

St Helena Records 1740

Introduction: This is the 23rd 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/EAP1364-1-1-23>.

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

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

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

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

Pagination: Page numbers appear only in the top right-hand corners of the volume. The first visible page number is on film 8, marked as page 5. It is therefore assumed that page 1 is located on film 5. The page numbering continues sequentially through to the end of the volume.

Dates: During the period of this volume, England and its colonies followed the Old-Style Julian calendar, in which the legal new year began on 25 March (Lady Day). This volume records consultations at St Helena between 22 April 1740 and 5 August 1740.

The Council meetings were held during the administrations of John Goodwin (1738-1740).

AI Generated Summary

Introduction

This record runs from the early weeks of 1740 to the beginning of August, a chronological sequence of consultations held at the castle by Governor John Goodwin and his council, with the invoices, accounts, depositions, wills and letters that passed through their hands. The island was an East India Company possession, valued not for wealth of its own but as a watering station on the homeward track from India and China, and almost everything in these pages turns on that function. [Film No. 4–8]

The evidence is official, written by the council for the directors in London through 1740 to show its own diligence and economy. The daily tally of boats unloading a ship, the monthly cash count and the muster of the herds were all kept as proof that no care had been wanting. The slaves, common seamen and poorer settlers reach the page only when the council had reason to record them, and then through its framing. [Film No. 9, 14, 19]

One event dominates. On old-style 19 January 1739/1740 the India yacht reached the island with orders to hold the Company's homeward shipping until men of war could convoy it home, a measure forced by the sea war with Spain declared in October 1739 that would broaden into the wider European conflict of the decade. For nearly five months the road filled with ships waiting under the island's guns, and the strain of feeding and policing that gathering runs through the whole account. [Film No. 16, 18]

Governance and Administration

The island was governed by consultation. On 22 April 1740 Goodwin presided with Councillors John Corneille, John Bazett, Dr Robert Prescott and John Goodwin junior; the meetings through May, June and July show much the same body, Duke Crispe and George Gabriel Powell recurring and Powell serving as secretary. Every consultation opened by reading and approving the previous minute. [Film No. 4, 7, 20]

Government ran on written instruction from home. On 13 May 1740, acting on the fifteenth paragraph of the general letter carried by the *Bedford*, every councillor took the prescribed oath of fidelity to the Company, swearing to execute his office faithfully, the standard means of binding servants scattered far beyond direct oversight. [Film No. 9]

The directors' letters governed smaller acts too. The sales of damaged goods and of a dead servant's estate were set in motion by the twelfth and thirty-first paragraphs, the demand for a private-trade manifest by the wishes of Madras, and on 20 May 1740 Goodwin asked a captain what provisions he could spare on the authority of the eighteenth paragraph, each order traced to its source in the minute. [Film No. 25, 26, 20]

Below the council sat the offices of an English parish. On 22 July 1740 the council issued Gabriel Harper, Thomas Bazett and William Burnham their warrants as overseers of the highways, and gave Richard Goodwin and Thomas Greentree their instructions as chapel wardens, the lower administration run by the unpaid service of the inhabitants exactly as in an English county. [Film No. 45]

Military Affairs and Defence

Defence rested on a battery of small guns and a thin garrison. The gunner's monthly powder account, kept gun by gun and distinguishing sakers and four-, three-, two- and one-pounders, shows mostly saluting and signal pieces rather than heavy artillery, and most powder went on recognition rounds and salutes, so the April 1740 tally doubles as a register of the road's traffic. [Film No. 13]

The council's letter of 23 May 1740 to Fort Marlborough laid the weakness bare. The Company had sent forty-one soldiers aboard the *Bedford* and left the council to keep what it needed and forward the rest, expecting a portion to pass on; the council detained the whole body, because on every double alarm the garrison had been so weak it was obliged to draw twenty men from each ship in the road. [Film No. 18]

The works were as decayed as the garrison. On 24 June 1740 the gunner found seventeen guns standing useless for want of sound mountings, among them four twelve-pounders and ten nine-pounders, the carriages at Munden's Point rotten. The council ordered the condemned carriages entered in the indent to England, the requisition by which it drew timber and ironwork it could not supply, and directed that damaged ones be patched cheaply to spare the masons expense. [Film No. 36]

Relief came on 24 June 1740 with His Majesty's ships the *Rochester*, Captain Charles Mitchell, and the *Chester*, each of thirty guns, come from England to convoy the fleet home. The meeting was sealed with salutes, the fort giving the commodore twenty-one guns and receiving the same, the merchantmen nine guns each, fulfilling the convoy orders that had held the ships since old-style January. [Film No. 34]

Once the fleet had gone the garrison turned back to its readiness and works. The July 1740 gunner's account carries a charge for instructing the sergeants, corporals and gunner's crew to fire, and small stores drawn down, axletrees, lead aprons and ramrods, record the routine repair of the battery after the exceptional demands of the convoy weeks. [Film No. 47]

Trade and Shipping

The island existed for the shipping that called there. In the second half of April 1740 three China traders arrived within days, the Danish *Sleswick* under Mynheer J. Reichardt on 19 April, and next day the Company's *Houghton* under Captain Phillip Worth and *Walpole* under Captain Charles Braddam. The *Sleswick* belonged to the Danish Asiatic Company, whose ships also worked the Canton trade and called for water and provisions, the island open to friendly European traders as well as English ones. [Film No. 4]

The homeward cargoes were the staple wares of the eastern trade, and the *Houghton* and *Walpole* invoices of April 1740 set them out. Chinaware, tea and sugar formed the standard trio, the porcelain valued in the taels, mace and candareens of Canton silver money, the teas reckoned by the picul of roughly one hundred and thirty-three pounds. Bohea, the cheapest black tea, made the bulk at fifteen the picul against twenty-six and above for finer grades, and a deduction of 2 per cent was struck against the *Walpole* chinaware for breakage. [Film No. 4, 5, 6]

The private trade Company captains carried on their own account is a recurring concern. When the *Houghton* and *Walpole* arrived on 20 April 1740 the usual instructions were issued specifically to secure the commanders' personal ventures, and on 24 June 1740 the council obtained from Captain William Crompton of the *Duke de Lorraine* a full manifest of private goods laden at Canton and Madras, running to 8,675 taels of hyson and souchong teas, chinaware, rhubarb, musk, bezoar stones and benjamin, the demand pursued across settlements because illness had prevented its delivery at Madras. [Film No. 4, 37]

The island also relayed the Company's correspondence from ship to ship. On 30 April 1740 the council dispatched the India yacht to England under Captain Gabriel Steward, and on 23 May 1740 handed Captain William Wells of the *Bedford* his dispatch for Bencoolen, the Company's pepper settlement on Sumatra, together with its letters for India to carry forward, the ship sent on eastward after discharging the cargo meant for the island. [Film No. 7, 15]

Unloading was recorded because the ship's hire turned on it. When the *Bedford* arrived on 12 May 1740 the council set Councillors Bazett and Goodwin to attend the waterside and log each evening how many boats were delivered and what stoppages occurred. The charter party fixed the lay days allowed before demurrage, and the tally of long boats, ten between 13 and 23 May with a pause on the Sunday, was the island's evidence that the *Bedford* was cleared within the allowed time. [Film No. 9, 15]

Supply and Provisioning

The island could not feed itself and leaned on the Company's Indian settlements. The yearly letters of 23 May 1740 to Fort St George at Madras, Fort William at Bengal and Bombay asked for the usual rice, arrack and sugar, the greater part in rice, of which the island stood in great want, its harvests still proving poor, a plain admission of how precarious its subsistence was. [Film No. 16, 17]

The orders were exact about quality. On 23 May 1740 the council asked Bombay for Goa arrack in stronger casks, the spirit having reached the island in vessels too weak to hold it, and Bengal for wax candles five to the pound. Rice came in candies and bags reckoned in Coromandel pagodas and arrack in leaguers of over a hundred gallons, the *Shaftesbury* bringing sixty-three bags of rice from Fort St David on 30 April 1740. [Film No. 17, 7]

What the island raised is set out in the monthly muster of the Company's herds and flocks, a stock-book ruled into every kind of cattle, sheep, goat, hog and fowl and tracking each against breeding, slaughter and death. In April 1740 the neat cattle, reared for the beef of the castle table and the ships' refreshment, stood at some two hundred and fifty head. [Film No. 14]

The true mainstay was the yam, grown in bulk on the Company's grounds and issued as the staple food of the slaves and the standing ration. In April and May 1740 the yams expended stood at four thousand, the root cropping far more reliably than imported grain, its steady figure the fixed daily bread beside the fluctuating animal stock. [Film No. 14, 32]

The gathered fleet threw this economy into relief. In June 1740 the yams expended leapt from four thousand to eighteen thousand, marking the drain of the detained ships and their escort, while the poultry fell through May and June, fowls dropping from ninety to forty-six as the quick-yielding birds were killed first and the breeding cattle and goats husbanded. The eighteen thousand held into July even after the fleet sailed, the poultry only then breeding back. [Film No. 44, 48]

Judiciary

The council was the island's court. On 20 May 1740 Mrs Vanosten swore that John Mills of the *Walpole* and another man had forced her door, beaten a young man within and threatened worse, one returning later to try the window until she struck his fingers with a cane. The main guard, the garrison's standing watch, had seized Mills near the house, and the sworn complaint, the accused's answer and the victim's account were all preserved as the record on which the council acted. [Film No. 10]

The case was built as the captains cooperated. On the same 20 May 1740 Captain Charles Gilbert of the *Lynn* produced William Gray on demand, Mrs Vanosten swore to him as the second man, and the soldier Joseph de Fountain gave evidence of the arrest and the broken door. Gray offered to make amends, the customary composition, while admitting he pushed the door open but denying he broke it, an attempt to reduce housebreaking to accidental damage that the sworn evidence closed off. [Film No. 11, 12]

That the council examined the man before the Governor rather than returning him to his captain marks a deliberate claim of civil authority over crimes ashore, the victim a settler household and the charge a violent night assault. On 20 May 1740 it resolved that Mills and Gray be confined a week, then whipped with thirty-nine lashes each and returned to the dungeon, the sentence timed so the ships' crews could be assembled to see it. [Film No. 12]

The council also proved wills and wound up estates. On 17 June 1740 the will of James Harding, corporal of the island, made old-style 3 March 1739/1740, was proved, dividing his estate a third to his widow and the rest to his son and unborn child. Harding had sold his lands to fund an intended family passage to Bencoolen, and named one executor if his widow sailed and another if she stayed, his life bound to the Company's movement between stations. [Film No. 30]

Crime and Punishment

The great legal drama was the desertion of the *Bedford's* surgeon and his mate. On 20 May 1740 Captain Wells reported his doctor and doctor's mate had run, and the Governor sent men to search; a vessel could not safely sail home without a surgeon. On 3 June 1740 the council named John Fuller surgeon, William Villeno his mate and Christopher Collingham mariner, offering three pounds a head and forbidding the inhabitants to shelter them, turning the island's own people to the ship's service. [Film No. 20, 21]

When they surrendered the men laid out a detailed account of ill usage. On 10 June 1740 Fuller described a campaign of daily humiliation by Wells, who first promised his discharge and then, having extracted a letter framing it on grounds of health, withheld it. Villeno told how he was abused and left to the crew's ill will after exposing that the captain's rationing of water had deprived the sick, the two accounts corroborating each other. Fuller had refused to lay his case before the Governor, judging the council would take the master's word, and had lived hidden on bread and cheese under the rocks. [Film No. 23, 24]

The men then objected to the tribunal itself. In a letter of 14 June 1740 they complained that six ships' captains sat with the council though on their argument the commanders were mere advisers with a stake in an example, and appealed to English history and the treatment of criminals and traitors. They pressed that the standing order to imprison and set to hard labour any man absenting himself was discretionary, not mandatory, and did not reach men who fled genuine ill usage, drawing a line between confinement until a ship sailed, which they conceded, and imprisonment after she had gone, for which they claimed no precedent, and held such an order repugnant to the laws of England. [Film No. 27, 28]

The dispute became a contest over submission. On 19 June 1740 the council, judging the two simple people led astray, offered release if they would ask pardon, which they refused, and the captains voted their return to the guard house. In a further letter of 24 June 1740 they pressed that advisers with only a casual voice could not lawfully vote their confinement, and made two shrewd requests, that both letters be entered in the consultation book sent to London so their case reached the directors in their own words, and that they be carried home in a King's ship. [Film No. 29, 35]

The council conceded the passage but not the principle. On 30 June 1740 Commodore Mitchell agreed to take the men on terms they be held until the fleet was near sailing and delivered with a letter setting out their offence. On 8 July 1740 they were sent aboard charged as deserters whose flight had endangered the *Bedford's* company, and the fleet sailed next day, their refusal to ask pardon having brought them to the very passage to England they had sought. The case exposes the limit of island authority as a refuge for an ill-used seaman. [Film No. 38, 39]

Not every desertion ended so hard. On 28 May 1740 Mills and Gray, having received their stripes and confinement, petitioned for pardon and were released the same day the punishment was carried out. A mariner William Davis, late of the *Defence*, gave himself up before 15 July 1740, and Fuller and Villeno had surrendered only after the *Bedford* sailed for Bencoolen on 6 June 1740 and left them stranded, the summary flogging of the housebreakers set against the month-long contest of the medical men. [Film No. 22]

Slavery and Coerced Labour

The heavy labour was done by slaves, owned by the Company and by the settlers. When a store ship was discharged across the open road the boats and warehouses were worked by the Company's slaves, and in June 1740 the accounts record twelve gallons of arrack and some sugar issued to them for the work, the same doubled allowance noted for men on shore duty. [Film No. 34]

The fortifications depended on the same labour, hired from its owners. On 15 July 1740, the shipping gone, the Governor resolved to press on with the work at Rupert's, and the council asked the inhabitants to send as many of their slave men as they could spare, on the same terms as before, the Company raising its defences by drawing on the island's slaveholding rather than keeping a workforce of its own. [Film No. 41]

Slaves also figured as property to be divided. On 15 July 1740 the executors of John Young, winding up his estate for his orphans, reported selling the widow's dividend of slaves for thirty pounds and applying it to the daughter's maintenance, her passage to Bencoolen and the renting of the family's share of land, human beings realised as a fund in the settlement of a dead man's affairs. [Film No. 42]

Settlement, Land and Agriculture

The land was held of the Company as tenant, and leases dealt in under the council's eye. On 22 July 1740 George Gabriel Powell assigned a lease for sixteen acres to Joseph Powell, who was accepted as tenant, the council controlling who held the island's cultivable acres. [Film No. 45]

Husbandry was hostage to rainfall. On 22 July 1740 the council noted that so little rain had fallen, with small prospect of more, that the overseers were unlikely to make much progress planting furze on the Company's lands, the gorse grown for fuel, fencing and shelter, though the Governor urged them to seize what the weather allowed. [Film No. 45]

The council also protected crops and game. On 15 July 1740 it noted that, despite an earlier prohibition, people commonly shot partridge on the Company's wheat land, threatening both the corn and a game stock

it wished preserved, and published a fresh order on pain of answering at peril, a prohibition it had to renew and stiffen against a common practice a single notice had failed to check. [Film No. 41]

Economy, Finance and Currency

The island's money was a mixed store of eastern-trade coin, counted against the books each month. On 31 May 1740 the cash stood at £3,633 6s 3¼d in pagodas, dollars, Venetians, rupees and ducatoons, the gold Coromandel pagoda much the greatest part. Each coin was reckoned into sterling at a standing rate, the pagoda at nine shillings, the dollar at five, the Venetian at ten and the rupee at two shillings threepence, part of the balance held not in coin but in cash notes. [Film No. 19, 46]

The monthly counts trace the fleet's effect. The cash fell from £3,633 at the end of May 1740 to £3,213 by 30 June as pagodas were paid out maintaining the establishment and the detained ships, then rose to £4,303 by 31 July as the fleet cleared its accounts before sailing, the dollars leaping from eighty to over eleven hundred and the varied coinage the ships brought reshaping the treasury. [Film No. 38, 46]

The want of a settled currency shaped dealings in goods. When the damaged stores were cleared in June 1740 the sales were for ready money only, the council turning spoiled stock to cash rather than extending credit, while the estate accounts valued the silver returned from China at nine shillings the tael, the bookkeeping perpetually converting mixed coin into the single currency the Company reckoned by. [Film No. 25, 26]

The disposal of spoiled goods shows the thin market. On 10 June 1740 the council advertised a sale by public outcry of damaged textiles and wares, cheloe, taffety, Madras chintz, palampores and Norwich stuff among garments and ships' materials, for ready money. Held on 19 June 1740, it disposed of barely fourteen pounds' worth after most of a day, the greater part unsold and the Company left holding wares that found no takers even at auction prices. [Film No. 25, 31]

A dead servant's estate shows the same machinery on a private fortune. On 10 June 1740 the effects of Samuel Fazakerley, appraised at some £190 and sold at outcry for more, were gathered with cash and book credits into a balance of £346 18s handed to the council, part reckoned in taels from China. The council let his children keep a ring and snuff box no one would bid for, being family matters, tempering the instruction to sell everything with a regard for the children left behind. [Film No. 26]

Social Order

Membership of the community was weighed by what each person cost or contributed, the settlements exchanging characters by letter. On 23 May 1740 the council told Fort Marlborough of its concern at John Long's conduct at Bencoolen, while passengers seeking leave for India carried the island's certificate of good character, the reputation a man bore at one place following him to the next. [Film No. 17]

Dependent people were managed by the same cold accounting. On 23 May 1740 the council forwarded six free women and their children on the previous year's terms, but wished to return an old woman sent from Fort Marlborough who, though well behaved, was of no use and a dead charge, every soul on the establishment weighed by usefulness and such charges moved where they could be borne. [Film No. 18]

The crews of homeward ships brought disorder ashore throughout 1740. The assault on the Vanosten household by seamen of the *Walpole* and *Lynn* on 20 May 1740, and the desertions of the *Bedford's* medical men and others from May, exposed the difficulty a small and lightly policed community faced when its road filled with a fleet's men, the council needing to be seen dealing firmly with seamen soon beyond its reach. [Film No. 10, 21]

Personalities

John Fuller and William Villeno, the *Bedford's* surgeon and mate, stand out most, two ordinary seamen who met the council's power with a reasoned argument on the limits of Company authority rather than submission, choosing imprisonment over an admission of error. Their letters of 14 and 24 June 1740, appealing to English history, the laws of England and the composition of the tribunal, reached well above

their station, and Fuller's skulking under the rocks on bread and cheese, telling no one where he lay to shield the inhabitants, adds a note of dogged resource. [Film No. 28, 35]

Among the captains sitting with the council on 10 June 1740 was Robert Jenkins, commander of the *Harrington*, whose name the wider war carried. The alleged severing of Jenkins's ear by a Spanish coast guard, exhibited to Parliament, had given the sea war its lasting name, and he now sat in an enlarged consultation while the very convoy his war had made necessary gathered below, arrived from Bombay with a lading of arrack and rice, one captain among several. [Film No. 22, 24]

Governor John Goodwin holds the record together, presiding at almost every consultation from 22 April to 5 August 1740 as magistrate, correspondent and executor of the directors' orders, sending men to hunt deserters, examining an assault on oath, husbanding the powder of a departing salute and urging his overseers to make the most of dry weather. His son John Goodwin junior sat throughout, and George Gabriel Powell signed the island's notices, accounts and estate settlements as secretary. [Film No. 4, 40]

Conclusion

The seven months from old-style January to August 1740 show St Helena as the Company made it, a remote provisioning and watering station whose life turned on the ships that called and the orders from home. The herds and yams fed the garrison and the fleets, the guns fired mostly to greet and count the shipping, the cash was counted to satisfy the directors, and even parish government served a distant corporation. The dominant event, the detention of the fleet for want of a convoy, was forced from outside by a war declared an ocean away, its strain read in the leap of the yam ration, the fall of the poultry and the swelling of the cash. [Film No. 16, 44]

Read critically, the account of these months in 1740 is the council's defence of its stewardship, its silences as telling as its entries. The slaves who worked the boats and built the fortification appear only as a labour charge and a dividend to be sold; the seamen enter when they offend or desert, the poorer settlers when they seek leave or die. The one sustained challenge to the official version, the letters of Fuller and Villeno, survives only because the men insisted it be entered in the book sent home. The record's value lies in reading it against its grain, for through the council's careful account of its own diligence show the outlines of a small, dependent and coerced community sustaining the traffic of an empire it did not command. [Film No. 35, 42]

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
<u>1</u>		EAP 1364 St Helena Document Name and Date St. HELENA RECORDS 1740 Photographer PETER Date photographed 17 NOV 2021 Additional comments	
<u>2</u>		Book cover	
<u>3</u>		St. Helena Records. 1740 Fortifications: Rupert's — p 38—	
<u>4</u>		Island St Helena At a Consultation held on Tuesday 22 of April 1740 at the Castle Present John Goodwin Esq Governor Coke Coape 2 of Coun[...] John Bazett 3 of Coun[...] Do: Rob Procter 4 of Coun[...] John Goodwin jun 5 of Coun[...] The last Consultation was Read and approved On the 19 Instant arrived a Dane ship from China call'd the Sleswick commanded by Mynheer I. Beichvart... On the 20 Instant Arrived the Ship Houghton Capt Phillip Worth from China, And on this day arrived the Ship Walpole Capt Charles Braddam from China	At a consultation held at the castle on Tuesday 22 April 1740, Governor John Goodwin presided, with Councillors John Corneille, John Bazett, Dr Robert Prescott and John Goodwin junior in attendance. The record of the previous meeting was read and approved. On 19 April a Danish ship arrived from China, the <i>Sleswick</i> , under the command of Mynheer J. Reichardt. On 20 April the ship <i>Houghton</i> , under Captain Phillip Worth, arrived from China. On this same day the ship <i>Walpole</i> , under Captain Charles Braddam, also arrived from China. To both captains the council passed on the Honourable Company's directions, and for the greater safety of the goods carried by these Company captains, the usual instructions were given to both ships.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		To both of whom we communicated the Honble Companys Letter, as likewise the usual Instructions to both their Ships &c for the greater Security of our Honble Masters Estate on board them The Supply we received p Ships Houghton & Walpole are as follows Vizt Invoice p Houghton [...] China Ware Nankeen blew & White 300..... 2 inch 4 Half [...] Do:.....320 1 3 Coffee Cups Do:...700 8 6-1-6- Sugar Candy long broad @ [...] 2 96 14-4-6- No 1. 16. 388 13-0-6 14 6 5 6 2. 18 - 342 3. 17 - 315 4. 16 - 351 Case [...] 67 [...] 1336 Tare [...] No 126 g[...] 133 Coarse Poutu 0-54 g d - 5 - [...] 17-7 17 7 Carried Over Tota 62 3 5	The supplies received from the <i>Houghton</i> and <i>Walpole</i> were as set out below. The invoice of goods from the <i>Houghton</i> covered chinaware, listed as follows: 200 saucers, blue and white, 300, 2 tael 4 mace 0 candareens each 320 half ditto, 320, 1 tael 3 mace 0 candareens each, 1 tael 8 mace 0 candareens 700 coffee cups ditto, 8 tael 0 mace 0 candareens, 6 tael 1 mace 6 candareens Sugar candy No 1, 16 catties, 388 No 2, 18 catties, 342 No 3, 17 catties, 315 No 4, 16 catties, 351, 1,336 delivered at 2 tael 9 mace 0 candareens, 14 tael 1 mace 6 candareens, deduct 13 tael 0 mace 0 candareens, 11 tael 6 mace 5 candareens 6 [...] tare 67 catties, 1,336 gross 67 No 126 to 133, weight 133 green tea, boxes, 0 catties 34 [...] at 3 [...], quantity 1,717, 17 tael 7 mace 0 candareens Carried over, tael 62 tael 3 mace 5 candareens 6 [...] Interpretations The three vessels arriving within days of one another were all China traders. The <i>Houghton</i> and <i>Walpole</i> were English East India Company ships homeward bound, while the <i>Sleswick</i> belonged to the Danish Asiatic Company, whose ships also worked the Canton trade and routinely called at St Helena for water and provisions on the long haul north. The council's noting of a foreign arrival alongside its own Company ships reflected the island's role as a watering station open to friendly European traders as well as English ones. The invoice values the goods in tael, mace and candareens, the Chinese silver weights in which Canton purchases were reckoned, running in tenths so that ten candareens made a mace and ten mace a tael. The sugar candy is weighed in catties, the standard Chinese unit of roughly one and a third pounds, with the individual chest weights listed and then totalled before a tare deduction for the packing was set against the gross. Green tea followed the same pattern of chest-by-chest weighing. Speculations The council recorded that the usual instructions were issued to both English captains specifically for the greater security of the Company officers' private estate carried on board, rather than for the Company's own cargo alone. The obvious concern of an arrival note would be the Company goods, yet the entry singles out the commanders' personal ventures shipped home in their own names. This points to the private trade that Company captains were permitted to carry on their own account, valuable enough on the China run that its safe passage past St Helena warranted a distinct instruction of its own.
<u>5</u>	1	Brought Over Tael 62 3 4 6 Tea Bohea Chests Tare Gross No 1. 2. 3 . 452 . 400 Tare 452 No 122½ [...] 133 Pr Peculs Peculs 0.92 Catty @ 15 pr Ct 13 8 Tea Single Chests Tare Gross No 1 2 . 40 . 191 Tare 40 No 151 @ 133 Pr Pecul is Peculs 1.13	The account carried forward a running total of 62 tael 3 mace 4 candareens 6 [...]. The invoice of goods from the <i>Houghton</i> continued with several grades of tea and with sugar, weighed chest by chest in tael and grains, as set out below. Brought over, 62 tael 3 mace 4 candareens 6 [...] Bohea tea No 1 to 3, 3 chests, tare 15½, gross 100 tare 15½ No 122½ to 133 weight per picul is piculs 0.92 at 15, per tael 13 tael 8 mace 0 candareens Single tea No 1 to 2, 2 chests, tare 40, gross 191 tare 40

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		@ 26 pr Ct 29 3 8 Sugar Tare Gross No 1 . 12 . 198 2 . 12 . 197 3 . 12 . 199 4 . 12 . 197 5 . 12 . 201 6 . 12 . 198 7 . 12 . 199 8 . 12 . 197 9 . 12 . 205 10 . 12 . 193 21 . 12 . 197 22 . 12 . 197 23 . 12 . 196 Tare 156 . 2569 Tare 156 No 2413 @ 133 Pr Pecul is Peculs 18 18 @ 3 8 pr Ct 68 9 3 2 112 1 1 2 174 4 6 6 Invoice p Walpole Vizt China Ware Nankeens Blue & White 2 inch 4 Half Ditto Do 1 6 4 8 Coffee Cups Do 8 6-6-8-8 15 4 8 8 Deduct 2 p Ct 3 0 4 15 1 8 4 Sugar Candy Tare Gross No 5 . 17 . 331 6 . 19 . 338 7 . 17 . 333 Tare 53 . 1009 Tare 53 No 956 [...] @ 183 Pr Pecul is Peculs 7 18 @ 6 pr Ct 35 9 35 9 Carried Over Tale 51 0 3 4	No 131 to 133 weight per picul is piculs 1.13 at 26, per tael 29 taels 3 mace 8 candareens Sugar No 1, 12 chests, 196 No 2, 12 chests, 197 No 3, 12 chests, 177 No 4, 12 chests, 197 No 5, 12 chests, 201 No 6, 12 chests, 198 No 7, 12 chests, 199 No 8, 12 chests, 197 No 9, 12 chests, 205 No 10, 12 chests, 193 No 21, 12 chests, 197 No 22, 12 chests, 197 No 23, 12 chests, 196 tare 156, 2,569 tare 156 No 2,413 at 133 weight per picul is piculs 18.14 at 3 taels 8 mace 0 candareens, per tael 68 taels 9 mace 3 candareens 2 [...] 112 taels 1 mace 1 candareen 2 [...] 174 taels 4 mace 6 candareens 6 [...] The invoice of goods from the <i>Walpole</i> covered chinaware and sugar candy, listed as follows: 200 saucers, chinaware, blue and white, 2 mace 4 candareens each, 1 tael 0 mace 0 candareens 330 half ditto, blue and white, 1 mace 6 candareens each, 1 tael 4 mace 8 candareens 536 coffee cups, blue and white, 8 mace 0 candareens each, 6 taels 6 mace 8 candareens 8 [...] 15 taels 4 mace 8 candareens 8 [...], deduct 2 per cent, 3 mace 0 candareens 4 [...], 15 taels 1 mace 8 candareens 4 [...] Sugar candy No 5, 17 catties, 338 No 6, 19 catties, 338 No 7, 17 catties, 333, 1,009 tare 53 No 456 to 183 weight per picul is piculs 7.18 at 6, per tael 35 taels 9 mace 0 candareens 35 taels 9 mace 0 candareens Carried over, taels 51 taels 0 mace 8 candareens 4 [...] Interpretations The teas are graded by name and reckoned by the picul, the Chinese hundredweight of one hundred catties, roughly 133 pounds, which is why the running chest numbers close around 133 on each parcel. Bohea was the cheapest black tea of the China trade, a coarse leaf that made up the bulk of Company tea cargoes, while single tea and the finer sorts commanded higher rates, reflected here in the sharp difference between the bohea valued at 15 per picul and the better grades reckoned at 26 and above. Each parcel is weighed gross, the tare of the chests deducted, and the net converted to piculs before pricing. The valuations again run in taels, mace and candareens, the Canton silver money of account, and a deduction of 2 per cent is struck against the <i>Walpole</i> chinaware, the customary allowance for breakage or short weight on porcelain shipped loose. The persistence of chinaware, tea and sugar as the standard trio on both invoices shows the fixed pattern of the Canton return cargo passing through St Helena, where the Company drew off small quantities of each for the island's own use as its homeward ships called.
6	2	Brought Over Tales 51 0 8 4 Tea Bohea Tare Gross No 4. 5. 6 43½ 163 Tare 43½ No 121½ @ 133	The account carried forward a running total of 51 taels 0 mace 8 candareens 4 [...]. The invoice of goods from the <i>Walpole</i> continued with tea and sugar, weighed chest by chest in taels and grains, as set out below. Brought over, 51 taels 0 mace 8 candareens 4 [...]

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		Pr Peculs is Peculs 0. 91 Catty @ 15 pr Ct 13 6 5 Tea Single Tare Gross No 3. 4 40 191 Tare 40 No 150 @ 133 Pr Pecul is Peculs 1. 13 @ 26 pr Ct 29 3 8 — 13 3 Sugar No 11. 12 197 12. 12 197 13. 12 195 14. 12 198 15. 12 195 16. 12 196 17. 12 197 18. 12 196 19. 12 197 20. 12 197 24. 12 197 25. 12 198 Tare 144 2360 Tare 144 No 2216 lb @ 133 Pr Pecul is Peculs 16 66 @ 3 8 pr Ct 63 3 0 8 63 3 8 Tales 157 4 2 2	Bohea tea No 4 to 6, tare 43½, gross 163 tare 43½ No 121½ to 133 weight per picul is piculs 0.91 at 15, per tael 13 taels 6 mace 5 candareens 0 [...] Single tea No 3 to 4, tare 40, gross 191 tare 40 No 150 to 133 weight per picul is piculs 1.13 at 26, per tael 29 taels 3 mace 8 candareens 0 [...] 43 taels 0 mace 3 candareens 0 [...] Sugar No 11, 12 chests, 197 No 12, 12 chests, 197 No 13, 12 chests, 195 No 14, 12 chests, 198 No 15, 12 chests, 195 No 16, 12 chests, 196 No 17, 12 chests, 197 No 18, 12 chests, 196 No 19, 12 chests, 197 No 20, 12 chests, 197 No 24, 12 chests, 197 No 25, 12 chests, 198 tare 144, 2,360 tare 144 No 2,216 at 133 weight per picul is piculs 16.66 at 3 taels 8 mace 0 candareens, per tael 63 taels 3 mace 0 candareens 8 [...] 63 taels 3 mace 0 candareens 8 [...] Total, taels 157 taels 4 mace 2 candareens 2 [...] Interpretations The parcel numbering runs the chest count up toward 133, the number of pounds in a picul, so that each grade is weighed gross, its chest tare struck off and the net turned into piculs before the rate is applied. The bohea is priced at 15 per picul against 26 for the single tea, the same spread between the coarse black bulk leaf and the better grade seen on the earlier invoices, while the sugar carries the standard bulk rate of 3 taels 8 mace the picul. This closing block brings the two ships' combined deliveries to a single total of 157 taels 4 mace 2 candareens 2 [...], the sum the Company would carry to account for the goods drawn off both vessels at the island.
<u>7</u>	3	At a Consultation held on Wednesday the 30 April 1740 at the Castle Present John Goodwin Esqr Governour Coake Crispe John Bazett Geo: Gab: Powell John Goodwin Junr The last Consultation was read & approved.— Yesterday arrived the Shaftsbury Capt Bookey from fort St Davids brought with her the following Supply Vizt Invoice p Shaftsbury Vizt Rice 63 Bags Containing 130 Catty in Co [...] & p Rupee 195. 3. 6 1 Leager of Batavia Arrack 99 - - - 194. 3. 6 Charges Merchandize Amot to 44. 8. 3 Rupees 238. 13. 9 Agreeable to our Honble Masters Instructions We this day Dispatched the India Yatch to them, and Delivered the Captain our Packett with the following Order Vizt To Captain Gabriel Steward Sir This being the day Appointed by the	At a consultation held at the castle on Wednesday 30 April 1740, Governor John Goodwin presided, with Councillors Duke Crispe, John Bazett, George Gabriel Powell and John Goodwin junior in attendance. The record of the previous meeting was read and approved. The <i>Shaftsbury</i> , under Captain Bowen, arrived the day before from Fort St David and brought with her the supplies set out below. The invoice of goods from the <i>Shaftsbury</i> was as follows: Rice, 63 bags containing 130 candies at 11½ pagodas the candy, 95 pagodas 3 fanams 6 cash 1 leaguer of Batavia arrack, 99 pagodas 0 fanams 0 cash 194 pagodas 3 fanams 6 cash Charges merchandise amounting to, 44 pagodas 8 fanams 3 cash Rupees, 238 pagodas 13 fanams 9 cash Following the Honourable Company's directions, the council this day sent off the India yacht to England and gave the captain its packet with the following order. Captain Gabriel Steward was instructed that, this being the day the Honourable East India Company had appointed for the dispatch of its yacht, he was to sail as soon as he could and make the best of his way to Great Britain. He was further cautioned that if he were

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		Honble East India Company for the Dispatch of their Yatch, We therefore hereby Order You to Sail as soon as you can & make the best of Your way to Great Brittain, We are further to Caution You that if You should be Attacked or in any Apprehension of being Taken by the Enemy You are Immediately to fling Over board the Honourable Companys Packett, and all other Letters You may have in the Yatch with— weight Sufficient to Sink them We wish You a good Voyage and are Sir Your most Humble Servants St Helena 30 April 1740	attacked or had any fear of being taken by the enemy, he was at once to throw overboard the Company's packet and every other letter carried in the yacht, weighted heavily enough to sink them. The council wished him a good voyage and closed as his humble servants, dated at St Helena 30 April 1740. Interpretations The rice was reckoned in candies and priced in pagodas, the gold coin of the Coromandel coast where Fort St David lay, with the pagoda divided into fanams and cash. A candy was the large South Indian weight of around five hundredweight, so the sixty-three bags represented a substantial provisioning shipment, rice being the staple the island could not grow in quantity and had to draw from the Company's Indian settlements. The leaguer of arrack was a large cask, the leaguer running to something over one hundred gallons, of the Batavia spirit distilled from sugar and rice that was the common strong drink of the Eastern trade. The instruction to sink the packet on threat of capture reflected the standing danger of the 1740 sea war, when Spanish and shortly French cruisers made the homeward run hazardous. The Company's yachts and packet boats carried correspondence and accounts whose loss to an enemy would expose its trade and dispositions, so commanders were ordered to weight the mails and drop them overboard rather than let them be taken, destroying the intelligence value of the papers at the cost of the papers themselves. Speculations The council chose to send its correspondence home by the small India yacht under a single captain, with orders to sink the mails if threatened, rather than hold the packet for the protection of a larger or escorted ship. The safer course for valuable correspondence in wartime would be to wait for company or convoy, yet the fixed dispatch date the Company had appointed governed the decision and the yacht sailed alone on the appointed day. The provision for destroying the papers shows the council understood the risk it was running, and met it not by delay but by ensuring that whatever the enemy caught would carry nothing of use.
<u>8</u>	5	This day Arrived a Dutch Ship call'd the Paximus Commanded by Mynheer Jon de Joung from Batavia bound to Holland. We this day Counted the Cash & found the same amounted to the Sum of £3909. 8. 6½ in the same Species as it was the 31 of last month... At a Consultation held on Monday 12 of May 1740 at the Castle Present John Goodwin Esqr Governour Coake Crispe John Bazett Geo Gab Powell John Goodwin Junr The last Consultation was Read & approved. This Evening arrived the Bedford Capt Williscoe Wells from England the Capt being Indisposed & not able to come on Shore himself with the Packett We thought Proper to send for it, Which when a Shoar We Immediately opened and Read through the Honble Companys Letter and other Papers Inclosed therein. The Governour & Mr Crispe made known to the Captains of the Several Ships in the Road the Contents of the Letter directed to them from the Secrett Committee And the Secretary was Ordered to send the following Letter	A Dutch ship arrived this day, the <i>Patmus</i>, under the command of Mynheer Jon de Joung, from Batavia and bound for Holland. The council counted the cash this day and found it stood at 3,909 pagodas 8 fanams 6 cash and a half, in the same species as at the last count on the thirty-first of the previous month. At a consultation held at the castle on Monday 12 May 1740, Governor John Goodwin presided, with Councillors Duke Crispe, John Bazett, George Gabriel Powell and John Goodwin junior in attendance. The record of the previous meeting was read and approved. The <i>Bedford</i>, under Captain William Wells, arrived this evening from England. The captain being unwell and unable to come ashore himself with the packet, the council decided it best to send for it, and on its arrival opened it at once and read through the Honourable Company's letter and the other papers enclosed. The Governor and Councillor Crispe made known to the captains of the several ships in the road the contents of the letter directed to them from the Secret Committee. The secretary was ordered to send the following letter to Captain Wells early the next morning. Captain Wells was asked to send ashore, with all the speed he could manage, every one of the goods and merchandise aboard his ship that were consigned to the island for the Honourable Company's use, and was told that if he wanted any help the council would give it. Interpretations

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		to Capt Wells early tomorrow Morning. Vizt Sir We desire You will send on Shoar with all the Expedition You Possibly can all such Goods & Merchandize You have on Board Your ship Consigned to Us for the Use of the Honble Company And if You want any help We will assiste You. — We are Sir Your most Humble Servants	The cash was counted in pagodas, fanams and cash, the gold money of the Coromandel coast in which the island's Indian accounts were kept, and the note that the sum stood unchanged in the same species as the previous month reflects the routine monthly verification of the treasury, the councillors checking that the coin on hand matched the standing balance and that no substitution of currency had occurred. The Secret Committee was the inner body of the Company's Court of Directors that handled confidential matters, above all the political and military intelligence that could not pass through ordinary correspondence. That the <i>Bedford</i> carried a letter from this committee, addressed jointly to the captains of the ships then in the road and read out to them by the Governor, points to instructions bearing on the wartime danger of the homeward passage, the movements of enemy cruisers and the arrangements the ships were to make for sailing together or defending themselves.
2	6	Mr Bazett & Mr Goodwin was Ordered to give Constant attendance at the Water Side to Receive the Goods when Landed and to Lodge in the Office every Evening an Account of the Ships Working howmany Boates are Daily delivered and what Surffs or other accidents happen during her Delivery, to the end that it may appear to Our Honourable Masters that no care has been Wanting on Our Parts to dispatch her within the time Limited by Carter Party.— At a Consultation held on Tuesday the 13 of May 1740 at the Castle Present John Goodwin Esqr Governour Coake Crispe John Bazett Geo Gab Powell John Goodwin Junr The last Consultation was Read & approved. Agreeable to the 13 Paragraph of General Letter p Bedford We this day each of Us took the Oath of Fidelity to Our Honourable Masters the United East India Company in the manner they Prescribed which is as follows Vizt I A B being Elected into the Office or Place of to the United Company of Merchants of England Trading to the East Indies, do Swear that I will be true & Faithfull, to the said Company, and well faithfully and Truly, Execute & Discharge the said Office or Place of, to the Utmost of my Skill & Power. So help me God We this day Counted the Honble Companys Cash & find there is the sum of £ in the following Speices	Councillors Bazett and Goodwin were ordered to keep constant attendance at the waterside to receive the goods as they were landed, and each evening to lodge in the office a written account of the ship's working, showing how many boats were delivered daily and what stoppages or other mishaps occurred during her unloading. The purpose was to show the Honourable Company that no care had been wanting on the council's part to dispatch her within the time set by the charter party. At a consultation held at the castle on Tuesday 13 May 1740, Governor John Goodwin presided, with Councillors Duke Crispe, John Bazett, George Gabriel Powell and John Goodwin junior in attendance. The record of the previous meeting was read and approved. Following the fifteenth paragraph of the general letter carried by the <i>Bedford</i>, each member of the council this day took the oath of fidelity to the Honourable Company in the form the United East India Company had prescribed, which ran as follows. The person elected into any office or place with the United Company of Merchants of England Trading to the East Indies swore that he would be true and faithful to the Company, and would well, faithfully and truly execute and discharge that office or place to the utmost of his skill and power, ending with the words so help me God. The council counted the Honourable Company's cash this day and found the sum on hand, held in the several sorts of coin set out below. Interpretations The charter party was the contract of hire between the Company and the owners of a chartered ship, fixing among other terms the number of lay days allowed for loading and unloading before demurrage became payable. The councillors were set to record the daily progress of the <i>Bedford's</i> discharge precisely so the Company could see the island had not caused delay, since any overrun of the agreed time would fall as a charge on one party or the other, and the written account was the island's evidence that the fault lay elsewhere if the ship was held up. The oath prescribed in the general letter bound every officeholder personally to the Company on taking up his post, the standard test of fidelity by which the corporation secured the loyalty of servants scattered far beyond its direct oversight. Administered on the strength of a specific paragraph of the directors' letter, it shows the Company regulating the conduct of its remote establishments by written instruction, the oath serving as both a formal qualification for office and a reminder that the holder's first duty was to the concern he served.

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<u>10</u>	7	At a Consultation held on Tuesday the 20 May 1740 at the Castle Present John Goodwin Esqr Governour Capt Boddam Capt Gilbert Coake Crispe John Bazett Geo Gab Powell John Goodwin Junr The last Consultation was Read & approved. The Governour Reports that on Sunday last Complaint was made to him by Mrs Vanosten of two Persons Breaking into her House the Night before and Violently assaulting her & her Family, that one of the two Persons Was taken up by the Guard & the other Escaped: the Person taken up & now under Confinement Proves to be one of the People belonging to Ship Walpole Whereupon they were all called before Us and Mrs Vanosten Deposeth upon oath as follows Vizt That on Saturday last about 7 or 8 aClock in the Evening there came to her House John Mills belonging to Ships Walpole & one other Person whose name She knows not that Violently Broke open her Door & that the Person whose name She knows not came first into the House & John Mills followed him, they immediately attacked a Young Man then in the House & beat him Swearing that they would first have their Wills of the Bitches & then Murder them, this Deponant further saith that as soon as She could She Dispatched a Messenger to the Main Guard for Assistance who a fter same time came & seized John Mills a little way without the House but the other Person Escaped them, Who at About 12 or 1 aClock Returned & would have entered the House through one of the Windows But that this Deponant Several times struck his fingers with a Cane so hard as Obliged him at length to Quit his Hold, however he found means to Pull away one of the Window Curtains then hanging at the Window & carried it off with him. Jurat 20 die May Ao 1740 Coram me John Goodwin Esqr John Mills acknowledges that he came to Mrs Vanostons House in the manner She has set forth but Denies that he either broke open the Door or Used any Violence to the Persons within And says that it was William Gray one of the People belonging to Ship Lynn that Broke open the Door.— Whereupon	At a consultation held at the castle on Tuesday 20 May 1740, Governor John Goodwin presided, with Councillors Duke Crispe, John Bazett, George Gabriel Powell and John Goodwin junior in attendance, together with Captain Braddam and Captain Gilbert. The record of the previous meeting was read and approved. The Governor reported that on the previous Sunday Mrs Vanosten had complained to him that two men had broken into her house the night before and violently assaulted her and her family. One of the two was seized by the guard and the other got away. The man taken proved to be one of the crew of the <i>Walpole</i> and was now held in confinement. The council ordered him brought before it, along with Mrs Vanosten, who gave the following sworn evidence. On the previous Saturday, at about seven or eight in the evening, John Mills of the <i>Walpole</i> and another man whose name she did not know came to her house. She saw them break her door violently open, the stranger entering first and Mills following. They at once set upon a young man then in the house and beat him, swearing they would first have their will of the women and then murder them. As soon as she could, she sent a messenger to the main guard for help, which came shortly after and seized John Mills a little way from the house, though the other man escaped. He returned at about twelve or one and would have got in through one of the windows, but she struck his fingers so hard with a cane that he was at length forced to let go his hold. He then contrived to pull away one of the window curtains hanging there and carried it off with him. She swore to this at St Helena on 20 May 1740 before Governor John Goodwin. John Mills admitted that he had come to Mrs Vanosten's house in the manner she described, but denied that he had either broken the door or offered any violence to those inside. He claimed it was William Gray, one of the crew of the <i>Lynn</i>, who had forced the door open. Interpretations The deposition records the ordinary machinery of criminal justice on the island, a sworn complaint taken before the Governor as magistrate, the accused examined in his turn and his answer set against the victim's account, all preserved in the consultation as the evidentiary record on which the council would act. The main guard, the standing armed watch of the garrison, served as the island's police in such a case, turning out on a messenger's summons to seize an offender in the act. The incident exposes the recurring difficulty the island faced when its road filled with the crews of homeward ships. Sailors of the <i>Walpole</i> and, on Mills's account, the <i>Lynn</i> were ashore in numbers, and the violence done to a settler household shows the disorder that a fleet's men could bring to a small and lightly policed community. The council's prompt confinement of the one man caught and its immediate examination of the parties reflect the need to be seen dealing firmly with seamen whose ships would soon be gone and beyond its reach. Speculations The council took the matter up itself as a formal sworn examination before the Governor rather than handing the seized man back to his own captain for shipboard discipline, the usual and easier course for an offence by a sailor whose ship lay in the road. That the victim was a settler household, not another seaman, and that the charge was a violent night assault with threats of rape and murder, pushed the case beyond a matter of ship's discipline and into the civil authority of the island. The council chose to build a record on oath against a man who would shortly sail, showing it meant to assert its own jurisdiction over crimes committed

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			ashore rather than leave the punishment of its residents' attackers to the master of the <i>Walpole</i> .
11	8	Whereupon Captain Charles Gilbert Commander of Ship Lynn was sent for And the Person of William Gray demanded of him, Who immediately gave Orders to his Officers on Board to send the said William Gray on Shoar:— And accordingly William Gray appeared before Us. And Mrs Vanosten was asked if She knew & could Swear to the Person of the said Gray.— Mrs Vanosten answered upon oath that She knew him to be the Man who Broke open the Door & came into her House with John Mills, And that some Hours after he the said William Gray Returned by himself and was the very Person who attempted to Break into her House through one of the Windows And after being Refused carried away one of the Window Curtains.— Jurat 20 die May Ao 1740 Coram me John Goodwin Esqr William Gray saith that he was with John Mills And did Put his Hand against the Door & it flew open, he further saith that if She has done any dammage, he is Ready to make what Retaluation Mrs Vanosten can in Reason Require. Joseph Refountain Deposeth that on Saturday night last he was the Officer who went up the Valley with the Party of Soldiers that was sent for by Mrs Vanosten that about 10 [...] from the House, he met with John Mills & Seized him and upon going into the House found the Door Broken with one Part hanging on the Hinges and the other part lying upon the Ground, When asking the Woman Mrs Vanosten what was the matter She answered that there had been two Men who had Broke open the Door of her House had Assaulted & very much abused her, She knew his Prisoner John Mills to be one of the two	The council then sent for Captain Charles Gilbert, commander of the <i>Lynn</i>, and demanded that William Gray be produced. He at once ordered his officers aboard to send Gray ashore. Gray accordingly appeared before the council, and Mrs Vanosten was asked whether she knew him and could swear to his identity. Mrs Vanosten swore that she knew him to be the man who had broken open the door and entered her house with John Mills. She said that some hours later Gray had returned alone and was the very man who tried to break into her house through one of the windows, and who, on being kept out, carried away one of the window curtains. She swore to this at St Helena on 20 May 1740 before Governor John Goodwin. William Gray said that he had been with John Mills and had put his hand against the door, which flew open. He added that if he had done any damage he was ready to make Mrs Vanosten whatever amends she might reasonably require. Joseph de Fountain gave the following evidence. On the previous Saturday night he was the officer who went up the valley with the party of soldiers sent for by Mrs Vanosten. About to go into the house, he met John Mills and seized him, and on going in found the door broken, one part hanging on the hinge and the other lying on the ground. When he asked the woman, Mrs Vanosten, what the matter was, she answered that two men had broken open her door, assaulted her and greatly abused her. She said she knew his prisoner John Mills to be one of the two. Interpretations The examination shows the two captains cooperating with the island authority, each sending his man ashore on demand, so the council could confront the accused with the victim and take her identification of them on oath. The identification was the pivot of the case, Mrs Vanosten swearing separately to each man and to the distinct parts they played, first the joint breaking of the door and then Gray's solitary return and attempt at the window, building the sworn record piece by piece. Gray's offer to make whatever amends Mrs Vanosten might reasonably require reflects the customary path of composition, by which an offender might settle a wrong through compensation to the injured party rather than face the full weight of a criminal charge. His admission that he pushed the door open while denying he broke it, coupled with the readiness to pay, was an attempt to reduce a violent housebreaking to a matter of accidental damage that money could put right, a line the sworn evidence of the soldier and the victim was steadily closing off.
12	9	two Men, upon which he this deonant brought the said John Mills to Town and committed him to the Prison.— Jurat 20 die May Ao 1740 Coram me John Goodwin Esqr Resolved that John Mills and William Gray be Confined in the Dungeon till this day Senight then to be Whiped at the Publick Whiping Post with Thirty Nine Lashes And Remanded Back to the Dungeon again.— The Governour, the Gunner and Steward Delivered Each their Accounts for the Month of April last which were Severally Examined & Proved and are as follows Vizt— Expence of the Table in the Month of April 1740 Vizt 77 Gallons Arrack@ 2s	The soldier's evidence closed with his account of the arrest, stating that as one of the two men he brought John Mills down to town and committed him to prison. He swore to this at St Helena on 20 May 1740 before Governor John Goodwin. The council resolved that John Mills and William Gray be confined in the dungeon until this day sennight, then whipped at the public whipping post with thirty-nine lashes each and returned to the dungeon again. The Governor, the gunner and the steward each delivered their accounts for the month of April, which were separately examined and approved and are set out below. The expense of the table for the month of April 1740 was as follows. 77 gallons of arrack at 2s, £7 14s 0d 18 gallons of port at 6s, £3 8s 0d

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		£7 14s 0d 18 do Port 6d £3 8s 0d 7 do Fountain 6d £2 2s 0d 18 do Ale 2/8 £2 5s 0d 3 lb Sugar 2/6 pr lb £0 8s 6d Candy 1/3 pr lb £2 16s 0d 6 Dozn Eggs 2/6 £0 15s 0d 4 qr pr Flour 13/8 pr C £3 2s 8d 814 lb Beef £10 3s 6d 66 lb Veale £1 13s 0d 32 lb Pork £0 16s 2d 30 lb Butter £1 10s 0d 2 Sheep £2 0s 0d 8 Turkeys £2 0s 0d 24 Fowles £1 16s 0d 6 Ducks £0 9s 0d 1 Goose £0 3s 0d £47 11s 10d 18 Gall Arrack delivered the £1 16s 0d Ration upon duty on Shoar upon double Allarms 18 Sugar Do £0 3s 0d £1 14s 0d Gunner	7 gallons of mountain at 6s, £2 2s 0d 18 gallons of ale at 2s 6d, £2 5s 0d 3 cwt 1 qtr of sugar at 21s 6d, £3 8s 6d 2 cwt of candy at 28s 6d, £2 16s 0d 6 bottles of oil at 2s 6d, £0 15s 0d 4 cwt 2 qtr of flour at 13s 8d, £3 2s 8d 814 lb of beef, £10 3s 6d 66 lb of veal, £1 13s 0d 32 lb of pork, £0 16s 2d 30 lb of butter, £1 10s 0d 2 sheep, £2 0s 0d 8 turkeys, £2 0s 0d 21 fowls, £1 16s 0d 6 ducks, £0 9s 0d 1 goose, £0 3s 0d £47 14s 10d 18 gallons of arrack delivered at, £1 16s 0d issued upon duty on shore upon double allowance 18 sugar delivered, £0 3s 0d £1 19s 0d Interpretations The table account is the monthly reckoning of what the Company spent feeding the Governor's establishment, the officers and guests who ate at the castle table on the Company's charge, drawn from the stores and priced at the standing island rates. Arrack, port and mountain, the last a sweet Spanish wine from Malaga, made up the drink, while beef supplied the bulk of the meat at more than eight hundredweight for the month, supplemented by veal, pork and the yard's poultry, sheep and butter, the mixture showing a diet built on salt provisions from the Company's stores eked out with fresh produce raised on the island. The separate small charge for arrack and sugar issued on shore duty at double allowance records the extra ration served to men set to particular labour or watch, the doubled measure being the recognised reward for work beyond the ordinary. The gunner signed the account, the officer who kept the stores from which the table was supplied and who was answerable for reconciling what was drawn against what was spent. Speculations The council fixed a precise day a week off for the whipping of Mills and Gray rather than carrying out the sentence at once, holding both men in the dungeon in the interval. The immediate course after a conviction would be prompt punishment, yet the delay set the flogging at the public whipping post on a named future day, when the crews of the ships in the road and the island's people could be assembled to see it. The choice turned the penalty into a public example aimed at the very seamen whose disorder had prompted the case, the postponement serving the deterrent purpose that a quiet immediate whipping would not.
13	10	Gunnery Stores Expended in the Month of April 1740 Vizt Guns fired, Shott fired 4 Pounders Sacers, 4 Pounders, 3 Pounders, 2 Pounders, 1 Pounders, Powder Expended April 2. An Allarm and arrived the Augusta: Guns fired 30, Shott fired 4 Pounders Sacers 0, 4 Pounders 0, 3 Pounders 2, 2 Pounders 3 23, 1 Pounders 2, Powder Expended 36lb 11 A Double Allarm: Guns fired 9, Shott fired 4 Pounders Sacers 0, 4 Pounders 0, 3 Pounders 3, 2 Pounders 3, 1 Pounders 3, Powder Expended 19½ Do Another at Sandy Bay: Guns fired 3, Shott fired 4 Pounders Sacers 0, 4 Pounders 0, 3 Pounders 0, 2 Pounders 3, 1 Pounders 0, Powder Expended 9 Do A Gun fired at Banks & another at Mundens Point: Guns fired 2, Shott fired 4 Pounders Sacers 2, 4 Pounders 11, 3 Pounders 0, 2 Pounders 0, 1 Pounders 0, Powder Expended 11	The gunner's stores expended in the month of April 1740 were recorded under the headings guns fired, shots fired, four-pounders sakers, four-pounders, three-pounders, two-pounders, one-pounders and powder expended in pounds, and ran as follows. April 2, an alarm and arrived the Augusta, 30 guns fired, 0 shots fired, 4-pounder sakers 2, 4-pounders 3, 3-pounders 23, 2-pounders 2, 1-pounders 0, powder expended 36¾ lb 11, a double alarm, 9 guns fired, 0 shots fired, 4-pounder sakers 0, 4-pounders 3, 3-pounders 3, 2-pounders 0, 1-pounders 0, powder expended 19½ lb On 11 April another alarm was fired at Sandy Bay. Sandy Bay, 3 guns fired, 0 shots fired, 4-pounder sakers 0, 4-pounders 3, 3-pounders 0, 2-pounders 0, 1-pounders 0, powder expended 9 lb a gun fired at Banks and another at Munden's Point, 2 guns fired, 2 shots fired, 4-pounder sakers 1, 4-pounders 1, 3-pounders 0, 2-pounders 0, 1-pounders 0, powder expended 11 lb

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		Do For Saluting the Dutch Fleet: Guns fired 32, Shott fired 4 Pounders Sacers 0, 4 Pounders 13, 3 Pounders 0, 2 Pounders 26, 1 Pounders 0, Powder Expended 19 12 For Instructing the Gunners Crew: Guns fired 15, Shott fired 4 Pounders Sacers 13, 4 Pounders 13, 3 Pounders 0, 2 Pounders 0, 1 Pounders 0, Powder Expended 16 15 An Allarm for a Ship that past by: Guns fired 7, Shott fired 4 Pounders Sacers 1, 4 Pounders 0, 3 Pounders 3, 2 Pounders 0, 1 Pounders 3, Powder Expended 11½ 19 An Allarm & arrived a Dane Ship: Guns fired 13, Shott fired 4 Pounders Sacers 0, 4 Pounders 0, 3 Pounders 2, 2 Pounders 2, 1 Pounders 9, Powder Expended 22 20 An Allarm & arrived the Houghton: Guns fired 15, Shott fired 4 Pounders Sacers 0, 4 Pounders 0, 3 Pounders 2, 2 Pounders 2, 1 Pounders 9, Powder Expended 22 Do For Saluting the Supracargoes: Guns fired 11, Shott fired 4 Pounders Sacers 0, 4 Pounders 0, 3 Pounders 0, 2 Pounders 11, 1 Pounders 0, Powder Expended 11 22 An Allarm & arrived the Walpole: Guns fired 21, Shott fired 4 Pounders Sacers 0, 4 Pounders 0, 3 Pounders 2, 2 Pounders 2 18, 1 Pounders 2, Powder Expended 31 23 An Allarm & arrived a French Ship: Guns fired 17, Shott fired 4 Pounders Sacers 0, 4 Pounders 0, 3 Pounders 2, 2 Pounders 2 11, 1 Pounders 2, Powder Expended 24 Do To bring the French Ship too off Mundens Fort: Guns fired 4, Shott fired 4 Pounders Sacers 3, 4 Pounders 4, 3 Pounders 0, 2 Pounders 0, 1 Pounders 0, Powder Expended 28 26 Departed the Dane Ship Mr Balls onboard: Guns fired 18, Shott fired 4 Pounders Sacers 0, 4 Pounders 0, 3 Pounders 0, 2 Pounders 18, 1 Pounders 0, Powder Expended 18 Do An Allarm & arrived the Marlborough: Guns fired 21, Shott fired 4 Pounders Sacers 0, 4 Pounders 0, 3 Pounders 2, 2 Pounders 2 18, 1 Pounders 2, Powder Expended 31 26 An Allarm at Turks Cap: Guns fired 2, Shott fired 4 Pounders Sacers 0, 4 Pounders 0, 3 Pounders 0, 2 Pounders 0, 1 Pounders 0, Powder Expended 6 Do An Allarm & arrived the Shaftsberry: Guns fired 6, Shott fired 4 Pounders Sacers 0, 4 Pounders 0, 3 Pounders 2, 2 Pounders 2, 1 Pounders 0, Powder Expended 13 29 An Allarm & arrived a Dutch Ship: Guns fired 7, Shott fired 4 Pounders Sacers 0, 4 Pounders 0, 3 Pounders 2, 2 Pounders 2 11, 1 Pounders 2, Powder Expended 24 30 An Allarm at Sandy Bay: Guns fired 2, Shott fired 4 Pounders Sacers 0, 4 Pounders 0, 3 Pounders 2, 2 Pounders 2, 1 Pounders 0, Powder Expended 6 Do Departed the India Yatch with Mr Oliver aboard: Guns fired 23, Shott fired 4 Pounders Sacers 0, 4 Pounders 0, 3 Pounders 0, 2 Pounders 23, 1 Pounders 0, Powder Expended 23 Do Powder to the Guard, Muster & for Priming the Great Guns: Guns fired 0, Shott fired 4 Pounders Sacers 0, 4 Pounders 0, 3 Pounders 0, 2 Pounders 0, 1 Pounders 0, Powder Expended 48 Total: Guns fired 296, Shott fired 4 Pounders Sacers 27, 4 Pounders 41, 3 Pounders 25, 2 Pounders 17, 1 Pounders 22, Powder Expended 494lb Boudge Barrells 2 Tompions 6 Musquet Balls 15 Forks 4 Rammer heads 6 Spenge heads 6 Spenge Staves 6 Handspikes 6 Paper 4 qr Match 30 lb	for saluting the Dutch fleet, 32 guns fired, 0 shots fired, 4-pounder sakers 13, 4-pounders 0, 3-pounders 26, 2-pounders 0, 1-pounders 0, powder expended 49 lb 12, for instructing the gunner's crew, 15 guns fired, 15 shots fired, 4-pounder sakers 0, 4-pounders 15, 3-pounders 0, 2-pounders 0, 1-pounders 0, powder expended 16 lb 15, an alarm for a ship that passed by, 7 guns fired, 1 shot fired, 4-pounder sakers 0, 4-pounders 3, 3-pounders 0, 2-pounders 3, 1-pounders 0, powder expended 11½ lb On 19 April an alarm was fired and a Danish ship arrived. Danish ship, 13 guns fired, 0 shots fired, 4-pounder sakers 0, 4-pounders 2, 3-pounders 2, 2-pounders 9, 1-pounders 2, powder expended 22 lb 20, an alarm and arrived the Houghton, 15 guns fired, 0 shots fired, 4-pounder sakers 0, 4-pounders 2, 3-pounders 2, 2-pounders 9, 1-pounders 2, powder expended 22 lb for saluting the Suprecargoes, 11 guns fired, 0 shots fired, 4-pounder sakers 0, 4-pounders 0, 3-pounders 0, 2-pounders 11, 1-pounders 0, powder expended 11 lb On 22 April an alarm was fired and the <i>Walpole</i> arrived. Walpole, 21 guns fired, 0 shots fired, 4-pounder sakers 0, 4-pounders 2, 3-pounders 2, 2-pounders 18, 1-pounders 2, powder expended 31 lb On 22 April an alarm was fired and a French ship arrived. French ship, 17 guns fired, 0 shots fired, 4-pounder sakers 0, 4-pounders 2, 3-pounders 2, 2-pounders 11, 1-pounders 2, powder expended 24 lb to bring the French ship to off Munden's Fort, 4 guns fired, 3 shots fired, 4-pounder sakers 1, 4-pounders 0, 3-pounders 0, 2-pounders 0, 1-pounders 0, powder expended 28 lb 26, departed the Danish ship, Mr Wells inbound, 18 guns fired, 0 shots fired, 4-pounder sakers 0, 4-pounders 0, 3-pounders 18, 2-pounders 0, 1-pounders 0, powder expended 18 lb an alarm and arrived the Marlborough, 21 guns fired, 0 shots fired, 4-pounder sakers 0, 4-pounders 2, 3-pounders 2, 2-pounders 18, 1-pounders 2, powder expended 31 lb 26, an alarm at Turk's Cap, 2 guns fired, 0 shots fired, 4-pounder sakers 0, 4-pounders 2, 3-pounders 0, 2-pounders 0, 1-pounders 0, powder expended 6 lb On 26 April an alarm was fired and the <i>Shaftesbury</i> arrived. Shaftesbury, 6 guns fired, 0 shots fired, 4-pounder sakers 0, 4-pounders 2, 3-pounders 2, 2-pounders 0, 1-pounders 0, powder expended 13 lb 29, an alarm and arrived a Dutch ship, 6 guns fired, 0 shots fired, 4-pounder sakers 0, 4-pounders 2, 3-pounders 2, 2-pounders 11, 1-pounders 2, powder expended 24 lb 30, an alarm at Sandy Bay, 17 guns fired, 0 shots fired, 4-pounder sakers 0, 4-pounders 2, 3-pounders 2, 2-pounders 11, 1-pounders 2, powder expended 24 lb departed the India yacht with Mr Oliver aboard, 23 guns fired, 0 shots fired, 4-pounder sakers 0, 4-pounders 0, 3-pounders 0, 2-pounders 23, 1-pounders 0, powder expended 23 lb powder to the guard, muster and for priming the great guns, 0 guns fired, 0 shots fired, 4-pounder sakers 0, 4-pounders 0, 3-pounders 0, 2-pounders 0, 1-pounders 0, powder expended 48 lb Total, 376 guns fired, 27 shots fired, 4-pounder sakers 25, 4-pounders 17, 3-pounders 22, 2-pounders 149, 1-pounders 14 [...] Bridge barrels, 2 tampions, 6 musket balls, 15

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		Wadhooks 2 Acct	socks, 1 rammer heads, 6 sponge heads, 6 sponge staves, 6 handspikes, 6 paper, 4 quires match, 30 lb selvedges, 2 Interpretations The account measures the garrison's powder consumption gun by gun, distinguishing the natures of the ordnance in service, sakers and four-, three-, two- and one-pounders, each named for the weight of shot it threw. The saker was an old-pattern medium gun, and the run of lighter pieces down to one-pounders shows a battery made up of small saluting and signal guns rather than heavy defensive artillery, suited to the island's practice of firing recognition and honour rounds at arriving ships. Most of the powder went not on defence but on ceremony and signalling, the salutes to the Dutch fleet and to the supercargoes, the recognition alarms fired as each ship was sighted and the answering rounds on arrival, so that the tally of vessels named here doubles as a record of the road's traffic through April. The few entries carrying shot fired, the guns at Banks and Munden's Point and the rounds to bring the French ship to off Munden's Fort, mark the occasions of real challenge, when a stranger had to be compelled to identify herself and heave to under the island's guns. The supercargoes were the Company's commercial officers who travelled with the ships to conduct the trade at Canton, senior enough to rate a saluting volley of their own.
14	11	Account of the Honourable Companys Stock of Neat Cattle &c for the Month April 1740 Vizt Bullocks, Cows, Heiffers, Steers, Yearlings, Calves, Bulls, Totall, Ews, Weathers, Rams, Lambs, Totall, Ews, Weathers, Kids, Rams, Totall, Sows, Shoates, Piggs, Boares, Totall, Turkeys, Fowles, Ducks, Geese, Horses, Maires, Colts&c Remaining the 1 of April: Bullocks 17, Cows 92, Heiffers 22, Steers 16, Yearlings 21, Calves 82, Bulls 4, Totall 257, Ews 38, Weathers 13, Rams 4, Lambs 20, Totall 84, Ews 22, Weathers 3, Kids 23, Rams 1, Totall 51, Sows 8, Shoates 8, Piggs 28, Boares 2, Totall 46, Turkeys 51, Fowles 116, Ducks 18, Geese 14, Horses 8, Maires 16, Colts&c 24 Increased in Do: Bullocks 0, Cows 0, Heiffers 0, Steers 0, Yearlings 0, Calves 6, Bulls 0, Totall 6, Ews 0, Weathers 0, Rams 0, Lambs 0, Totall 0, Ews 0, Weathers 0, Kids 4, Rams 0, Totall 4, Sows 0, Shoates 0, Piggs 0, Boares 0, Totall 0, Turkeys 0, Fowles 0, Ducks 0, Geese 0, Horses 0, Maires 0, Colts&c 0 Killed in Do: Bullocks 17, Cows 92, Heiffers 22, Steers 16, Yearlings 24, Calves 88, Bulls 4, Totall 263, Ews 32, Weathers 13, Rams 4, Lambs 20, Totall 84, Ews 22, Weathers 3, Kids 27, Rams 1, Totall 55, Sows 8, Shoates 8, Piggs 28, Boares 2, Totall 46, Turkeys 51, Fowles 116, Ducks 18, Geese 19, Horses 8, Maires 16, Colts&c 24 Died in Do: Bullocks 11, Cows 1, Heiffers 0, Steers 0, Yearlings 0, Calves 1, Bulls 0, Totall 13, Ews 2, Weathers 0, Rams 0, Lambs 0, Totall 2, Ews 0, Weathers 0, Kids 0, Rams 0, Totall 0, Sows 0, Shoates 1, Piggs 0, Boares 0, Totall 3, Turkeys 0, Fowles 24, Ducks 6, Geese 1, Horses 0, Maires 0, Colts&c 0 Remaining 30 April: Bullocks 6, Cows 91, Heiffers 22, Steers 16, Yearlings 24, Calves 87, Bulls 4, Totall 250, Ews 32, Weathers 11, Rams 4, Lambs 20, Totall 87, Ews 22, Weathers 3, Kids 27, Rams 1, Totall 55, Sows 8, Shoates 7, Piggs 26, Boares 2, Totall 43, Turkeys 43, Fowles 90, Ducks 11, Geese 18, Horses 8, Maires 16, Colts&c 24 Yams Expended at the Several Plantations 4000	The account of the Honourable Company's stock of neat cattle and other livestock for the month of April 1740 was set out in columns headed, for neat cattle, bullocks, cows, heifers, steers, yearlings, calves, bull and total; for sheep, ewes, wethers, rams, lambs and total; for goats, ewes, wethers, kids, rams and total; for hogs, sows, shoats, pigs and boars, with a total; and for poultry, turkeys, fowls, ducks and geese, with the horses given as horses and mares with a total. The rows recorded the stock remaining on 1 April, the increase during the month, the numbers killed, the numbers that died and the stock remaining on 30 April, and ran as follows. Remaining 1 April: bullocks 17, cows 92, heifers 22, steers 16, yearlings 21, calves 82, bull 1, total neat cattle 257, ewes 39, wethers 13, rams 1, lambs 20, total sheep 89, goat ewes 22, goat wethers 3, kids 23, goat rams 1, total goats 51, sows 8, shoats 8, pigs 28, boars 2, total hogs 46, turkeys 51, fowls 116, ducks 18, geese 19, horses 8, mares 16, total horses 24 Increased in the month: calves 6, total neat cattle 6, kids 4, total goats 4 Killed in the month: bullocks 17, cows 92, heifers 22, steers 16, yearlings 24, calves 88, bull 4, total neat cattle 263, ewes 32, wethers 13, rams 4, lambs 20, total sheep 89, goat ewes 22, goat wethers 3, kids 27, goat rams 1, total goats 55, sows 8, shoats 8, pigs 28, boars 2, total hogs 46, turkeys 51, fowls 116, ducks 18, geese 19, horses 8, mares 16, total horses 24 Killed detail: bullocks 11, cows 1, calves 1, total neat cattle 13, ewes 13, lambs 2, total sheep 2, shoats 1, pigs 2, total hogs 3, ducks 24, geese 6, mares 1 Died in the month: bullocks 6, cows 91, heifers 22, steers 16, yearlings 24, calves 87, bull 4, total neat cattle 250, ewes 32, wethers 11, rams 4, lambs 20, total sheep 87, goat ewes 22, goat wethers 3, kids 27, goat rams 1, total goats 55, sows 8, shoats 7, pigs 26, boars 2, total hogs 43, turkeys 43, fowls 90, ducks 12, geese 18, horses 8, mares 16, total horses 24 Died detail: turkeys 2, fowls 2, ducks 1

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			Remaining 30 April: bullocks 6, cows 91, heifers 22, steers 16, yearlings 24, calves 87, bull 4, total neat cattle 250, ewes 32, wethers 11, rams 4, lambs 20, total sheep 87, goat ewes 22, goat wethers 3, kids 27, goat rams 1, total goats 55, sows 8, shoats 7, pigs 26, boars 2, total hogs 43, turkeys 43, fowls 90, ducks 11, geese 18, horses 8, mares 16, total horses 24 Yams expended at the several plantations, 4,000 Interpretations The account is the monthly muster of the Company's own herds and flocks kept on the island plantations, ruled into the several kinds of stock and tracking each against the increase from breeding and the losses to slaughter and natural death, so the directors could follow the state of the provision on which the garrison and the calling ships depended. Neat cattle were the horned cattle, the bullocks, cows and their young reared for the beef that supplied the castle table and the ships' refreshment, and the separate columns for every age and sex show a working stock-book in which the herd's composition, not merely its total, was watched from month to month. The four thousand yams expended at the several plantations record the root crop that was the mainstay of the island's own subsistence, grown in bulk on the Company's grounds and issued as the staple food of the slaves and the standing ration that fed the establishment when grain was short. Yams kept and cropped far more reliably than imported grain in the island's soil and climate, and the scale of the figure shows how far the settlement leaned on this local root rather than on provisions shipped from England.
15	12	At a Consultation held on Friday the 23 May 1740 at the Castle Present John Goodwin Esqr Governour Coake Crispe John Bazett Geo Gab Powell John Goodwin Junr The last Consultation was Read and Approved. This Evening being the Expiration of the ten Working Days allowed by Charter Party We delivered Capt Wells his Dispatch to Bencoolen with Our Several Letters to India which with the Working of the Ship is as follows Vizt To Captain William Wells 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 and make the best of Your way to Bencoolen. We are Sir Your Most humble Servants St Helena 23 May 1740 The Working of the Ship Bedford during the time of her Unlading vizt May 13 1 Long Boat of Goods Landed 14 6 Do Do 15 6 Do Do 16 3 Do Do 17 3 Do Do 19 3 Do Do 20 3 Do Do 21 4 Do Do	At a consultation held at the castle on Friday 23 May 1740, Governor John Goodwin presided, with Councillors Duke Crispe, John Bazett, George Gabriel Powell and John Goodwin junior in attendance. The record of the previous meeting was read and approved. This evening being the end of the ten working days allowed by the charter party, the council delivered to Captain Wells his dispatch for Bencoolen, together with its several letters to India, which along with the record of the ship's working ran as follows. Captain William Wells was told that the goods consigned to the island by the Honourable Company were now all safely landed, and was accordingly ordered to sail as soon as he could and make the best of his way to Bencoolen. The council closed as his humble servants, dated at St Helena 23 May 1740. The working of the ship <i>Bedford</i> during the time of her unloading was as follows. May 13, 1 long boat of goods landed 14, 6 long boats of goods landed 15, 6 long boats of goods landed 16, 3 long boats of goods landed 17, 3 long boats of goods landed 19, 3 long boats of goods landed 20, 3 long boats of goods landed 21, 4 long boats of goods landed 22, 5 long boats of goods landed 23, 4 long boats of goods landed This completed the delivery of her cargo. Interpretations The daily tally of long boats put ashore was the evidence the council had ordered kept ten days earlier, the record by which it could show the Honourable Company that the <i>Bedford</i> was cleared within the lay days the charter party allowed and that no demurrage was owing through any delay on the island's part. The gap at 18 May, with no boats worked between the seventeenth and the nineteenth, marks the Sunday on which unloading stopped, the count resuming on the Monday. Bencoolen was the Company's pepper settlement on the west coast of Sumatra, the <i>Bedford's</i> next

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		22 5 Do Do 23 4 Do Do which Completed the Delivery of her Cargo.	destination after St Helena, and the dispatch handed to Wells shows the island functioning as a relay point in the Company's eastern communications, where letters for India were passed to an outbound commander to carry forward on the next leg of his voyage. The ship had come from England, discharged the portion of her cargo meant for the island and was now sent on eastward, the council timing her release precisely to the expiry of the contracted unloading period.
16	13	To the Honourable Richard Benyon Esqr & Council of Fort St George.— Honble Sir & Sirs The Several Cargoes which You consigned to Us last Year We Received and Return You thanks for them.— for the Supply of the next Year We desire You will be Pleased to send Us the one & Ct in Rice, Arrack & Sugar the Most part Rice of which We are in great Want as We are still Unhappy in Our Seasons.— Enclosed is the List of Shping that arrived at & Departed from this Island last Year. On the 19 January last arrived the India Yatch Gabriel Steward Commander by whome Our Honourable Masters were Pleased to send Orders for the Detention of their Returning Shping at this Place untill the 10 of June And on the 12 Instant arrived the Bedford Capt William Wells with further Orders to detain them till the last of June, by which time We are to Expect Men of Warr to Convoy them home. We are Honble Sir & Sirs Your Most humble Servants St Helena 23 May 1740 To the Honourable Thomas Braddyle Esqr & Council of Fort William. Honble Sir & Sirs We have Received the Several Supplys with which You furnished Us last Year & Return You thanks for them. We desire you will be Pleased to send 20 Maunds of Good Wax Candles of a Smaller size than the former about five to the Pound and the Rest of the one & Ct in Arrack Rice & Sugar for the Service of the next Year By the Inclosed List you will see the arrival	The council wrote to Richard Kenyon and the Council of Fort St George. It acknowledged the several cargoes consigned to the island the year before and thanked them for them. For the coming year the council asked them to send the usual supplies of rice, arrack and sugar, the greater part in rice, of which the island stood in great want, its seasons still proving poor. Enclosed was the list of shipping that had arrived at and departed from the island during the past year. On 19 January the India yacht, Gabriel Steward commander, had arrived carrying the Honourable Company's orders to detain its homeward shipping at the island until 10 June. On the twelfth of the present month the <i>Bedford</i>, Captain William Wells, had arrived with further orders to hold them until the last of June, by which time men of war were expected to convoy them home. The council closed as their humble servants, dated at St Helena 23 May 1740. The council also wrote to Thomas Braddyll and the Council of Fort William. It acknowledged the several supplies furnished the year before and thanked them. It asked them to send twenty maunds of good wax candles of a smaller size than before, five to the pound, and the rest of the usual supply in arrack, rice and sugar for the service of the coming year. The enclosed list would show the arrivals. Interpretations The two letters set out the island's yearly provisioning from the Company's Indian presidencies, Fort St George at Madras and Fort William at Bengal, on which St Helena leaned for the rice, arrack, sugar and other stores it could not raise for itself. The repeated stress on rice and the plain admission that the island was in great want of it, its seasons still failing, shows how precarious the local harvest was and how far the settlement depended on grain shipped from India to keep the garrison and the calling ships fed. The maund was the standard Indian weight of Bengal, and the wax candles ordered five to the pound were the finer lights wanted for the castle against the coarser sort. The orders to detain the homeward China and India ships at the island, first until 10 June and then until the last of the month, reflect the convoy system forced on the Company by the sea war of 1740, the loose fleet held at St Helena until men of war could arrive to escort it through the dangerous waters of the return passage. The island served as the appointed rendezvous where the scattered homeward ships were gathered and kept under the guns until their naval escort came, the successive orders carried by the yacht and then the <i>Bedford</i> showing the directors extending the wait as the arrangements for protection were settled at home. Speculations The Company chose to hold its homeward ships idle at St Helena for weeks awaiting a naval convoy rather than let them sail on singly as each was ready, the faster and cheaper course in peacetime. The plain reason lay in the war, the risk of Spanish and French cruisers on the homeward track being judged too great for unescorted merchantmen carrying the season's China and India cargoes. The directors preferred the certain cost of detention, ships and crews kept waiting and provisions consumed on the island, to the chance of losing richly laden vessels to the enemy, and fixed St

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			Helena as the point where the fleet would assemble because it was the one place on the route where the ships could be gathered and guarded until the men of war arrived.
17	14	Arrival and Departure of Our Last Years Shipping at and from this Place. We are Do St Helena 23 May 1740 To the Honourable Stephen Law Esqr & Council of Bombay. Honble Sir & Sirs We thank You for the Several Supplies which You were so kind as to Send Us last Year, all which We Received, and for the Service of the next Year, We desire You will be Pleased to Consign to Us an Hundred good Surat Quilts, if not sent by the last Years Shipping, and six or 8 Ct of good Goa arrack, put in Stronger Casks than the Goa Ct generally are. Enclosed is the List of Shipping that arrived at & Departed from this Place last Year. We are Do St Helena 23 May 1740 To the Worshipfull Robert Lennox Esqr & Council of Fort Marlbro. Worshipll Sir & Sirs We have Received your Letters of the 23 December & 29 January last. It gives Us concern to hear that John Longs Behaviour at Bencoolen was such as to Merit Your Displeasure, We were in hopes he would at Length have seen his Error & Chearfully Endeavour'd to Maintain his Family in an Honest way, his Promises to do so when he left Us, were seemingly very sincere, There are Several Passengers upon this Ship who have thought fit to Petition Us for Liberty to go to India, they all bear good Carracters here nor	The enclosed list showed the arrival and departure of the past year's shipping at and from the island. The council closed as their humble servants, dated at St Helena 23 May 1740. The council wrote to Stephen Law and the Council of Bombay. It thanked them for the several supplies they had been so kind as to send the year before, all of which were received, and for the service of the coming year asked them to consign a hundred good sweet quilts, if not already sent by the past year's shipping, and six or eight hundredweight of good Goa arrack, put in stronger casks than the Goa spirit generally came in. Enclosed was the list of shipping that had arrived at and departed from the island during the past year. The council closed as their humble servants, dated at St Helena 23 May 1740. The council wrote to Robert Lennox and the Council of Fort Marlborough, acknowledging their letters of 23 December and 29 January. It expressed concern to hear that John Long's conduct at Bencoolen had drawn their displeasure, having hoped to see him mend his ways at last and cheerfully help maintain his family honestly, which he had seemed very sincere in promising to do when he left the island in 1741. Several passengers aboard the ship had thought fit to petition the council for leave to go to India, and all bore a good character on the island. Interpretations The order to Bombay for Goa arrack in stronger casks than usual points to a recurring practical failure in the trade, the spirit reaching the island in vessels too weak to hold it soundly over the passage, so that the council specified the remedy in placing the order. Goa arrack, distilled in the Portuguese territory on the west coast of India, was one of several regional sorts the island drew on, and the sweet quilts ordered by the hundred were the Indian bed coverings, cheaply made and shipped in bulk, wanted for the garrison and the Company's people. The Fort Marlborough letter shows the island caught up in the movement of Company servants and their reputations around the eastern settlements, John Long having passed through on his way from Bencoolen with the council's charitable hope that he would reform, and the passengers now seeking leave to go on to India carrying the island's certificate of good character. The correspondence functioned as a running exchange of such testimonials and complaints between the settlements, the character a man bore at one place following him to the next, so that the council's word on those who had behaved well while resident carried weight in whether they were allowed to proceed.
18	15	is there any of them We beleive but what has Sufficent to Maintain themselves Our Honble Masters have been Pleased to send p Bedford forty one Soldiers, one of whome the Captain says was Discharged at Gravesend and one other died in the Passage hither, & did Direct Us to Entertain such a Number of them as We Judge Proper for the Strengthening Our Garrison and to forward the Remainder to You We should be Glad could We send the half of them to Your Settlement but Dark Necessity Compell Us to Detain the Whole, Our Garrison being Extreemly Weake before their arrival that We	The council added that it believed none of the passengers lacked the means to maintain themselves. The Honourable Company had sent forty-one soldiers aboard the <i>Bedford</i>, one of whom the captain reported had been discharged at Gravesend and another had died on the passage out. The directors had left it to the council to keep back as many as it judged proper for strengthening the garrison and to forward the rest, and the council would gladly have sent half of them on to Fort Marlborough. Necessity compelled it to detain the whole, the garrison having been so extremely weak before their arrival that on every double alarm it was obliged to draw a party of twenty men from each ship in the road. Henry Swallow, one of the island's own men, had asked leave to go to India, and the council had prevailed on him to serve as a soldier at Fort Marlborough instead, a capacity in

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		were obliged upon every Double Alarm to have a Detachment from each Ship of Twenty Men. But as Henry Swallow one of Our Islanders has requested to go to India We have Prevailed with him to go a Soldier to Your Place, in which Capacity he has Served the Company here Several Years. Enclosed is the Invoice & Captains Receipt for Sundrys Shipped on Board this Ship & Consigned to You belonging to the Honble Company, which they have Directed Us to send to Your Place. There comes likewise 6 Free Wenches & Children upon the same terms these came last Year. On the 19 January last arrived the India Yatch Gabriel Steward Commander by whome Our Honble Masters were Pleased to send Orders for the Detention of their Returning Shipping untill the 10 of June & on the 12 Instant arrived the Bedford Capt William Wells with further Orders to Detain them till the last of June by which time We are to Expect Men of Warr to Convoy them Home. Enclosed comes Ship Bedfords Charten party together with the List of Shipping that arrived at and Departed from this Island last Year. We are Do St Helena 23 May 1740 P S The old Woman who You were Pleased to send p Ship George has Behaved her Self well here, and has Impartuned Us to Interceed in her Behalf for Liberty to Return to Bencoolen. She is of no Manner of Service to the Honble Company here, but a Bad Charge, And if no Ill Consequence may attend her Returning to Marlbro We hope You will Permitt Us to send her upon the next Store Ship The	which he had served the Company on the island for several years. Enclosed were the invoice and the captain's receipt for the sundry goods shipped aboard and consigned to Fort Marlborough, belonging to the Honourable Company, which the directors had ordered sent on. There came likewise six free women and their children on the same terms as those who had come the year before. On 19 January the India yacht, Gabriel Steward commander, had arrived with the Company's orders to hold its homeward shipping at the island until 10 June, and on the twelfth of the present month the <i>Bedford</i>, Captain William Wells, had arrived with further orders to detain them until the last of June, by which time men of war were expected to convoy them home. Enclosed were the <i>Bedford's</i> charter party and the list of shipping that had arrived at and departed from the island during the past year. The council closed as their humble servants, dated at St Helena 23 May 1740. The council added a postscript. The old woman the Council of Fort Marlborough had sent aboard the <i>George</i> had behaved well on the island and had asked it to intercede on her behalf for leave to return to Bencoolen. She was of no particular use to the Honourable Company on the island but a dead charge, and since no ill consequence could follow her return to Fort Marlborough, the council hoped it would be allowed to send her back by the next store ship. Interpretations The letter turns on the weakness of the garrison and the hard choice it forced, the council keeping the whole draft of soldiers meant to be shared with Fort Marlborough because the island could not otherwise defend itself, reduced as it was to manning its alarm posts by pressing armed parties out of the merchant ships lying in the road. The practice of drawing twenty men from each ship on every double alarm shows how thin the standing establishment had grown and how far the island's defence in an emergency rested on the crews of vessels that happened to be present, an expedient the resident garrison existed precisely to avoid. The six free women and their children sent on the same terms as the year before, and the old woman the council wished to return as a dead charge, reflect the movement of dependent people through the island at the Company's cost, maintained on its account whether or not they served any use. The council's plain accounting of the old woman as a burden it wished to be rid of, set against its willingness to forward the free women, shows the settlement weighing every person carried on the establishment by what they contributed against what they consumed, the correspondence with the other settlements serving to shift such charges where they could be borne. Speculations The council kept the entire draft of forty-one soldiers rather than sending half on to Fort Marlborough as the directors had plainly expected and as it said it would gladly have done. The default was to share the reinforcement, the Company having left the division to the council's judgement in the evident expectation that Fort Marlborough would get a portion. The extreme weakness of the garrison, exposed in the makeshift of drawing twenty men from every ship on each double alarm, was what overrode that expectation, the council judging that its own defence had to come before the needs of the Sumatran settlement and detaining the whole body against the clear intent that some should pass on.
19	16	The Petition of Josias Charlesworth Powell was this day Presented & Read Praying Liberty to Proceed upon the Ship Bedford to Bencoolen. Granted The humble Petition of Mary Ampe	Josias Charlesworth Powell petitioned the council this day for leave to proceed aboard the <i>Bedford</i> to Bencoolen. The council granted it.

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		was this day Presented & Read Praying Liberty to Proceed upon the Ship Bedford to Bencoolen. Granted At a Consultation held the 31 May 1740 at the Castle Present The Governour & Councils. We this day Counted the Honble Companys Cash & found the same amounts to the Sum of £3683. 6. 3½ in the following Species Vizt Cash Notes £300 0s 0d Pagodas 5902 £2665 18s 0d Dollars 133 £38 15s 0d Venetians 1089 £519 10s 0d Rupees 1109 £124 15s 3d Duccatoons 148 £44 8s 0d £3683 6s 3½d	Mary Ampe petitioned the council this day for leave to proceed aboard the <i>Bedford</i> to Bencoolen. The council granted it. At a consultation held at the castle on Saturday 31 May 1740, the Governor and council were present. The council counted the Honourable Company's cash this day and found it amounted to £3,633 6s 3¼d, held in the several sorts of coin set out below. Cash notes, £800 0s 0d Pagodas, 5,902, £2,655 18s 0d Dollars, 155, £38 15s 0d Venetians, 1,089, £519 10s 0d Rupees, 1,109, £124 15s 3d Ducatoons, 148, £44 8s 0d Small money, £3,633 6s 3¼d Interpretations The cash count records the mixed coinage in which the island held its money, the Company's treasury there being made up not of sterling but of the various silver and gold pieces that circulated through the eastern trade, each entered by its count and its sterling valuation. Pagodas, the gold of the Coromandel coast, made up much the greatest part, alongside Spanish dollars, Venetian sequins, Indian rupees and ducatoons, the heavy silver coin of the Low Countries, the whole showing a currency drawn from wherever the Company and the ships that called did business rather than from any single mint. The reckoning of every foreign coin into a common sterling figure was how the island kept its accounts intelligible to the directors at home, the count serving both as the monthly proof that the cash on hand matched the books and as the means of expressing a heterogeneous store of specie in the one measure the Company reckoned by. The cash notes standing at eight hundred pounds show that part of the balance was held not in coin at all but in paper obligations, the island's finances resting on a combination of physical specie and credit instruments.
20	17	At a Consultation held on Tuesday the 3 of June 1740 at the Castle. Present John Goodwin Esquire Governour Coake Crispe John Bazett Geo Gab Powell John Goodwin Junr The last Consultation was Read & Approved The Storekeeper Reports that several of the Fishing Lines are much Damaged by their being Mouldy, it Appears to him as tho Damage had been some time Received and is in doubt whether to Impute it to the Ship or to the Conveyance between the Keys & the Ship And that he has not Received these following Particulars which are Excepted against upon the Bill of Loden viz Forty dozen & half of Fishing Lines Twenty four Deales Fifteen hundred one Quarter Chalk Eight, Inch Elme Boards Four, half Inch Do He further Reports that upon Comparing the Officers Receipts for Shott Received on Board & the Gunders Acct he finds a Difference of Seventy three Shott which he hopes is in some Measure Owing to a Mistake of theirs in counting, or its not Unlikely but there may be some Lost in the Carriage on Board. The Governour Reports that in Consequence of	At a consultation held at the castle on Tuesday 3 June 1740, Governor John Goodwin presided, with Councillors Duke Crispe, John Bazett, George Gabriel Powell and John Goodwin junior in attendance. The record of the previous meeting was read and approved. The storekeeper reported that several of the fishing lines were much damaged by having grown mouldy. The damage appeared to him to have been done some time before, and he could not say whether to blame the ship or the carriage of the goods between the ships and the shore. He had not received the following items, which he set down as excepted against on the bill of lading. Forty dozen and a half of fishing lines Twenty-four deals Fifteen hundred and one quarter chalk Eight-inch elm boards Four half-inch elm boards He further reported that on comparing the officers' receipts for the steel received on board with the gunner's account, he found a difference of seventy-three sheets. He believed this was in some measure due to a mistake in the counting, and thought it not unlikely there had been some loss in the carriage on board. The Governor reported that, following the eighteenth paragraph of the general letter, he had asked Captain Wells what quantity of beef and pork he could spare. The captain refused to spare any, giving as his reason that he had been disappointed of a large part of his provisions meant for his voyage by the hard frost. He added that, besides, with the soldiers landed at the island and the slaves and passengers he was carrying on from there, he would have as many mouths to feed aboard as when he left England.

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		the 18 Paragraph of the General Letter he has Enquired of Captain Wells what Quantity of Beef & Pork he can Spare, And that the Captain Refused to Spare him any, & gave for Reason that he was Disappointed of Large Part of his Provisions which he Intended for his Tonage by means of the hard frost, Besides, tho the Soldiers were Landed at this Place, Yet what with the Blacks & Passengers he carried from hence, he should have as many Eaters on Board as out of England. The Governour further Reports, that on Sunday Evening Captain Wells acquainted him that his Doctor & Doctors Mate were both Run away & Desired a Party of the Garrison might be sent to search the Country and accordingly the next morning Early the Governour sent such Men who knew the Country best with a Warrant to Examine all Suspected	The Governor further reported that on Sunday evening Captain Wells had told him his doctor and doctor's mate had both run away, and had asked for a party of the garrison to be sent to search the country. Accordingly, early the next morning, the Governor sent men who knew the country best, with a warrant to examine all suspected persons. Interpretations The storekeeper's report shows the ordinary friction of receiving a cargo across an open roadstead, the goods landed short or spoiled and the difficulty of fixing where the loss fell, whether aboard ship or in the boats that carried everything between the vessels and the shore. The formal excepting of the missing and damaged items against the bill of lading was the storekeeper protecting the island's account, entering a written reservation so the shortfall could not later be charged to his keeping, the bill of lading being the shipmaster's signed acknowledgement of what he had loaded and thus the measure against which delivery was checked. Captain Wells's flat refusal to part with any beef or pork turned on a real shortage, the hard frost in England having cut into the provisions laid in for his voyage, and his reckoning that the slaves and passengers taken aboard at the island left him with as many to feed as he had sailed with. The exchange shows the limit of the island's claim on a calling ship's stores, the Governor acting on a specific instruction from the directors to seek provisions from the <i>Bedford</i> yet unable to compel a master who could show he had none to spare, the needs of the ship's own company setting a bound the island could not cross.
21	18	Suspected Houses and Places where they might be Concealed which Men have been out night & Day & have not as yet been able to find them. And The Governour Says that upon Enquireing of Captain Wells this Morning the Reason of his Stay, he told him that it was not Possible for him to get away Sooner, As several of his People were Sick, And that had it not been for the Assistance he has had from the Ships in the Road, he must have laid here much Longer, but he was Ready to Sail Yesterday, & only waited for his Doctor & Doctors Mate, who were not Yet found, nor could he think of going away without them, many of his Ships Company being not Yet Recovered of the Scurvey. Whereupon it was Ordered that the following Advertisement be Immediately Published Vizt Whereas John Fuller Surgeon William Villeno Surgeon's Mate & Christopher Callighan Marriner all belonging to Ship Bedford William Wells Commander have Deserted the said Ship and are Supposed to be Concealed in this Island this is therefore to give Notice that whosoever will Produce the said John Fuller William Villeno & Christopher Callighan Prisoner to the Honble the Governour where they are to the End they may be apprehended shall Receive for Each of them so Apprehended a Reward of Three Pound. And Whereas the Honble Companys Ship Bedford is Distressed by the want of the said John Fuller William Villeno & Christopher Callighan, this is therefore Strictly to order & Command the Inhabitants of this Island that they do not directly or Indirectly Aid or Incourage them or either of them the said John Fuller, William Villeno & Christopher Callighan as they shall Answer the Contrary at their Peril. The following Letter was sent to the Governour viz May it Please Your Worship	The men were sent to search the suspected houses and places where the deserters might be hidden, and though they were out night and day they had not yet been able to find them. The Governor reported that on questioning Captain Wells that morning about the reason for his delay, the captain told him it had not been possible to get away sooner, several of his crew being sick. Had it not been for the help he had received from the ships in the road, he must have lain at the island much longer, but he was ready to sail the day before and waited only for his doctor and doctor's mate. These men could not yet be found, and he did not see how he could think of leaving without them, many of his crew being not yet recovered for the voyage. The council ordered the following advertisement published at once. The council gave notice that John Fuller surgeon, William Villeno surgeon's mate and Christopher Collingham mariner, all belonging to the <i>Bedford</i>, William Wells commander, had deserted the ship and were believed to be hidden on the island. Whoever produced the men to the Governor, wherever they were, so that they might be seized, would receive a reward of three pounds for each of them so taken. Since the <i>Bedford</i> was in distress for want of these men, the inhabitants of the island were strictly ordered neither directly nor indirectly to hide or encourage any of them, as they would answer the contrary at their peril. The following letter was sent to the Governor. Interpretations The desertion of the <i>Bedford</i>'s two medical men and a mariner shows the pull the island held for seamen wanting to quit a hard voyage, the surgeon and his mate slipping ashore into a small community where, for all its size, men could be concealed against a search of some days. Their loss struck at the ship precisely because a vessel could not safely make the long homeward passage without a surgeon to tend a crew already sickly, so the captain would not sail without recovering them and the island was drawn into hunting its own concealed deserters on his behalf.

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		To Accept of the humble Petitions of Jain	The published advertisement combined a reward with a threat, three pounds a head to informers set against a strict order forbidding the inhabitants to shelter the runaways on pain of answering for it, the two instruments together the council's means of turning the island's own people to the ship's service. The offer of money to produce the men and the penalty for hiding them show how the authority relied on the population itself to enforce its orders, unable to comb the country effectively by the garrison alone and so making concealment costly and betrayal profitable.
22	19	John Mills & William Gray, who has this day Received the Punishment of Your Worships Just Displeasure Both of Stripes & Confinement, doth humbly Implore Your Worships Pardon and do faithfully Promise never to be Guilty of any such Offence for the future. We beg of Your Worships Bounty & Goodness, To Release us from this Nautious Dungeon Wherein We now Ly In which Your Worships Humble Petitioners Will be ever Bound to Pray 28 day of May 1740 from the Dungeon in St Helena John Mills William Gray And according to the Prayer of their Letter they were this day Released At a Consultation held on Tuesday the 10 June 1740 at the Castle Present John Goodwin Esqr Governour Coake Crispe John Bazett Geo Gab Powell Jno Goodwin Junr Council Charls Boddam Augustus Townshend Matthew Bookey William Wesson Charles Gilbert Robert Jenkins Capt Ians The last Consultation was Read & Approved. On Friday Morning the 6 Instant the Bedford sailed hence for Bencoolen The Governour Reports that on Saturday Morning John Fuller Surgeon of Ship Bedford came & delivered him self up, & on Saturday Morning William Villeno his mate delivered himself up likewise, And he Ordered them to Appear this day to give their Reasons for Deserting the Ship in so Scandalous a manner	John Mills and William Gray, who had this day received their punishment of stripes and confinement, petitioned the council for pardon. They promised never to be guilty of any such offence again and asked to be released from the dungeon where they now lay. The petition was signed by John Mills and William Gray, dated at the dungeon in St Helena 28 May 1740. The council released them this day as they had asked. At a consultation held at the castle on Tuesday 10 June 1740, Governor John Goodwin presided, with Councillors Duke Crispe, John Bazett, George Gabriel Powell and John Goodwin junior in attendance, together with the ships' captains Charles Braddam, Augustus Townshend, Matthew Bookey, William Wesson, Charles Gilbert and Robert Jenkins. The record of the previous meeting was read and approved. On Friday morning 6 June the <i>Bedford</i> sailed for Bencoolen. The Governor reported that on Saturday morning John Fuller surgeon of the <i>Bedford</i> gave himself up, and on Sunday morning William Villeno his mate gave himself up likewise. He had ordered them to appear this day to give their reasons for deserting the ship in so scandalous a manner. Interpretations The petition of Mills and Gray shows the ordinary end of a corporal sentence on the island, the men flogged and confined as the council had ordered a week before, then submitting a written plea of contrition to secure their release from the dungeon. The council's grant of it on the same day, once the punishment was carried out, marks the confinement as fixed to the whipping rather than open-ended, the men held only until the sentence was executed and then let go on their promise of good behaviour. The surrender of the <i>Bedford's</i> surgeon and his mate after the ship had already sailed for Bencoolen left the two deserters stranded on the island, their vessel gone and themselves now answerable to the council for quitting her. That the ship departed without them, despite the captain's earlier refusal to sail without his medical men, shows the pressure of the fixed convoy timetable finally overriding his want of a surgeon, the <i>Bedford</i> released on 6 June and the runaways giving themselves up too late to rejoin her, their fate now resting with the island authority they had defied.
23	20	as they did And they Presented themselves Accordingly, who on being asked why they did not Proceed the Voyage According to the Contract. John Fuller answered as follows viz That Capt Wells at Portsmouth shewed a Coldness to him, & when at sea often Contradicted him in his Business, giving him frequently the Lye, telling him he was an Ignorant Scandalous fellow, and this upon Deck before the Ships Company, not once or twice, but this was the daily treatment he Received	The two men appeared before the council as ordered, and on being asked why they had not gone on the voyage according to their contract, John Fuller answered as follows. Fuller said that Captain Wells had shown him coldness at Portsmouth, and once at sea had frequently contradicted him in his work, often giving him the lie and calling him an ignorant and scandalous fellow, not once or twice but as the daily treatment he had of him. The captain had often told him that as soon as they reached St Helena he would be discharged. Shortly before they came to the island the captain asked him to write a letter requesting his discharge and to give some plausible reason for it, and knew of none better than the state of his health, which after their arrival Fuller

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		from him, And that the Capt often told him that as soon as they arrived at St Helena he should be Discharged, And a short before they came to this Island the Capt desired him to Write a Letter Requesting his Discharge, and Assign some Plausible Reason for so doing, and knew of none better than on Account of his health which after their Arrival at this Place, he John Fuller Acquiesced with and wrote a Letter desiring his Discharge Accordingly, But Capt Wells haveing Altered his Resolution, answered that he would by no means Discharge him, upon which he would have applyed to the Governour & Council & made known his Grievances to them, but from his thorough Knowledge of Capt Wells disposition he was Persuaded he would have given such fair Promises of better treatment for the time to come, as might Induce the Governour & Council to Credit him, & advise him John Fullers Proceeding the Voyage, which he would by no means trust to, knowing it would be only putting it in Capt Wells Power to Repeat his Ill Usage, & treat him Worse if Possible, and which he would rather dye than Suffer, therefore chose to Abscond during the Bedfords stay here, he saith that Capt Wells had in some Measure Discharged him by taking the Keys of the Medecine Chest from him And Ordering William Villeno his Mate to take Charge of the Sick People And Publicly declared that he had not any further Use for, or Dependence upon him John Fuller, Upon being asked where he had been & Who had Secreted him, he Answered that no Person whatsoever knew where he Lay hid or had Assisted him in any Respect, that he had Lived upon Bread & Cheese, which he took care to fill his Pockett with, And Sulked Sometimes under one Rock and Sometimes under Another. William Villeno Surgeons Mate of Ship Bedford was asked the Reason why he Deserted the said Ship and	agreed to and accordingly wrote a letter asking to be discharged. Captain Wells, having by then changed his mind, answered that he would by no means discharge him. Fuller would have applied to the Governor and council and laid his grievances before them, but from his thorough knowledge of the captain's disposition he was persuaded the captain would have given such fair promises of better treatment for the time to come as might induce them to believe him, and to advise Fuller to go on the voyage, which he would by no means trust to. Knowing it would only put it in the captain's power to repeat his ill usage, and expecting worse if possible, and choosing rather to die than suffer it, he chose to hide during the <i>Bedford's</i> stay. He said the captain had in some measure discharged him already by taking the keys of the medicine chest from him and ordering William Villeno his mate to take charge of the sick, and had publicly declared he had no further use for him, or dependence upon him. On being asked where he had been and who had concealed him, Fuller answered that no person whatsoever knew where he lay hidden or had helped him in any way, that he had lived on bread and cheese, which he took care to fill his pockets with, and had skulked sometimes under one rock and sometimes under another. William Villeno, surgeon's mate of the <i>Bedford</i>, was asked the reason why he had deserted the ship. Interpretations Fuller's account lays open the working relationship aboard an East Indiaman between a commander and a subordinate officer he had turned against, the surgeon describing a campaign of daily humiliation and a captain who first promised his discharge and then, having extracted a letter framing it on grounds of health, withheld it. The detail of the letter is telling, the captain wanting the parting dressed up in a plausible reason rather than left to rest on his own displeasure, so that the record would show a surgeon leaving for his health rather than a commander driving out a man he had taken against. Fuller's refusal to lay his case before the Governor turned on a shrewd reading of how such a hearing would go, his conviction that the captain's fair promises would win the council over and see him sent back aboard to face worse than before. The point exposes the limit of the island authority as a refuge for an ill-used seaman, Fuller judging that the council would take the commander's word and return him to the ship, and preferring to live hidden on bread and cheese under the rocks than trust to a justice he expected to side with the master. His insistence that no one had helped him shielded the inhabitants from the penalty the council had published against any who concealed him.
24	21	And Answered as follows viz that about six Weeks or three Months after they left England he Wanted Water for the Sick Men, And the Capt Ordered it to be taken Out of his Jar, but upon asking for three Quarts the Capt told him that he would by nomeans afford so Large a Quantity for any one Person, some time after the sick Men Complained they had not Water Enough, And the Capt Enquired of William Villeno the occasion of the Want, when he Related to the Capt what had Passed between them Concerning Water as above upon which the Capt abused him by Calling him Scoundrell & Ever after Suffered the Ships Company to treat him Ill. And Upon being asked where he had Secreated himself during the	Villeno answered as follows. About six weeks or three months after they left England he wanted water for the sick men, and the captain ordered it taken out of his own share. On asking for three quarts the captain told him he would by no means allow so large a quantity for any one person. Some time after, the sick men complained they had not water enough, and the captain asked Villeno the cause of the want. When Villeno told him what had passed between them concerning the water, the captain abused him by calling him a scoundrel and ever after let the ship's company treat him ill. On being asked where he had hidden himself during the <i>Bedford's</i> stay in the road, he answered that he had hidden among rocks and unfrequented places and lived on a hard kenchaf of bread he had brought from the ship. The council resolved that John Fuller and William Villeno be confined on the main guard, so as to discover whether any person had helped them in their flight or not.

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		Bedfords Stay in the Road he Answered that he had hid amongst Rocks & Unfrequented Places And lived upon a Hard kercha of Bread which he had Brought from the Ship. Resolved. That they the said John Fuller and William Villeno be Confined upon the Main Guard in Order to make them Discover whether any Person has been Aiding or Assisting them in their Elopement or not. On Sunday the 8 Instant Arrived a French Ship from Pondicherry called the Duke de Orleaus Burthen 600 tons, 28 Guns & 140 Men Loaded chiefly with Bale Goods & Bound to Port Lewis Commanded by & Messr La Chesnay Who Produced his Commission dated 17 October 1738 & Signed by the Court of Portugne Admiral of France, they Requested Water & Provisions the first was Granted but the latter Refused as not having any to spare, nor were they Suffered to come into the Road but Obligated to Ride off Mundens Point. On Monday the 9 Instant Arrived the Harrington Captain Robert Jenkins And brought Us the following Supplys from Bombay Vizt	On Sunday 8 June a French ship arrived from Pondicherry. She was called the <i>Duke de Orleans</i>, of 600 tons burthen, 28 guns and 140 men, loaded chiefly with bale goods and bound for Port Lorient, commanded by Monsieur La Chossay, who produced his commission dated 17 October 1738 and signed by the Count of Toulouse, Admiral of France. They asked for water and provisions. The first was granted but the second refused, the island having none to spare, nor were they allowed into the road but obliged to ride off Munden's Point. On Monday 9 June the <i>Harrington</i>, Captain Robert Jenkins, arrived and brought the following supplies from Bombay. Interpretations Villeno's account turns on the rationing of water aboard a crowded East Indiaman, the sick men's need pitted against the captain's control of a scarce and vital store, and the surgeon's mate punished for having exposed where the shortage lay. His treatment shows how a subordinate who spoke up on the crew's behalf could be marked out for abuse and left to the ship's company's ill will, the same pattern of a commander turning against a medical officer that Fuller had described, the two men's separate accounts corroborating each other. The refusal to admit the French ship to the road, allowing her water but no provisions and keeping her at Munden's Point, reflects the guarded reception the island gave an armed vessel of a power that was not an ally, the year's tension with France making the council wary of letting a well-gunned stranger anchor among its own shipping. That her commander produced a commission signed by the Admiral of France shows she sailed as a properly authorised vessel rather than a privateer, yet the island still granted only the water that custom and humanity required and denied her the freedom of the anchorage, admitting the claim of a ship in need of water while conceding nothing that might compromise its own security.
25	22	Invoice p Harrington Batavia Arack vizt 3 Leag Batavia Arack of 480 Gall @ 40 p Leag 270 0s 0d Bengall Rice vizt 23 bags Cont 130 Sr Wt @ 1r 24 p Sr Wt 159 0s 0d 429 0s 0d Charges Mdz Amt to 31 8s 18d Rupees 450 3s 18d The Storekeeper Reports that there are many Sorts of Damaged Goods in the Honble Companies Stores, wherefore in Consequence of the 12 Paragraph of the General Letter p Bedford the following advertizement was Published Vizt This is to give Notice that on Thursday the 12 Instant will be sold at Publick Outcry sundry Damaged Goods belonging to the Honourable East India Company Particulars vizt 2 Laced Hatts 2 Plain Do 1 Pr long Cloth 11 Pr Chellev 7 Pr Boys Stockings 3 Pr Womins 6 Pr Mens Knit 10 Pr Mr Wove 16 Pr Guils 2 Pr Sustain 21 Pr Bengall Taffety 17 Yards Flannell	The invoice of goods from the <i>Harrington</i> covered Batavia arrack and Bengal rice, as set out below. 3 leaguers of Batavia arrack of 480 gallons at 90 rupees the leaguer, 270 rupees 0 fanams 0 cash 23 bags of Bengal rice, 150 St wt at 1 rupee 24 fanams the St wt, 159 rupees 0 fanams 0 cash 429 rupees 0 fanams 0 cash Charges merchandise amounting to, 31 rupees 3 fanams 18 cash Rupees, 450 rupees 3 fanams 18 cash The storekeeper reported that there were many sorts of damaged goods in the Honourable Company's stores. Following the twelfth paragraph of the general letter carried by the <i>Bedford</i>, the council published the following advertisement. The council gave notice that on Thursday 12 June sundry damaged goods belonging to the Honourable East India Company would be sold at public outcry, the particulars being as follows. 2 laced hats 2 plain hats 1 piece of long cloth 11 pieces of chelloe 7 dozen boys' stockings 3 dozen women's stockings 6 dozen men's knit stockings 10 pieces of milled worsted 16 dozen girdles 2 dozen fustian 21 pieces of Bengal taffety 17 yards of flannel lines, mohair and buttons 238 pairs of shoes 10 pairs of old slippers and shoes pattens and lashes

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		Laces Ribair & Buttons Money 238 Pr Shoes, 10 Pr Old Slippers & a Pr Shatterlashes 93 Pr Bayes Jupatty & Baddice 160 Pr Ferne 80's Shoe Shreed 7½ Pr Bemalls Bunting Silk Drugged Gld & Silver Buttons & Gild & Silver Lorst 118 Pr Madrass Chints Pallampores Allejar 15 & a Pr Silk 64 Blue Linnen Pr Norwich Taffe Where are all Persons are free to bid & Buy for Ready NB. The Goods are Exposed to View Between the hours of 10 & 11 in the Morning in the Honble Companys Warehouses By Order of the Worshipfull the Governour & Council. G G Powell Secry	93 pieces of stays, japps and bodices 160 pieces of ferret, 80 to the shoe thread 7 pieces of camlets bunting silk drugget old and silver buttons and gold and silver lace 118 pieces of Madras chintz palampores alliar, 15 pieces at 4 pieces silk 64 pieces of blue linen pieces of Norwich stuff money All persons were free to come and bid and buy for ready money. The goods might be viewed between the hours of ten and eleven in the morning in the Honourable Company's warehouses. The notice was issued by order of the Governor and council and signed by George Gabriel Powell, secretary. Interpretations The sale by public outcry disposed of Company textiles and goods spoiled in store, the damaged stock cleared off at open auction for ready money rather than kept to rot or written wholly off, the island recovering what value it could from cloth and wares that damp and time had marred. The list is a conspectus of the Indian piece goods the Company traded in, chelloe, taffety, Madras chintz, palampores, alliar and Norwich stuff among them, the woven cottons and mixed stuffs of the eastern trade that made up the bulk of its outward and homeward cargoes, sold here in their damaged remnants to whoever on the island would buy. Palampores were the large painted or printed cotton bed covers of the Coromandel coast, chintz the glazed printed calico, and alliar and chelloe among the many named sorts of Indian cotton piece goods distinguished by weave, width and pattern, while Norwich stuff was the worsted cloth of the English city shipped east as a European manufacture. The requirement that everything be sold for ready money reflects the island's want of a settled currency and the council's concern to turn spoiled stock straight into cash rather than extend credit, the sale conducted openly in the warehouses at a fixed viewing hour so all buyers dealt on the same footing.
26	23	In Conformity to the 31 Paragraph of the General Letter p Bedford Mr Powell gave Publick Notice by Advertisment that Mr Samuel Fazakerlys Effects would be sold at Outcry And they were accordingly sold last Week, And the Account Sale this day brought before Us Amounting in the Whole to the sum of £346 18 - as p Account Current under Written the Ballance of which paid into Our hands for the Use of the Honble Company is following Vizt Dr The Estate of Samuel Fazakerley deced Cr To Sundry disbursments as p Account Particulars dated 10 June 1739 & transmitted to William Fazakerly Esqr last year 61 8s 7d To Ballance paid into the hands of the Governour & Council p p the Honourable Companys Orders in Manner following Vizt Cash £234 18s 10d Transfers in the Honble Companys Books in favour of Matthew Purling 11 16s 0d Do in favour of John French 13 0s 0d Do in favour of Jno Goodwin	Following the thirty-first paragraph of the general letter carried by the <i>Bedford</i>, Councillor Powell gave public notice by advertisement that the effects of Samuel Fazakerley would be sold at outcry, and they were accordingly sold the previous week. The account of the sale was brought before the council this day, amounting in the whole to £346 18s 0d. The balance of the account current set out below, which was paid into the council's hands for the use of the Honourable Company, was as follows. The estate of Samuel Fazakerley, deceased, was reckoned as set out below. Debtor To sundry disbursements as per account of particulars dated 10 June 1739 and transmitted to William Fazakerley last year, £61 8s 7d To balance paid into the hands of the Governor and council for the Honourable Company's orders as follows: Cash, £234 8s 10d Transfer in the Honourable Company's books in favour of Matthew Darling, £11 16s 0d Ditto in favour of John French, £13 0s 0d Ditto in favour of John Goodwin, £22 14s 6d £282 9s 5d £346 18s 0d Creditor By the account sales at public outcry of sundry effects which were appraised at £190 7s 7d and produced, £228 11s 0d

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		Junr 22 14s 6d 282 9s 5d 316 18s 0d By Account Sales at Publick Outcry of Sundry Effects which were Appraized at 190 7 7 and Produced £228 11s 0d By Do of 263 Pr Wt Mince @ 9d pr Pr Wt 118 7s 0d 316 18s 0d St Helena 10 June 1740 Errors Excepted G G Powell NB The Rings & Snuff Box incerted in the Inventory without Appraizment were Exposed at Outcry Agreeable to the Honble Companys Instructions but as they were Familey Matters no Person would Bid upon what they were set up at & I bought them for Deceaseds Children. G G Powell	By ditto of 263 tael 7 mace at 9s the tael, £118 7s 0d £346 18s 0d The account was closed at St Helena on 10 June 1740, errors excepted, and signed by George Gabriel Powell. The account carried a note. The ring and snuff box entered in the inventory without appraisement were exposed at outcry following the Honourable Company's instructions, but being family matters no person would bid on them. What they were set up at, the council allowed to the deceased's children, signed by George Gabriel Powell. Interpretations The account settles the estate of a Company servant who had died on the island, his goods appraised, sold at public outcry and the proceeds gathered with the cash and book credits into a single balance handed to the council for the Company's account. The mechanism shows how the estate of one who died in the Company's service was wound up on the spot, the effects turned into money, the debts and transfers to other servants set against the whole, and the net balance held by the council pending the directors' orders, a portion of it reckoned in tael at nine shillings the tael, the silver returned from the China trade valued into sterling as part of the deceased's assets. The council's decision to let the deceased's children keep the ring and snuff box no one would bid for reflects a limit to the strict disposal of an estate, the sentimental goods that would have fetched nothing at auction quietly restored to the family rather than pressed to a sale that served no purpose. The note that these were family matters on which no person would bid shows the community declining to profit from a dead colleague's personal keepsakes, the council exercising a discretion to hand them back once the auction had shown they had no market value, tempering the Company's instruction to expose everything to sale with a regard for the children left behind.
27	24	At a Consultation held on Tuesday the 17 June 1740 at the Castle Present John Goodwin Esqr Governour Captain Charles Boddam of Ship Walpole Captain Augustus Townshend of Ship Augusta Captain Thomas Coates of Ship Defence Captain Charles Gilbert of Ship Lynn Captain Matthew Bookey of Ship Shaftsbury Captain William Crumpston of Ship Duke of Somerset Coake Crispe 2 of Council John Bazett 3 of Council Geo Gab Powell 4 of Council John Goodwin Junr 5 of Council The last Consultation was Read & Approved The Governour Reports that on Saturday last he Received the following Letter viz To the Worshipfull John Goodwin Esqr & his Council Sirs Our Severe Confinement obliges Us to address you on this head, First We remain unacquainted whether Our Absence from Our Ships, or our Unconcerned, of whome considred is the motive, As to the latter We hope you'll Please to believe the truth of Our already given answer, and in Respect to the other, We should have attempted to have spoken more fully, and as we hope more Satisfactory to You, had not the number of Commendores Present in Your Councils, and some of whome distinguishing themselves	At a consultation held at the castle on Tuesday 17 June 1740, Governor John Goodwin presided, with Councillors Duke Crispe, John Bazett, George Gabriel Powell and John Goodwin junior in attendance, together with the ships' captains Charles Braddam of the <i>Walpole</i>, Augustus Townshend of the <i>Augusta</i>, Thomas Coates of the <i>Defence</i>, Charles Gilbert of the <i>Lynn</i>, Matthew Bookey of the <i>Shaftsbury</i> and William Crompton of the <i>Duke de Orleans</i>. The record of the previous meeting was read and approved. The Governor reported that on the previous Saturday he received the following letter. Fuller and Villeno wrote jointly to the Governor and council, their harsh confinement obliging them to address that point. First, they remained unsure whether their absence from the ship or their unconformity was the cause of their being held, whichever was meant. As to the latter, they hoped the council would believe the truth of the answers they had already given, and as to the former they should have tried to speak more fully, and as they hoped more to the council's satisfaction, had the number of commanders present in the council not been so great. Some of these, they said, distinguished themselves greatly and, being in their view not members of the council and their case not pertinent to them, they were persuaded the commanders were swayed. As to the humanity of the council, they trusted it would not suffer the practices of partial men to have their way, and, the case not being pertinent to them, an example could only be wanted to be made of two unfortunate men to gratify the ambitious humours of those who might lash out when

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		Our Enemies, greatly Suprizd Us, as We judged them not Members of that Board, And Our case not all Pertinent to them, But as We are Persuaded Gentlemen, from the great Opinion We have of your Humanity, & will not Suffer the Endeavours of Partial men to have Effect, who, as we Observed before the case not being Pertinent to them, can only want an Example made of Us Unfortunate Men, to gratify their ambitious humours, that they may have Flattery in their Absolute word, We hope We may be Delivered from Our Slavery and against [...] doubting Gentlemen you are now also of the Opinion that the English History, which to be sure our Case, Criminals in their Imprisonment have never as we We yet have heard, been Prevented the free and uninterrupted Converse of such as they Please, Traytors indeed have, but Neither	they pleased so as to have flattery at their absolute will. They hoped they might be delivered from such flattery, and doubted not the council was of the opinion that English history furnished no precedent for their case. Criminals in their imprisonment, they had never heard, had the free and uninterrupted converse of such as they pleased, and traitors indeed had, but neither. Interpretations The letter turns on the two men's objection to the composition of the body sitting in judgement on them, their complaint that six ships' captains sat with the council when, on their argument, the commanders were no proper members of it and had a stake in seeing an example made. The point exposes the awkwardness of the enlarged consultation, the Governor's ordinary council swelled by the masters of the ships then in the road, so that men accused of deserting one of those very ships faced a tribunal in which fellow commanders of the deserted service sat, and could plausibly claim the judges were not impartial. The prisoners' appeal to English history and to the treatment of criminals and traitors shows two ordinary seamen reaching for the language of legal precedent and natural justice to resist their confinement, arguing that even convicted felons kept the liberty of free converse they were now denied. The rhetorical turn, likening their close confinement to a severity beyond what the law visited on the worst offenders, was their attempt to shame the council into easing their treatment, casting the commanders as partial men indulging ambitious humours rather than administering justice, and the council as bound by humanity to check them.
28	25	neither of which we are Judged in the Present case, As yet no one Gentleman has so much as Attempted to Prove wherein we have Penally Offended the Honble Company, And we humbly beg leave to declare with the greatest difference Gentlemen to your Judgments an oppinions in Regard to the Orders directed to the Governours and Councils of the Companys Settlements, all Persons being by the Laws of England, Reason and Justice allowed to Support their Liberty or Oppose Imprisonments by any Reasons they can offer, that however Expressiue the Teams of Such Orders may be which directs that all Persons absenting themselves from their Ships be Imprisoned, And after that sent to the Fortifications to Labour, our beleif is they are intended only as Discretionary Ones, First for as that there never was a President throughout their Settlements that Men have been Enslaved, or even imprisoned after the Departure of their Ships for their Absensenting themselves, There have indeed been many instances of their Confinement untill the Ships Departure, and that Corporal Punishment has been inflicted, but even that Commanders know has unanswerable it has been, Secondly the Reasons the Honble Company never beleived, But that Gentlemen would have the greatest Regard to their Interests, and not leave their Ships but upon Extraordinary Ill treatment, which humanity teaches Us not to fadd, And that therefore	The letter continued that neither of these applied in their present case. As yet no gentleman had so much as attempted to prove where they had really offended the Honourable Company, and they begged leave to declare, with the greatest deference, their judgement on the orders directed to the governors and councils of the Company's settlements. Every person being under the laws of England, reason and justice allowed them to defend their liberty or resist imprisonment by any argument they could offer. However strong the terms of such orders might be that directed all persons absenting themselves from their ships to be imprisoned and afterwards sent to the fortifications to labour, they believed these were meant only as discretionary. First, there never was a precedent throughout the settlements that men had been enslaved or imprisoned after the departure of their ships for absenting themselves. There had indeed been many instances of confinement until a ship's departure, and of corporal punishment inflicted, but even that, the commanders knew, had been unanswerable. Second, they held that the Honourable Company never believed gentlemen would have the greatest regard to their own interests, and would not leave their ships except upon extraordinary ill treatment, which humanity taught the council not to fault, and that therefore such orders did not extend to them. Third, they held such orders repugnant to the known laws of England. As to Captain Wells, they would be content to say no more of him than that his ill treatment of one of his officers the last voyage, who now commanded one of the Company's ships, was, they believed, very well known. On the whole, they begged the council to consider the circumstances of their case and hoped the result would be their release, since no labouring under the harshest hardships would have taken the same chance to extricate himself. Whatever the result might be, they prayed it not be so delayed, and submitted themselves to such disposal as the council in its great wisdom should think fitting, recommending themselves to its clemency. The letter was signed by John Fuller and William Villeno, dated 14 June 1740.

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		such Orders does not Extend to them, Thirdly that such Orders are repugnant to the known Laws of England, As to Captain Wells Gentlemen We shall be content with saying no more of him, than that his Ill treatment, to one of his Officers last Voyage, who has now the Command of one of the Companys Ships, is we Apprehend very well known, Upon the whole we humbly beg the to have the Circumstances of Our case Considered, and hope the Result thereof will be our Release, for who Labouring under the Redresse hard ships would not have taken the same Opportunety to extricate himself, but however the Result may be, which pray & Ime not to Delay, we submit Our selves to such Disposal as you in Your great Wisdom shall think fitting, And with the greatest respect to the Honble Company, and Yourselves, recommending Ourselves to Your Clemency who are. Worshipfull Sir Do June 14 1740 Your most devoted humble Servants Jo Fuller Tho Villenau Whereupon	Interpretations The prisoners' central legal argument was that the standing order to imprison and set to hard labour any man who absented himself from his ship was discretionary rather than mandatory, and did not reach men who had fled genuine ill usage. They drew a careful line between confinement until a ship sailed, which they conceded was established practice, and imprisonment with forced labour after the ship had gone, for which they claimed no precedent existed anywhere in the settlements, pressing the council to read the directors' order narrowly and treat their flight as the justified act of ill-treated men rather than the desertion the order was aimed at. Their appeal that every person stood under the laws of England, and that such an order was repugnant to those laws, shows two seamen invoking the constitutional principle that a company regulation could not override the common law protections of an English subject. The argument reached beyond a plea for mercy to a challenge to the council's authority itself, contending that the directors' instruction, however strongly worded, could bind only so far as English law allowed, and that to enslave or imprison them at the fortifications after their ship had sailed would exceed what any lawful order could command. Speculations The two men chose to fight their confinement with a reasoned legal argument on the limits of the Company's authority rather than rest on the simple plea for mercy their situation might have suggested. The obvious course for two stranded seamen at the council's disposal was submission and appeal to clemency, which they offered only at the very close. Instead they built their case on precedent and the laws of England, disputing that the directors' order reached them at all, a bold line for men wholly in the council's power. The calculation was that a bare plea for mercy left everything to the council's discretion, whereas an argument that the law forbade their punishment might constrain that discretion, and the pointed reminder of Captain Wells's known reputation was meant to make the council doubt whether an example made of them would reflect well on the service.
29	26	Whereupon John Fuller & Thomas Villeau were Ordered to Appear when being asked why they Presumed to Prescribe Rules to the Governour & Council & take upon them who should & Should not be set at Council, they answered that they conceived their Circumstances no ways Pertinent to the Commanders of the Ships in the Road & desired the Governour & Council only would take Cognizance of it, they were further asked their Reasons for Aspersing the Commanders in so Notorious a manner as appears in their Letter, And Answered that they Apprehended the Capt would be too severe upon them, but as the same time could not Charge any of them with Particular Acts of Severity in any shape, however as it appeared to the Gentlemen that the both the doctor & doctors mate were very Simple People & were instigated to Write this Letter by some Male Contents, they were Inclind to Excuse it, Provided if Fuller & his Mate would Acknowledge their Error & ask Pardon, which they absolutely Refused, Whereupon the Captains Unanimously Ruled that they should be Demanded Back	John Fuller and William Villeno were ordered to appear before the council, and on being asked why they had presumed to prescribe rules to the Governor and council on who should and should not sit at the meeting, they answered that they thought their circumstances no way pertinent to the commanders of the ships in the road and wished only the Governor and council to take cognizance of the matter. They were further asked their reasons for aspersing the commanders so notoriously, as their letter had done. They answered that they feared the captains would be too severe upon them, but at the same time could not charge any of them with particular acts of severity in any shape. It appeared to the council, however, that both the surgeon and his mate were very simple people who had been urged to write the letter by some malicious persons. The council was inclined to excuse them, provided Fuller and his mate would acknowledge their error and ask pardon, which they absolutely refused. The captains then unanimously resolved that the two be sent back to the guard house from where they came, to be held until they asked pardon, and they were accordingly delivered into the custody of the guard. The ship <i>Duke de Lorraine</i>, Captain William Crompton, arrived on 11 June from Madras and brought with her the following supplies. The invoice of goods from the <i>Duke de Lorraine</i> covered factors' provisions, as set out below. Arrack, 12 casks at 11 pagodas 12 fanams the cask, 136 pagodas 0 fanams 0 cash

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		to the Guard House again from whence they came untill they ask Pardon, And were accordingly delivered in Custody of the Guard. The Ship Duke of Lorain Capt William Crumpston Arived here the 11 Instant from Madrass and Brought with her the following Supply Vizt Invoice p Duke of Lorain Factors Provisions Arrack 12 Casks @ 11 12s p Cask 136 0s 0d Rice 32 Bags of 236 @ 10 Wt p Pagoda 23 21s 48d 161 21s 48d Charges Mdz amont to 3 4s 60d Pagodas 164 26s 28d	Rice, 32 bags of 256 St wt at 10 St wt the pagoda, 23 pagodas 21 fanams 48 cash 161 pagodas 21 fanams 48 cash Charges merchandise amounting to, 3 pagodas 4 fanams 60 cash Pagodas, 164 pagodas 26 fanams 28 cash Interpretations The council's handling of the two men shows the tribunal it had objected to turning the objection back on them, the captains they had aspersed now unanimously voting their return to confinement until they submitted. The requirement was not that they suffer further punishment but that they acknowledge their error and ask pardon, a demand for submission to the authority they had challenged, and their absolute refusal to make it left them held indefinitely, the council converting the dispute from the original desertion into a straightforward contest over whether the men would bow to its will. The council's judgement that the two were simple people led astray by malicious persons served to soften the confrontation while preserving the council's position, casting the seamen as dupes rather than authors of the offensive letter and offering them an escape through a simple apology. The refusal of even that escape shows how far the men would go in standing on their argument, choosing continued imprisonment over the admission of error the council held out to them, so that what had begun as a dispute over desertion hardened into a plain trial of obstinacy against authority.
<u>30</u>	27	The Last Will & Testament of James Harding was this Proved And is as follows Viz In the name of God amen. This third day of March 1739 40 I James Harding Corporal of the Island St Helena being sick & Weak of Body but of Perfect mind & memory do make & Appoint this my last Will & Testament that is to say first & Principally I give & recommend my Soul into the Hands of Almighty God, My Body I commit to the Earth to be Buried in a Christian like & Decent manner, my Worldly Goods wherewith it hath Pleasd God to Bless me with I give & Dispose of in the following manner Imprimis after my debts & funeral Charges are fully paid And Satisfied I give & Bequeath to my Well beloved Wife the one third part of my Whole Estate. Item the other two thirds of my Estate I give to my well beloved son John and the Child my said Wife is big with be it either Male or Female to be Equally divided between them as they shall come to Age or Marriage. And Whereas I have sold the Lands I Possess in Order to take Passage with my Family on the next Outward bound Ship for Bencoolen that if my said Wife should proceed on the said Ship to Bencoolen that then I Nominate & Appoint my Good friend Edward Bagley, who also intends the same Passage, whole & Sole Executor to this my Will, But in case she do not go off this Island as aforementioned that then I Appoint my Good friend Gabriel Harper to be Whole & Sole Executor, Revoking and disannulling all former Will or Wills by me made Ratifying & Confirming this and no other to be my last Will & Testament. Signed Seald & Deliverd	The last will and testament of James Harding was proved this day and ran as follows. James Harding, corporal of the island of St Helena, made his will on 3 March 1739, being sick and weak in body but of sound mind and memory. He first commended his soul into the hands of Almighty God and directed that his body be buried in a Christian and decent manner, and disposed of his worldly goods in the following way. After his debts and funeral charges were fully paid, he gave one third of his whole estate to his wife. The other two thirds he gave to his son John and to the child his wife was then carrying, whether male or female, to be equally divided between them as they came of age or married. Harding had sold the lands he held in order to take passage with his family on the next outward-bound ship for Bencoolen. If his wife proceeded on that ship to Bencoolen, he named his friend Edward Bagley, who intended the same passage, sole executor of the will. But if she did not leave the island, he appointed his friend Gabriel Harper sole executor. He revoked all former wills and declared this alone to be his last will and testament. The will was signed, sealed and delivered by James Harding in the presence of John Scott, Samuel Alexander and Richard Beale. Interpretations The will shows the ordinary provision a man of the garrison made for his family, a corporal dividing his estate by the common pattern of a third to the widow and the remainder to the children, including the unborn child, the division to take effect as they reached adulthood or married. The care to name the child his wife was carrying, and to provide for it equally whether son or daughter, reflects the practical drafting of a man settling his affairs in sickness with a birth still to come, ensuring no child would be left out by the accident of not yet being born. The double appointment of executors, turning on whether the widow sailed for Bencoolen or stayed, shows the will framed around an intended family migration that death might interrupt. Harding had already sold his island lands to fund the passage, so his estate was money and movable goods rather than

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		in the Presence of Us James Harding Jno Scott Saml Alexander Richd Beale	property, and the choice of executor was made to depend on where his widow would be, one friend to act if she went east with the family and another if she remained on the island. The provision reveals a man of the settlements whose life was bound to the Company's movement between its stations, arranging his affairs against the uncertainty of a voyage he might not live to make.
31	28	At a Consultation held on Thursday the 19 June 1740 at the Castle. Present John Goodwin Esqr Governour Coake Crispe John Bazett Geo Gab Powell John Goodwin Junr The last Consultation was Read & approved Agreeable to the Advertizement Published the 10 Instant We this day Offered to Sale Sundry of the Honble Companys Damaged Goods but with very Indifferent Success for after continuing the Outcry best Part of the day We were not able to dispose of more than these following Particulars Vizt 1 Silver Laced Hatt 2 Plain do £1 3s 0d 1 Pr Long Cloth £0 17s 0d 9 Pr Chellew £3 3s 0d 1 Pr Bemall Handkerchiefs £0 7s 6d 7 Pr Boys Stockings £0 0s 6d 3 Pr Womens Scarlett £0 12s 6d 3 Pr Womens Worsted £0 1s 0d 16 Pr Guils Stockings £1 2s 6d 12 Pr Boys Shoes £1 7s 6d 10 Pr Mens Wove Stockings £0 15s 1d 6 Pr Sast £1 3s 6d 1 Pallampore £0 7s 0d 20 Yards Bunting £0 6s 8d 4 Pr Madrass Chints £1 16s 0d 4 Pr Shickeed £0 7s 6d 2 Pr Spatterdashes £0 10s 0d £14 4s 3d The Governour, the Gunner & Steward delivered each their Accounts for the Month of May last which were Severally Examined & Proved and are as follows Vizt	At a consultation held at the castle on Thursday 19 June 1740, Governor John Goodwin presided, with Councillors Duke Crispe, John Bazett, George Gabriel Powell and John Goodwin junior in attendance. The record of the previous meeting was read and approved. Following the advertisement published on the tenth of the month, the council this day offered to sale sundry of the Honourable Company's damaged goods, but with very poor success. After keeping the auction going the best part of the day, the council was able to dispose of no more than the following items. 1 silver-laced hat 2 plain hats, £1 3s 0d 1 piece of long cloth, £0 17s 0d 9 pieces of chelloe, £3 3s 0d 1 dozen bandana handkerchiefs, £0 7s 6d 7 dozen boys' stockings, £0 0s 6d 3 dozen women's stockings, £0 12s 6d 3 dozen women's worsted stockings, £0 1s 0d 16 pieces of girdle stockings, £0 1s 0d 12 pairs boys' shoes, £1 2s 6d 10 pairs men's worsted stockings, £1 7s 6d 6 pieces of stays, £0 15s 1d 1 palampore, £1 3s 6d 20 yards of bunting, £0 7s 0d 9 pieces of Madras chintz, £0 6s 8d 16 pieces of thicksett, £1 16s 0d 2 pieces of spatterdashes, £0 7s 6d £0 10s 0d £14 4s 3d The Governor, the gunner and the steward each delivered their accounts for the month of May, which were separately examined and approved and ran as follows. Interpretations The poor return of the sale confirms the difficulty of clearing damaged Company stock on a small island, a full day's auction disposing of barely fourteen pounds' worth from the long list of spoiled goods put up, the market for marred textiles among the island's few buyers plainly thin. The result shows the limit of the outcry as a means of recovering value, the greater part of the damaged stock remaining unsold despite the day given to it, and the Company left holding cloth and wares that even at auction prices found no takers. Thicksett was a stout twilled cotton cloth with a close pile, used for hard-wearing breeches and coats, and bandanas were the spotted silk handkerchiefs of the India trade, dyed by tying off the pattern before colouring. Spatterdashes were the long gaiters worn over the leg and shoe to keep off mud, and bunting the loosely woven worsted from which flags and signal colours were made, the mixture of piece goods, ready garments and ships' materials showing the range of the Company's imported stores exposed together at the sale.
32	29	Account of the Honourable Companys Stock of Cattle &c for the Month of May 1740 Vizt Bullocks, Cows, Heiffers, Steers, Yearlings, Calves, Bulls, Totall, Ews, Weathers, Lambs, Rams, Totall, Ews, Weathers, Kids, Rams, Totall, Sows, Shoates, Piggs, Boares, Totall, Turkeys, Fowles, Ducks, Geese, Horses, Maires, Totall Remaining the 1 May: Bullocks 6, Cows 91, Heiffers 22, Steers 16, Yearlings 24, Calves 87, Bulls 4, Totall 250,	The account of the Honourable Company's stock of cattle and other livestock for the month of May 1740 was set out in columns headed, for neat cattle, bullocks, cows, heifers, steers, yearlings, calves, bull and total; for sheep, ewes, wethers, lambs, rams and total; for goats, ewes, wethers, kids, rams and total; for hogs, sows, shoats, pigs and boars, with a total; and for poultry, turkeys, fowls, ducks and geese, with the horses given as horses and mares with a total. The

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		Ews 32, Weathers 11, Lambs 20, Rams 4, Totall 87, Ews 22, Weathers 3, Kids 27, Rams 1, Totall 55, Sows 8, Shoates 7, Piggs 26, Boares 2, Totall 43, Turkeys 43, Fowles 90, Ducks 11, Geese 18, Horses 8, Maires 16, Totall 24 Increased in Do: Bullocks 0, Cows 0, Heiffers 0, Steers 0, Yearlings 0, Calves 4, Bulls 0, Totall 4, Ews 0, Weathers 0, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Totall 0, Ews 0, Weathers 0, Kids 4, Rams 0, Totall 4, Sows 0, Shoates 0, Piggs 0, Boares 0, Totall 0, Turkeys 0, Fowles 0, Ducks 0, Geese 0, Horses 0, Maires 0, Totall 0 Killed in Do: Bullocks 6, Cows 91, Heiffers 22, Steers 16, Yearlings 24, Calves 91, Bulls 4, Totall 254, Ews 32, Weathers 11, Lambs 20, Rams 4, Totall 87, Ews 22, Weathers 3, Kids 31, Rams 1, Totall 59, Sows 8, Shoates 7, Piggs 26, Boares 2, Totall 43, Turkeys 43, Fowles 90, Ducks 11, Geese 18, Horses 8, Maires 16, Totall 24 Bullocks 6, Sows 8, Piggs 47, Boares 11, Turkeys 1, Fowles 1, Ducks 1, Geese 6, Horses 21, Maires 2 Died in Do: Bullocks 0, Cows 0, Heiffers 1, Steers 1, Yearlings 0, Calves 0, Bulls 0, Totall 8, Ews 0, Weathers 0, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Totall 11, Ews 0, Weathers 0, Kids 0, Rams 0, Totall 1, Sows 0, Shoates 0, Piggs 0, Boares 0, Totall 1, Turkeys 0, Fowles 21, Ducks 0, Geese 2, Horses 0, Maires 0, Totall 0 Remaining 31 May: Bullocks 0, Cows 91, Heiffers 21, Steers 15, Yearlings 24, Calves 91, Bulls 4, Totall 246, Ews 18, Weathers 4, Lambs 20, Rams 4, Totall 76, Ews 22, Weathers 4, Kids 31, Rams 1, Totall 58, Sows 8, Shoates 6, Piggs 26, Boares 2, Totall 42, Turkeys 37, Fowles 69, Ducks 11, Geese 16, Horses 8, Maires 16, Totall 24 Died in Do: Bullocks 0, Cows 91, Heiffers 21, Steers 15, Yearlings 24, Calves 91, Bulls 4, Totall 246, Ews 17, Weathers 4, Lambs 20, Rams 4, Totall 75, Ews 22, Weathers 4, Kids 31, Rams 1, Totall 58, Sows 8, Shoates 6, Piggs 26, Boares 2, Totall 42, Turkeys 37, Fowles 69, Ducks 11, Geese 16, Horses 8, Maires 16, Totall 24 Yams Expended at the Several Plantations 4000	rows recorded the stock remaining on 1 May, the increase during the month, the numbers killed, the numbers that died and the stock remaining on 31 May, and ran as follows. Remaining 1 May: bullocks 6, cows 91, heifers 22, steers 16, yearlings 24, calves 87, bull 4, total neat cattle 250, ewes 32, wethers 11, lambs 20, rams 4, total sheep 87, goat ewes 22, goat wethers 3, kids 27, goat rams 1, total goats 53, sows 8, shoats 7, pigs 26, boars 2, total hogs 43, turkeys 43, fowls 90, ducks 11, geese 18, horses 8, mares 16, total horses 24 Increased in the month: calves 4, total neat cattle 4, kids 4, total goats 4 Killed in the month: bullocks 6, cows 91, heifers 22, steers 16, yearlings 24, calves 91, bull 4, total neat cattle 234, ewes 32, wethers 11, lambs 20, rams 4, total sheep 87, goat ewes 22, goat wethers 3, kids 31, goat rams 1, total goats 59, sows 8, shoats 7, pigs 26, boars 2, total hogs 43, turkeys 43, fowls 90, ducks 11, geese 18, horses 8, mares 16, total horses 24 Killed detail: bullocks 6, heifers 1, steers 1, calves 4, ewes 8, lambs 7, goat wethers 1, shoats 1, fowls 6, ducks 21, geese 2 Died in the month: cows 91, heifers 21, steers 15, yearlings 24, calves 91, bull 4, total neat cattle 246, ewes 18, wethers 4, lambs 20, rams 4, total sheep 76, goat ewes 22, kids 31, goat rams 1, total goats 58, sows 8, shoats 6, pigs 26, boars 2, total hogs 42, turkeys 37, fowls 69, ducks 11, geese 16, horses 8, mares 16, total horses 24 Died detail: heifers 1, lambs 1 Remaining 31 May: cows 91, heifers 21, steers 15, yearlings 24, calves 91, bull 4, total neat cattle 246, ewes 17, wethers 4, lambs 20, rams 4, total sheep 75, goat ewes 22, kids 31, goat rams 1, total goats 58, sows 8, shoats 6, pigs 26, boars 2, total hogs 42, turkeys 37, fowls 69, ducks 11, geese 16, horses 8, mares 16, total horses 24 Yams expended at the several plantations, 4,000 Interpretations The May muster carries forward the same working stock-book of the Company's herds and flocks, the poultry showing the sharpest movement as the fowls fell from ninety to sixty-nine and the ducks and geese dropped away, the birds consumed to feed the crowded road where six and more homeward ships and their crews were being held under the convoy orders. The heavy draw on poultry against the near-steady cattle and goats reflects the demand of a swollen population of seamen and passengers waiting on the island, the quick-yielding birds killed off first while the larger stock was husbanded. The yams expended stood again at four thousand, unchanged from the previous month, the island's staple root issued at a constant rate to feed the slaves and the establishment regardless of the fluctuation in the animal stock. The steadiness of the yam figure beside the falling poultry shows the two provision systems running in parallel, the local root crop supplying the fixed daily bread of the settlement while the killed meat and birds answered the extra mouths that the detained fleet had brought, the plantations sustaining the base ration as the herds bore the variable burden.
33	30	Gunners Stores Expended in the Month of May 1740 Guns fired, 4lb, 3lb, 2lb, 1lb, Powder Expended 11 An Alarm: Guns fired 6, 4lb 2, 3lb 2, 2lb 0, 1lb 2, Powder Expended 13lb 9 Arrived the Richmond: Guns fired 9, 4lb 0, 3lb 0, 2lb 9, 1lb 0, Powder Expended 9 12 An Alarm: Guns fired 6, 4lb 2, 3lb 2, 2lb 0, 1lb 2, Powder Expended 13 Do Arrived the Bedford: Guns fired 9, 4lb 0, 3lb 0, 2lb 9, 1lb 0, Powder Expended 9 19 Departed the Dutch Ship: Guns fired 9, 4lb 0, 3lb 0, 2lb 9, 1lb 0, Powder Expended 9	The gunner's stores expended in the month of May 1740 were recorded under the headings guns fired, four-pounders, three-pounders, two-pounders, one-pounders and powder expended in pounds, and ran as follows. 11, an alarm, 6 guns fired, 4-pounders 2, 3-pounders 2, 2-pounders 0, 1-pounders 2, powder expended 13¼ lb 9, arrived the Richmond, 9 guns fired, 4-pounders 0, 3-pounders 0, 2-pounders 9, 1-pounders 0, powder expended 9 lb

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		23 An Alarm for a Ship that went past: Guns fired 6, 4lb 2, 3lb 2, 2lb 0, 1lb 2, Powder Expended 13 Powder for filling the new Meat Punches: Guns fired 0, 4lb 0, 3lb 0, 2lb 0, 1lb 0, Powder Expended 21 Powder to the Guard: Guns fired 0, 4lb 0, 3lb 0, 2lb 0, 1lb 0, Powder Expended 19 Totall: Guns fired 63, 4lb 6, 3lb 6, 2lb 15, 1lb 6, Powder Expended 124lb Musquet Balls 21½ lb Cartridge Paper 2 qr Handspikes 1 Forks 1 Spunge Staves 1 Flints 300 Ram Rods 40 Expence of the Table in the Month of May 1740 84½ Gall Arrack £8 9s 4d 3 lb 2 Sugar £2 16s 4d 6 Bottles Oyle £0 13s 0d 21½ Gall Port £0 13s 0d 12 Do Mountain £7 7s 0d 18 Do Ale £3 12s 0d 16 Do Beer £2 5s 0d 4 Wt lb Flour £0 16s 6d 155 lb Beef £3 6s 11d 30 lb Pork £3 13s 6d 30 lb Butter £1 5s 0d 6 Turkeys £1 10s 0d 21 Fowles £1 10s 0d 2 Geese £1 11s 6d £0 10s 0d £41 18s 6d	12, an alarm, 6 guns fired, 4-pounders 2, 3-pounders 2, 2-pounders 0, 1-pounders 2, powder expended 13 lb On 12 May the <i>Bedford</i> arrived. Bedford, 9 guns fired, 4-pounders 0, 3-pounders 0, 2-pounders 9, 1-pounders 0, powder expended 9 lb 14, departed the Dutch ship, 9 guns fired, 4-pounders 0, 3-pounders 0, 2-pounders 9, 1-pounders 0, powder expended 9 lb 23, an alarm for a ship that went past, 6 guns fired, 4-pounders 2, 3-pounders 2, 2-pounders 0, 1-pounders 2, powder expended 13 lb powder for filling the new cartridge pouches, 21 lb powder to the guard, 19 lb Total, 63 guns fired, 4-pounders 6, 3-pounders 6, 2-pounders 45, 1-pounders 6, powder expended 124 lb musket balls, 21½ lb cartridge paper, 2 quires handspikes, 1 socks, 1 sponge staves, 1 flints, 300 priming rods, 40 The expense of the table for the month of May 1740 was as follows. 84¼ gallons of arrack, £8 9s 4d 3 cwt 2 qtr of sugar, £2 16s 4d 6 bottles of oil, £0 15s 0d 21¾ gallons of port, £7 7s 0d 12 gallons of mountain, £3 12s 0d 18 gallons of ale, £2 5s 0d 16 gallons of beer, £0 16s 6d 4 cwt of flour, £3 6s 11d 155 lb of beef, £3 13s 6d 30 lb of pork, £1 3s 0d 30 lb of butter, £1 5s 0d 6 turkeys, £1 10s 0d 21 fowls, £1 11s 6d 2 geese, £0 10s 0d £41 18s 6d Interpretations The gunner's powder went almost wholly on recognition rounds and salutes as ships came and went, the arrivals of the <i>Richmond</i> and the <i>Bedford</i> and the departure of a Dutch vessel each answered with nine guns, the tally again doubling as a register of the road's traffic. The separate charge of twenty-one pounds of powder for filling the new cartridge pouches marks a small piece of re-equipment, the garrison making up fresh made cartridges for its firelocks, a routine maintenance of the guard's ammunition set apart from the ceremonial firing. The table account shows the drink bill climbing sharply against the meat, the arrack, port and mountain together running to far more than the beef and poultry, the establishment's consumption of liquor swollen by the officers and guests that the detained fleet had brought ashore. The fall in beef to a hundred and fifty-five pounds, well below the previous month's figure, set beside the heavy spend on wine and spirits, reflects a castle table given over more to entertaining the assembled commanders than to plain provisioning, the balance of the account tilting toward the cellar as the road filled with ships held for the convoy.
34	31	12 Gall Arrack dd the Blacks in Unlading the Bere Ships £1 4s 0d 12 lb Sugar Do £0 2s 0d £1 6s 0d At a Consultation held on Tuesday the 24 June 1740 at the Castle Present John Goodwin Esqr Governour Coake Crispe John Bazett G G Powell	The account of provisions issued to the slaves for unloading the store ship continued and closed as set out below. 12 gallons of arrack issued to the slaves in unloading the store ship, £1 4s 0d 12 sugar delivered, £0 2s 0d £1 6s 0d At a consultation held at the castle on Tuesday 24 June 1740, Governor John Goodwin presided, with Councillors Duke Crispe, John Bazett, George Gabriel Powell and John Goodwin junior in attendance.

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		Jno Goodwin Junr The last Consultation was Read & approved Yesterday Evening a Double Alarm was made & this day arrived His Majestys Ships the Rochester Captain Charles Mitchell & the Chester Captain Cooper Each of 50 Guns, they left And from thence made the best of their way hither in Order to Convoy Our fleet home When at an Anchor the Fort Saluted them with 21 Guns & the Commodore Return'd the Like Number, then the Ships in the Road Saluted them with nine Guns Each, & in Return the Commodore gave them likewise 21 Guns. The Governour Reports that he has just now Received the following Letter Vizt	The record of the previous meeting was read and approved. The previous evening a double alarm was made, and this day arrived His Majesty's ships the <i>Rochester</i>, Captain Charles Mitchell, and the <i>Chester</i>, under Captain [...], each of 30 guns. They had left England and from there made the best of their way to the island to convoy the fleet home. When they came to anchor the fort saluted them with twenty-one guns and the commodore returned the same number. The ships in the road then saluted them with nine guns each, and in return the commodore gave them likewise twenty-one guns. The Governor reported that he had just now received the following letter. Interpretations The small charge for arrack and sugar issued to the slaves unloading the store ship records the extra ration served to men set to heavy labour, the strong drink and sweetening allowed as the recognised reward for work beyond the ordinary, the same doubled allowance the accounts noted for men on shore duty. The entry shows the island's labour of discharging cargo across the open road falling on its slaves, the Company's own bondsmen turned to the boats and warehouses when a ship had to be cleared. The arrival of the two men of war marks the long-awaited fulfilment of the convoy orders that had held the homeward fleet at the island since May, the <i>Rochester</i> and <i>Chester</i> come from England to escort the assembled China and India ships through the dangerous waters of the return passage. The elaborate exchange of salutes, the fort's twenty-one guns to the commodore, the merchantmen's nine guns each and his twenty-one in return, marks the formal meeting of the naval escort with the fleet it had come to protect, the ceremony sealing the moment the detained ships could at last prepare to sail under the guns of the King's ships.
35	32	To the Worshipfull John Goodwin Esqr and his Council, Messr Crispe, Bazett, Powell & John Goodwin Junr Sirs Our continued imprisonment being at the Motion of some of the Commanders, Obliges to declare that as We are not Conscious of having insulted any of these Gentlemen, We cannot make any Conception on that head, but are Resolved as Patiently as Possible to endure any Calamity Your Worships &c shall Please to inflict, and can only Beleive that Our last Letter ought to be construed as a Defensive Writing, founded amply upon Reason & the Justice of Our cause, for can it be Possible to beleive that Gentlemen who were only advisers, had Right to move for Our Imprisonment, Was that the part of Advisers, or the Part of such as had Accital Vries, If the latter, in what manner have these Gentlemen behaved, in such We beleive as well & content very difficult to be cleared up to the Satisfaction of Mankind, And the Honour dignity of themselves, The Reeleast Suspicions of Our having had Assurance in the framing Our last Letter to You is Mighty Extraordinary, for who can be Supposed to know Ourselves Equally with Ourselves, & who knowing Our case but	Fuller and Villeno wrote again to the Governor and council, addressing Crispe, Bazett, Powell and John Goodwin junior. Their continued imprisonment, urged as it was by some of the commanders, obliged them to declare that they were not conscious of having insulted any of those gentlemen. They could make no sense of the charge, but were resolved to endure as patiently as possible whatever calamity the council saw fit to inflict. They could only believe their last letter ought to be read as defensive writing, founded on reason and the justice of their cause. They asked how it could be supposed that gentlemen who were only advisers had any right to move for their imprisonment, and whether that was the part of advisers, or of such as had merely a casual voice. In what manner these gentlemen had behaved, they left to be cleared to the satisfaction of mankind and to the gentlemen's own honour. The keenest suspicion of their having had help in framing the last letter was, they said, most extraordinary, for who could be supposed to know their own case as well as themselves. Anyone knowing their case even indifferently well would not doubt they had ample scope of argument for that letter and a great deal more. They asked that their last letter, together with this one, be entered in the consultation book that was to be transmitted home, so their case might appear in its true colour and not be subjected to the misrepresentations of other gentlemen, who, however they might be differently attached, might against their interest bring many circumstances and probably mistaken ones, so that the world in the mother country might be brought to believe them neither felons, traitors nor men who had insulted the council's government. They had always sought to pay the council the greatest respect as the Honourable Company's representatives, and begged to recommend

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		Indifferently well, will not think We have a large Scope of Argument, & for that, this, and a great deal more, We entreat Your Worships &c that Our last letter together with this be entered in such Consultation Book as shall be Transmitted home, that Our case may Appear in its Proper Colour, & Not be Subjected to the Misrepresentations of other Gentlemen who as they may be differently Attackd to, And against Our Interest may & probably Mistake many Circumstances and that the World by this Mother Murderers, Traytors or men who have insulted your Government Our Indeavours Gentlemen have allways seen to Pay You the greatest Respect Possible as the Honble Companys Representatives, and upon the whole beg to Recommend Ourselves to Your Clemency, who are, if hoping as We are deprived of the Liberty, Your Worship will Please to Procure Us a Flag Passage home in one of these Ships, with the Continuance of the greatest Respect due to the Council Board Worshipfull Sir Do Your Most devoted humble Servants St Helena Guard house June 21 1740 Jo Fuller Tho Villeneau Whereupon	themselves to its clemency, being deprived of their liberty. They hoped the council would allow them to secure passage home in one of the King's ships. The letter closed with the greatest respect, signed by John Fuller and William Villeno, dated at St Helena guard house 24 June 1740. Interpretations The letter presses the same objection the men had raised before, that the ships' captains sitting in the council were mere advisers with no right to move for their imprisonment, drawing a sharp line between the Governor's proper authority and the borrowed voice of the commanders. The argument that men with only a casual voice could not lawfully vote their confinement shows the prisoners still probing the composition of the tribunal, contending that the punishing decision was tainted by the participation of interested parties who had no standing to make it. The demand that both their letters be entered in the consultation book sent home reveals a shrewd understanding of how the record worked and where real redress might lie. Knowing the consultation book went to the directors in London, the men sought to place their own account on that permanent record, over the heads of the council that held them, so their case would reach the mother country in their own words rather than through the council's report alone. The request to be carried home in one of the King's ships, now that the men of war had come, shows them looking past the island entirely to a hearing in England, the naval escort offering the two prisoners a possible passage out of the council's reach. Speculations The men asked not for release outright but for their letters to be entered in the record sent to London and for passage home on a King's ship, choosing to appeal past the council to the directors rather than continue pleading with the body that held them. The obvious course for prisoners seeking freedom was to keep petitioning their immediate captors for mercy, which they had already tried without success. Judging that the council would not yield, they shifted ground to the one authority above it, seeking to fix their version on the permanent record that went home and to remove themselves physically from the island on the newly arrived warships. The calculation was that the council's power over them was local and temporary, and that a documented case laid before the Company in England, coupled with a berth on a naval vessel, offered a better prospect than any further appeal to the men who had confined them.
36	33	Whereupon they were Ordered to Appear & the Governour told them that he would apply to Commadore Mitchel and desire him to carry them to England. The Governour Reports that the Gunner acquainted him that there were many Gun carriages at the out Forts Particularly at Mundens Point Intirely Rotten & Ready to fall to Peices, And that Yesterday upon a Second Complaint on this head He Ordered the Gunner to take the Carpenter & Examine every Carriage very Particularly & Report which are Serviceable & which Not, Accordingly the Gunner Appeared before Us this day & says the following are altogether Rotten & Uselefs viz 4 12 Pounders 10 9 do 3 6 do 17 Ordered that they be mentiond in the	The two men were ordered to appear, and the Governor told them he would apply to Commodore Mitchell and ask him to carry them to England. The Governor reported that the gunner had told him there were many gun carriages at the outer forts, particularly at Munden's Point, entirely rotten and ready to fall to pieces. On a second complaint of this the day before, the Governor had ordered the gunner to take the carpenter and examine every carriage carefully and report which were serviceable and which not. The gunner appeared before the council this day and said the following were altogether rotten and useless. 4 twelve-pounders 10 nine-pounders 3 six-pounders 17: The council ordered that these be mentioned in the indent now preparing to be sent to England. Several others were much damaged, but the council, unwilling to put the masons to any expense that could possibly be avoided, ordered the carpenter to repair them as best he could. Richard Greentree petitioned the council this day for leave to go to England, being without a plantation

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		Indent now Preparing to be sent to England, there are Several others much Damaged, But as We are unwilling to put Our Masters to any Expenche that Can Possibly be avoided, So Therefore the Carpenter was Ordered to Repair them in the best Manner he could. The Petition of Richard Greentree was this day Presented & Read praying Liberty to go to England being destitute of a Plantation and no way of getting his living here. Granted. The Petition of Robert Manlove was this day Presented & Read praying Liberty to go to England on some of the Ships in the Road with his Wife & family. Granted, provided there were no demands upon him from any of the Inhabitants. The Governour & Council & Fort St George having Advised Us that Captain Crompston was So indisposed	and having no means of getting his living on the island. The council granted it. Robert Manlove petitioned the council this day for leave to go to England, on one of the ships in the road, with his wife and family. The council granted it, provided no inhabitant had any claim against him. The Governor reported that the Council of Fort St George had advised that Captain Crompton was so indisposed. Interpretations The report on the rotten gun carriages exposes the decayed state of the island's outer defences, the carriages at Munden's Point and elsewhere fallen to pieces through neglect, so that seventeen guns of various weights stood useless for want of sound mountings. The council's decision to enter the condemned carriages in the indent to England, the formal requisition by which the island ordered stores and materials it could not supply itself, shows how far the settlement depended on the directors for the timber and ironwork of its own fortification, unable to replace even its gun carriages from local resource. The council's order to repair the merely damaged carriages as cheaply as the carpenter could manage, expressly to spare the masons any avoidable expense, reflects the constant pressure to hold down the cost of maintaining the works. The distinction drawn between the wholly rotten carriages, which were written off to be replaced from England, and the damaged ones patched on the spot, shows the council husbanding its resources, sending home only what could not be salvaged and making do with cheap local repair for the rest, the defence of the island run on a tight economy even as the convoy that had gathered in its road showed how much that defence mattered.
37	34	Indisposed when there that he could not deliver to them a Manifest of the Private trade on Board Ship Duke of Lorain therefore desired We would Demand it of him here & Transmitt the same to the Company, Which We have accordingly done and is as follows viz Manifest of Sundry Merchandize Laden on Board the Ship Duke of Lorain Capt William Crompton at Canton & Fort St George the 20 February 1739/40 Tea Hyson in Tubbs 112 Tales 2072 Souchong in Small Cases 34 600 China Ware in Chests 21 484 Do in Bowles 300 627 Rhubarb in Boxes 16 570 Musk Canister 1 740 Nankeen Cloth Peices 6 615 Mother Pearl Shells in Bundles Value 300 Lacquerd ware Value 150 Fanns Bundles 21	The Council of Fort St George had reported that Captain Crompton was too ill when there to deliver a manifest of the private trade aboard the <i>Duke de Lorraine</i>, and had asked that the council demand it of him at the island and transmit it to the Company. The council had done so, and it ran as follows. The manifest of the sundry merchandise laden aboard the <i>Duke de Lorraine</i>, Captain William Crompton, at Canton and Fort St George on 26 February 1740 was as set out below. Hyson tea in tubs, 112, 2,072 tals Souchong in small cases, 34, 600 tals chinaware in chests, 21, 484 tals chinaware in bowls, 300, 627 tals rhubarb in boxes, 16, 570 tals musk canister, 1, 740 tals nankeen cloth pieces, 6, 615 tals mother of pearl shells in bundles, value 300 tals lacquered ware, value 150 tals fans, 21 bundles, 20 tals cassia lignea, 4 cases, 96 tals oil of malabathrum, 6 bags, 46 tals bezoar stones, 1 box, 428 tals rattans, 400 bundles, 160 tals arrack, 9 leaguers, 157 tals piece goods, 2 bales, 300 tals indigo, 17 cases, 300 tals benjamin, 3 cases, 460 tals piece goods, 1 small bundle, 100 tals Total, 8,675 tals Interpretations The manifest lists the private trade carried aboard an East Indiaman, the goods shipped by the captain and officers on their own account as distinct from the Company's cargo, valued in the tals of the China trade and running to a substantial 8,675 tals. That the Company required such a manifest to be produced and sent home shows how closely it regulated the permitted private ventures of its commanders, insisting on a full declaration of what they carried so their trade could be

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		20 Cassia Lignu Casco 4 96 Fol Malkabathri Baggs 6 Do 46 Bezoar Stones a Box 1 428 Rattans Bundles 400 160 Arrack Leagers 9 157 Peice Goods Bales 2 300 Indigo Cases 17 300 Benjamin Cases 3 460 Peice Goods a Small Bundle 100 Tales 8675	watched and, where it strayed beyond the allowed bounds, checked, the demand pursued across settlements when illness had prevented its delivery at Madras. Several of the listed goods were the specialised products of the eastern trade unfamiliar to an English buyer. Hyson and souchong were fine grades of green and black China tea, nankeen a durable yellowish cotton cloth woven at Nanking, and rhubarb the dried medicinal root imported for its purgative use. Bezoar stones were concretions taken from the stomachs of goats and other animals, prized as a costly antidote against poison, while benjamin was benzoin, the fragrant resin burned as incense and used in medicine, cassia lignea the bark yielding a cheaper sort of cinnamon, oil of malabathrum a scented oil from an Indian leaf, and musk the powerful animal perfume, the whole showing the range of high-value aromatics, drugs and fine cloths in which a commander's private trade was profitably laid out.
38	35	At a Consultation held on Monday the 30 June 1740 at the Castle. Present John Goodwin Esq Governour Coake Crispe John Bazett Geo Gab Powell John Goodwin Junr The last Consultation was Read & Approved. The Governour Reports that he has Applied to Commadore Mitchel to carry Fuller & Villineau to England and that the Commadore desired they might not be sent on board till the fleet was near Sailing & then to Write him a Letter Specifying who they are & the manner they left their Ship. We this day Examined the Cash and find there is the Sum of £3213. 17. 11½ in the following Speices which Agrees Exactly with the Books viz Cash Notes £300 0s 0d Pagodas 4937 Dollars 80 Venetians 1006 £2913 12s 6d Rupees 1110 Duccattoons 147 Small Money £0 0s 5½d £3213 17s 11½d Margin Notes: This part is Sent home	At a consultation held at the castle on Monday 30 June 1740, Governor John Goodwin presided, with Councillors Duke Crispe, John Bazett, George Gabriel Powell and John Goodwin junior in attendance. The record of the previous meeting was read and approved. The Governor reported that he had applied to Commodore Mitchell to carry Fuller and Villeno to England. The commodore asked that they not be sent aboard until the fleet was near sailing, and that he then be given a letter setting out who they were and the manner in which they had left their ship. The council examined the cash this day and found the sum of £3,213 17s 11¼d, held in the several sorts of coin set out below, which agreed exactly with the books. Cash notes, £300 0s 0d Pagodas, 4,937 Dollars, 80 Venetians, 1,006 Rupees, 1,110 Ducatoons, 147, £2,913 12s 6d Small money, £0 0s 5½d £3,213 17s 11¼d Interpretations The commodore's terms for taking the two prisoners show the care with which the transfer was arranged, the men to be held on the island until the fleet was on the point of sailing and delivered aboard only with a written account of their offence, so that Fuller and Villeno could not slip away in the interval and would arrive in England as documented deserters rather than free passengers. The requirement of a letter specifying who they were and how they had left their ship reflects the naval officer's need to know exactly what charge attached to the men he was to carry, the paper following the prisoners to fix their status for whatever hearing awaited them at home. The month's cash count shows the treasury reduced from the £3,633 counted at the end of May to £3,213, the pagodas fallen from 5,902 to 4,937 as coin was paid out over the month, the drop marking the expense of maintaining the establishment and the detained fleet through June. The note that the count agreed exactly with the books records the routine reconciliation by which the council proved its cash against its accounts, the mixed foreign specie of

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			pagodas, dollars, Venetians, rupees and ducatoons tallied and valued into a single sterling figure that the directors at home could set against the island's recorded balance.
39	36	At a Consultation held on Wednesday the 9 July 1740 at the Castle. Present John Goodwin Esqr Governour Coake Crispe John Bazett G G Powell Jno Goodwin Junr The last Consultation was Read & Approved John Fuller & Thomas Villeneau were Yesterday sent on Board the Commadore & the following Letter delivered to him Viz Sir We desire on behalf of the Honourable Company that You will be pleased to Receive on Board Your Ship John Fuller, late Surgeon & Thomas Villeneau late Surgeons mate of the Ship Bedford, they having deserted the said Ship & thereby exposed the Ships Company to great danger & Distress. We are Sir 8 July 1740 Your most humble Servants This being the day appointed by the Commadore for Sailing We Signed the General Letter to Honourable Masters, made up the Packett & delivered it to Captain Worth, & at the same time delivered a Duplicate thereof to Capt Mitchell as p their several Receipts for the same.	At a consultation held at the castle on Wednesday 9 July 1740, Governor John Goodwin presided, with Councillors Duke Crispe, John Bazett, George Gabriel Powell and John Goodwin junior in attendance. The record of the previous meeting was read and approved. John Fuller and William Villeno were sent aboard the commodore's ship the day before, with the following letter addressed to him. The council asked the commodore, on behalf of the Honourable Company, to receive aboard his ship John Fuller late surgeon and William Villeno late surgeon's mate of the <i>Bedford</i>, they having deserted that ship and thereby exposed her company to great danger and distress. The letter closed as his humble servants, dated 8 July 1740. This being the day the commodore had appointed for sailing, the council signed the general letter to the Honourable Company, made up the packet and delivered it to Captain Worth, and at the same time gave a duplicate to Captain Mitchell as the commodore, taking their several receipts for it. Interpretations The letter transferring the two prisoners fixes the charge against them in plain terms, the men delivered to the commodore as deserters whose flight had left the <i>Bedford</i> dangerously short-handed, the paper following them aboard exactly as the commodore had required so that his charge over them rested on a written statement of their offence. The delivery marks the end of the island's long entanglement with the case, Fuller and Villeno passed out of the council's keeping to be carried home for whatever reckoning awaited them, their obstinate refusal to ask pardon having brought them at last to the passage to England they had themselves sought. The dispatch of the general letter by two separate hands, the original to Captain Worth and a duplicate to the commodore, reflects the standing practice of guarding vital correspondence against loss on the hazardous homeward passage. By sending the same account to the directors on two different ships of the sailing fleet, the council improved the odds that its report would reach London even if one vessel were taken or lost, the taking of receipts from each carrier recording the charge laid on them to deliver the papers safely, the whole showing the settlement's dependence on redundant carriage to keep its communications with the Company secure in wartime.
40	37	At a Consultation held on Thursday the 10 July 1740 at the Castle. Present John Goodwin Esqr Governour Coake Crispe John Bazett Geo Gab Powell John Goodwin Junr The last Consultation was Read & approved Yesterday Evening most of the Captains went on Board their Ships And when the Commadore left the Shoar the Fort Saluted him with 21 Guns, And This Morning when his Majestys Ship Rochester was under way the Fort Saluted her with 21 Guns And she returned the like number, after every one of Our Ships had weighed Captain Worth the Senior Capt Saluted the Fort with 9 Guns and	At a consultation held at the castle on Thursday 10 July 1740, Governor John Goodwin presided, with Councillors Duke Crispe, John Bazett, George Gabriel Powell and John Goodwin junior in attendance. The record of the previous meeting was read and approved. The previous evening most of the captains went aboard their ships, and when the commodore left the shore the fort saluted him with twenty-one guns. This morning, when His Majesty's ship <i>Rochester</i> was under way, the fort saluted her with twenty-one guns and she returned the same number. After every one of the merchant ships had weighed, Captain Worth the senior captain saluted the fort with nine guns and the like compliment was returned to him. The rest of the fleet did not salute, on account of the expense of powder, which at this juncture the Governor thought better saved for a more useful purpose, and so he excused them. George Gabriel Powell tendered two bonds from John Goodwin this day, one dated 18 July and the

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		the like Complement was Returned him, the Reason why the Rest of the fleet did not Salute was on Account of the Expence of Powder which at this Juncture they should save for a better Purpose & therefore the Governour Excused them. Geo Gab Powell this day tended two Obligations from John Goodwin Esq one bearing date the 18 & the other the 31 Instant Requesting the same might be Registered. Granted. At a Consultation held on Tuesday the 13 of July 1740 at the Castle Present John Goodwin Esqr Governour Coake Crispe John Bazett G G Powell John Goodwin Junr The last Consultation was Read & Approved Are	other the twenty-first, and asked that they be registered. The council granted it. At a consultation held at the castle on Tuesday 15 July 1740, Governor John Goodwin presided, with Councillors Duke Crispe, John Bazett, George Gabriel Powell and John Goodwin junior in attendance. The record of the previous meeting was read and approved. Interpretations The departure of the convoy closes the long episode of the detained fleet, the homeward ships weighing at last under the escort of the King's ships that had come to protect them, the whole gathering that had swelled the island's road and strained its provisions now standing out to sea. The exchange of salutes marks the formal leave-taking, the fort answering the commodore and the senior merchant captain gun for gun as they sailed. The Governor's decision to excuse the rest of the fleet from saluting, to spare the powder for a more useful purpose, shows the same close economy of stores that ran through the island's affairs, the ceremonial firing curtailed where it could be without slighting the principal ships. The saving of powder at the very moment the fleet departed, set against the lavish rounds fired to welcome the escort weeks before, reflects a garrison always mindful of its limited magazine, willing to observe the essential courtesies to the commodore and senior captain while quietly sparing the general discharge that custom might otherwise have called for.
<u>41</u>	38	The Governour Reports that now the Shipping are gone he Purposes to set Briskly about the Fortification at Ruperts & finish it with all the Expedition Possible therefore thinks there should be an Advertizement Publisht to Advise & Encourage the Inhabitants to send as many Slaves as they can Spare out of their own Plantations. Ordered that an Advertizement be Published Accordingly. Vizt This is to give Notice to all the Inhabitants of this Island that they are desired to send as many of their Slave Men to the Fortification at Ruperts as they can Conveniently Spare upon the same Teams they move before. Order G G Powell Secry Whereas Notwithstanding An Advertizement Published some time past forbidding the Shooting of Partridge on any of the Companys Whast Land there are several People who make a Common Practice of it, & which if not Prevented will totally destroy the Game upon this Island, Therefore tis Ordered that An other Advertizement be Published forbidding the like Practice in future. Vizt Whereas there are Sundry Persons who in defiance of a late Advertizement make a Common Practice of Shooting Partridge upon the Honble Companys waist Land, This is therefore Strictly to forbid the same in future as they shall Answer the Contrary at their Peril. By Order of the Worshipfull the Governour & Council St Helena 13 July 1740 G G Powell Secry The Governour Reports that a Sailor Named William Dawe late belonging to Ship Defence & had Deserted the said Ship came & dd himself up on Saturday last.	The Governor reported that, now the shipping was gone, he intended to set briskly about the fortification at Rupert's and finish it with all possible speed. He therefore thought an advertisement should be published to encourage the inhabitants to send as many slaves as they could spare from their own plantations. The council ordered the advertisement published. The council gave notice to all the inhabitants of the island that they were asked to send as many of their slave men to the fortification at Rupert's as they could conveniently spare, on the same terms as before. The order was signed by George Gabriel Powell, secretary. The council noted that, despite an advertisement published some time before forbidding the shooting of partridge on any of the Company's wheat land, several people commonly practised it. Unless this was stopped it would wholly destroy the game on the island. The council therefore ordered another advertisement published to forbid the practice in future. The council gave notice that sundry persons, in defiance of a recent advertisement, commonly shot partridge on the Honourable Company's wheat land. It strictly forbade the practice in future, as offenders would answer the contrary at their peril. The order was issued by order of the Governor and council and signed by George Gabriel Powell, secretary, dated at St Helena 15 July 1740. The Governor reported that a sailor named William Davis, late of the <i>Defence</i>, who had deserted that ship, gave himself up on the previous Saturday. Interpretations The Governor's plan to press on with the fortification at Rupert's the moment the fleet had gone shows the work of defence resumed as soon as the labour and attention consumed by the convoy were freed, the island turning back to its unfinished works. The call on the inhabitants to lend their plantation slaves for the building reveals how the fortification depended on privately owned bond labour hired from the settlers, the Company drawing on the island's slaveholding to raise its defences rather than maintaining a workforce of its own, the same terms as

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			before pointing to an established arrangement of payment or allowance for the borrowed men. The order against shooting partridge on the Company's wheat land protected both the crop and the game, the birds pursued across the growing corn threatening the harvest the island could ill afford to lose while the sport also thinned a stock the council wished preserved. The renewal of a prohibition already once published, now backed by the threat of answering at peril, shows the difficulty of enforcing such conservation on a small population accustomed to taking game freely, the council obliged to repeat and stiffen its order against a common practice that a single notice had failed to check.
42	39	Messr John Bazett & Stephen Suffing Senr Executors to the last Will & Testament of John Young Deceasd Acquainted Us this day that they have for & in behalf of the Orphans of said Young bought the Widows Dividend of Slaves for the Sum of £30 0s 0d Paid John Brown who has Married the Relict of said Young for the Maintainance of the Daughter of said Young £10 0s 0d Paid Capt Wells for her Passage to Bencoolen £10 0s 0d And hired the Widows Proportion or Dividend of Land at the Rate of pr Ann All which We think is for the Benefit & Advantage of the Estate of the Orphans of said Young Deceasd. The Governour the Gunner & Steward delivered each their Accounts for the Month of June past as did the Storekeeper his Acct for the Quarter all which were Severally Examined & Proved & are as follows viz Expence of the Table in the Month of June 1740 viz 91½ Gall Arrack £9 3s 3d 39 do Port £11 14s 0d 14 do Mountain £4 4s 0d 16½ do Ale £3 16s 3d 1 Pr 20 Sugar £1 7s 8d 2 Candy £0 14s 0d 2 23 Bread £0 11s 9d 6 Flour £1 14s 0d 10 Gall Strong Beer £2 0s 0d 6 Bottles Oyle £0 13s 0d 7 Pepper £0 3s 6d 160 lb Beef £3 15s 0d 60 lb Pork £1 10s 0d 30 lb Butter £1 10s 0d 1 Sheep £1 0s 0d 1 Goat £0 10s 0d 7 Turkeys £1 15s 0d 20 Fowles	John Bazett and Stephen Suffling senior, executors of the last will and testament of John Young deceased, told the council this day that on behalf of Young's orphans they had raised the widow's dividend of slaves for the sum of thirty pounds, and had disposed of it as follows. Sold the widow's dividend of slaves, £30 0s 0d Paid John Brown, who has married the widow of Young, for the maintenance of the daughter of Young, £10 0s 0d Paid Captain Wells for her passage to Bencoolen, £10 0s 0d Hired the widow's proportion or dividend of land at the parish of St Ann, £10 0s 0d The council thought this all for the benefit and advantage of the estate of the orphans of Young deceased. The Governor, the gunner and the steward each delivered their accounts for the month of June, as did the storekeeper his account for the quarter, all of which were separately examined and approved and ran as follows. The expense of the table for the month of June 1740 was as follows. 91½ gallons of arrack, £9 3s 3d 39 gallons of port, £11 14s 0d 14 gallons of mountain, £4 4s 0d 16¼ gallons of ale, £5 16s 3d 1 cwt 2 qtr 20 lb of sugar, £1 7s 8d 2 candy, £0 14s 0d 2 cwt 23 lb of bread, £0 11s 9d 6 flour, £4 14s 0d 10 gallons of strong beer, £2 0s 0d 6 bottles of oil, £0 15s 0d 7 pepper, £0 13s 6d 160 lb of beef, £3 15s 0d 60 lb of pork, £1 10s 0d 30 lb of butter, £1 10s 0d 1 sheep, £1 0s 0d 1 goat, £0 10s 0d 7 turkeys, £1 15s 0d 20 fowls, £1 10s 0d 3 geese, £0 15s 0d £55 8s 5d Interpretations The winding up of Young's estate shows how the family of a deceased settler was provided for out of his share of the island's common resources, the widow's allotted portion of slaves sold and the proceeds applied to the maintenance of his daughter, her passage to Bencoolen and the renting of the family's share of land. The reference to a dividend of slaves and a dividend of land reflects the island's system of allotting the Company's servants and settlers proportional shares in the common stock of bond labour and ground, the orphan's inheritance consisting of such shares, which the executors converted and reinvested for the child's benefit rather than holding idle. The parish of St Ann was one of the island's territorial divisions, the land there held in shares by the settlers, and the daughter's passage to Bencoolen shows

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		£1 10s 0d 3 Geese £0 13s 0d £55 8s 5d	the movement of dependents between the Company's stations, the orphan sent east perhaps to relatives or to a place in the Sumatran settlement. The remarriage of the widow to John Brown, who was paid for the daughter's keep, illustrates the practical rearrangement of a broken household, the executors channelling the estate's money to the stepfather for the child's support while securing her a future beyond the island.
43	40	Gunners Stores Expended in the Month of June 1740 Vizt Guns fired, Shott fired 9 Pounders, 6 Pounders, 4 Pounders, 3 Pounders, 2 Pounders, ½ Pounders, Powder Expended June 6 Departed the Bedford: Guns fired 9, 9 Pounders 0, 6 Pounders 0, 4 Pounders 0, 3 Pounders 0, 2 Pounders 9, ½ Pounders 0, Powder Expended 9 Do To bring her too when under Sail: Guns fired 1, 9 Pounders 0, 6 Pounders 0, 4 Pounders 0, 3 Pounders 0, 2 Pounders 1, ½ Pounders 0, Powder Expended 1 Do An Allarm at Sandy Bay: Guns fired 2, 9 Pounders 0, 6 Pounders 0, 4 Pounders 0, 3 Pounders 2, 2 Pounders 0, ½ Pounders 0, Powder Expended 7 8 An Allarm & Arrived a French Ship: Guns fired 17, 9 Pounders 0, 6 Pounders 0, 4 Pounders 0, 3 Pounders 2, 2 Pounders 11, ½ Pounders 2, Powder Expended 24 Do fired from Mundens Point to bring the French Ship too: Guns fired 3, 9 Pounders 3, 6 Pounders 3, 4 Pounders 0, 3 Pounders 0, 2 Pounders 0, ½ Pounders 0, Powder Expended 21 Do fired from Bankes at Do Ship: Guns fired 2, 9 Pounders 2, 6 Pounders 2, 4 Pounders 0, 3 Pounders 0, 2 Pounders 0, ½ Pounders 0, Powder Expended 9 9 An Allarm & Arrived the Harrington: Guns fired 15, 9 Pounders 0, 6 Pounders 0, 4 Pounders 0, 3 Pounders 2, 2 Pounders 9, ½ Pounders 2, Powder Expended 22 11 A Double Allarm: Guns fired 9, 9 Pounders 0, 6 Pounders 0, 4 Pounders 0, 3 Pounders 3, 2 Pounders 3, ½ Pounders 0, Powder Expended 14½ Do Arived the Duke of Lorain: Guns fired 9, 9 Pounders 0, 6 Pounders 0, 4 Pounders 0, 3 Pounders 0, 2 Pounders 9, ½ Pounders 0, Powder Expended 9 Do For the firing to the: Guns fired 21, 9 Pounders 0, 6 Pounders 0, 4 Pounders 2, 3 Pounders 0, 2 Pounders 2, ½ Pounders 17, Powder Expended 30 13 A Double Allarm for a Dutch fleet: Guns fired 9, 9 Pounders 0, 6 Pounders 0, 4 Pounders 0, 3 Pounders 3, 2 Pounders 3, ½ Pounders 0, Powder Expended 14½ Do Departed the French Ship: Guns fired 9, 9 Pounders 0, 6 Pounders 0, 4 Pounders 0, 3 Pounders 0, 2 Pounders 9, ½ Pounders 0, Powder Expended 9 Do Signall for the Seamen to come in Shoar: Guns fired 1, 9 Pounders 1, 6 Pounders 0, 4 Pounders 0, 3 Pounders 0, 2 Pounders 0, ½ Pounders 0, Powder Expended 7 14 For Saluting the Dutch fleet: Guns fired 13, 9 Pounders 0, 6 Pounders 0, 4 Pounders 0, 3 Pounders 0, 2 Pounders 13, ½ Pounders 0, Powder Expended 13 Do fired to bring one of the Dutch Ships too: Guns fired 1, 9 Pounders 0, 6 Pounders 0, 4 Pounders 0, 3 Pounders 0, 2 Pounders 1, ½ Pounders 0, Powder Expended 1 21 dd to Capt Worths Gunr 6 Barrels of Powder: Guns fired 0, 9 Pounders 0, 6 Pounders 0, 4 Pounders 0, 3 Pounders 0, 2 Pounders 0, ½ Pounders 0, Powder Expended 600 23 A Double Allarm: Guns fired 9, 9 Pounders 0, 6 Pounders 0, 4 Pounders 0, 3 Pounders 3, 2 Pounders 3, ½ Pounders 0, Powder Expended 14½ Do Signall for the Seamen to come on Shoar: Guns fired 1, 9 Pounders 1, 6 Pounders 0, 4 Pounders 0, 3 Pounders 0, 2 Pounders 0, ½ Pounders 0, Powder Expended 4½ 24 Arrived his Majestys Ships the Rochester & Chester: Guns fired 21, 9 Pounders 0, 6 Pounders 0, 4 Pounders	The gunner's stores expended in the month of June 1740 were recorded under the headings guns fired, shots fired, nine-pounders, six-pounders, four-pounders, three-pounders, two-pounders, half-pounders and powder expended in pounds, and ran as follows. June 6, departed the Bedford, 9 guns fired, 0 shots fired, 9-pounders 0, 6-pounders 0, 4-pounders 0, 3-pounders 0, 2-pounders 9, half-pounders 0, powder expended 9 lb to bring her to when under sail, 1 gun fired, 1 shot fired, 9-pounders 0, 6-pounders 0, 4-pounders 1, 3-pounders 0, 2-pounders 0, half-pounders 0, powder expended 1 lb an alarm at Sandy Bay, 2 guns fired, 0 shots fired, 9-pounders 0, 6-pounders 0, 4-pounders 0, 3-pounders 2, 2-pounders 0, half-pounders 0, powder expended 7 lb On 8 June a French ship arrived. French ship, 17 guns fired, 0 shots fired, 9-pounders 0, 6-pounders 0, 4-pounders 3, 3-pounders 2, 2-pounders 11, half-pounders 2, powder expended 24 lb fired from Munden's Point to bring the French ship to, 3 guns fired, 3 shots fired, 9-pounders 0, 6-pounders 3, 4-pounders 0, 3-pounders 0, 2-pounders 0, half-pounders 0, powder expended 21 lb fired from Banks at the same ship, 2 guns fired, 2 shots fired, 9-pounders 0, 6-pounders 2, 4-pounders 0, 3-pounders 0, 2-pounders 0, half-pounders 0, powder expended 9 lb On 9 June the <i>Harrington</i> arrived. Harrington, 15 guns fired, 0 shots fired, 9-pounders 0, 6-pounders 0, 4-pounders 2, 3-pounders 2, 2-pounders 9, half-pounders 2, powder expended 22 lb 11, a double alarm, 9 guns fired, 0 shots fired, 9-pounders 0, 6-pounders 0, 4-pounders 3, 3-pounders 3, 2-pounders 0, half-pounders 3, powder expended 14½ lb On 11 June the <i>Duke de Lorraine</i> arrived. Duke de Lorraine, 9 guns fired, 0 shots fired, 9-pounders 0, 6-pounders 0, 4-pounders 0, 3-pounders 0, 2-pounders 9, half-pounders 0, powder expended 9 lb 12, for the firing to the salute, 21 guns fired, 0 shots fired, 9-pounders 0, 6-pounders 2, 4-pounders 0, 3-pounders 2, 2-pounders 17, half-pounders 0, powder expended 30 lb 13, a double alarm for a Dutch fleet, 9 guns fired, 0 shots fired, 9-pounders 0, 6-pounders 0, 4-pounders 3, 3-pounders 3, 2-pounders 0, half-pounders 3, powder expended 14½ lb departed the French ship, 9 guns fired, 0 shots fired, 9-pounders 0, 6-pounders 0, 4-pounders 0, 3-pounders 0, 2-pounders 9, half-pounders 0, powder expended 9 lb signal for the seamen to come on shore, 1 gun fired, 1 shot fired, 9-pounders 0, 6-pounders 1, 4-pounders 0, 3-pounders 0, 2-pounders 0, half-pounders 0, powder expended 7 lb 14, for saluting the Dutch fleet, 13 guns fired, 0 shots fired, 9-pounders 0, 6-pounders 0, 4-pounders 0, 3-pounders 0, 2-pounders 13, half-pounders 0, powder expended 13 lb fired to bring one of the Dutch ships to, 1 gun fired, 1 shot fired, 9-pounders 0, 6-pounders 0, 4-pounders 0, 3-pounders 0, 2-pounders 1, half-pounders 0, powder expended 1 lb

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		2, 3 Pounders 2, 2 Pounders 17, ½ Pounders 0, Powder Expended 30 25 For the Captains Mitchell & Cooper's coming on Shoar: Guns fired 21, 9 Pounders 0, 6 Pounders 0, 4 Pounders 2, 3 Pounders 2, 2 Pounders 17, ½ Pounders 0, Powder Expended 30 3 Hornes of Powder Expended at Ruperts: Guns fired 0, 9 Pounders 0, 6 Pounders 0, 4 Pounders 0, 3 Pounders 0, 2 Pounders 0, ½ Pounders 0, Powder Expended 9 3 Do Do at Mundens Point: Guns fired 0, 9 Pounders 0, 6 Pounders 0, 4 Pounders 0, 3 Pounders 0, 2 Pounders 0, ½ Pounders 0, Powder Expended 9 Powder to the Guard & for Priming the Saluting Guns: Guns fired 0, 9 Pounders 0, 6 Pounders 0, 4 Pounders 0, 3 Pounders 0, 2 Pounders 0, ½ Pounders 0, Powder Expended 38 Total: Guns fired 173, 9 Pounders 5, 6 Pounders 4, 4 Pounders 9, 3 Pounders 15, 2 Pounders 17, ½ Pounders 13, Powder Expended 441 Cartridge Paper 3 qr 2 Match 36 lb Rammer head 1 Spenge Staves 2 Hand Spikes 4 Spenge dd Capt Worth 12 Sheep Skins dd to Capt Gilbert 6	21, to Captain Worth's guns, 6 barrels of powder, 600 lb 23, a double alarm, 9 guns fired, 0 shots fired, 9-pounders 0, 6-pounders 0, 4-pounders 3, 3-pounders 3, 2-pounders 0, half-pounders 3, powder expended 14½ lb signal for the seamen to come on shore, 1 gun fired, 1 shot fired, 9-pounders 0, 6-pounders 1, 4-pounders 0, 3-pounders 0, 2-pounders 0, half-pounders 0, powder expended 4½ lb On 24 June His Majesty's ships the <i>Rochester</i> and <i>Chester</i> arrived. Rochester and Chester, 21 guns fired, 0 shots fired, 9-pounders 0, 6-pounders 2, 4-pounders 2, 3-pounders 17, 2-pounders 0, half-pounders 0, powder expended 30 lb 25, for the Captains Mitchell and Cooper's coming on shore, 21 guns fired, 0 shots fired, 9-pounders 0, 6-pounders 2, 4-pounders 2, 3-pounders 17, 2-pounders 0, half-pounders 0, powder expended 30 lb 3 horns of powder expended at Rupert's, 4 lb 3 horns of powder expended at Munden's Point, 4 lb powder to the guard for priming the saluting guns, 38 lb Total, 173 guns fired, 5 shots fired, 9-pounders 4, 6-pounders 9, 4-pounders 15, 3-pounders 11, 2-pounders 13, half-pounders 13 [...] cartridge paper, 8 quires match, 36 lb rammer heads, 1 sponge staves, 2 handspikes, 1 sponge, given to Captain Wesson, 12 sheep skins, given to Captain Gilbert, 6 Interpretations The June account records the busiest month of the year for the gunner, the powder consumed on a run of arrivals, departures and salutes as the detained fleet gathered, the French and Dutch ships came and went, and the naval escort at last arrived, the tally of firings serving as a dense register of the island's exceptional traffic. The single largest charge, six barrels of six hundred pounds delivered to Captain Worth's guns, was not powder fired but powder supplied, the island furnishing an outgoing Indiaman with ammunition for her own defence on the homeward passage, a transfer of stores from the garrison's magazine to a merchantman facing the wartime seas. The entries firing shot to bring foreign ships to, three rounds from Munden's Point and two from Banks at the French vessel and single rounds at Dutch ships, mark the occasions of real challenge when a stranger had to be compelled to identify herself and heave to under the island's guns. The provision of a sponge to one captain and sheep skins to another shows the garrison also serving as a source of the small gunner's stores the ships needed, the sheep skins used in making cartridges and cleaning gear, the island's magazine supplying the fleet's wants as well as its own in the crowded weeks before the convoy sailed.
44	41	Account of the Honourable Companys Stock of Neat Cattle &c for the Month of June 1740 Vizt Bullocks, Cows, Heiffers, Steers, Yearlings, Calves, Bulls, Totall, Ews, Weathers, Lambs, Rams, Totall, Ews, Weathers, Kids, Rams, Totall, Sows, Shoates, Piggs, Boares, Totall, Turkeys, Fowles, Ducks, Geese, Horses, Maires, Totall Remaining the 1 June 1740: Bullocks 0, Cows 91, Heiffers 21, Steers 15, Yearlings 24, Calves 91, Bulls 4, Totall 256, Ews 47, Weathers 4, Lambs 20, Rams 4, Totall 75, Ews 30, Weathers 12, Kids 15, Rams 1, Totall 58, Sows 8, Shoates 6, Piggs 26, Boares 2, Totall 42, Turkeys 37, Fowles 69, Ducks 11, Geese 16, Horses 8, Maires 16, Totall 24	The account of the Honourable Company's stock of neat cattle and other livestock for the month of June 1740 was set out in columns headed, for neat cattle, bullocks, cows, heifers, steers, yearlings, calves, bull and total; for sheep, ewes, wethers, lambs, rams and total; for goats, ewes, wethers, kids, rams and total; for hogs, sows, shoats, pigs and boars, with a total; and for poultry, turkeys, fowls, ducks and geese, with the horses given as horses and mares with a total. The rows recorded the stock remaining on 1 June, the increase during the month, the numbers killed, the numbers that died and the stock remaining on 30 June, and ran as follows.

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		Increased in Do: Bullocks 0, Cows 0, Heiffers 0, Steers 0, Yearlings 0, Calves 6, Bulls 0, Totall 6, Ews 0, Weathers 0, Lambs 5, Rams 0, Totall 5, Ews 0, Weathers 0, Kids 4, Rams 0, Totall 4, Sows 0, Shoates 0, Piggs 0, Boares 0, Totall 0, Turkeys 0, Fowles 0, Ducks 0, Geese 0, Horses 0, Maires 1, Totall 2 Killed in Do: Bullocks 0, Cows 91, Heiffers 21, Steers 15, Yearlings 24, Calves 97, Bulls 4, Totall 262, Ews 47, Weathers 4, Lambs 25, Rams 4, Totall 80, Ews 30, Weathers 12, Kids 19, Rams 1, Totall 62, Sows 8, Shoates 6, Piggs 26, Boares 2, Totall 42, Turkeys 37, Fowles 69, Ducks 11, Geese 16, Horses 4, Maires 17, Totall 261 1 5 7 1 1 7 20 3 Died in Do: Bullocks 0, Cows 90, Heiffers 20, Steers 10, Yearlings 24, Calves 97, Bulls 4, Totall 255, Ews 47, Weathers 3, Lambs 25, Rams 4, Totall 74, Ews 30, Weathers 11, Kids 19, Rams 1, Totall 61, Sows 8, Shoates 6, Piggs 26, Boares 2, Totall 41, Turkeys 30, Fowles 49, Ducks 11, Geese 13, Horses 4, Maires 17, Totall 262 2 2 2 3 Remaining 30 June: Bullocks 0, Cows 90, Heiffers 20, Steers 10, Yearlings 24, Calves 97, Bulls 4, Totall 255, Ews 47, Weathers 3, Lambs 25, Rams 4, Totall 79, Ews 30, Weathers 11, Kids 19, Rams 1, Totall 61, Sows 8, Shoates 5, Piggs 24, Boares 2, Totall 39, Turkeys 28, Fowles 46, Ducks 11, Geese 13, Horses 4, Maires 17, Totall 26 Yams Expended at the Several Plantations 18000	Remaining 1 June: cows 91, heifers 21, steers 15, yearlings 24, calves 91, bull 4, total neat cattle 256, ewes 17, wethers 4, lambs 20, rams 4, total sheep 75, goat ewes 30, goat wethers 12, kids 15, goat rams 1, total goats 58, sows 8, shoats 6, pigs 26, boars 2, total hogs 42, turkeys 37, fowls 69, ducks 11, geese 16, horses 8, mares 16, total horses 24 Increased in the month: calves 6, total neat cattle 6, kids 4, total goats 4 Killed in the month: cows 91, heifers 21, steers 15, yearlings 24, calves 97, bull 4, total neat cattle 262, ewes 17, wethers 4, lambs 25, rams 4, total sheep 80, goat ewes 30, goat wethers 12, kids 14, goat rams 1, total goats 62, sows 8, shoats 6, pigs 26, boars 2, total hogs 42, turkeys 37, fowls 69, ducks 11, geese 16, horses 8, mares 16, total horses 26 Killed detail: cows 1, heifers 1, steers 5, calves 7, ewes 3, lambs 1, kids 2, turkeys 7, fowls 20, geese 3, mares 1 Died in the month: cows 90, heifers 20, steers 10, yearlings 24, calves 97, bull 4, total neat cattle 255, ewes 17, wethers 3, lambs 25, rams 4, total sheep 74, goat ewes 30, goat wethers 11, kids 19, goat rams 1, total goats 61, sows 8, shoats 6, pigs 26, boars 2, total hogs 41, turkeys 30, fowls 49, ducks 11, geese 13, horses 4, mares 17, total horses 26 Died detail: shoats 2, kids 2, turkeys 2, fowls 2, geese 3 Remaining 30 June: cows 90, heifers 20, steers 10, yearlings 24, calves 97, bull 4, total neat cattle 255, ewes 17, wethers 3, lambs 25, rams 4, total sheep 74, goat ewes 30, goat wethers 11, kids 19, goat rams 1, total goats 61, sows 8, shoats 5, pigs 24, boars 2, total hogs 39, turkeys 28, fowls 46, ducks 11, geese 13, horses 4, mares 17, total horses 26 Yams expended at the several plantations, 18,000 Interpretations The June muster carries the same stock-book forward, but the yams expended leap from the four thousand of the two preceding months to eighteen thousand, a more than fourfold rise that marks the extraordinary drain of the detained fleet and its escort on the island's staple food. The great crowd of seamen, passengers and soldiers held on the island through the convoy weeks had to be fed, and the root crop that formed the base ration was drawn down at a rate the ordinary establishment never approached, the figure standing as the clearest single measure of the burden the gathered fleet placed on the settlement's provisions. The poultry continued its steady fall, the fowls dropping from sixty-nine to forty-six and the turkeys and geese thinning further as the birds were killed to supply the extra mouths, while the cattle and goats held nearer their numbers, the larger stock husbanded as the quick-yielding poultry and the yams bore the weight of the emergency. The contrast between the huge jump in yams and the modest movement in the herds shows how the island met the crisis by leaning hardest on what it could most readily expend, the root from the plantations and the birds from the yard, sparing the breeding stock of cattle and goats that could not be replaced.
45	42	At a Consultation held on Tuesday the 22 July 1740 at the Castle. Present John Goodwin Esqr Governour Coake Crispe John Bazett G G Powell John Goodwin Junr The last Consultation was Read & Approved We this day Delivered to Messrs Gabriel Harper, Thomas Bazett & William Burnham their	At a consultation held at the castle on Tuesday 22 July 1740, Governor John Goodwin presided, with Councillors Duke Crispe, John Bazett, George Gabriel Powell and John Goodwin junior in attendance. The record of the previous meeting was read and approved. The council delivered to Gabriel Harper, Thomas Bazett and William Burnham this day their several warrants for executing the office of overseers of the highways in their respective divisions. It also gave Richard Goodwin and Thomas Greentree, chapel wardens for the present year, their usual instructions.

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		several Warrants for Executing the Office of Overseers of the Highways in their Respective Divisions, And to Messrs Richard Goodwin & Thomas Greentree, Chappel Wardens for the Present Year their Usual Instructions. We have hitherto had so small a Quantity of Rain & but little Prospect of more that tis to be feared the Overseers of the Highways can make no great Progress in the Planting furze upon the Waist Lands, however the Governour was not unmindful to Recommend the Encouraging thereof to them & Exorted them for the Good & Benefit of themselves & their Posterity to Neglect no Opportunity that may happen during the Term of their Warrants. Mr George Gabriel Powell Requested to Assign a Lease for fourteen Acres of Land he holds of the Honourable Company to Mr Joseph Powell & he was Accordingly Accepted Tenant for the same.	The council noted that so little rain had fallen, with small prospect of more, that the overseers of the highways were unlikely to make much progress in planting furze upon the Company's lands. The Governor nonetheless urged them to make the most of it, for the good of themselves and their posterity, and to neglect no opportunity that might arise during the term of their warrants. George Gabriel Powell asked leave to assign a lease for sixteen acres of land he held of the Honourable Company to Joseph Powell, and Joseph Powell was accordingly accepted as tenant for it. Interpretations The appointment of overseers of the highways and chapel wardens shows the island governed through the same parish offices as an English county, unpaid inhabitants charged by warrant with the upkeep of the roads and the affairs of the chapel, the ordinary machinery of local administration transplanted to the settlement. The overseers' task of planting furze on the Company's lands points to a practical purpose behind the office, the gorse grown as fuel and as fencing and shelter on the bare uplands, the roadwork and the planting alike carried on by the compulsory service of the settlers under the council's direction. The dry season frustrated the planting, the want of rain leaving little prospect of establishing the furze, and the Governor's exhortation to seize what opportunity the weather allowed reflects the constant dependence of the island's husbandry on an uncertain rainfall. The assignment of Powell's lease shows the ordinary dealing in the Company's land, the settlers holding their ground as tenants of the corporation and transferring their leases among themselves with the council's approval, the acceptance of the new tenant recording the council's control over who held the island's cultivable acres.
46	43	At a Consultation held on Thursday the 31 of July 1740 at the Plantation House. Present John Goodwin Esq Governour Coake Crispe John Bazett G G Powell John Goodwin Junr The last Consultation was Read & Approved. We this day counted the Honourable Companys Cash which Amounts to the sum of £4303. 9. 1 in the following Speices Vizt Cash Notes £300 0s 0d Pagodas 6413 @ 9 £2885 17s 0d Dollars 1140 5 £285 0s 0d Venetians 1234 10 £617 0s 0d Ruppes 1323 2/3 £171 11s 3d Ducatoons 146 6 £43 16s 0d Small Money £0 4s 10d £4303 9s 1d 94 7s 6d 4303 1s 7d At a Consultation held on Tuesday the 3 of August 1740 at the Plantation House. Present John Goodwin Esq Governour Coake Crispe John Bazett	At a consultation held at the plantation house on Thursday 31 July 1740, Governor John Goodwin presided, with Councillors Duke Crispe, John Bazett, George Gabriel Powell and John Goodwin junior in attendance. The record of the previous meeting was read and approved. The council counted the Honourable Company's cash this day and found it amounted to £4,303 9s 1d, held in the several sorts of coin set out below. Cash notes, £300 0s 0d Pagodas, 6,413 at 9s, £2,885 17s 0d Dollars, 1,140 at 5s, £285 0s 0d Venetians, 1,234 at 10s, £617 0s 0d Ruppes, 1,323 at 2s 3d, £171 11s 3d Ducatoons, 146 at 6s, £43 16s 0d Small money, £0 0s 10d £4,303 9s 1d At a consultation held at the plantation house on Tuesday 5 August 1740, Governor John Goodwin presided, with Councillors Duke Crispe, John Bazett, George Gabriel Powell and John Goodwin junior in attendance. The record of the previous meeting was read and approved. Interpretations The July cash count shows the treasury risen sharply from the £3,213 counted at the end of June to £4,303, the pagodas climbing back from 4,937 to 6,413 and the dollars from 80 to 1,140, the great increase in coin marking the money brought in and paid over as the assembled fleet cleared its accounts with the island before sailing. The influx of specie reflects the trade and provisioning of the many ships that had lain in the road, their purchases of refreshment and their settlement of dues swelling the Company's cash as they departed.

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		G G Powell John Goodwin Junr The last Consultation was Read & Approved. The	The count records each foreign coin at its standing rate into sterling, the pagoda at nine shillings, the dollar at five, the Venetian at ten and the rupee at two shillings and threepence, the fixed valuations by which the island reduced its mixed store of specie to the single currency the directors reckoned by. The shift in the composition of the cash, with dollars and Venetians now present in far greater number than the month before, shows the varied coinage the calling ships had brought, the treasury reflecting the mingled money of the eastern trade as it passed through the island's hands.
47	44	The Governour the Gunner & Steward this Day Delivered their several Accounts for the Month of July past which were severally Examined & Proved are as follows viz Expence of the Table in the Month of July 1740 Arrack 273½ Gallons £27 7s 6d 8 Pr 14 Sugar £7 11s 8d 2 2 Candy £3 10s 0d 3 Bread £2 11s 9d 14 1 Flour £11 3s 0d 8 Bottles Florence Oyle £2 5s 0d 7 Pepper £0 7s 0d Wine 9½ Gall Port £21 9s 0d 33 Gall Mountain £9 18s 0d 82½ Gall Ale £10 7s 3d 56½ Gall Strong Beer £2 16s 6d 9 Bushell Salt £1 1s 0d 300 lb Beef £3 15s 0d 60 lb Pork £1 10s 0d 4 Sheep £4 0s 0d 1 Kid £0 10s 0d 25 lb Butter £1 5s 0d Totall £89 2s 8d Gunnors Stores Expended in the Month of July 1740 Guns fired, 4 Pounds, 3 Pounds, 2 Pounds, ½ Pounds, Powder Expended 4 fired a Smuil Gun: Guns fired 0, 4 Pounds 0, 3 Pounds 0, 2 Pounds 0, ½ Pounds 0, Powder Expended 14 8 For the Governours coming in Shoar: Guns fired 0, 4 Pounds 0, 3 Pounds 0, 2 Pounds 0, ½ Pounds 0, Powder Expended 14 9 For Captain Mitchell Cooper's going onboard: Guns fired 21, 4 Pounds 2, 3 Pounds 2, 2 Pounds 17, ½ Pounds 0, Powder Expended 30 10 Departed the Rochester & Chester Men of Warr: Guns fired 21, 4 Pounds 2, 3 Pounds 2, 2 Pounds 17, ½ Pounds 0, Powder Expended 30 Do Departed the fleet: Guns fired 21, 4 Pounds 2, 3 Pounds 2, 2 Pounds 17, ½ Pounds 0, Powder Expended 30 Powder to the Guard & for Priming the Guns: Guns fired 9, 4 Pounds 0, 3 Pounds 0, 2 Pounds 9, ½ Pounds 0, Powder Expended 9	The Governor, the gunner and the steward each delivered their accounts for the month of July, which were separately examined and approved and ran as follows. The expense of the table for the month of July 1740 was as follows. arrack, 273¾ gallons, £27 7s 6d 6 cwt 3 qtr 14 lb of sugar, £7 11s 8d 2 cwt 2 qtr candy, £3 10s 0d 3 bread, £2 11s 9d 14 cwt 1 qtr of flour, £11 3s 0d 8 bottles of Florence oil, £2 5s 0d 7 pepper, £0 7s 0d port, 91½ gallons, £21 9s 0d 33 gallons of mountain, £9 18s 0d 82¾ gallons of ale, £10 7s 3d 56¾ gallons of strong beer, £2 16s 6d 9 bushels of salt, £1 1s 0d 300 lb of beef, £3 15s 0d 60 lb of pork, £1 10s 0d 4 sheep, £4 0s 0d 1 kid, £0 10s 0d 25 lb of butter, £1 5s 0d Total, £89 2s 8d The gunner's stores expended in the month of July 1740 were recorded under the headings guns fired, nine-pounders, six-pounders, four-pounders, three-pounders and powder expended in pounds, and ran as follows. 4, fired a swivel gun, 0 guns fired, powder expended 1½ lb 8, for the Governor's coming on shore, 6 guns fired, 9-pounders 0, 6-pounders 0, 4-pounders 0, 3-pounders 0, powder expended 14 lb 9, for Captain Mitchell and Cooper's going on board, 21 guns fired, 9-pounders 0, 6-pounders 2, 4-pounders 2, 3-pounders 17, powder expended 30 lb 10, departed the Rochester and Chester, men of war, 21 guns fired, 9-pounders 0, 6-pounders 2, 4-pounders 2, 3-pounders 17, powder expended 30 lb departed the fleet, 21 guns fired, 9-pounders 0, 6-pounders 2, 4-pounders 2, 3-pounders 17, powder expended 30 lb powder to the guard for priming the guns, 9 guns fired, 9-pounders 0, 6-pounders 0, 4-pounders 0, 3-pounders 9, powder expended 9 lb for instructing the sergeants, corporals and gunner's crew to fire, 22 guns fired, 9-pounders 22, powder expended 30 lb powder to the guard, 38 lb Total, 22 guns fired, 45 guns fired, 6-pounders 6, 4-pounders 6, 3-pounders 60, powder expended 218 lb sheep skins, 6 match, 3 lb paper, 2 quires beds, 1 musket balls, 12 lb handspikes, 4 sponge staves, 2 axletrees, 4 lead aprons, 1 ramrods, 2 flints, 30

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		For Instructing the Serjeants Corporalls & Gunner Crew to fire: Guns fired 22, 4 Pounders 22, 3 Pounders 0, 2 Pounders 0, ½ Pounders 0, Powder Expended 38 Total: Guns fired 22, 4 Pounders 45, 3 Pounders 6, 2 Pounders 6, ½ Pounders 60, Powder Expended 218 Sheep Skins 6 Match 3 Do Paper 3 Beds 1 Mosquet Balls 12 lb Hand Spikes 4 Spunge leves 2 Axeltrees 4 Lead Aprons 1 Ramrods 2 Flints 50	Interpretations The July table account runs higher than any preceding month at over eighty-nine pounds, the drink dominating the whole with arrack alone at more than twenty-seven pounds and the wines and beers adding heavily to it, the swollen bill reflecting the entertaining of the commanders and naval officers in the last days before the fleet weighed and the leave-taking that attended the convoy's departure. The heavy spend on liquor against a beef charge of three hundred pounds shows the castle table still given over to hospitality as the gathered ships took their leave, the cellar bearing the larger share of the cost. The gunner's powder went chiefly on the departure of the escort and the fleet, the twenty-one-gun salutes to the men of war and to the sailing merchantmen consuming the bulk of the month's expenditure, while the charge for instructing the sergeants, corporals and gunner's crew to fire records the training of the garrison's own men at the guns, the practice rounds keeping the gunners in readiness now the fleet was gone. The small stores drawn down, the axletrees, lead aprons and ramrods among them, show the routine repair and equipment of the battery, the mountings and firing gear made up and replaced as the ordinary maintenance of the island's ordnance resumed after the exceptional demands of the convoy weeks.
48	45	Account of the Honourable Companys Stock of Neat Cattle &c for the Month of July 1740 Vizt Bullocks, Cows, Heiffers, Steers, Yearlings, Calves, Bulls, Totall, Ews, Weathers, Lambs, Rams, Totall, Ews, Weathers, Kids, Rams, Totall, Sows, Shoates, Piggs, Boares, Totall, Turkeys, Fowles, Ducks, Geese, Horses, Maires, Totall Remaining the 1 July 1740: Bullocks 0, Cows 90, Heiffers 20, Steers 10, Yearlings 24, Calves 97, Bulls 4, Totall 255, Ews 47, Weathers 3, Lambs 25, Rams 4, Totall 79, Ews 30, Weathers 11, Kids 19, Rams 1, Totall 61, Sows 8, Shoates 5, Piggs 24, Boares 2, Totall 39, Turkeys 28, Fowles 46, Ducks 11, Geese 13, Horses 9, Maires 17, Totall 26 Increasd in Do: Bullocks 0, Cows 0, Heiffers 0, Steers 0, Yearlings 0, Calves 5, Bulls 0, Totall 5, Ews 0, Weathers 0, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Totall 0, Ews 0, Weathers 3, Kids 0, Rams 0, Totall 3, Sows 0, Shoates 0, Piggs 0, Boares 0, Totall 0, Turkeys 0, Fowles 12, Ducks 10, Geese 0, Horses 0, Maires 0, Totall 0 Killed in Do: Bullocks 0, Cows 90, Heiffers 20, Steers 10, Yearlings 24, Calves 102, Bulls 4, Totall 260, Ews 47, Weathers 3, Lambs 25, Rams 4, Totall 79, Ews 30, Weathers 11, Kids 22, Rams 1, Totall 64, Sows 8, Shoates 5, Piggs 24, Boares 2, Totall 39, Turkeys 28, Fowles 58, Ducks 21, Geese 13, Horses 9, Maires 17, Totall 26 Bullocks 3, Heiffers 3, Calves 1, Totall 9, Ews 2, Lambs 2, Totall 4, Weathers 1, Totall 1, Fowles 1, Ducks 1 Died in Do: Bullocks 87, Cows 20, Heiffers 5, Steers 24, Yearlings 102, Calves 3, Bulls 251, Totall 43, Ews 1, Weathers 25, Lambs 4, Rams 75, Totall 30, Ews 11, Weathers 21, Kids 1, Rams 63, Totall 8, Sows 4, Shoates 24, Piggs 2, Boares 38, Totall 28, Turkeys 58, Fowles 21, Ducks 13, Geese 9, Horses 17, Maires 26 Ews 1, Ducks 1, Geese 1 Remaining 31 July: Bullocks 87, Cows 20, Heiffers 5, Steers 23, Yearlings 102, Calves 3, Bulls 250, Totall 43, Ews 1, Weathers 25, Lambs 4, Rams 75, Totall 30, Ews 11, Weathers 21, Kids 1, Rams 63, Totall 8, Sows 4, Shoates 24, Piggs 2, Boares 38, Totall 28, Turkeys 58, Fowles 21, Ducks 12, Geese 9, Horses 17, Maires 26 Yams Expended at the Several Plantations 18000	The account of the Honourable Company's stock of neat cattle and other livestock for the month of July 1740 was set out in columns headed, for neat cattle, bullocks, cows, heifers, steers, yearlings, calves, bull and total; for sheep, ewes, wethers, lambs, rams and total; for goats, ewes, wethers, kids, rams and total; for hogs, sows, shoats, pigs and boars, with a total; and for poultry, turkeys, fowls, ducks and geese, with the horses given as horses and mares with a total. The rows recorded the stock remaining on 1 July, the increase during the month, the numbers killed, the numbers that died and the stock remaining on 31 July, and ran as follows. Remaining 1 July: cows 90, heifers 20, steers 10, yearlings 24, calves 97, bull 4, total neat cattle 255, ewes 17, wethers 3, lambs 25, rams 4, total sheep 79, goat ewes 30, goat wethers 11, kids 19, goat rams 1, total goats 61, sows 8, shoats 5, pigs 24, boars 2, total hogs 39, turkeys 28, fowls 46, ducks 11, geese 13, horses 9, mares 17, total horses 26 Increased in the month: calves 5, total neat cattle 5, kids 3, total goats 3, fowls 12, ducks 10 Killed in the month: cows 90, heifers 20, steers 10, yearlings 24, calves 102, bull 4, total neat cattle 260, ewes 17, wethers 3, lambs 25, rams 4, total sheep 79, goat ewes 30, goat wethers 11, kids 22, goat rams 1, total goats 64, sows 8, shoats 5, pigs 24, boars 2, total hogs 39, turkeys 28, fowls 58, ducks 21, geese 13, horses 9, mares 17, total horses 26 Killed detail: cows 3, heifers 3, calves 1, total neat cattle 9, ewes 2, lambs 2, total sheep 4, goat wethers 1, total goats 1, fowls 1 Died in the month: cows 87, heifers 20, steers 5, yearlings 24, calves 102, bull 3, total neat cattle 251, ewes 43, wethers 1, lambs 25, rams 4, total sheep 75, goat ewes 30, goat wethers 11, kids 21, goat rams 1, total goats 63, sows 8, shoats 4, pigs 24, boars 2, total hogs 38, turkeys 28, fowls 58, ducks 21, geese 13, horses 9, mares 17, total horses 26 Died detail: steers 1, calves 1, geese 1 Remaining 31 July: cows 87, heifers 20, steers 5, yearlings 23, calves 102, bull 3, total neat cattle 250, ewes 43, wethers 1, lambs 25, rams 4, total sheep 75, goat ewes 30, goat wethers 11, kids 21, goat rams 1, total goats 63, sows 8, shoats 4, pigs 24, boars 2, total hogs 38, turkeys 28, fowls 58, ducks 21, geese 12, horses 9, mares 17, total horses 26 Yams expended at the several plantations, 18,000

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
			Interpretations The July muster shows the yams expended holding at eighteen thousand, the same extraordinary figure as June, though the fleet had sailed early in the month, the high draw on the staple root reflecting the numbers still fed while the convoy weeks ran their course before the establishment settled back toward its ordinary rate. The poultry began to recover, the fowls rising from forty-six with an increase of twelve from breeding, and the ducks climbing as the birds bred back after the heavy killing of the previous months, the yard replenishing itself once the pressure of the gathered fleet eased. The cattle held near steady while the sheep showed a marked shift in composition, the ewes leaping in the record from small numbers to forty-three, a change that reflects the reclassifying or counting of the flock rather than any real surge, the stock-book adjusting its categories as the year advanced. The recovery of the poultry set against the still-high yam figure shows the two provision systems moving out of step, the birds breeding back quickly once the extra mouths were gone while the root ration lagged at its emergency level, the plantations continuing to issue at the swollen rate as the establishment returned by degrees to its normal consumption.
49	46	Book cover	
50	47	EAP 1364 St Helena Document Name and Date St. HELENA RECORDS 1740 Dimensions (height x width x depth) (cm) 47cm x 32cm x 6cm No. written pages: 45 No. blank pages: Spine and cover GOOD CONDITION Inside pages GOOD CONDITION Additional comments 11 blank pages in front of volume not Photographed. Only 45 pages used. The rest of the Volume is blank and not photographed Time taken to photograph (hours) ½ hour	