...] 1 5 3[...] Oyle viz. 1 1/2 Gallon Linseed oyle 5 9[...] 2 Do of Train Do 1 4[...] 1 12[...] Carried over	This was an account of the charges of the plantation. Cordage, 15 lb, £2 3s 11d. Under the heading of cutleryware: 2 dozen shoe knives, 10s 2 old buck-handle knives, 6.5d 2 buck-handle pruning knives, £0 1s 5d 6 horn-handled knives, £0 1s 6d 1 tortoise penknife, 7d Sub-total, £0 14s 0d Under the heading of deals: 1 spar, 12s 3 double deals, 6s Sub-total, 18s Under the heading of ironmongeryware: 6 pick axes, 15s 5d 1 hammer, £0 1s 0d 1 hand saw, £0 5s 6d 1 nag stone, 3d Sub-total, £1 2s 10d Under the heading of lines: 2 lines, 9d 3 Hamburg lines, 5s 6d Sub-total, £0 6s 3.5d Lead, 38 lb sheet, £0 6s 5.5d. Under the heading of nails: 28 lb 6d nails, 10s 5d 6 lb 4d ditto, £0 2s 5d 28 lb 10d ditto, 8s 4d 18 lb 20d ditto, £0 4s 5d Sub-total, £1 5s 3.5d Under the heading of oil: 1 gallon linseed oil, 5s 9.5d 0.5 ditto of train ditto, £0 1s 4.5d Sub-total, £1 1s 0d **Interpretations** The plantation account records the tools issued for cultivating the Company's provision grounds, pick axes, knives, a hand saw and pruning knives, the implements needed to dig, plant and tend the yams on which the whole establishment depended. That the plantations required a steady supply of imported iron tools shows how far even the island's own food production rested on the passing trade, the labour of the enslaved workforce on the grounds equipped from the same warehouse that armed the forts. The pruning and horn-handled knives among the plantation charges were the tools of tending crops and clearing ground, issued for the daily agricultural work of the provision grounds. That such implements were charged separately to the plantation account, distinct from the fortification and garrison charges, shows the establishment reckoning each branch of its activity apart, the cost of feeding the island kept distinct from the cost of defending it so that every department's expense could be traced. The estate of the late John Goodwin again appears with its charges of arrack and tea, kept separate even within the garrison account. Maintaining this distinction to the last, every item on the frozen estate's account entered apart from the Company's own, shows the continuing discipline of the winding-up, Goodwin's affairs debited exactly for what they consumed so that the reckoning stayed true as the estate was steadily realised, the same care that had governed the whole settlement of his tangled accounts.
265	261	Brought Over Pitch 3 lb Paint &c viz. 3[...] 8 lb of White Lead 3 8 lb of Spanish Brown	The plantation charges account concluded. Pitch, 3 lb, 3.5d. Under the heading of paint: 8 lb of white lead, 3s 8 lb of Spanish brown, £0 0s 1.5d 1 double barrel blacking, 3.5d Sub-total, £0 4s 2.5d

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		1[...] 1 Double Barrel Blacking 3[...] 4 2[...] Tinware 1 watering Pott 6 2[...] Plantation Amounting to A Collection of Charges Genl &c from 1st of October to 31 December Belonging to the Late John Goodwin Esqr Deceased 1741 viz. Arrack 62 1/2 Gallons 15 12 6 Candy 173 lb 4 3 5 Deals &c 16 Teak Boards 16 Lead 39 lb Pigg Lead 9 10[...] Tea 35 lb 1 Double Cattie 8 5 A Collection of Stores Sold Belong. to the Late Jn Goodwin Esqr Dec. from 1st October to 31 Decem. 1741 viz. Arrack 440 1/2 Gallons 143 3 3 Candy 2584 lb 96 18 2[...] China Silks 13 Yds 2 12 Nankin 30 Pr 9 Tea 70 lb 6 11 11 10[...] Lead 18 1/2 Pigg 4 6[...] Morrees 8 Course 6 Total Amount of Governour Goodwins Effects Sold out of Store	Tinware, 1 watering pot, £0 6s 2.5d. The whole charges of the plantation amounted to a total. This was a collection of the general charges from 1 October to 31 December 1741, belonging to the late John Goodwin, deceased. Arrack, 62.5 gallons, £15 12s 6d. Candy, 2 cwt 1 qr 3 lb, £4 3s 5d. Deals, 16 teak boards, 16s. Lead, 39.5 lb pig lead, £0 9s 10.5d. Tea, 35 lb and 1 double catty, £8 5s 0d. This was a collection of stores sold belonging to the late John Goodwin, deceased, from 1 October to 31 December 1741. Arrack, 440.5 gallons, at 6s 6d a gallon, £143 3s 3d. Candy, 2,584.5 lb, £96 18s 2.5d. China silks, 13 yards, at 4s a yard, £2 12s 0d. Nankeen, 30 pieces, at 6s each, £9 0s 0d. Tea, 70 lb 6 oz, at 5s a pound, £11 11s 10.5d. Lead, 18.5 lb pig, at 1s a pound, £4 6s 0d. Morees, 8 pieces coarse, at 15s a piece, £6 0s 0d. The total amount of Mr Goodwin's effects sold out of the store came to a total. **Interpretations** The separate collections of the late John Goodwin's effects, both what was charged out to the establishment and what was sold, show the frozen estate being systematically realised alongside the Company's own trade. That Goodwin's own arrack and candy ran to such large quantities, the arrack sold alone worth over £143, reveals the dead Governor had held substantial private stocks of the very eastern goods the island traded in, his estate now broken and sold to answer his debts and the claims against it. The Indian textiles among Goodwin's effects, China silks, nankeen and morees, were the fine and coarse cottons of the eastern trade, nankeen being a durable yellowish cotton from China and morees a plain calico from the Coromandel coast. That a Governor's private estate held such quantities of these goods shows how far the Company's own servants dealt privately in the eastern commodities that passed through their hands, the line between the Company's trade and its officers' private ventures blurred in the very cargoes both handled. That Goodwin had held arrack and candy in such volume, far beyond any household's use, points to private trading on a considerable scale by the man who had governed the island. His estate's stocks, now sold at outcry to clear his debts, expose the mingling of public office and private commerce that the deficiency inquiry had brought to light, the Governor who managed the Company's stores having accumulated great quantities of the same goods for his own account, the sale of which now helped to settle the very shortfall his administration had left.
266	262	A Collection of Stores Sold from the 1st Jany to 22 March 178[...] viz. Bread & Flour viz. 1387 lb Bread 23 2 6 138 lb Flower 12 6 1 Blankets viz. 1 Blanket Ordinary 7 2 Do Best Sort 19 1 6 Braziersware viz. 1 Pewter Tea kettle	This was a collection of stores sold from 1 January to 22 March 1742. Under the heading of bread and flour: 1,387.5 lb bread, at 37s 4d a cwt, £23 2s 6d 138.5 lb flour, at 37s 3d a cwt, £12 6s 1d Under the heading of blankets: 1 blanket, ordinary, 7s 2 ditto, best sort, 19s Sub-total, £1 6s 0d Under the heading of braziersware: 1 pewter tea kettle, 19s 9d 1 large copper saucepan, £0 6s 6d 1 small ditto ditto, 4s 6d 1 brass ladle, £0 2s 8d 1 ditto thimble, 3d

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		19 9 1 Large Copper Saucepan 6 6 1 Small Do Do 4 6 1 Brafs Ladle 2 8 1 Do Thimble 3 1 13 8 Broad Cloth 6 Yds 6 6 Combs viz. 24 Ivory Combs Sorted 19 3[...] 3 Buckling Do 2[...] 1 4 3[...] Cutleryware viz. 4 Shoe Knives 1 Ivory handle knife & fork 2 6 1 Tortoise Penknife 2 1 Buckknife Clasp 1 3 1 2 6 11 Cordage 1 2 26 8 4 5 4[...] Canvas viz. 13 1/2 Yds Ravens Duck 1 Pr Canvas 1 3 7[...] 6 Yds Sacking 1 10[...] 1[...] 1 12 6 Corks 1/2 Grofs 2 3 Coals 10 Bushels 1 10[...] Deals &c viz. 6 Double Deals 4 Spars 1 4 16 6 2 6 6 Carried over	Sub-total, £1 13s 8d Broad cloth, 6 yards, £0 6s 6d. Under the heading of combs: 24 ivory combs, sorted, £0 19s 3.5d 3 buck long ditto, 2s Sub-total, £1 1s 3.5d Under the heading of cutleryware: 4 shoe knives, £0 2s 6d 1 ivory-handled knife and fork, 2s 1 tortoise penknife, £0 1s 3d 1 buck knife, clasp, £0 1s 2d Sub-total, £0 6s 11d Cordage, at £5 2s 6.5d a hundredweight, £4 5s 1d. Under the heading of canvas: 13.5 yards Raven's duck, £1 3s 1.5d 1 piece canvas, £1 10s 2d 6 yards sacking, 7s Sub-total, £1 12s 6d Corks, 0.5 gross, 2s 3d. Coals, 10 bushels, £1 10s 0d. Under the heading of deals: 6 double deals, £0 4s 0d 4 spars, 16s 6d Sub-total, £2 0s 6d **Interpretations** The quarterly sale of stores from January to March 1742 spanned the very weeks of the change of government, the ordinary trade of the warehouse continuing through the transfer of power that dominated the consultations. That the store account ran on unbroken while the island passed from Jenkins's to Lambert's government shows the commercial machinery of the Company operating independently of its political upheavals, the sale of bread, cloth and chandlery proceeding as the new Governor reckoned the cash and stores about him. The staples heading the account, bread and flour at over £35 together, were the imported grain a station that could not feed itself from its own soil depended on for its daily bread. That so much bread and flour was sold in the quarter reflects the island's reliance on the passing shipping for the most basic provision, the same dependence that drove the council's requests to India for paddy and rice and its anxiety over the failing yam crop, the warehouse supplying the grain the plantations could not. The pricing of every commodity by weight or measure against a stated rate kept the quarter's sales as an exact ledger through the transition of government, each line checkable against its quantity and price. Running the Company's trade on so precise a footing even as its administration changed hands shows the discipline of measured account as a constant of the establishment, the warehouse's dealings documented with the same rigour under the new Governor as the old, the commerce of the island reckoned to a penny regardless of who governed it.
267	263	Brought Over Glaziersware Viz. 12 Squares Glass 2 Large Wine glasses 18[...] 10 Beer Glasses 2 4 1 Pr Cruets 11 8 2[...] 1 14 Hooks & Lines viz. 185 doz of hooks Sorted 7 1 10 11 Alt icere & Do 2 6	The collection of stores sold continued. Under the heading of glaziersware: 12 squares glass, 18s 2 large wine glasses, £0 2s 4d 10 beer glasses, at 1s 2d each, £0 11s 8d 1 pair cruets, 2s Sub-total, £1 14s 0d Under the heading of hooks and lines: 185 dozen hooks, sorted, £7 1s 10d 11 albicore ditto, £0 2s 6d 18 lines, sorted, 2s 3 Hamburg lines, sorted, 7s Sub-total, £9 11s 4d Under the heading of haberdasheryware: 20.5 thousand pins, £1 1s 7.5d 19 skeins English silk, £1 3s 6d

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		18 Lines Sorted 2[...] 3 Hamborough Lines Sorted 7[...] 9 11 4 Haberdasheryware viz. 20 1/2 m Pins 1 7 2[...] 19 Skains English Silk 1 3 6 23 Sticks of Mohair 11 6 13 doz of Brest Buttons 6 6 9 doz Coat Do 9[...] 58 oz of China Silk 4 7[...] 9 doz Tape Sorted 10 6 16 1/4 Yds Ribband 16 1 2[...] 1 Pr 3 Yards Gartring 8 6 14 1/4 Yds Ferrit 4 10 8 Pr Cobling 3 4 3 Pr Needles 3[...] 1 doz 1 Laces Sorted 6 11 1/2 Oz of Gold twist 5[...] 11 2 9 Hosersware viz. 24 Pr of Mens Cotton Hose 3[...] 2 Pr Do Wove 5[...] 1 Do Boys worsted 3 3 3 8 3 Ironmongersware viz. 1 lb of Iron ware 2 6 6 oz of Brafs Do 5 4 1 Spitt 4[...] 1 Cleaver 4[...] 4 Spadetwoods 12[...] 3 Frying pans 18 6 Iron ware Carr over£21 4[...] Carried over	23 sticks of mohair, £0 11s 6d 13 dozen of breast buttons, £0 6s 6d 9 dozen coat ditto, 9s 58 oz of China silk, £0 4s 7d 9 pieces tape, sorted, £0 10s 6d 16.5 yards ribband, £0 16s 1.5d 1 piece 3 yards garthing, £0 8s 6d 14.5 yards ferret, £0 4s 10d 8 pairs mothery, £0 3s 4d 3 pairs needles, 3s 1 dozen 1 laces, sorted, £0 6s 11d 0.5 oz of gold twist, 5s Sub-total, £11 2s 9d Under the heading of hosierware: 24 pairs of men's cotton hose, £3 0s 0d 2 pairs ditto, woven, at 2s 6d each, 5s 1 pair ditto, boys' worsted, at 2s 6d each, 3s 3d Sub-total, £3 8s 3d Under the heading of ironmongeryware: 1 lb of iron ware, £0 2s 6d 6 oz of brass ditto, £0 5s 4d 1 spit, £0 4s 0d 1 cleaver, 12s 4 shod shovels, £0 18s 6d 3 frying pans, £2 1s 4d **Interpretations** The steady sale of fishing hooks and lines, again the largest single item at over £9 and reckoned in the hundreds of dozens, confirms across successive quarters how central fishing was to the island's food supply and its trade. The inclusion of albicore hooks, made for a larger fish, alongside the ordinary sorts shows the range of tackle a fishing population required, the Company's warehouse supplying the means to catch everything from small shore fish to the larger species that fed and were sold by the island's people. The fine haberdashery, English and China silk, gold twist, mohair, ribbon and lace, shows the Company's stores continuing to supply the materials of dress and small adornment to a settled community with money to spend. That such goods sold in quantity through the winter quarter, alongside the fishing tackle and ironmongery, reflects the island's inhabitants clothing and adorning themselves from the passing India trade, the warehouse serving as the settlement's general shop for necessity and small luxury alike. The pricing of every line against a stated rate, silk by the skein, ribbon by the yard, hose by the pair, kept the account as an exact trading ledger in which each sale could be checked. Running the Company's monopoly commerce on so precise a footing, pins reckoned by the thousand and gold twist by the ounce, extended the discipline of measured account that governed the whole administration to the retail of the smallest wares, the warehouse's dealings documented with the same care as the garrison's pay and the fortification's charges.
268	264	Brought over Ironmongersware Brought over 2 7 4 8 Stock Locks No 4 10[...] 3 Do Do B 4 3 1 Do Do C 1 9 1 Jack Plain 3[...] 1 Chifsell 1 3 1 Iron Chaffing Dish 7[...]	The collection of stores sold continued. Under the heading of ironmongeryware: 8 stock locks, number A, 10s 3 ditto ditto, number B, £0 4s 3d 1 ditto ditto, number C, £0 1s 9d 1 jack plane, 3s 1 chisel, £0 1s 3d 1 iron chaffing dish, 9d 1 gridiron, £0 2s 6d 1 helve, £0 1s 2d Sub-total, £3 18s 3d Under the heading of lead: 64 lb bird shot, £1 1s 4d 3.5 lb sheet lead, 9.5d Sub-total, £1 2s 1.5d

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		1 Grid Iron 2 6 4 Helves 1 2 3 18 3 Lead viz. 64 lb Bird Shott 1 1 4 3 1/4 lb Sheet Lead 9[...] 1 2 1[...] Nailes Viz. 115 lb Nailes Sorted 4 2 9 lb Sloowing Bursts 5 9[...] 4 5 9[...] Oyle 73 1/2 Gallons 18 17 6[...] Oares 7 2 16 10[...] Pitch &c &c viz. 3 Gallons Tarr 3[...] 62 lb Rozin 15 6 18 6 Pewter viz. 6 Pewter Spoons 1 9 1 Do Saucepans 4[...] 5 9 Paint viz. 5 Double Barrel of Blaching 3 4 24 oz Indigo 4[...] 28 lb of Spanish White 1 2 4 Single Barrels Blaching 1 4 9 10 Pork & Brif viz. 1 Pr Pork 3[...] 2 Pr Brif 6[...] 9 Soap 164 lb 10 5 3[...] Stationaryware 16 Do Paper 1 Do Demy Do 1 4 7[...] Sagathies 5 Pr 1 6 10[...] Shoes viz. 9 Pr off mens Shoes D B 2 14 13 Do Mens Ordinary 3 18 15 Do Mens Best Sort 5[...] 12 Do Spanish Leather 3 12 8 Do Womens Calve Lather 1 16 1 Pr Girls 2 6 2 Pr Boys Sorted 10 2 17 12 8 Carried over	Under the heading of nails: 115 lb nails, sorted, £4 2s 0d 9 lb sloving brads, 3s 9.5d Sub-total, £4 5s 9.5d Oil, 93.5 gallons, at 4s a gallon, £18 14s 6d. Oars, 7, £2 16s 10d. Under the heading of pitch: 3 gallons tar, 3s 64 lb rozin, 15s 6d Sub-total, 18s 6d Under the heading of pewter: 6 pewter spoons, £0 1s 9d 1 ditto saucepan, 4s Sub-total, £0 5s 9d Under the heading of paint: 5 double barrel of blacking, 3s 4d 24 oz indigo, 4s 28 lb of Spanish white, £0 1s 2d 4 single barrels blacking, £0 1s 4d Sub-total, £0 9s 10d Under the heading of pork and beef: 1 lb pork, 3s 2 lb beef, 6s Sub-total, 9s Soap, 164.5 lb, at 1s 3d a pound, £10 5s 3.5d. Under the heading of stationeryware: 16 dozen paper, £1 4s 7d 1 dozen demy ditto, £0 1s 7d Sub-total, £1 6s 10.5d Sagathies, 7.5 pieces, £1 6s 10.5d. Under the heading of shoes: 9 pairs men's shoes, number B, £2 14s 0d 13 dozen men's ordinary, £3 18s 0d 15 pairs men's best sort, 5s 12 dozen men's Spanish leather, £3 12s 0d 8 dozen women's calf leather, £1 16s 0d 1 pair girls', £0 2s 6d 2 pairs boys', sorted, 10s 2d Sub-total, £17 12s 8d **Interpretations** The large sale of shoes, again over £17 in the quarter and graded by sex, quality and numbered lot, confirms across successive accounts how steadily an island population that could not make its own footwear depended on the Company's warehouse. That men's ordinary and best sorts, Spanish leather and calf leather sold in such quantity, alongside women's, girls' and boys', reflects a settled community wholly reliant on imported shoes, the manufacture as regular a purchase through every quarter as bread or cloth. The oil, at over £18 for ninety-three gallons, was among the largest single charges of the quarter, the lamp and lubricating oil a station consumed for light and for the working of its tools and fittings. That so much oil was sold reflects the constant want of an establishment that lit its quarters, greased its ironwork and treated its timber, the same dependence on imported necessities that ran through every account, the island unable to produce even the oil that lit its lamps. The locks and ironmongery, stock locks in numbered sets, a jack plane, chisel and gridiron, were the fittings and tools of securing and building that the island imported for want of any means to make them. That the warehouse supplied both the locks to guard stores and the tools of the smith and carpenter shows the establishment equipping its own construction and security from the passing trade, the same warehouse meeting the wants of the works, the boats, the plantations and the households from the cargoes the homeward ships brought.
269	265	Brought Over	The collection of stores sold continued.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and Analysis
		Salt viz. 4 Bushels Salt 10 lb 1 6 2 1 1/2 Bushel Do 9 4[...] 1 15 6[...] Shallon 9 Yds 1 7 Thread viz. 30 lb Thread 1 11 6 9 lb Coulen Do 1 16 9 lb Whited Brown Do 3 15 6 7 3 Turnersware viz. 1 hair Broom 3 6 2 Scrubing Brushs 6 8 1 Hashitt 3 3 1 Tray 3 8 1 Platter 1 2 18 3 Tinware viz. 1 Tin pan 2 2 2 Do Lamps 3[...] 1 Do Pudding pan 2 2 1 4 Twine &c viz. 21 1/2 lb Twine 2 13 9 1 lb Shoe Thread 2 6 2 16 3 Total amount of all the European Goods Indian Goods viz. China Ware viz. 6 Doz 8 half pint Cups 1 6 8 21 Sneckers 10 6 8 Noging Cups 2[...] 1 19 2 Candles 116 lb 14 11 3 Chellae 18 1/2 Pr 12 19 Deesootees 1 Double 1 Pr 1 Single Do 2 2 Long Cloth viz. 2 Pr Midling 3 7[...] 6 Do Ordinary 8 8 11 5 Carried Over	Under the heading of salt: 4 bushels salt, at 10s a cwt, £1 6s 2d 1.5 bushels ditto, £0 9s 4.5d Sub-total, £1 15s 6.5d Shalloon, 9 yards, at 3s 4d a yard, £1 7s 0d. Under the heading of thread: 30 lb thread, £1 11s 6d 9 lb coloured ditto, £1 16s 0d 9 lb white and brown ditto, £3 15s 6d Sub-total, £7 3s 0d Under the heading of turnersware: 1 hair broom, 3s 6d 2 scrubbing brushes, £0 6s 8d 1 flasket, £0 3s 3d 1 tray, 3s 8d 1 platter, £0 1s 2d Sub-total, 18s 3d Under the heading of tinware: 1 tin pan, £0 2s 2d 2 ditto lamps, 3s 1 ditto pudding pan, £0 2s 2d Sub-total, £1 4s 0d Under the heading of twine: 21.5 lb twine, £2 13s 9d 1 lb shoe thread, £0 2s 6d Sub-total, £2 16s 3d The total amount of all the European goods came to a total. Under the heading of Indian goods, chinaware: 6 dozen 8 half pint cups, £1 6s 8d 21 saucers, 10s 6d 8 nogging cups, 2s Sub-total, £1 19s 2d Candles, 116.5 lb, £14 11s 3d. Chelloe, 18.5 pieces, at 15s a piece, £12 19s 0d. Under the heading of dowlas: 1 double piece, £0 2s 2d 1 single ditto, 2s Sub-total, £2 2s 0d Under the heading of long cloth: 2 pieces middling, £3 7s 0d 6 ditto ordinary, £8 8s 0d Sub-total, £11 5s 0d **Interpretations** The account again divided the quarter's sales into European and Indian goods, the Indian side led by candles at over £14 and chelloe at nearly £13, the eastern manufactures making up a large share of the warehouse's trade. That such quantities of Indian candles and cotton cloth passed through the store shows the island distributing the homeward India cargoes to its inhabitants and to passing ships, the warehouse serving as a point where the eastern trade was broken and sold, the same goods that lit and furnished the establishment itself. The Indian textiles, chelloe, long cloth and dowlas, were the checked, plain and coarse cottons of the eastern trade, long cloth being a plain calico sold by the piece and chelloe a striped or checked cotton. Their steady sale quarter after quarter shows the settled demand of a population clothed largely from the passing India ships, the warehouse supplying the cloth for everyday wear from the same cargoes that stocked the castle's beds and the garrison's clothing. The pricing of every commodity by weight, piece or yard against a stated rate kept the account as an exact trading ledger through the quarter of the change of government. Running the Company's monopoly commerce on so precise a footing, candles by the pound and cloth by the piece, extended the discipline of measured account that governed the whole administration to the retail of every article, the warehouse's dealings documented with the same rigour as the garrison's pay, the commerce of the island reckoned to a penny.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and Analysis
270	266	Brought Over Pallampores 8 Pepper 2 lb 2 0 Rice 13 46 10 1 1[...] Sugar 642 lb 16 1 Shirts 22 2 15 Tea 2 Single Catties 12[...] Total Amount of European & Indian Goods A Collection of Charges in Genl &c from 1 Jany to 22 March 178[...] Blacks viz. Bread 3 lb 9[...] Dosettees viz. 36 Pr 3 Yds Blue dusettees 12 17 2 Do Blue 19[...] Haberdashery viz. 1 Do Needles 2 lb Mohair 7 1 Sk Eng Silk 4[...] 1 4 Hooks 1 doz 3 Do No 3 2 3[...] Kensey 12 Pr at 44 lb 26 8 Pepper 2 lb 2[...] Rice 6 lb 3[...] Sugar 8 Do 2[...] Shoes viz. 7 Pr of Mens Strong 1 8 2 Do Do Bestsort 1 Do Womens Calve Lather 8 10 42 9 1 19 7 Thread viz. 3 lb 1/4 Coulerd Do 2 lb Wt Brown Do 8 3 1 Do Do Do 6[...] 4 8 18 11 Arrack 12 1/2 gall / delivered the Blacks 3 2 8 46 7 9[...]	The collection of stores sold concluded. Palampores, 8, £2 0s 0d. Pepper, 2 lb, £0 2s 0d. Rice, 13 cwt 46 lb, £10 1s 1.5d. Sugar, 642 lb, £16 1s 0d. Shirts, 22, £2 15s 0d. Tea, 2 single catties, 12s. The total amount of the European and Indian goods came to a total. This was a collection of the general charges from 1 January to 22 March 1742. Under the heading of slaves, the following were supplied: Bread, 3 lb, £0 0s 9.5d. Under the heading of dowlas: 36 pieces 3 yards blue dowlas, £12 17s 0d 2 ditto blue, 19s Sub-total, £12 17s 0d Under the heading of haberdashery: 1 dozen needles, 1d 2 sticks mohair, 7d 1 skein English silk, £1 1s 0d Sub-total, £1 1s 0d Hooks, 1 dozen 3, number 3, £0 2s 3d. Kersey, 12 pieces, at 44s each, £26 8s 0d. Pepper, 0.5 lb, £0 1s 0d. Rice, 6 lb, 3d. Sugar, 8 lb, 2s. Under the heading of shoes: 7 pairs of men's strong, £1 8s 0d 2 ditto ditto best sort, 8s 10d 1 dozen women's calf leather, £2 9s 0d Sub-total, £1 19s 7d Under the heading of thread: 3.5 lb coloured, 8s 3d 2 lb white and brown ditto, 6s 1 ditto ditto ditto, 4s 8d Sub-total, 18s 11d Arrack, 12 gallons, delivered to the slaves, £3 2s 8d. The whole amount came to a total of £46 7s 9.5d. **Interpretations** The general charges account for the quarter records what the Company issued to its own slaves, kersey and dowlas making up much the largest items at over £26 and £12, the coarse wool and linen reserved for clothing the enslaved workforce. That so much of these plain hard-wearing fabrics was charged to the establishment shows the Company clothing its slaves from the same warehouse that stocked the garrison, the provision entered as a running charge on the account and the cheapest cloths set aside for the bound. The palampores, rice and sugar heading the sales, all goods of the eastern trade, confirm the island's dependence on the homeward India cargoes for both fine furnishings and bulk provisions. That palampores, the painted Indian bed coverings, sold alongside hundredweights of rice and sugar shows the warehouse distributing the whole range of eastern goods, from the luxury of a painted quilt to the staple of imported grain, the same shipping supplying the island's beds and its bread. The issue of coarse dowlas and kersey to the slaves, against the palampores and fine cloths sold to the inhabitants, marks again the material hierarchy the warehouse enforced between the bound and the free. That the Company clothed its slaves in the cheapest durable fabrics while retailing painted cottons and fine wools to the free population reflects the divided economy of the island, the same store dispensing coarse cloth for the enslaved and fine goods for those who could pay, the account recording the distinction to a penny.

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271	267	[Loss along the outer right-hand edge of the page, affecting the money column across several entries.] Boats viz. Cordage 1 3 24 Deals &c 1 Inch Elmn blank 3[...] Leather 2 Sole Lines 1 No 3 Nails 6 & 6 Oars 10 Oyle 2 Yds 1[...] Pitch &c viz. 28 lb Rosin 3 4[...] 3 Gall Tarr 1 9 3 1[...] Charges General viz. Boats 3 11 7[...] Braziers Ware 1 Brafs Kettle 10 8[...] Cordage 22 lb 6 3 Chinaware viz. 6 doz Plate 17[...] 7 Dishes 10 6 2 doz Nodging Cups 2[...] 1 4 6 Candles 30 lb 2[...] Cutleryware 2 Ivory Silver Torril Penknives 2 14[...] Deales &c 1 Elm Board 2[...] Glaziersware viz. 18 Sqr Large Glafs 9 4 Beer Glafses 2 4 1 Pr Cruets 1 2 12 6 Haberdasheryware 3 Oz China Silk 3 9 Hooks & Lines viz. 4 doz Hooks No 1 23 doz Do 4 4 doz Do 2 36 1/2 doz &c Do 2 doz Do 6 3 doz Do 3 6 Hambr Do 7 8[...] Carried over	Under the heading of boats, the following were supplied: Cordage, at £5 3s 2.5d a hundredweight, £3 0s 0d. Deals, 1 inch elm plank, [...]. Leather, 2 lb sole, [...]. Lines, 1, number 3, [...]. Nails, 6d and 4d, [...]. Oars, 10, [...]. Oil, 2 gallons, [...]. Under the heading of pitch: 28 lb rozin, 4s 4.5d 3 gallons tar, £0 1s 9d Sub-total, [...] The whole supplied to the boats amounted to £3 [...]. This was a further collection of the general charges. Braziersware, 1 brass kettle, £0 10s 8d. Cordage, 22 lb, 6s 3d. Under the heading of chinaware: 6 dozen plates, 12s 7 dishes, 10s 6d 2 dozen nogging cups, 2s Sub-total, £1 4s 6d Candles, 30 lb, £2 0s 0d. Cutleryware, 2 ivory silver-fitted penknives, £0 0s 14d. Deals, 1 elm board, 2s. Under the heading of glaziersware: 18 dozen large glass, 9s 4 beer glasses, £0 2s 4d 1 pair cruets, £0 1s 2d Sub-total, 12s 6d Haberdasheryware, 3 oz China silk, 3s 9d. Under the heading of hooks and lines: 4 dozen hooks, number 7, [...] 23 dozen ditto, number 4, and 4 dozen ditto, number 2, and 36.5 dozen ditto, number 6, [...] 2 lines, number 6, [...] 3 dozen ditto, number 3, [...] 6 albicore ditto, [...] Sub-total, £7 8.5d **Interpretations** The boat account again records the constant maintenance the island's few vessels required, cordage alone worth £3, alongside oars, oil, pitch and tar, the materials of keeping timber craft watertight and rigged. That so much was spent on the boats shows their vital place on an island whose whole contact with the shipping in the road, and much of its fishing, depended on a handful of craft, the upkeep of which fell as a steady charge on the establishment quarter after quarter. The large charge for fishing hooks and lines under the general account, reckoned in the dozens across several numbered sizes and including albicore hooks for larger fish, confirms once more how central fishing was to the island's subsistence and trade. That the establishment consumed such quantities of tackle shows fishing carried on both to feed the settlement and to supply its trade, the Company's stores providing the hooks and lines on which much of the island's food depended. Several figures on this leaf could not be read where the edge of the page is damaged, so the sums for the deals, leather, lines, nails, oars and oil among the boat charges, and for parts of the hooks and lines under the general account, are marked as unrecoverable. Where the amount survives it has been carried forward, but the loss of the page's outer edge leaves those particular values beyond recovery, the account otherwise following the same form as the quarters before it.

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272	268	[Loss along the outer left-hand edge of the page, affecting the opening letters of several line items.] Brought over Lines viz. 7 Lines No 3 1 10[...] 18 Do 1 3 3 18 Do 2 4 1[...] 9 4 Lead viz. 5 lb Sheet Lead 10[...] 33 lb Bird Shott 4 6 5 4[...] Nailes 1 lb Jacks 1 3 Oyle viz. 6 Gallons Linseed Oyle 1 3 1[...] 1 1/2 Do Train 2 9 1 5 10[...] Pitch viz. 2 1 13 Pitch 12 3 1 Barrel Do 1 5 3[...] 1 19 8[...] Paint &c viz. 16 lb White Lead 17 3 8 lb Spannish Brown 1[...] 1 double Barrel Blaching 3[...] 4 Single Do Do 4[...] 1 Oz Indigo 2[...] 19 4[...] Pewter 3 doz Soup Plates 2 6 Twine viz. 2 lb Shoe Thread 2 10 2 lb Twine 2 2 2 lb Pack Thread 2 2 7 2 Thread 1 lb Brown 4 8[...] Turnersware 2 Paint Brushes 1[...] China Dishes 9 1 2 6 Pigg Lead 55 lb 13 9 Charges General Amount pr to Diet Expences viz. Arrack 189 Gallons 47 5 Beef 6 Casks 33 Pr 4 13 6 Salt 9 Bushells 1 17 6 Corks 3 Grose 6 6 Flour 1 Cask & 1 Damag is 1300 18 3 9 Candy 106 lb Oyle 27 Bottles Florence	The general charges account continued. Under the heading of lines: 7 lines, number 3, £1 10.5d 18 ditto, number 1, 3s 3d 18 ditto, number 2, £0 4s 1.5d Sub-total, 9s 4d Under the heading of lead: 5 lb sheet lead, 10.5d 23 lb bird shot, 4s 6d Sub-total, 5s 4.5d Nails, 1 lb tacks, £0 1s 3d. Under the heading of oil: 6 gallons linseed oil, £1 3s 4.5d 1.5 ditto train, 2s 9d Sub-total, £1 5s 10.5d Under the heading of pitch: 1 lb 13 lb pitch, 12s 3d 1 barrel ditto, £1 5s 3.5d Sub-total, £1 19s 8.5d Under the heading of paint: 16 lb white lead, 17s 3d 8 lb Spanish brown, 1s 1 double barrel blacking, 3.5d 4 single ditto ditto, 4s 1 oz indigo, 2d Sub-total, £2 19s 6.5d Pewter, 3 dozen soup plates, [...]. Under the heading of twine: 2 lb shoe thread, £0 2s 10d 2 lb twine, £0 2s 2d 2 lb pack thread, £0 2s 2d Sub-total, 7s 2d Thread, 1 lb brown, [...]. Turnersware, 2 paint brushes, £0 1s 8d. China dishes, 9, £1 2s 6d. Pig lead, 55 lb, £0 13s 9d. The whole amount of the general charges came to a total. This was an account of the diet expenses. Arrack, 189 gallons, £47 5s 0d. Beef, 6 casks, at 33s 4d, £4 13s 6d. Salt, 9 bushels, £0 17s 6d. Corks, 3 gross, £0 6s 6d. Flour, 1 cask, weight 1,300 lb, being damaged, £18 3s 9d. Candy, 106 lb, £3 10s 6d. Oil, 27 bottles Florence, £3 11s 6d. Candles, 141 lb, £3 0s 0d. Pepper, 6 lb, 3s. Pork, 39 lb 8 oz, £6 2s 1d. Sugar, 441.5 lb, £3 13s 9.5d. Thimble, 0.5 lb, 7d. Tea, 2 lb and 2 double catties, £1 4s 0d. Vinegar, 1 cask, £2 19s 10d. **Interpretations** The diet account records what the general table consumed over the quarter, arrack again the heaviest charge by far at over £47 for one hundred and eighty-nine gallons, confirming across every account how central the spirit was to the establishment's ration and its expense. That drink so far outweighed the beef, pork, flour and other provisions shows the same pattern running unbroken through the period, the liquor ration a constant and costly staple, the scarcity of which had driven the council's repeated anxiety over supply. The entry of a whole cask of flour weighing thirteen hundredweight, noted as damaged, records a substantial loss of provision spoiled in store or on passage, charged to the account at over £18. That so large a quantity of flour was entered as damaged shows the constant risk to imported provisions on a long sea route and in a damp climate, the loss of a single cask of grain a serious matter for an island that

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		3 10 6 Candles 141 lb 7 11 6 Pepper 6 lb 3[...] Pork 39 Pr 8 6 2 11 Sugar 441 1/2 3 13 7[...] Selene 1/2 lb 7 Tea 2 lb 2 double Catties 1 4 Venagar 1 Cask 2 19 10 Diet Expences Amount pr to	could not feed itself and depended wholly on what the ships delivered sound. Several figures on this leaf are lost where the page's outer edge is damaged, so the sums for the pewter soup plates and the pound of brown thread among the general charges could not be read and are marked as unrecoverable. Where the amount survives it has been carried forward, but the loss of the page's edge leaves those particular values beyond recovery, the account otherwise following the same form as the quarters preceding it.
273	267	Fortification viz. Bunting viz. 12 Yards Blue 3 Yards Do Red 6 9[...] 2 6[...] 9 3[...] Canvas &c 6 Yards Ravens Duck 7 Cordage viz. 3 1/2 lb Hordage 10 11[...] Deales &c 7 Spars Glaziersware viz. 14[...] 1 Iron hour Glass 2 half hour Do 3 4 1 2 4 6 Ironware viz. 2 2 24 Iron in 2 Barrs 19 5 6 Shod Shovels 2 Sugar Do 8 6 6 Helves 2 11 1 Stock Lock C 3 6 1 Large Round Flat Lock 11[...] 2 Rimbed Locks 13 9 4 10 1 15 4[...] Lead 1 1 8 Sheet Do 1 5 4[...] Lines viz. 3 hambrough 3 6 4 Lines No 6 1 8 2 Do No 7 1 7 1 Line for a Drum 8 9 Nailes Viz. 10 lb Nailes 4 4 2 10 lb Do 6 3 9 40 lb Do 10 13 4 2 lb Do 2 1[...] 3 lb Jacks	This was an account of the charges of the fortification. Under the heading of bunting: 12 yards blue, 6s 9.5d 3 yards ditto red, £0 2s 6.5d Sub-total, 9s 3.5d Canvas, 6 yards Raven's duck, 7s. Cordage, 31.5 lb, 10s 11.5d. Deals, 7 spars, [...]. Under the heading of glaziersware: 1 three-hour glass, 3s 4d 2 half-hour ditto, £0 1s 2d Sub-total, 4s 6d Under the heading of ironware: 2 cwt 24 lb iron in 2 bars, 19s 5d 6 shod shovels, 8s 6d 2 sugar ditto, £0 2s 11d 6 helves, 3s 6d 1 stock lock, number C, 11.5d 1 large round flat lock, 9d 2 rimmed locks, number 13, 4s 10d Sub-total, £1 1s 3d Lead, 1 cwt 1 qr 8 lb sheet ditto, £1 5s 4d. Under the heading of lines: 3 Hamburg, 3s 6d 4 lines, number 6, £0 1s 8d 2 ditto, number 7, £0 1s 7d 1 line for a drum, [...] Sub-total, 8s 9d Under the heading of nails: 10 lb nails, number A, 4s 2d 10 lb ditto, number 6, 3s 9d 40 lb ditto, number 10, 13s 4d 2 lb ditto, number 2, 1s 3 lb tacks, 3s Sub-total, £1 5s 3d Under the heading of oil: 1 gallon train, £0 2s 9d 1 bottle Florence, £0 2s 6d Sub-total, 5s 3d Pitch, 10 gallons tar, 5s 10d. Thread, 3 lb brown, 6s 6d. Twine, 1 lb, 2s. Teak board, 40, [...]. The whole charges of the fortification amounted to a total. This was an account of the charges of the garrison. Arrack, 15 gallons, £3 13s 0d. Deals, 2 double, 4s. Glaziersware, 1 four-hour glass, 3s 4d. Oil, 26 gallons, £3 19s 1d. Tea, 6 lb, [...]. **Interpretations** The fortification account records the iron, tools and locks consumed in the works Lambert had surveyed, bar iron by the hundredweight, shod

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and Analysis
		3[...] 1 5 6[...] Oyle viz. 1 Gallon Train 2 9 1 Bottle Florence 2 6 5 3 Pitch &c 10 Gallons Tarr 5 10 Thread 3 lb Brown 6 6 Twine 1 lb 1 1 Teak Board 40 2[...] Fortification Amount pr to Garrison viz. Arrack 15 Gallons 3 15 Deales 2 double 4 Glaziersware 1 four hour Glafs 3 4 Oyle 26 Gallons 3 19 1[...] Tea 6 lb 6[...] Garrison Amounting to	shovels, helves and stock locks, the materials of both construction and the securing of stores. That such digging and building materials headed the charge shows his fortification scheme drawing steadily on the warehouse, the labour of the works requiring a constant supply of the iron implements and fastenings the island could not make for itself. The hour glasses charged to the fortification, a three-hour glass and half-hour glasses among the stores, were the timekeepers by which the garrison's watches and guard reliefs were measured, essential to the routine of a fort that mounted guard day and night. That such glasses were supplied to the works shows the ordering of time as much a part of the garrison's discipline as its arms, the regular relief of sentries depending on the plain instruments the warehouse provided. Several figures on this leaf are lost where the page is damaged, so the sums for the deals and teak board among the fortification charges, the line for a drum, and the tea in the garrison account could not be read and are marked as unrecoverable. Where the amount survives it has been carried forward, but the damage to the page leaves those particular values beyond recovery, the account otherwise following the same form as the fortification charges of the preceding quarter.
274	268	Plantation Viz. Canvas &c 1 yard Rufsia Duck 1 2[...] Deales &c viz. 4 Spars 8 7 double Deales 14 1 2 Haberdasheryware 8 Yards Tape 6 Ironware viz. 9 Pickaxes 18 1 4 hoes 6 8 10 helves 3 10 1 10 7 Lead 8 lb 1 5 Leather 2 lb Solt Do 1 5 Nailes viz. 30 lb Nailes 10 16 8 32 lb Do 20 9 4 38 lb Do 6 14 3 2 3 Oyle 1 Gallon Train 3 Pitch 63 lb 2 9 Rope 93 lb 2 10 Twine 73 lb 1 7 8[...] 7[...] Plantation Amount pr to A Collection of Charges General &c belonging to the Estate of John Goodwin Esqr decd from 1 Jaly to 22 March 178[...] Arrack 217 1/2 Gallons	This was an account of the charges of the plantation. Canvas, 1 yard Russia duck, £0 1s 2d. Under the heading of deals: 4 spars, 8s 7 double deals, 14s Sub-total, £1 2s 0d Haberdasheryware, 8 yards tape, 6s. Under the heading of ironware: 9 pick axes, 18s 1d 4 hoes, £0 6s 8d 10 helves, 3s 10d Sub-total, £1 10s 7d Lead, 8.5 lb, £0 1s 5d. Leather, 2 lb sole ditto, £0 1s 5d. Under the heading of nails: 30 lb nails, number 10, 16s 8d 32 lb ditto, number 20, 9s 4d 38 lb ditto, number 6, £0 14s 3d Sub-total, £2 0s 3d Oil, 1 gallon train, £0 2s 9d. Pitch, 0.5 lb, £0 2s 10d. Rope, 93 lb, £1 7s 8.5d. Twine, 0.75 lb, 7d. The whole charges of the plantation amounted to a total. This was a collection of the general charges belonging to the estate of John Goodwin, deceased, from 1 January to 22 March 1742. Arrack, 217.5 gallons, £54 5s 9.5d. Candy, 172 lb, £5 5s 7.5d. Chinaware, 9 dishes, £1 2s 6d. Deals, 41 teak boards, £2 0s 6d. Lead, 55 lb pig, £0 13s 9d. Tea, 63 lb and 5 double catties, £9 4s 0d. This was a collection of stores sold belonging to the estate of John Goodwin, deceased, from 1 January to 22 March 1742. Arrack, 425.5 gallons, £138 0s 10.5d. Candy, 2,116.5 lb, £79 7s 1.5d. Gloves, 3 pairs women's, 5s 3d. Under the heading of morees: 2 pieces fine, 2s 15 pieces coarse, £11 5s 0d Sub-total, £11 5s 0d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and Analysis
		Candy 172 lb 54 5 9[...] Chinaware 9 Dishes 5 7[...] Deales &c 41 Teak Boards 1 2 6 Lead 55 lb Pigg 13 9 Tea 63 lb & 2 Double Catties 7 4 A Collection of Stores Sold Belonging to the Estate of John Goodwin Esqr Deceased, from 1 January to the 22 March 178[...] viz. Arrack 425 1/2 Gallons Candy 2116 lb 138 10[...] Gloves 3 Pr Womens 79 7 1[...] Morrees viz. 2 Pr Fine 5 3 13 Pr Coarse 2[...] 11 5 Nankin 14 1/2 Pr 13 5[...] Pewter viz. 1 porringer 4 7[...] 6 Dishes Sorted 1 8 2 2 Tafsity 1 Pr 13 Yard 2 3 8 Teak Boards 48 3 7[...] Stockings 3 Pr Scotch 2 8[...] 12[...] Carried over 243 15 11	Nankeen, 14.5 pieces, £13 5s 0d. Under the heading of pewter: 1 porringer, £0 1s 8d 6 dishes, sorted, £2 2s 0d Sub-total, £4 7s 0d Taffety, 1 piece 13.5 yards, £2 3s 8d. Teak boards, 48, £3 7s 0d. Stockings, 3 pairs Scotch, £0 2s 8d. The whole carried over came to £243 15s 11d. **Interpretations** The plantation account records the tools issued for cultivating the Company's provision grounds, pick axes, hoes and helves in quantity, the very implements needed to dig and tend the failing yam crop that Doveton and Powell had reported so short. That the plantations required a steady supply of imported iron tools shows how far even the island's own food production depended on the passing trade, the labour of the enslaved workforce on the grounds equipped from the same warehouse that armed the forts, at the very moment the crop was proving insufficient. The two collections of the late John Goodwin's effects, both charged out and sold, again show the frozen estate being systematically realised, the arrack sold alone worth over £138 and holding to the pattern of the previous quarter. That Goodwin's private stocks of arrack, candy and eastern textiles ran to such quantities confirms the substantial private trading the dead Governor had carried on, his estate broken and sold quarter after quarter to answer his debts and the claims against it. The Indian textiles among Goodwin's effects, morees, nankeen and taffety, were the plain, durable and fine fabrics of the eastern trade, morees a coarse Coromandel calico, nankeen a Chinese cotton and taffety a lightweight silk. That a Governor's private estate held such a range of eastern cloths shows how far the Company's own servants dealt privately in the very goods that passed through their official hands, the sale of these stocks now helping to settle the shortfall his administration had left behind.
275	269	Brought over 243 15 11 Tea viz. 11 double Catties £6 12 118 lb Tea 29 12 6 36 4 6[...] 280 5 Sundry Persons Dr to Cash paid as pr Account of Workmen from 5 to 23 Octr 1741 viz. David Wilson 10 1/2 days 11 6 Richard Kent 7 1/2 days 7 6 John Cotter 6 days 6 Matthew Cammel 7 days 7 William Price 7 days 7 Daniel Council 7 1/2 days 7 6 Thomas Fuller 7 1/2 days	The collection of Goodwin's effects concluded with the following items: Tea, 11 double catties, £6 12s 0d. Tea, 118.5 lb, £29 12s 6d. The whole came to £36 4s 6.5d, and the total amounted to £280 0s 5d. This was an account of sundry persons debtor to cash paid on account of workmen, from 5 to 23 October 1741, with the number of days each worked: David Wilson, 11.5 days, 11s 6d Richard Kent, 7.5 days, 7s 6d John Butler, 6 days, 6s Matthew Cammell, 7 days, 7s William Price, 7 days, 7s Daniel Council, 7.5 days, 7s 6d Thomas Fuller, 7.5 days, 7s 6d John Leggett, 7 days, 7s William Caddy, 4 days, 4s William Gunn, 4 days, 4s William Barrell, 2 days, 2s John Sparke, 2 days, 2s Isaac Evans, 3 days, 3s Thomas Cope, 2 days, 2s Thomas Brown, 4 days, 4s John Munnitree, 2.5 days, 2s 6d Peter Wells, 3.5 days, 3s 6d Edmund Danfield, 3 days, 3s Thomas Draper, 2 days, 2s John Spencer senior, 2.5 days, 2s 6d The whole came to £4 13s 6d. Martin Mac Danil was charged for work done as follows:

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		7 6 John Leggett 7 days 7 William Caty 4 days 4 William Gann 4 days 4 William Barrett 2 days 2 John Sprake 2 days 2 Isaac Evans 3 days 3 Thomas Cofse 2 days 2 Thomas Brown 4 days 4 John Mannikee 2 1/2 days 2 6 Peter Wells 3 1/2 days 3 6 Edmund Danfield 3 days 3 Thomas Draper 2 days 2 John Spencer Senr 2 1/2 days 2 6 Martin Mac Daniel 4 15 6 Work Done £12 Ditto £8 Ditto £9 Ditto £3 1 14 Ditto pr Note of Work done in the great Room 7 6 Daniel Bush £9 Work Done 63 Pr Shoes making £18 Pr £2 17 6 John Evans 12 Do Do £18 Pr Do 18 John Sprake Shoeing Horses 12 6 20 3 6 Cash Dr to the Estate of John Goodwin Esqr Received of Francis Sange Senr £5 8 1 Rents Received of Barron Delaap 3 William Davis 3 10 Old Arrear of William Davis 15 Account of Stores Dr viz. 1741 To Stores Sold from Sept 30 to December 31	27 July 1741, work done, £12 0s 0d Ditto, £8 0s 0d 23 August, ditto, £9 0s 0d 13 November, ditto, £3 0s 0d Sub-total, £1 18s 0d Ditto, per note of work done in the great room, 7s 6d Daniel Bush, £2 17s 6d. Work done, 63 pairs shoes making, at 4s 6d a pair, £2 17s 6d. John Evans, 12 pairs ditto, at 4s 6d a pair, 18s. John Sparke, shoeing horses, £0 12s 6d. The whole came to £20 3s 6d. Cash to the estate of John Goodwin, deceased, received of Francis Funge, £5 8s 1d. Rents received of Barron Delsaph, £5 0s 0d, and of William Davis, £5 0s 0d, being 10s. Old arrears of William Davis, £0 15s 0d. This was an account of stores, being the account of stores sold from 30 September to 31 December 1741, £571 10s 4.5d, and of those belonging to the estate of the late John Goodwin, deceased, £275 9s 10.5d, together £847 0s 3d. Less so much charged for glass to Mac Danil in the September collection of 1741, £840 5s 3d. **Interpretations** The account of day-workers records the piecework labour hired by the day for the Company's works, each man paid at a shilling a day for the number of days he served, from Wilson's eleven and a half down to two. That the establishment engaged casual labour by the day at a fixed rate, and reckoned each man's pay to the half-day, shows the fine accounting applied even to hired hands, the same names that filled the garrison's ranks now appearing as day-labourers on the works, the settled population supplying both the soldiers and the workmen of the island. The piece-rate charges for shoemaking, sixty-three pairs made at four shillings sixpence a pair, and for horse-shoeing, record the skilled trades the Company paid for by the job rather than by the day. That shoes were both imported for sale and made on the island by paid craftsmen shows the settlement supplying part of its own manufacture, the shoemaker and the smith working to order for the establishment, their labour charged by the piece so that each task could be reckoned against its rate. The estate of the late John Goodwin again threads through the account, its rents gathered from Delsaph and Davis, a debt repaid by Funge, and its stores reckoned apart in the store total. Working the frozen estate continually through the ordinary books, its rents and debts gathered in and its goods sold alongside the Company's own, shows the steady realisation of a Governor's tangled affairs, every receipt and sale traced so the reckoning stayed true as the estate was wound up under the new administration.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and Analysis
		571 10 4[...] Do belonging to the Estate of the late Govr Goodwin dec 275 9 10[...] 847 4[...] 3 To So Much Charged for Glass to Mac Daniel in y Collection of Sept 1741 840 5 3	
276	270	Account of Stores to March 22nd belonging to the Estate of Govr Goodwin decd 232 7 4[...] 280 512 7 4[...] Garrison Dr to Cash Paid to December 31 860 17 7[...] Diet Deducted 141 719 17 7[...] 26th Sept 1741 Sundry Accounts Dr to Cash paid the following Persons for Fortification & Diet Diet, Fortification Richard Bagley 100 Peaches Diet 8, Fortification 8 John Bagley Diet 0, Fortification 2 7 2 7 Joseph Desfountain Diet 14 6, Fortification 6 6 6 7 1 Jonathan Docton Diet 2 4, Fortification 3 12 3 16 Thomas Easthope Diet 3 3, Fortification 3 9 3 14 3 Richard Goodwin Diet 0, Fortification 13 4[...] 13 4 Elizabeth Greentree Diet 1 11 6, Fortification 3 13 6 2 3 Robert Gurling Diet 7 4 4, Fortification 3 3 10 9 4 John Hopkinson Diet 2 6 4, Fortification 2 3 4 11 4 Lydia Harper Diet 3 11, Fortification 3 17 9 8 Joshua Johnson Diet 0, Fortification 6 6 Richard Mason Diet 11 11, Fortification 9 6 20 17 Elizabeth Gurling Diet 13, Fortification 0 13 Benjamin Ridger Diet 1 5, Fortification 4 3 6 4 5 6 Elizabeth Ryder Diet 0, Fortification 1 3 1 3 Giles Smith Diet 1 6, Fortification 4 14 4 14 William Seale Diet 0, Fortification 19 16 21 2 Charles Steward	The account of stores to 22 March, belonging to the estate of the late Governor Goodwin, deceased, came to £232 7s 1.5d, and, with the £280 already reckoned, to £512 7s 1.5d. The garrison, debtor to cash paid to 31 December, £860 17s 7.5d, less diet deducted, £141 0s 0d, came to £719 17s 7.5d. This was an account of sundry persons debtor to cash paid to the following persons for fortification and diet, on 26 September 1741. The two columns recorded, for each person, the diet and the fortification charges: Richard Bagley, 100 rafters, diet 8s John Bagley, fortification 2s 7d Joseph Defountaine, fortification 6s 6d, and 7s 1d Jonathan Doveton, diet 2s 4d, fortification 3s 12d, and 3s 16d Thomas Easthope, diet 3s 3d, fortification 3s 9d, and 3s 14d Richard Goodwin, fortification 43s 4d, and 13s 4d Elizabeth Greentree, diet 1s 11d, fortification 3s 13s 6d, and 2s 3d Robert Girling, diet 7s 4d, fortification 3s 3d, and 10s 9d John Hutchinson, fortification 3s 3d, and 4s 11d Lydia Harper, diet 2s 6d, fortification 2s 3d, and 4s 11d Joshua Johnson, diet 3s 11d, fortification 3s 17d, and 9s 8d Richard Mason, fortification 6s, and 6s Elizabeth Girling, diet 11s 11d, fortification 9s 6d, and 20s 17d Benjamin Pledger, fortification 13s Elizabeth Ryder, diet 13s Giles Smith, diet 1s 5d, fortification 4s 5d 6d, and 4s 5s 6d William Seale, fortification 1s 3d Charles Steward, diet 1s 6d, fortification 4s 14d, and 4s 14d Richard Tinsley, fortification 19s 16d, and 21s 2d Simon Whaley, fortification 6s 4d, and 6s 4d Francis Wrangham senior, fortification 2s 11d, and 2s 11d Joseph Whaley junior, diet 39s 11s 6d, fortification 13s 13d, and 42s 16s 6d Joseph Whaley senior, fortification 2s 19d, and 2s 19d John Defountaine, diet 1s 5d Benjamin Seale, diet 9s Benjamin Seale, fortification 7s 4d 6d, and 11s 13s 6d James Vaughan, fortification 4s 18d, and 4s 18d John Worrall senior, diet 2s Mary Alexander, fortification 2s John Seale, diet 3s 8d 9d, fortification 8s 3d, and 11s 11s 9d Thomas Colgrove, diet 1s 16d, fortification 2s 14d, and 4s 10d John Swailes, fortification 3s 9d, and 2s 9d Robert Girling, 12 pairs shoes, diet 2s 12d, fortification 19s 12d, and 22s 4d Benjamin Pledger, 1 slave woman, 3s 12d, and 10s The whole came to £78 13s 2d in diet, £161 10s 6d in fortification, and £253 5s 8d in all. **Interpretations**

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and Analysis
		Diet 0, Fortification 6 4 6 4 Richard Tinsley Diet 0, Fortification 2 11 2 11 Simon Whaley Diet 39 11 6, Fortification 13 13 42 16 6 Francis Wrangham Senr Diet 0, Fortification 2 19 2 19 Joseph Whaley Junr Diet 1 5, Fortification 0 1 5 Joseph Whaley Senr Diet 9, Fortification 0 John Desfountain Diet 4 9, Fortification 7 4 6 11 13 6 Benjamin Seale Diet 0, Fortification 4 18 6 4 18 6 James Vaughn John Worrall Senr Diet 2, Fortification 2 Mary Alexander Diet 3 8 9, Fortification 8 3 11 11 9 John Seale Diet 1 16, Fortification 2 14 4 10 Thomas Cotgrove Diet 0, Fortification 3 9 3 9 John Swailes Diet 2 12, Fortification 19 12 22 4 Robert Gurling 12 Pr Shoes Diet 0, Fortification 3 12 3 12 Benjamin Ridger 1 Black Wench Diet 0, Fortification 10 10 Diet 78 13 2, Fortification 161 10 6, 253 5 8	This account records the many island inhabitants who supplied labour, materials and provisions to the Company and were credited for them against their own debts, the fortification column showing what each contributed towards the works. That so many named planters furnished rafters, provisions and labour for the fortifications, and were reckoned separately for diet and works, shows the whole settled population drawn into the building of the defences, the works carried on not by the garrison alone but by the inhabitants supplying timber, food and hire on credit against their accounts. The appearance of Richard Bagley's hundred rafters at the head, and Robert Girling's twelve pairs of shoes, shows the works and the establishment supplied piecemeal by individual holders from what each could provide, timber, footwear, provisions and labour. Crediting each inhabitant for a specific contribution against his debt to the Company shows the island's economy running largely on such mutual account, cash scarce and obligations settled by the exchange of goods and work, the whole recorded so each man's balance could be struck. The entry of Benjamin Pledger's slave woman among the contributions, charged like the rafters and shoes, shows enslaved labour treated as a hirable commodity supplied to the Company by its owner for credit. That a planter could set his slave's labour against his own account, entered in the same column as timber and provisions, marks the reduction of enslaved people to items of property whose work was traded like any other good, the woman's hire reckoned alongside the materials of the works in the ordinary settlement of debts.
277	271	Sundry Accounts Dr to Cash paid the following Persons for Work done. John Sprake Shoeing Horses 7 10[...] Thomas Draper Thomas Brown 12 3[...] Isaac Evans 10 days Work 7 4[...] David Wilson Overseer 23 Days 10 Bery Ridger for Lime or Slaves Labour 1 3 2 3 4 13 4 Allarms Dr to Cash Paid 10 Allarms 1741 5 3 7[...] 2 10 Cash Dr to the following Persons for so much paid on their Accounts Debts, Customs Joseph Desfountain Debts 5 8, Customs 0 5 8 Richard Goodwin Debts 0, Customs 1 5 1 5 Thomas Greentree	This was an account of sundry persons debtor to cash paid to the following persons for work done: John Sparke, shoeing horses, 7s 10.5d Thomas Draper, [...] Thomas Bowen, 12s 3.5d Isaac Evans, 10 days' work, 7s 6d David Wilson, overseer, 23 days, 10s Benjamin Pledger, for lime or slaves' labour, £1 3s 0d, and 2s 3d The whole came to £4 13s 4d. This was an account of alarms debtor to cash paid for 10 alarms, £5 3s 2.5d, being £2 10s 0d. This was an account of cash debtor to the following persons for so much paid on their accounts. The two columns recorded, for each person, the debts and the customs: Joseph Defountaine, debts 5s 8d, in all 5s 8d Richard Goodwin, customs £1 3s 0d, in all £1 3s 0d Thomas Greentree, debts 2s, customs £1 3s 0d, in all 3s 3d John Hodgkinson, debts £2 3s 7.5d, in all £2 3s 7.5d John Hanson, customs 17s 6d, in all 17s 6d Joshua Johnson, debts £1 4s 0d, in all £1 4s 0d Giles Smith, debts £1 3s 0d, in all £1 3s 0d James Ryder, debts 8s 18s 7.5d, in all 8s 18s 7.5d James Vaughan, debts 17s 15s 2d, in all 17s 15s 2d Joseph Whaley senior, debts £1 18s 0d, in all £1 18s 0d

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		Debts 2 0, Customs 1 5 3 5 John Hodgkinson Debts 2 3 7[...], Customs 0 2 3 7[...] John Aanson Debts 17 6, Customs 0 17 6 Joshua Johnson Debts 1 4, Customs 0 1 4 Giles Smith Debts 1 3, Customs 0 1 3 James Ryder Debts 8 18 4[...], Customs 0 8 18 4[...] James Vaughn Debts 17 15 2, Customs 0 17 15 2 Joseph Whaley Senr Debts 1 18, Customs 0 1 18 Francis Wrangham Senr Debts 0, Customs 1 5 1 5 John Desfountain Debts 0, Customs 1 5 1 5 Thomas Clew Debts 5 2 3, Customs 0 5 2 3 John Goodwin Debts 0, Customs 6 3 6 3 Charles Steward Debts 0, Customs 1 3 1 3 William Burnham Debts 6 18 9, Customs 0 6 18 9 John Goodwin Debts 96 19 10, Customs 0 96 19 10 Mary Steere Debts 3 15, Customs 0 3 15 Penelope Jones Debts 1 2 9, Customs 0 1 2 9 John Goodwin Debts 21 13, Customs 0 21 13 Debts 176 15 7, Customs 12 10, 189 5 7 Cash Dr to the Estate of the late Governour Goodwin Esqr deceased Received from Simon Whaley 16 9 10[...] Received of James Vaughn 9 2[...] Due of John Goodwin for 1 Bullock Sold for 13 12 6 Recd of William Worral Senr on Acco 20 59 4 4[...]	Francis Wrangham senior, customs £1 3s 0d, in all £1 3s 0d John Defountaine, customs £1 3s 0d, in all £1 3s 0d Thomas Clew, debts £5 2s 3d, in all £5 2s 3d John Goodwin, customs £6 3s 0d, in all £6 3s 0d Charles Steward, customs £1 3s 0d, in all £1 3s 0d William Wrangham, debts £6 18s 9d, in all £6 18s 9d John Goodwin, debts £96 19s 10d, in all £96 19s 10d Mary Steere, debts £3 15s 0d, in all £3 15s 0d Penelope Bonne, debts £1 2s 9d, in all £1 2s 9d John Goodwin, debts £21 13s 0d, in all £21 13s 0d The whole came to £176 15s 7d in debts, £12 10s 0d in customs, and £189 5s 7d in all. This was an account of cash debtor to the estate of the late Governor Goodwin, deceased: Received from Simon Whaley, £16 9s 10d Received of James Vaughan, £9 2s 0d Ditto of John Goodwin, for 1 bullock sold for, £13 12s 6d Received of William Worrall senior, on account, £20 0s 0d The whole came to £59 4s [...]. **Interpretations** The account of persons paid for work done records the mixed labour the Company hired by the day or the job, from shoeing horses to overseeing and supplying lime, each credited against his own dealings. That David Wilson was paid as an overseer for twenty-three days, and Pledger credited for lime or slaves' labour, shows the establishment drawing its casual and skilled hands alike from the settled population, the same men appearing as soldiers, day-workers and contractors, the island's small community supplying every kind of labour the works required. The account of debts and customs paid on inhabitants' behalf shows the Company advancing sums for individuals against their accounts, the customs column recording duties met on their goods. That so many planters had customs paid for them, and their debts carried on the Company's books, reveals how far the island's commerce ran on credit through the Company as sole merchant, the duties on private trade and the settlement of debts alike passing through its hands and reckoned to each man's account. The estate of the late Governor Goodwin again threads through the reckoning, receiving sums from Whaley, Vaughan and Worrall and the price of a bullock sold, its realisation continuing item by item. That the estate gathered in payments and sold off stock even to a single bullock shows the meticulous winding-up of a dead Governor's affairs, every receipt entered so the estate could answer the Company's claims and the private debts against it, the same discipline of traced account that governed the whole administration applied to the settlement of Goodwin's tangled property.
278	272	Names Pay, Diet John Clarke Lieutenant 38 6 8 James Scott Ensign Thomas Easthope Do 48 3 John Desfountain Do	This was a list of the Company's servants, with their pay and diet. The two columns recorded, for each man, the pay and the diet. John Clarke, lieutenant, £38 6s 8d James Scott, ensign, [...] Thomas Easthope, ditto, £48 3s 0d John Defountaine, ditto, £48 3s 0d Sergeants:

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		48 3 Serjeants viz. Sutton Whaley 8 Joseph Desfountain 11 4 7 William Seale 9 15 Thomas Bazett 17 11 Richard Gurling 9 15 William Burnham 13 9 John Aanson 9 15 Edward Bagley 9 15 Corporals viz. Henry Mutton 9 2 John Sange 8 13 6 David Wilson 8 15 6 1 19 Onesephorus Beale 8 15 6 Joseph Whaley Junr 8 13 6 Elisha Isaac 3 19 11 Joshua Worrall 8 15 6 Thomas Swindle 8 15 6 John Leech Senr 9 2 Henry Beale 8 15 6 John French 8 15 6 James Draper 8 15 6 Drummers viz. Isaac Knife 8 15 6 William Innes 8 15 6 1 19 Thomas Watts Junr 8 13 6 Centenels viz. William Addams Beron Ambrose 6 16 6 Thomas Alkless 6 16 6 3 18 Thomas Alcock 3 13 10 James Allis 6 16 6 William Allis 6 16 6 John Alcock 6 16 6 John Artingstall 7 9 6 Edward Bates 15 2 3 Joseph Bafsell 6 16 6 Peter Bath	Sutton Whaley, 8s Joseph Defountaine, £11 4s 7d William Seale, £9 15s 0d Thomas Bazett, £11 0s 11d Richard Girling, £9 13s 0d William Burnham, £13 9s 0d John Hanson, £9 15s 0d Edward Bagley, £9 13s 0d Corporals: Henry Multon, £9 2s 0d John Funge, £8 13s 6d David Wilson, £8 15s 6d, diet £1 19s 0d Onesipharus Beale, £8 15s 6d Joseph Whaley junior, £8 13s 6d Elisha Jones, £3 19s 11d Joshua Worrall, £8 15s 6d Thomas Swindle, £8 15s 6d John Leech senior, £9 2s 0d Henry Beale, £8 15s 6d John French, £8 15s 6d James Draper, £8 15s 6d Drummers: Isaac Knipe, £8 13s 6d William Ormes, £8 13s 6d, diet £1 19s 0d Thomas Watts junior, £8 13s 6d Sentinels: William Addams, £6 16s 6d Devon Ambrose, £6 16s 6d Thomas Alcock, £6 16s 6d, diet £3 18s 0d Thomas Alcock, £3 13s 10d James Allis, £6 16s 6d William Allis, £6 16s 6d John Aldrich, £6 16s 6d John Attingstall, £7 9s 6d Edward Bates, 15s, diet £2 3s 0d Joseph Bazett, £6 16s 6d Peter Bath, £7 9s 6d Bill Brian, £3 7s 6d, diet £2 14s 0d Daniel Bush, £3 7s 6d, diet £2 14s 0d Thomas Brown, £3 7s 6d, diet £2 14s 0d Edward Burnham, £6 16s 6d Andrew Blinman, £6 16s 6d John Bradley, £6 16s 6d Orlando Bagley, £6 16s 6d John Bunn, £6 16s 6d, diet £3 18s 0d **Interpretations** This appears to be an annual or aggregated pay list, the sums standing far higher than the monthly figures of the earlier rolls, gathering each man's whole pay across the year or a longer term. Recording each servant's cumulative pay against a separate diet column shows the establishment drawing up a summary reckoning alongside its monthly accounts, the same nominal roll of named men at fixed sums now cast as a fuller total, the guard against phantom pay carried into the year's aggregate as into each month's. The part-figures against certain men, Sutton Whaley at only 8s where the other sergeants drew nine or eleven pounds, and Edward Bates at fifteen shillings among the sentinels, mark those who entered or left the roll partway through the period and so earned only a portion of the full sum. Reckoning each such man's aggregate to the exact part he served shows the precision the establishment applied even in its summary accounts, no man credited beyond his time, the same close accounting that governed the monthly rolls extended to the year's total. The diet column entered against some men but not others, David Wilson and William Ormes among them, again divides the establishment into those maintained at the Company's charge and those paid a cash allowance to feed themselves. Carrying the diet as a distinct aggregate alongside the year's pay shows the two obligations kept separate even in summary, each reckoned apart so both could be checked against the

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		7 9 6 Bill Brian 3 7 6 2 14 Daniel Bush 3 7 6 2 14 Thomas Brown 3 7 6 2 14 Edward Burnham 6 16 6 Andrew Blinman 6 16 6 John Bradley 6 16 6 Orlando Bagley 6 16 6 John Bunn 6 16 6 3 18 Carried over	men actually maintained, the discipline of divided account holding across the fuller reckoning as through every monthly roll.
279	273	Brought over Thomas Borah 6 16 6 1 19 William Barrell 3 7 6 2 14 John Button 3 7 6 2 14 Joseph Boswell 3 7 6 2 14 Peter Barker 3 7 6 2 14 William Brown 3 7 6 2 14 William Caddy 6 16 6 3 18 Henry Carter 3 7 6 2 14 Antony Casteel 4 7 4 2 8 George Clarke 3 7 6 2 14 Matthew Cammell 3 7 6 2 14 Daniel Council 3 7 6 2 14 Thomas Cofse 6 16 6 3 18 John Cammels Phillip Catchpole 3 7 6 2 14 Samuel Clarke 6 16 6 2 14 William Davis Senr 6 16 2 17 Martin Mac Daniel 6 16 6	The list of the Company's sentinels continued. Thomas Borah, £6 16s 6d, diet £1 19s 0d William Barrell, £6 16s 6d John Button, £3 7s 6d, diet £2 14s 0d Joseph Boswell, £3 7s 6d, diet £2 14s 0d Peter Barker, £3 7s 6d, diet £2 14s 0d William Brown, £3 7s 6d, diet £2 14s 0d William Caddy, £3 7s 6d, diet £2 14s 0d Henry Carter, £6 16s 6d, diet £3 18s 0d Antony Castell, £3 7s 6d, diet £2 14s 0d George Clarke, £4 7s 4d, diet £2 8s 0d Matthew Cammell, £3 7s 6d, diet £2 14s 0d Daniel Council, £3 9s 6d, diet £2 14s 0d Thomas Cope, £3 7s 6d, diet £2 14s 0d John Cammock, £6 16s 6d, diet £3 18s 0d Phillip Catchpole, £6 16s 6d Samuel Clarke, £3 7s 6d, diet £2 14s 0d William Davis senior, £3 7s 6d, diet £2 14s 0d Martin Mac Danil, £6 16s 0d, diet £2 17s 0d William Doril, £6 16s 6d John Deury, £6 16s 6d, diet £3 18s 0d John Draper, £6 16s 6d Thomas Draper, £6 16s 6d, diet £3 18s 0d Edmund Danford, £3 7s 6d, diet £2 14s 0d John Deval, £4 7s 4d, diet £2 8s 0d James English, £6 16s 6d, diet £3 18s 0d Isaac Evans, £6 16s 6d, diet £1 19s 0d Samuel Eales, £6 16s 6d William Edwards, £3 7s 6d, diet £2 14s 0d John Evans, £3 7s 6d, diet £2 14s 0d John Ellis, £3 7s 6d, diet £2 14s 0d Francis Funge, £6 16s 6d Richard Frost, £7 9s 6d Thomas Fuller, £3 7s 6d, diet £2 14s 0d James Funge, £6 16s 6d Thomas Funge, £6 16s 6d Onesipharus Girling, £6 16s 6d William Gunn, £3 7s 6d, diet £2 14s 0d John Girling, £6 16s 6d Christopher Garland, £6 16s 6d, diet £3 18s 0d John George, £6 16s 6d, diet £3 18s 0d Francis Hayse, £6 16s 6d James Hall, £6 16s 6d Giles Hayse, £6 16s 6d Richard Harper, £6 16s 6d Phillip Holland, £6 16s 6d Daniel Hayse, £6 16s 6d John Hayse, £6 16s 6d, diet £3 18s 0d Barrell Homes, £3 7s 6d, diet £2 14s 0d John Holloway, £8 2s 6d Gabriel Jacke, £3 7s 6d, diet £2 11s 0d Solomon Jacobs, £6 16s 6d, diet £2 14s 0d

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		William Donil 6 16 6 3 18 John Drury John Draper 6 16 6 Thomas Draper 6 16 6 3 18 Edmund Danfield 3 7 6 2 14 John Dorak 4 7 4 2 8 James English 6 16 6 3 18 Isaac Evans 6 16 6 1 19 Samuel Eales William Edwards 3 7 6 2 14 John Evans 3 7 6 2 14 John Ellis 6 16 6 Francis Sange Richard Frost 7 9 6 Thomas Fuller 3 7 6 2 14 James Sange Thomas Sange Onesophorus Gurling 6 16 6 William Gann 3 7 6 2 14 John Gurling 6 16 6 Christopher Garland 6 16 6 3 18 John George 6 16 6 3 18 Francis Hayes 6 16 6 James Hall 6 16 6 Giles Harper 6 16 6 Richard Harper 6 16 6 Phillip Hilliard 6 16 6 Daniel Hayes 6 16 6 John Hayes 6 16 6 3 18 Barnett Homes 3 7 6 2 14 John Holloway 8 2 6 Gabriel Jaacke Solomon Jacobs 3 7 6 2 14	Jephtha Jarman, £3 7s 6d, diet £2 14s 0d Richard Pont, £6 16s 6d, diet £1 19s 0d Joseph Long, £6 16s 6d James Long, £6 16s 6d **Interpretations** This aggregated pay list gathers each sentinel's whole earnings across the year, the sums far above the monthly figures and split between those who drew the full amount and those, at three or four pounds, who served only part of the period. Reckoning each man's total to the exact part he served shows the establishment's summary account kept as precisely as its monthly rolls, no man credited beyond his time, the guard against phantom pay carried into the year's aggregate as into every month. The diet column entered against many but not all of the sentinels divides the year's maintenance between those fed at the Company's charge and those paid a cash allowance to feed themselves, the allowances themselves aggregated across the period. Carrying the diet as a distinct yearly total alongside the pay shows the two obligations kept apart even in summary, each reckoned separately so both could be checked against the men actually maintained, the discipline of divided account holding across the fuller reckoning. The recurrence across the roll of the same island surnames, several men named Hayse, Funge, Girling, Evans and Draper, confirms once more how far the garrison drew its strength from a handful of long-settled families whose sons filled the ranks. That the same names ran through the militia, the day-workers and the civil offices alike shows a small, intermarried population supplying both the soldiers and the servants of the establishment, the island's defence and its labour resting on the same families that farmed its land.

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		Jepther Jermain 6 16 6 Richard Kent 3 7 6 2 14 Richard Knight 6 16 6 1 19 Joseph Long 6 16 6 15 James Long Carried over	
280	274	Brought over Thomas Legg 6 16 6 3 18 Sutton Leech 6 16 6 Thomas Leech 6 16 6 John Leon 6 16 6 3 18 John Leech Junr 6 16 6 John Leggitt 3 7 6 2 14 Ebenezer Leech 6 16 6 Stephen Lufton 6 16 6 Morris Lilley 6 16 6 3 19 David Sord 3 7 6 2 14 William Moore 6 16 6 3 11 John Mudge 6 16 6 Bartholomew Melloy 7 9 6 Robert Manlove 6 16 6 3 18 John Morgan 6 16 6 John Mannikee 3 7 6 2 14 Richard Newton 6 16 6 1 19 Samuel Poret 6 16 6 William Price 6 16 6 1 19 John Potter 6 16 6 3 18 John Pearce 3 7 6 2 14 James Pritchard 3 7 6 2 14 Stephen Powers 6 16 6 3 18	The list of the Company's sentinels continued. Thomas Ley, £6 16s 6d, diet £3 18s 0d Sutton Leech, £6 16s 6d Thomas Leech, £6 16s 6d John Sears, £6 16s 6d, diet £3 18s 0d John Leech junior, £6 16s 6d John Leggett, £3 7s 6d, diet £2 14s 0d Ebenezer Leech, £6 16s 6d Stephen Lufkin, £6 16s 6d Maurice Lilby, £6 16s 6d, diet £1 19s 0d David Lud, £3 7s 6d, diet £2 14s 0d William Moore, £6 16s 6d, diet £2 11s 0d John Mudge, £6 16s 6d Bartholomew Milloy, £7 9s 6d Robert Manlove, £6 16s 6d, diet £3 18s 0d John Morgan, £6 16s 6d John Munnitree, £3 7s 6d, diet £2 14s 0d Richard Newton, £6 16s 6d, diet £1 19s 0d Samuel Poret, £6 16s 6d William Price, £6 16s 6d, diet £1 19s 0d John Potter, £6 16s 6d, diet £3 18s 0d John Pearce, £3 7s 6d, diet £2 14s 0d James Pritchard, £3 7s 6d, diet £2 14s 0d Stephen Powers, £3 7s 6d, diet £2 14s 0d Edward Pudgeon, £6 16s 6d, diet £3 18s 0d James Richardson, £6 16s 6d Benjamin Sale, £6 16s 6d John Spencer 1, £3 7s 6d, diet £2 14s 0d John Spencer 2, £3 7s 6d, diet £2 14s 0d John Scotcher, £3 7s 6d, diet £2 14s 0d William Simpson, £7 9s 6d, diet £1 19s 0d Edward Stroud, £6 16s 6d, diet £1 19s 0d John Chadwick, £6 16s 6d, diet £2 11s 0d Thomas Sibbs, £6 16s 6d, diet £3 18s 0d William Swailes, £6 16s 6d, diet £1 19s 0d Andrew Sartin, £3 14s 10d, diet £1 3s 5d Richard Swailes, £6 16s 6d Thomas Wells, £6 16s 6d Matthew Walters, £7 9s 6d, diet £3 18s 0d John Webster, £6 16s 6d Jeremiah Worrall, £6 16s 6d, diet £3 18s 0d John Worrall junior, £6 16s 6d Peter Wells, £3 7s 6d, diet £2 14s 0d Gunroom crew: Isaac Leech, gunner's mate, [...] Thomas Wells, ditto, £9 15s 0d Nathan Sample, ditto, £9 15s 0d Robert Wood, ditto, £9 15s 0d James Vaughan, quarter gunner, £8 15s 6d, diet £3 18s 0d Roger Devanean, ditto, £8 15s 6d William Chillingsworth, mattross, £8 15s 6d Francis Newland, ditto, £8 2s 6d William Kennedy, ditto, £8 2s 6d Thomas Wilkinson, ditto, £8 2s 6d, diet £3 18s 0d John Christoffel, ditto, £7 19s 0d, diet £3 18s 0d John Spencer 3, ditto, £8 2s 6d, diet £3 18s 0d, and £7 13s 10d, diet £3 18s 0d **Interpretations** This aggregated pay list gathers each man's whole earnings across the year, the gunroom crew heading

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		Edward Pridgeon 6 16 6 James Richardson 6 16 6 Benjamin Seale 6 16 6 John Spencer 1 3 7 6 2 14 John Spencer 2 3 7 6 2 14 John Scotcher 3 7 6 2 14 William Simpson 7 9 6 1 19 Edward Stroud 6 16 6 1 19 John Chadwick 6 16 6 2 11 Thomas Sillito 6 16 6 3 18 William Swailes 6 16 6 1 19 Andrew Barlow Richard Swailes 3 14 10 1 3 5 Thomas Watts 6 16 6 Matthew Waters 6 16 6 John Webster 7 9 6 3 18 Jeremiah Worril 6 16 6 John Worrall Junr 6 16 6 3 18 Peter Wells 6 16 6 5 7 6 2 14 Gunroom Crew viz. Isaac Leech Gunners Mate Thomas Watts Do 9 15 Nathan Sample Do 9 15 Robert Wood Do 9 15 James Vaughn Quarter Gunner 9 15 3 18 Roger Nevanson Do 8 15 6 William Chillingsworth Matrofs 8 15 6 Francis Newland Do 8 2 6 William Kennedy Do 8 2 6 Thomas Villingham Do 8 2 6 3 18 John Christoffel Do 7 19 3 18	into the reckoning at sums far above the monthly figures, split between full-year and part-year service. Reckoning each man's total to the exact part he served shows the establishment's summary account kept as precisely as its monthly rolls, no man credited beyond his time, the guard against phantom pay carried into the year's aggregate as into every month. The gunroom crew again stands apart at higher pay than the common sentinels, the gunner's mates and quarter gunners drawing eight and nine pounds where the sentinels drew six or less, and many carrying the higher diet allowance. That the trained artillery were both paid and fed above the ordinary soldier confirms across the year the value the establishment set on skilled gunners, the same graded structure that ran through every monthly roll preserved in the summary reckoning. The diet column entered against many but not all of the men divides the year's maintenance between those fed at the Company's charge and those paid a cash allowance, the allowances aggregated across the period. Carrying the diet as a distinct yearly total alongside the pay shows the two obligations kept apart even in summary, each reckoned separately so both could be checked against the men actually maintained, the discipline of divided account holding across the fuller reckoning as through every monthly roll.

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		John Spencer 3 Do 8 2 6 3 18 7 13 10 3 18 Carried over	
281	275	Brought over Gunroom Crew Brought over Major Jackson 8 2 6 Joseph Belcher 8 2 6 John Beddle 8 2 6 3 18 William Davis Senr 8 2 6 John Barnet 7 13 10 3 18 John Wottidge 7 9 6 3 18 Superanuated viz. George Dincey Drummer Joseph Whaley Serjeant 8 15 6 Isaac Augason Quarter Gunner 9 15 Samuel Knipe Centinel 8 15 6 Isaac Wood Gunner 6 16 6 John French Senr Gunner 27 1 3 52 2 1 2[...] Samuel Snelton Marshall Deceased 2 17 6 David Wilson Centinel 3 8 John Winter Do 3 8 1 19 John Sprake Do 6 16 6 1 19 Beron Belcof Do 6 16 6 Thomas Cotgrove Do / Sometimes used as Marshall 8 2 6 James Rednidge 16 6 Totall 1301 11 3[...] 232 12 5 Yesterday Arrived the Ship Duke of Lorain Capt Jonathan Wilson from England with our Honble Masters Orders which are Opened and read through Immediately after Reading in presence of us all We an windfall of the Superahon laid upon us to dispatch this Ship in Ten Working days, and therefore the Storekeeper was Ordered to give Constant Attendance at the Cove and Warehouses to Receive the Gods which our Honble Masters have been favourably pleased to Consign, as and likewise to keep a Diary during the Receipt of the same Specifying two many Boates are Delivered each Day and how the Surff, and The following Letter was Addressed to the Capt viz. Sir According to the Honble Companys	The gunroom crew list continued. Major Jackson, £8 2s 6d Joseph Belcher, £8 2s 6d John Biddle, £8 2s 6d William Davis senior, £8 2s 6d, diet £3 18s 0d John Barnett, £8 2s 6d John Nottege, £7 13s 10d, diet £3 18s 0d, and £7 9s 6d, diet £3 18s 0d Superannuated: George Bewsey, drummer, [...] Joseph Whaley, sergeant, £8 15s 6d Isaac Augustin, quarter gunner, £0 15s 0d Samuel Knipe, sentinel, £8 15s 6d Isaac Wood, gunner, £6 16s 6d John French senior, gunner, £27 1s 3d, and £52 2s 12d Samuel Seaton, marshal, deceased, £2 17s 6d David Wilson, sentinel, £3 8s 0d John Winter, ditto, £3 8s 0d, diet £1 19s 0d John Speake, ditto, £6 16s 6d, diet £1 19s 0d Barron Delsaph, ditto, £6 16s 6d Thomas Colgrove, ditto, custom master and marshal, £8 2s 6d James Kennedy, ditto, £0 16s 6d The total came to £1,301 11s 5.5d, and £232 12s 5d. The ship Duke of Lorraine, commanded by Captain Jonathan Wilson, arrived yesterday from England with the Company's orders, which were opened and read at once in the presence of the council. On the arrival of the sloop from England, the storekeeper was ordered to give a constant supply for ten days at the cove and warehouses, to receive the goods which the Company had been pleased to consign, and likewise to keep a diary during the receipt of the same, setting out how much was landed each day and how it was spent. The following letter was addressed to the captain. Following the Company's instructions, and to prevent as much as possible any injury the shipping might suffer, the council directed him, on every alarm that might happen during his ship's stay, to send out his stream cable, or a good hawser, with a small anchor to the west road, and there to make the shore secure. He was told that the intent of this was to place his ship so that she might come to head of any that would cut her out of the road. But, because they could not conveniently spare an anchor to carry out, and because it might not always be safe if it were, and for the better security and convenience of all ships that might touch there, a large anchor upon the before-mentioned rocks would answer, so any ship might send her hawser and make fast with very little trouble. **Interpretations** The arrival of the ship Duke of Lorraine from England, carrying the Company's orders which the council opened and read at once, marks the annual arrival of the home government's instructions on which the whole administration turned. That the orders were opened and read in the council's presence the moment the ship came in shows the weight given to the Company's directions from home, the year's business shaped by dispatches carried across the ocean, the same channel through which Lambert's own commission and the Court's fortification instructions had reached the island.

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		Instructions to us we desire, & Direct you upon all Allarms as may happen during of Ship here to Send out yr Stream Cable or a fixed hausser with what other Ancher to the west Road, / where in / so that the Shore we will be safe for yr Rising as you will know why your Sondirings the intent as that to Prisate or their Ship may Come a head of you & Cut you out of the Road But because we know that many Ships cannot Conveniently spare an Ancher to carry out & that same may not have Bhds fit for it we have of our Selves for this better Security & Conveniency of all Ships that may touch place a Large Ancher upon the before mentioned Rocks so where for & more that so much other therefore to fit any Ships may sind her Hausser and make fast with very Little Trouble &	The order to the storekeeper to keep a daily diary of everything landed and spent during the ship's unloading applied the discipline of exact account to the very receipt of goods, the moment most open to loss. Requiring a day-by-day record of the cargo as it came ashore guarded against the diversion of goods between ship and warehouse, the same safeguard the deficiency inquiry had made necessary throughout, extended to the arrival of a fresh consignment so that nothing could go astray unrecorded. The instructions to visiting captains for mooring their ships against an enemy cutting them out of the road show the council's continual concern for the security of the shipping that gave the island its purpose. Providing a fixed anchor on the rocks to which any ship might make fast, rather than expecting each to spare her own, reveals the practical arrangements a harbourless station devised to protect the vessels in its exposed roadstead, the safety of the passing trade being as much the council's charge as the defence of the shore.
282	276	heave near to it with the greatest Safty We think the Utmost Caution ought to be Used for the preservation of our Honble Masters Estate in Board you, And if you want any Afsistance We shall be glad to Serve you We are St Helena Sir Your Most Humble Servants Sir Agreeable with the Charter party with our Honble Masters the United East India Compy &c the Owners of the Ship Duke of Lorrain and Likewise Agreeable to the Resolution taken in Consultation of the 11th of April 1740 between the Worshipful the Govr & Council for the time being & the Commander of the Several Ships then in the Road for the greater Security of our Honble Mastrs Estate both upon their Island & Shiping you are Imediately Upon the following Signals made from the United Castle Viz. By Day One Gun fird from the West Curtain and Red Coullers hoisted upon the Line By Night One Gun fird from the West Curtain and one false fire made upon the said Curtain To Send Thirty men from Board your Ship / one if your others all well mounted Marquilliers Bayonets & Loaded Cartedch Boxs unto the Union Castle where they Immerately to be Under the direction of the Worshipfull Thos Lambert Esqr and to follow Such Orders as he may from time to time give them as they shall answ the Contrary at their Peril We are Sir Your most humble Servt St Helena Sir We Desire you will Send on Shore with all the Expedition you Can conveniently all Such Goods & March as are on Board Your Ship Consign'd to us for the Use of the Honble Compy We are Sir Your Most humble Servt St Helena Mr Gg Powell this day Tendered the following Memorial	The council warned Captain Wilson that, where a ship lay near the anchor for the greatest safety, the utmost caution was needed to protect the Honourable Company's estate aboard, and offered him any help he might want. The letter was dated at St Helena and subscribed by the council as his most humble servants. The following letter was then addressed to the captain. Agreeable to the charter party made with the Honourable Company, the owners of the ship Duke of Lorraine, and to the resolution taken in the consultation of 18 April 1740 between the Governor and council of that time and the commanders of the several ships then in the road, for the greater security of the island and the shipping, the council directed him to move his ship at once on the following signals made from the Union Castle. By day, one gun fired from the west curtain and the flag colours hoisted upon the line. By night, one gun fired from the west curtain and one false fire made upon the same curtain. He was to send thirty men from aboard his ship, with their muskets, bayonets and leaded cartridge boxes, to the Union Castle, there to be under the direction of Thomas Lambert and to follow such orders as he might give from time to time. Should any of the ship's men be ashore, the same number was still to be made up. The letter was dated at St Helena and subscribed by the council as his most humble servants. The council then wrote to the captain again, desiring him to send ashore with all the speed he could all such goods and merchandise aboard his ship as were consigned to the council for the use of the Honourable Company. The letter was dated at St Helena and subscribed by the council as his most humble servants. Mr George Gabriel Powell this day tendered the following memorial. **Interpretations** The signal code set out for the Duke of Lorraine shows the fixed system by which the island directed a ship in the exposed roadstead to move to safety on an alarm, distinct signals by day and by night so that a captain could act at once without waiting on a boat. Grounding the order on the resolution of 18 April 1740, agreed jointly with the commanders then in the road, gave it the force of a standing arrangement rather than a fresh demand, the same

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		viz.	defensive machinery the council applied to every vessel that called as war with France threatened. The requirement that the captain send thirty armed men to the Union Castle on an alarm, and make up the number even if some were ashore, drew the shipping directly into the island's defence, a merchant crew turned into a reserve for the garrison under the Governor's command. That the men were to bring their own muskets, bayonets and cartridge boxes shows the island relying on the passing ships to reinforce its thin strength at the moment of danger, the security of the vessels in the road and the defence of the shore treated as a single charge.
283	277	To the Worshipfull the Governour & Council of the Island St Helena The Memorial of Alexander Bennett, Abraham Frochet, Simeon Levy and Benjamin Nixon Sheweth That your Memorialists are Bond Creditors to the late Mr James Crafsord who died in or about the Month of March 1736 at St Helena afsersaid having first made his Will & therein appointed Mr Richard Goodwin of the said Island sole Executor, who by Vertue thereof took Posefsion of thirty three Acres of Freehold Land, Several Houses and other Effects belonging to the said James Crafsord by Vertue of his Marriage with Ann the Daughter of Mr George Hodgkinson Deceased That the said Executor did in the month of September 1739 Tender the afsersaid Will in Council to be Proved, and at the same time presented an Inventory of the deceased Estate to be Registered, which was Refused him for Reasons given in Consultation as on Recourse thereto had may more fully appear. That Some time after this, your Memorialists were informed by the said Mr Richard Goodwin that the then Governour & Council had taken from him the said Land and put John Hodgkinson / Robert Brother to the Wife of the said James Crafsord who died before her husband / in Posefsion thereof as the pretended heir at Law altho he Mr Goodwin / petitioned to have the same. Referred, or a Legal alloted according to the husbans Line of the Island. That Your Memorialists humbly Conceive this procedure to be Contrary to justice in General, and the Customs of the Island in particular, and therefore not Warrantable, for want of Regular Process to bring the deceasd James Crafsords Right of property in question. That as no part of the said Deceaseds Effects have been accounted for to your Memorialists as Bond Creditors afsersaid, and as the said John Hodgkinson is Still in Posefsion of the said Lands to our prejudice. Your Memorialists humbly pray your Worships will favourably please to take the Premises into Consideration and that the same may be Decided by a Court or Jury Agreeable to the known Customs of the Island, Whose disposition your Memorialists will Chearfully Submitt to And Your Memorialists shall Ever pray &c Ordered that the Representatives of John Hodgkinson / Deceased & Mr Richard Goodwin be Acquainted with the substance of the Above Memorial, and Directed to attend	Powell's memorial being ended, the following memorial was presented, addressed to the Governor and council of the island of St Helena, as the memorial of Alexander Bennett, Abraham Fricket, Simson Levy and Benjamin Nixon. The memorialists set out that they were bond creditors to the late Mr James Crafford, who died on or about the month of March 1736 at St Helena. Crafford's will named Mr Richard Goodwin sole executor, who took possession of thirty-three acres of freehold land belonging to the said James Crafford by virtue of his marriage with Ann, the daughter of Mr George Hodgkinson, deceased, together with several houses and other effects. They set out that the executor tendered the will in council in September 1739 to be proved, and at the same time presented an inventory of the estate to be registered, which was refused him for reasons given in the consultation, as on recourse to it might more fully appear. They set out that some time after this they were informed that the then Governor and council had taken the land from the executor and put John Hodgkinson, eldest brother to the wife of the said James Crafford who had died before her husband, in possession of it as the pretended heir at law, although her brother, Mr Goodwin, had petitioned to have the same referred, or a jury allowed, according to the custom of the island. They set out that they humbly conceived this procedure contrary to justice in general and to the custom of the island in particular, and therefore not warrantable, for want of regular process to bring the deceased James Crafford's right of property in question. They set out that no part of the deceased's effects had been accounted for to them as bond creditors, and that John Hodgkinson stood in possession of the land to their prejudice. The memorialists asked that the Governor and council take the matter into consideration, and that the case be decided by a court or jury agreeable to the known custom of the island. It was ordered that the representatives of John Hodgkinson, deceased, and Mr Richard Goodwin be told the substance of the memorial and directed to attend the council at the next consultation, so that it might hear what they had to say against it. Mrs Goodwin, the widow of John Goodwin, asked that the 20,000 young yams growing upon the potato land late her husband's might be put apart for her use. It was granted, on condition that, should her husband's effects prove insufficient to pay his debt to the Honourable Company, she must then pay for the yams, which she agreed to. The Governor reported that Edmund Danford had complained to him that a few days before, being upon his lawful occasions in the Great Wood, he was met by Benjamin Seale and Francis Hayse, the latter of whom assaulted him. **Interpretations**

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		on the next Consultation in Order to hear what they have to Say Concerning it Mrs Goodwin the Widdow of John Goodwin Esqr decd Requests that 20000 young yams growing upon the Estate late her husbans may be put a part for her use. Granted upon Condition that in Case her husbans Effects shall not Vertue Sufficient to make good his Debt to the Honble Company She must then pay for the said yams which She agreed to The Governour Reports that Edmund Danfield hath made Complaint to him that a few days ago being upon his Lawfull Occasions in the great Wood he was there mett by Benjamin Seale & Francis Hayes the latter of whome Afsaulted him with a	The creditors' memorial exposes the difficulty of recovering debts from an estate whose title to its principal asset was itself in dispute. The thirty-three acres Crafford held only through his marriage to a Hodgkinson daughter had been taken from his executor and given to John Hodgkinson as heir at law, so the bond creditors found the land they looked to for payment removed into other hands before any account was rendered to them, and were driven to ask for a jury to settle the right by which it had passed. The complaint that the land was taken without regular process, contrary to the island's custom of trying such rights by court or jury, touches the recurring tension between the Governor's summary authority and the settled forms of law the inhabitants relied on. That the creditors invoked the custom of the island against a Governor's disposal, as Richard Goodwin had earlier asked for a jury and been refused, shows the same insistence on due process running through the Crafford estate that had marked the long Powell and Beale disputes, the parties out of possession appealing to form against a decision already made. Mrs Goodwin's request to set aside the growing yams for her use, granted only on condition she pay for them should the estate fall short of its debt to the Company, shows the frozen estate's every asset held against the Company's claim even to the standing crop. That the widow could keep the yams only as a charge answerable to the Company reflects how completely the attached estate was subordinated to the deficiency, her maintenance allowed but never at the Company's expense, the growing provision reckoned as security like everything else the estate held.
284	278	Cane & Bruised him in a most Desperate manner and that the other Afsisted him in so doing under pretence of his having Lugged or Worried 2 or 3 of the said Francis Hayes's Hoggs Trespasing upon Certain Lands belonging to Mr Gurling which the said Danfield has the Care off. Whereupon Benjamin Seale & Francis Hayes was called before us together with Edmund Danfield. Francis Hayes Acknowledged that as himself & Benjamin Seale were Coming from Guard they mett with Edmund Danfield in the Great Wood and upon coming up to them and Inquireing Concerning his having Worried his Hoge, Words arose and Blows Insued, but denys that his Companion Benjamin Seale did in any wise Afsist him in Engaging with Edmund Danfield. Benjamin Seale being Asked Concerning it said that he advised Francis Hayes not to say any thing to or Strk Danfield but to Complain to the Governour of his being Worried his Hoge which advice Francis Hayes did not think proper to take, he Confefses his going with Hayes to Danfield but denys his Striking of Danfield or Afsisting Hayes in any Shape Whatsoever. Edmund Danfield Insisted upon it that Seale did help Hayes to beat him and in Order to Strengthen his Afsertion produced one John Learney who heard Seale say after he Danfield had Complained to the Governour, that if he thought Danfield would have Complained he would have given him Something to have Complained of. In the Whole we think that both Seale and Hayes are Egregiously to	The Governor's report of Edmund Danford's complaint continued, that Francis Hayse had beaten and bruised him in a most desperate manner and that Benjamin Seale assisted him in doing so, under pretence that Danford had lugged or worried two or three of Hayse's hogs found trespassing upon certain lands belonging to Mr Durling, of which Danford had the care. Benjamin Seale and Francis Hayse were called before the council, together with Edmund Danford. Francis Hayse admitted that, as he and Benjamin Seale were coming from guard, they met Edmund Danford in the Great Wood, and that on coming up to him and asking about his having worried the hogs, words arose and blows followed; but he denied that his companion Benjamin Seale assisted him in any way in the fight with Danford. Benjamin Seale, asked about it, said that he advised Francis Hayse not to say anything to Danford or strike him, but to complain to the Governor about his having worried the hogs, which advice Hayse did not think fit to take. He admitted going with Hayse to Danford but denied striking Danford or assisting Hayse in any way whatever. Edmund Danford insisted that Seale did help Hayse to beat him, and, to strengthen his claim, produced one John Learney, who had heard Seale say, after Danford had complained to the Governor, that if he had thought Danford would complain he would have given him something to complain of. The council held that both Seale and Hayse were much to blame and deserved to be dealt with accordingly, but, this being the first fault either of them had been guilty of, it fined Hayse three half-crowns and Seale five shillings for the use of Edmund Danford. The proceedings were subscribed by Thomas Lambert, John Godfrey and Christopher Dixon.

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		Blame and deserved to be dealt with Accordingly but this being the first fault that either of them have been Guilty off, We fined Hayes three half Crowns & Seale five Shillings for the Use of Edmund Danfield. Thos Lambert John Godfrey Dixon	**Interpretations** The quarrel turned on the familiar friction between a man set to guard a plantation and the owners of stock found trespassing on it, Danford having the care of Durling's land and driving off Hayse's hogs, and the two soldiers falling on him as they came from guard. That such a dispute over worried hogs ended in a beating and came before the council shows how the mingling of stock on unfenced ground bred violence as well as the theft and mark-cutting seen elsewhere, the herdsman's duty and the owner's loss set directly against each other. The evidence turned on Seale's own reported words, John Learney having heard him say that had he thought Danford would complain he would have given him something to complain of, a remark the council weighed against Seale's denial of any part in the blows. That the case rested on what a free witness overheard, rather than on the slave testimony inadmissible in so many earlier proceedings, let the council fix a degree of blame on Seale it could not have reached on a slave's word, though it still fined him only lightly as a first offence.
285	279	Blank page	
286	280	Book cover	
287	281	EAP 1364 St Helena Document Name and Date St. Helena Records 1741-1742 Dimensions (height x width x depth) (cm) 47cm x 31cm x 5cm No. written pages: 278 No. blank pages: Spine and cover Good Condition Inside pages Good Condition Some foxing present Additional comments Pages are numbered in pencil on every other page. Numbering in sequence until page 201. Possibly pages were moved during rebinding. Time taken to photograph (hours) 2 hours	