Register of Wills 1746-1793

Introduction: This is the third volume in the series of *St Helena Will Registrations.*

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

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

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

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

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

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

Text Loss: The volume includes a few pages that are tattered with some loss of text.

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

Pagination: Pages are numbered at the top left and right corners. The first clearly numbered page is page 5 on film No. 21 (location 21/5), which suggests the first page is on film No. 17. Although numbering initially runs sequentially up to film No. 85 (page 69), film No. 86 repeats page 69. The sequence resumes until film No. 198 (page 181), but film No. 199 skips to page 186 before continuing briefly to film No. 202 (page 189). Film Nos. 203 and 204 are unnumbered, though presumably represent pages 190 and 191. The sequence then unexpectedly backtracks, with film Nos. 205 and 206 marked as pages 184 and 185, followed by film No. 207 marked as page 190. From this point, sequential page numbering resumes through to the end of the volume.

An alternative pagination system, written sequentially at the bottom of each left-hand page, has been ignored because it assigned identical numbers to both recto and verso sides of the page.

Dates: During the first years covered by this volume, until 1752, England and its colonies followed the Old-Style Julian calendar, under which the legal new year began on 25 March (Lady Day). The Calendar (New Style) Act 1750 then changed this: 1751 was shortened to run from 25 March to 31 December, and from 1 January 1752 the year began on 1 January. In September 1752 England also adopted the Gregorian calendar, omitting 11 days so that 2 September was followed by 14 September. All dates from 1752 onward therefore follow the New-Style Gregorian calendar. The earliest will is dated 14 December 1740 and the latest is dated 30 January 1793.

AI Generated Summary

Introduction

The material consolidated here is drawn almost wholly from wills, codicils and probate documents made on or connected with St Helena across some seven decades. The earliest stray document is dated 1720, the main run opens with testaments of the mid 1720s and 1740s, and the sequence closes at the start of the 1790s. Read in order the records carry the island from the reign of the older East India Company, through the reorganised United Company and the Seven Years War, to the eve of the wars with revolutionary France. Every entry records a person disposing of property near death, copied out with the settled language of the notary. [Film No. 17–267]

This is a narrow class of source whose bias must be held in mind throughout. A will speaks only of what a person owned and wished to give, and it reaches the historian already shaped by the aim of avoiding disputes among survivors, an aim Bartholomew Molly stated plainly and most others pursued in silence. Read together, however, these testaments open an unusually clear window onto how property was held, how families were provided for and how a remote garrison island fitted into the wider Company world. The account works from what the wills contain, drawing on broader history only where it genuinely illuminates the evidence. [Film No. 17–66]

Two broad kinds of document recur across the whole period. The first is the substantial planter will, dense with named parcels of land, livestock, slaves and cash legacies spread across wide networks of kin. The second is the brief seaman's or soldier's will, made in the island hospital by a man far from home whose whole estate was his unpaid wages. The contrast between these forms reflects the island's double character as both a settled plantation colony and a way station on the long sea route between Britain and Asia. [Film No. 167–216]

The evidence must be read for what it hides as much as for what it shows. It is partial in whom it represents, capturing those with property to leave and the standing to have a will drawn and witnessed, and saying least about the poorest, about women other than as widows and legatees, and above all about the slaves who appear only as priced assets. The interpretive notes attached to the records press useful readings but tend to repeat a few themes and to draw firm conclusions from thin ground; they are weighed below rather than simply copied. [Film No. 117–166]

Governance and Administration

St Helena was governed not by the Crown but by the East India Company, which held the island directly as a chartered commercial body, and the Company is everywhere in these wills. Its formal identity surfaces where a clerk gave it in full: the wills of John Murray and Joseph Pritchard in 1757 name the United

Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies, the title of the reorganised concern formed by the merger of the older and newer companies. That same body traded, legislated, judged and settled the descent of property, so its rule shaped everything that followed. [Film No. 65–66]

The Company legislated on questions of tenure that bore directly on family property. Mary Swaites, whose will was proved in April 1758, recited that at the time her late husband made his will leasehold land had not been rightly understood, but that the Company had since settled that leasehold counted as personal estate. She redirected her third of the leasehold to his children as movable property rather than as land. The episode shows a shift in the Company's rules reaching into the settlement of a single family and altering the legal character of property by administrative decision. [Film No. 68]

The reach of the government into private affairs is clearest where officeholders were named as executors and trustees. William Turner, a gunner's mate, in September 1757 named the Governor and Council themselves as executors and as guardians of his young son-in-law James Pritchard until the boy came of age. Lacking any private hand he judged fit, he vested the trust in the offices of government, so that whoever held the Governor's chair and the Council seats would carry the duty. The succession of officeholders offered a continuity that private executors could not. [Film No. 67]

The Council also acted as a seller of island assets and a regulator of its trades. Thomas Greentree recorded in 1766 that he had bought a goat range at public auction which had belonged to a Mr Sacy and was sold to him by the Governor and Council, so the administration disposed of grazing rights over the open hill country as well as leaving them to change hands between private parties. In Martha Merchant's will of 1773 the Governor and Council had appropriated one half of the profits from the licence for keeping a punch house to maintain dependent orphans, a small welfare arrangement funded from the regulation of the drink trade. [Film No. 128, 171]

The concentration of authority in a single official is clearest at the close of the period. When the marine James Cheeseman died at the hospital in January 1786 his will lacked a date and regnal year, so his two witnesses came before Governor Daniel Corneille, who acted as justice of the peace, and swore on oath as to when Cheeseman had died and that the will was his. A matter that in England would have passed through separate hands was here dealt with by one man, who both received the oath and certified it under his own seal, standing as head of government and resident judicial officer at once. Governor John Skottowe appears in a different guise, brought into the administration of James Greentree's substantial estate by a codicil of 1773, which shows how the island's leading men moved between public office and the private business of their neighbours. [Film No. 169, 216]

By the 1780s and 1790s the Company's governing body itself received and approved the island's testaments, the machinery of probate absorbed into its administration. James Cotgrave, dying in 1792, directed that his will be carried before the Governor and Council within 14 days of his death and an inventory taken as soon as possible, so that the same council that ruled the island oversaw the proving of its people's wills where in England the ecclesiastical courts would have done so. Yet the island's testamentary business also reached back to the central courts, for when Jonathan Doveton, formerly of Richmond in Surrey, esquire, died holding goods and credits in several dioceses, his will could be proved only in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, the superior probate jurisdiction of the English church, letters testimonial under the Archbishop's seal issued at London in February 1792 to certify the grant. [Film No. 250, 261]

Military Affairs and Defence

A garrison held the island throughout, and its structure runs through the soldiers' wills, which were among the most numerous. The men identified themselves by the company they served in, each company known by its commanding officer, so in the 1740s John Gaynor was a private sentinel in the company of Lieutenant Onesipherus Beale. The pattern held for decades: in the war years Matthew Burgen served under Captain Grant, Edward Archer under Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick, and by 1760 William Kennedy made his own will as captain of the Fourth Company. The wills thus map the garrison from below and above, the private soldier locating himself by his captain while the officers held the commands the ranks knew only by name. [Film No. 61, 70–85]

The artillery formed a distinct arm with its own ranks. The wills name mattrosses, the gunner's assistants who loaded, sponged and hauled the guns, and quarter gunners, from the 1740s through to the 1780s. George Snyder and Peter Mitchell served as mattrosses in the Artillery Company in the war years, Isaac Buck as a matross in 1767, and John Willson as a mattross of the artillery still in 1782. The persistence of these ranks across the whole record shows a settled establishment maintained without much change over two generations. [Film No. 61, 84, 134, 209]

The Company's station drew on the wider British military effort of the age. Aaron Asdon, making his will in 1766, served not in a Company company but in the seventy-ninth regiment of foot commanded by Brigadier General Draper, a soldier of note in the campaigns of these years. William Caldwell, who made his will in 1774, held a double commission as lieutenant both in the King's regular foot and in the service of the Company. These cases illustrate the overlap between Crown and Company forces, the island garrisoned by Company troops but able to host regular regiments, an officer holding rank in both. [Film No. 124, 173]

These were years of frequent war, and though the wills do not narrate the fighting its presence is felt at the edges, chiefly through prize money. Prize money was a serviceman's share of the value of enemy ships and cargoes captured in war, and its appearance marks the maritime conflict that gave the period its shape. Thomas Wright, a mariner of His Majesty's ship *Cumberland*, lay dying in the Company hospital in 1762 with an estate of naval wages, prize money and short allowance money. Twenty years later Lawrence Magher's estate in 1782 was made up entirely of arrears of pay and prize money owed by the navy, and James Cheeseman left his wages and prize money to his parents. That such sums could form the largest part of a poor man's estate shows how distant war reached the island through the value owed to its soldiers and sailors. [Film No. 104, 124, 211, 215]

The material relations between a soldier and his service show through in the handling of uniform. When William Dicks made his will in 1764 he gave his linen and wearing apparel to a fellow soldier but excepted his last clothing, which he left to Captain Beale, the issued uniform reclaimed by the commanding officer at death rather than passed to a private legatee. A soldier's most valued possessions were often the trappings of his rank, William Pendery in 1755 setting apart a silver-laced hat and a new regimental coat to a comrade, costly items marking standing and worn on parade. [Film No. 62, 111]

Settlement, Land and Agriculture

The wills describe a working agricultural landscape assembled from small parcels and defined not by survey but by local knowledge. Samuel Doveton's minute boundaries in 1749, drawn by lemon tree, watercourse, old fence and neighbour's plantation, show how land was identified before any formal map, and property was fixed by name and neighbour rather than by any formal address. Parcels carried names such as Long's, Beale's, Bevan's, Boyce's, Crawford's and Vesey's, and holdings lay in districts including Sandy Bay, Peak Gut, Lemon Tree Valley and Sarah's Valley. This way of fixing property confirms how small and familiar the settled society was. [Film No. 33, 88–90]

Land was held in a mixed and fragmented way, in freehold owned outright, in leasehold held from the Company, and in long grants of near-permanent security such as the ninety-nine-year lease in Sandy Bay that Samuel Doveton allotted his widow in 1749. Between outright freehold and short lease lay leasehold held on lives, a lease running for the lifetimes of named persons and ending when the last of them died, so that the security of a family's land depended on the survival of the lives named. The estate of Thomas Greentree in 1766 was built up from many small parcels bought from different people at Sandy Bay, under Lemon Valley Head, about the High Peak and elsewhere, some freehold and much leasehold on lives, the naming of each parcel by size, origin and tenure made necessary precisely because holdings were so fragmented. [Film No. 33, 127–130]

Above all the value of land turned on water on a dry volcanic island. Richard Goodwin in 1747 tied each pasture to its watering place and reserved a strip wide enough to drive stock to the spring, because a plot without water was of little use for grazing. Testators repeatedly legislated for water to head off the classic

quarrel between upper and lower holdings, Goodwin binding every future holder to a common right in the springs, Richard Mason directing that water be kept running in the lower trenches as it always had, and Thomas Easthope making a watering place common to two sons so neither could deny the other's cattle. The worth of an acre depended less on its size than on whether its beasts could be watered. [Film No. 21–23, 51, 64]

A distinctive feature of the rural economy was the goat range, a recognised grazing right over open, rocky upland that could not be enclosed, bought, sold and passed down with a farm. Ranges are named in will after will across the whole period, at Devil's Hole, Lemon Valley, Stone Top, Peak Gut, Castle Rock and Sandy Bay. Even in the greatest estates they were worth naming and dividing, Francis Wrangham's son taking the ranges in Lemon Tree Valley and Sarah's Valley in 1759, and Richard Bagley holding ranges at High Hill and in Thompsons Wood in 1774, the goats themselves taken separately at valuation. Free-ranging livestock was owned by mark rather than fence, so Doveton and Burnham each set a beast under a distinct mark to keep divided ownership clear where the land itself could not be partitioned. [Film No. 22–24, 94, 176–177]

Land varied sharply in quality and worth, and the fullest estates fixed a schedule of valuations for division. Francis Wrangham in 1759 charged each parcel to the child who took it at a fixed price per acre, from as little as £2 to as much as £20, the Sandy Bay acres reckoned at twice the value of poorer land. William Young's will of 1778 set the home plantation ground at £3 an acre while certain freehold ran as high as £18, with other parcels at £5, £9 and £15. This wide range reflected the differing fertility, situation and improvement of ground, some land better placed or already built upon, each parcel captured at its proper price. [Film No. 86–94, 205]

The settled heart of the island was James's Valley, and dwelling houses there appear again and again, held by the Dovetons, Greentrees, Powells, Seales and others. James Powell's will of 1772 shows how tightly packed that settlement was, dividing the very yard of a house between two adjoining properties, giving his son the upper half while reserving the lower half and the passage for his own dwelling. This close subdivision reflects the pressure on building land in the island's small settled valley, where properties adjoined closely and access had to be carefully apportioned. Beyond the valley the rural economy rested on livestock and on the crop of yams, wills listing cattle, horses, sheep, goats, hogs and poultry with yams repeatedly beside them as a staple, the whole country farm treated as a single going concern to be kept together and worked as a whole. [Film No. 159, 176–177]

The same mixed tenure and pastoral working ran on to the end of the record. Captain James Greentree's farm in 1789 joined 44 acres of leasehold to 20 of freehold with a goat range at Simon Valley, and James Easthope's estate at Sandy Bay combined seven acres of freehold with eight of leasehold, worked as one going concern to support a widow. John Robinson's will of 1789 disposed of black cattle, sheep and a managed range of goats at Bankses Ridge, providing breeding animals to stock the land, an organised stock-raising enterprise rather than a simple plantation, the island's grazing grounds supporting the herds that fed its people and the ships that called there. Named parcels went on moving between families over the generations, a house called Easthopes appearing among the Bagley holdings by the 1780s, the old names clinging to the ground as it changed hands through purchase, marriage and inheritance. [Film No. 233, 238, 263]

Supply, Provisioning and Health

As a fortified port of call, St Helena existed to receive, store and forward the water and provisions that passing ships required, and its trades reflect that purpose. James Corbett, whose will was made in 1765, was a cooper, a skilled maker of barrels and casks essential to a port where goods, water and provisions had to be stored and shipped, and Julius Fabians was a shipwright employed in building and repairing vessels. The Company maintained such craftsmen as part of the skilled working establishment it needed to sustain the island as a link in its maritime trade. Houses of lodging and drink served the crews, soldiers and travellers who came ashore, Roderick Merchant keeping an inn in 1770 whose estate of several slaves and cash portions shows that such a house could support a family of modest substance. [Film No. 131, 162, 212]

The island served as a hospital station on the ocean routes, receiving sick seamen of the Company, the Royal Navy and foreign nations alike. The Company hospital cared for Thomas Wright of the naval ship *Cumberland* and for John Fretiss, a Portuguese sailor of the Azores who had fallen sick aboard the Company ship *Calcutta*. That men of the King's service and of foreign nations were cared for in the Company's establishment shows the island functioning as a place of refuge for seafarers on the long passages that made St Helena a necessary halt. The hospital recurs as the place where dying sailors made their wills, so that two ship's officers from different vessels, James Bryce of the *Latham* and Thomas White of the *Lord North*, lay sick there at once in 1780. [Film No. 104, 106, 206]

Care of the sick on the island itself often fell to private hands, since the island had no adequate settled institution, and was squared up through legacies. Erasmus Purling in 1755 left the bulk of his estate to Thomas Harper as compensation for nursing him, and William Purcell left £50 0s 0d to Lieutenant William Kennedy for his care and trouble during his illness, sums that repaid a debt of personal attendance where no other provision for nursing existed. John Gray made his will from his room in the hospital, the dying depending on friends and lodging-house keepers for want of any other provision. The recurrence of such payments across the wills shows how consistently those who fell ill relied on the kindness of others, the return set down as a bequest. [Film No. 55, 69, 83]

Judiciary, Law and Probate

These documents are themselves the working product of English testamentary law applied on a distant island, and they show that law functioning in careful detail. Wills were signed, sealed, published and declared before witnesses who subscribed their names, and multi-page wills were guarded against tampering by marking every sheet, as Francis Waringham's will of 1758 recited that it covered five sides of paper with the testator signing each. The instruments of the law were understood and used with precision, the codicil altering a will without replacing it, the postscript adding legacies omitted by mistake, and reversion and remainder named exactly, an owner's right to have land return after a life estate and a future interest granted to a third party. [Film No. 116, 121]

A recurring practical difficulty across the whole period was the supply of stamped paper, which English law required for valid legal documents. John Gray in 1748, John Norton in 1749 and Augustine Balls in 1754 each had it recorded that no stamped paper was available, and by July 1759 Henry Chapman's will records that stamped paper was now available on the island. Yet the want recurs again in Mary Seale's and Joshua Worrall's wills of 1772 and among the seamen of the 1780s, suggesting the supply remained uncertain to the end. Recording the omission on the face of the document was a precaution meant to excuse it and preserve the will against later challenge, an English formality sitting uneasily where the materials were often simply unavailable. [Film No. 27, 36, 47, 72, 154–155, 211]

The forms of English chancery travelled unchanged to the South Atlantic, including hollow formulas long emptied of meaning. Thomas Hall's will of December 1763 was dated in the fourth year of King George the Third of Great Britain, France and Ireland, the claim to sovereignty over France a fixed phrase carried in the royal style since the medieval wars, long after any English land there had been lost. Its appearance in a will made on a remote island shows how far such settled phrasing travelled without change from the metropolitan office that framed it. At the other end of the period the Doveton grant was extracted by proctors of Doctors Commons, the society of civil lawyers who staffed the ecclesiastical courts and governed the proving of wills touching more than one jurisdiction, their names and seals in the island record showing how the affairs of a South Atlantic island reached into this specialised branch of the English legal establishment centred in London. [Film No. 113, 253]

Formal defects were carefully cured, and alterations attested to guard against challenge. Where a word had been inserted between the lines the witnesses attested it, so Joseph Dasfountain's will of 1749 records the word Sarah first interlined, an omitted daughter's name written in and acknowledged, and Henry Rowell's will of 1778 recorded that two executors added between the lines were interlined before signing. James Cheeseman's undated will of 1786 was validated by his witnesses' sworn oath before the Governor, supplying by external proof what the document itself lacked. These careful recitals show men alert to the ways a will could be challenged. [Film No. 29, 194, 216]

Common law doctrines shaped the substance of these wills as much as their form. Dower, the widow's life interest in a third of her husband's estate, is named expressly as a wife's right, while the doctrine of advancement, by which lifetime gifts were set against a child's later share, is both invoked and set aside in different wills. Richard Beale directed that earlier gifts to his grandchildren not be counted against their portions, while Orlando Bagley enforced the rule by recording sums already paid to a son and son-in-law to be set off against their shares. The men who drew these wills knew the rule and its exceptions. [Film No. 132, 139, 143]

Literacy set a clear line through the island's population, and the law accommodated it. Many testators signed with a mark rather than a signature, including the soldiers Thomas Mudge, Isaac Buck and William Birch and the widows Mary Branham and Mary Seale, a witnessed mark carrying the same legal force as a signature. In the will of William Birch in 1771 both the testator and one of the witnesses signed by mark, which shows that inability to write reached even to those called upon to witness the wills of others. [Film No. 123, 134, 149–150, 154]

Economy, Finance, Currency and Accounting

Sums were reckoned throughout in pounds, shillings and pence, and some entries specify island money, pointing to a distinct local currency of account alongside the sterling of home. Robert Meacock recorded a debt of £30 0s 0d in island money and Stephen Suffkin a gift of £2 0s 0d in currency, while William Purcell left £50 0s 0d in island money and William Harrold left his mother £300 0s 0d in the money of Great Britain. The distinction hints at a separate island reckoning, a common feature of remote Company stations where coin was scarce and local values diverged from those of the metropolis. Guineas, valued slightly above the pound, carried a certain social cachet and were the coin thought fitting for genteel memorial gifts, James Powell in 1772 leaving the lieutenant governor £5 5s 0d and Philip Mahony £10 10s 0d for mourning rings. [Film No. 20, 38, 69, 112, 160]

Formal banking was absent, and credit moved through private lending recorded in the wills themselves. Edward Arnold in 1751 listed the men who owed him £7 6s 0d and £2 2s 6d with the exact sums against their names for his executor to collect, and loans were often secured by the direct transfer of possession, Sergeant Collins pledging his James Valley house to Meacock and handing over possession until the debt was cleared, an informal mortgage of the kind that served on the island. Idle capital was made productive by lending at interest, the standard means of making a legacy yield while beneficiaries waited to come of age, Elizabeth Greentree lodging a freed woman's £50 0s 0d with a nephew who paid interest at £4 0s 0d for every hundred each year. [Film No. 38, 41, 137]

The most sophisticated financial thinking appears in the great planter wills, which set out full schemes of equalisation among children. Richard Goodwin worked an early version in 1747, letting each son draw a fixed sum against a daughter's share and closing with a clause by which whoever held the larger portion paid the others enough to bring everyone level. Francis Wrangham in 1759 treated the sums advanced to each child in life as part of the inheritance, setting them down exactly, £812 5s 10d to his son Francis and £740 0s 0d to his son William among others, totalling £1,823 5s 10d, so that any child found to have taken more than a child's part accounted to those who fell short. The estate was managed like a set of accounts, the whole reckoned so that each child's total provision came out equal. [Film No. 21, 93]

A recurring feature is the trust obligation carried faithfully through successive hands, and debts entangled between the estates of connected kin. Money left by the late Captain Cason to various children reappears years later, Gabriel Harper holding £31 0s 0d and Thomas Easthope £100 0s 0d left to his daughter Mary by the same man, each kept distinct from his own estate and delivered intact. Such entangled sums fell due against one another as the linked estates of a small community were settled, Francis Waringham owed £260 0s 0d out of the late Richard Goodwin's estate in right of his late wife, a sum payable only on the death of another person and so wholly uncertain in its timing. [Film No. 25, 32, 156]

The wealthiest estates were tied to the eastern trade rather than to island land, and the mingled coinage of a trading island appears in the humbler bequests. William Harrison, a supercargo in the Company's service

and the officer aboard a Company ship responsible for its commercial business, made a will in 1774 running to many thousands of pounds, leaving £5,000 to his mother and £3,000 to an unborn child. James Dick, a quartermaster of the *Earl of Mansfield*, left thirty rupees and three dollars in cash in 1782, Indian rupees passing on the island alongside the Spanish dollars that served as common silver across the maritime world. Maritime credit shaped the finances of those who sailed, John Mitchell of the *Royal George* having borrowed on respondentia, a loan raised on the security of a ship's cargo and repayable only if the voyage succeeded, so that a man venturing on the eastern trade might die owing more than he left. [Film No. 181, 199–200, 210]

The Company's Indian trade brought the currency of Bengal directly into the island's probate at the century's end. Lydia Denty, formerly of Berhampore in Bengal but resident on St Helena, reckoned her estate in rupees and left her two sons 2,000 rupees held under a deed of settlement of 1 November 1789, the sum's expression in Indian coin showing that the wealth passing under her will belonged to the Bengal world her family came from. Guineas continued to mark genteel gifts, Elizabeth Kennedy leaving her grandchildren their legacies in guineas, each guinea worth 21s that was the customary unit for polite payments, set apart from the plain sterling of the seamen's and tradesmen's wills. The fullest land estates still turned on the device of pricing each parcel to balance the children's shares, Richard Goodwin senior in 1792 valuing 20 acres of freehold called the Wood at £500 0s 0d yet 11 acres called the Plain at only £20 0s 0d, the wide spread showing how sharply the worth of island ground varied with its quality and use. [Film No. 227, 236, 256]

Trade and Shipping

St Helena stood as a single point on a trading system that stretched from Britain to India, and shipping runs through the wills as the lifeline of the island. Named vessels appear throughout, the East Indiamen *Royal Duke*, *Calcutta*, *Earl of Holderness*, *Latham*, *Lord North*, *Royal George* and *Earl of Mansfield*, the naval ship *Cumberland* and the snow *Mercury* commanded by Captain William Harrold. An East Indiaman was a large armed merchant ship run for the long voyage between Britain and Asia, and smaller vessels served the Company's communications, John Ferguson sailing on the *Eagle* packet in 1779, packet ships carrying mail, dispatches and passengers with the island as a station on the passage. The ships carried men to the East, brought the sick ashore and bore the remitted proceeds of estates home. [Film No. 76, 104, 197, 210]

The mariners who died at the island form a distinct group among the testators, their wills shaped by a life at sea and made in advance against its hazards. James Hatfield, making his will in good health in 1759, directed that his body be buried in the earth or at sea as opportunity allowed, and named the dangers of the sea as the occasion for setting his affairs in order, and John Harper made his will in health precisely because he was about to sail for the East Indies in the *Earl of Holderness*. Where the sick made wills from their beds, the seaman made his before embarking, and his estate too was of a peculiar kind, consisting often of wages, arrears, prize money and short allowance money to be collected by an executor after death rather than goods to be handed over. [Film No. 76, 96, 104]

The reach of the Company's eastern stations into island families is striking and runs across the whole record. Timothy Wilson made his will in the 1750s as a sailor in the ship *Earl of Holderness*, and by the 1760s William Seale left his brother and niece his share of his late mother Ann Seale's estate at Bengal, thousands of miles away. Samuel Alexander's will of 1779 names a nephew at Fort Marlborough, the Company's settlement at Bencoolen on Sumatra, who was to inherit an island house and land, and William Harrison provided for a child and its mother at Macao. Kin were settled anywhere from London to Carolina to Bengal, Sumatra and China, showing how the Company's world drew such families apart while they retained interests and expectations at home. [Film No. 61, 151, 181, 201]

Goods and animals reaching the island through the East India trade are named as valued possessions. Nankeen, a durable cotton cloth from the Nanjing region of China imported through Company shipping, was bequeathed by the piece even in modest wills, Penelope Deacle Pindar leaving six pieces in 1747 and Eustace White listing garments of it in 1767, so Asian textiles had reached households well below the rank of the Company's officers. James Powell in 1772 owned a Cape horse, brought from the Cape of Good Hope and treated as a distinct and costly asset. These imported goods and beasts, carefully named as

bequests, reflect the shipping links that ran between the island, southern Africa and the wider trading world. [Film No. 18, 135, 160]

Slavery and Coerced Labour

Slavery lay at the centre of the island's economy and household life across the whole period, and these wills are among the plainest evidence of how slaveholding worked in practice. Slaves were listed by name alongside beds, livestock and pewter with no distinction in kind, so in Penelope Deacle Pindar's will of 1747 Hercules, Moll, Henry and Jill each passed by name exactly as the furniture did. Their treatment at valuation shows how completely they were assimilated to priced property, Richard Goodwin directing that slaves and plate alike be set against each taker's share, so a child who received a valuable slave had that value counted in the final reckoning, human beings and household silver weighed together. [Film No. 18, 23]

The scale of ownership among the leading families was considerable and grew plain in the later wills. James Powell in 1772 gave his wife more than fifteen named slaves in a single bequest, among them Sophia, Patt, Phillis, Dona, Webb, Frank and Pompey, and distributed more among his children, and John Desfountain in 1768 parcelled out named slaves to his wife and to each of three children, not to be valued against their shares. This concentration of human property shows how far the ownership of people underpinned the wealth and domestic establishment of the island's leading households, with a whole labour force treated as movable goods to be handed on. [Film No. 145, 158–160]

A person could be owned across two holders at once, the labour reserved to one and the ownership fixed on another, treated exactly as land carved into successive estates. Thomas Easthope in 1751 held a whole family of slaves for his daughter Mary as her separate property, a man, a woman named Hannah and her three children, kept identifiable and intact through her minority, and Nathan Stamp gave a woman named *Rose* to his widow for life and then to his son as his own property. The slaves were also appraised by the same machinery used for any other asset, Elizabeth Greentree in 1769 directing that her slaves be transferred at a valuation set by two men chosen impartially by her executors, exactly as for land or livestock. [Film No. 64, 138, 185]

A household's dependence on a slave's labour could pull against provision for a widow. Gabriel Harper in 1747 gave the slave Cornwell to his wife only for her widowhood and directed his executors buy the value back rather than let the man, whose labour the young children needed, leave the family, so the same person was valued twice, as asset and as worker. Ownership could be clouded by mere residence, Robert Meacock in 1750 certifying that the boy Toney was his own and had never belonged to the late Sergeant Collins, in whose house the child had only lived. Slaves reached the island through the passing ships, Richard Mason's codicil recording a boy Dick bought of Captain Braund, one of the commanders whose vessels carried human cargo among the Company's ports. [Film No. 26, 38, 53]

Against the general pattern in which slaves passed as unremarked property, a run of wills records grants of freedom, and their differences illuminate a shifting practice closely bound up with the Company's government. Elizabeth Davis in 1759 freed her slave Eleanor outright at her death while giving her slave Molly away as a chattel by the same instrument, yet a year later William Dutton could only direct that his slave Anne be freed if the Governor and Council were pleased to allow it, and Francis Waringham in 1758 could free Meg and Sukey only with the Council's leave, anticipating that a bylaw might forbid freed slaves from remaining. The contrast suggests the island authorities had moved to regulate manumission in the interval, perhaps to check the growth of a free population of colour, though the picture is not clean, for John Leech freed his slave Emanuel outright in 1762 with no mention of approval. [Film No. 72, 78, 105, 120–121]

Manumission, where granted, was almost always hedged, deferred or made conditional on years of further service. The freedom granted to Connor by Thomas Greentree, to the boy George by John Desfountain, to Jack by Mary Seale and to Billey by Elizabeth Desfountain all took effect only after the slave had served a named person throughout that person's life, and Richard Bagley freed his man Benjamin for having proved a faithful servant, but only at his widow's death. Liberty was thus made a reward earned over years of labour rather than a gift given freely, and it was commonly accompanied by a payment, Leech adding £3

0s 0d to Emanuel's freedom, Bagley coupling Benjamin's release with £10 0s 0d, and Samuel Alexander setting aside £50 0s 0d at interest for a freed boy's support, since a freed slave without means might face destitution. [Film No. 105, 130, 145, 177, 201]

A settled expectation runs through these grants that freed slaves were not to remain on the island, their liberty coupled with departure. Waringham set aside money to buy Meg and Sukey passage off St Helena, Connor was given £10 0s 0d to go off the island if he chose, and Elizabeth Greentree arranged that the freed woman Margaret should have her £50 0s 0d legacy in full if she left but only the yearly interest while she stayed, the capital to revert to the family should she die there. This coupling of freedom with departure, and of a freed woman's money with her leaving, shows that liberty and continued residence were not expected to go together. [Film No. 120–121, 130, 137]

Within the harsh fact of ownership a few wills gave the slaves a narrow measure of say in who would own them next, framed as a reward for fidelity. Elizabeth Greentree let each of her slaves choose a master or mistress, though the choice fell only among buyers within the family's circle, and Martha Beale allowed the woman Sue to choose whether to live with Isaac Doveton, who might then buy her at valuation. These provisions let a slave influence their next owner but stopped well short of freedom, and they remained in law property to be valued and transferred either way. The presence of free people of colour is hinted at, Thomas Greentree in 1766 leaving £5 0s 0d to Sukey, described as a black woman and named among the free beneficiaries, though the record is too slight to be certain. [Film No. 129, 138, 164]

The system's coldest mechanics and its occasional reversals both appear most starkly in the later wills. Julius Fabians, in freeing his slave woman Tillaa in 1784, made another slave, Nanny, the security for Tillaa's quarterly rent, to be seized and sold should the payments fail, one slave woman made the collateral for another's conditional liberty. Yet the same Fabians freed the boy Billy and made him his principal heir, leaving him four houses, a body of other slaves including Johann, Joseph and Pedro, and the entire residue, directing that he be educated for business and bound to a trade. This shows that on the island freedom and ownership were not opposites but positions a single person could pass between, the document turning a slave child into a substantial freeholder in a deliberate act that reversed his condition at law. [Film No. 213–214]

The wills of the 1780s show the same institution renewing itself and, occasionally, releasing whole families. James Cotgrave in 1792 scattered slaves one by one among the children of Thomas Cole, giving a boy named George to one, a girl named Molly and a boy named Jacob to another, and a female slave child named Clary to a third, the youngest of the slaves matched with the youngest of the free so that each new free child grew up with a slave of its own. Against this Edward Bagley's will freed the woman Pat and gave her £50 0s 0d, a feather bed and 12 table spoons, and freed her five sons Michael, David, John, James and Robert across several instruments, further securing the boy William a claim of £40 0s 0d against the estate. Yet in the same document the three children of another woman, Mary, though allowed to choose their own buyers, were still to be sold, their price swept into the fund that maintained Pat's family, one family raised into freedom at the very moment another was converted into cash to pay for it. [Film No. 219, 260]

It is worth weighing what the record obscures as well as what it states. These wills capture slaves only as property at a master's death, giving their names, prices and new owners but nothing of their own lives or families beyond what served the reckoning of an estate. The human family reserved to Mary Easthope is glimpsed only because keeping it together suited the settlement, and where freedom was granted the small provisions of clothing, a bed or a few pounds mark the one point at which these documents admit the people owned had a future to be provided for at all. The official record served the interests of the slaveholders who wrote it, and the people it counted as assets are visible only through that distorting purpose. [Film No. 64, 78]

Social Order, Family and Women

The wills reveal a sharply graded society, from gentlemen at the top to private soldiers at the bottom, and the language of status is precise. Men styled themselves gentleman, planter, surgeon's mate, innkeeper, cooper, gunner, matross or sentinel, and each term placed its holder within a known order. The households

of the gentry, such as the Wranghams, Dovetons, Greentrees and Powells, held land, plate, imported furniture and many slaves, while the poorer soldiers left little more than their clothing and unpaid wages, a man's whole estate sometimes a chest, some clothes and a fiddle, as with John Gray's violin, books and chest sold at auction. This gulf runs plainly through the documents, which show wealth heavily concentrated in a few connected landed families. [Film No. 36, 124–126, 158]

One strategy dominates the landed wills so completely that it is a central finding of the whole record. Faced with holdings too small to divide among several children and still leave any a viable farm, planter after planter settled the land whole on chosen sons and required them to pay the other children their shares in money, keeping the physical estate intact while dividing its value evenly. Giles Smith in 1750 had only four leasehold acres, split into an upper and lower part for two sons, yet used the identical method of valuing each gift against the taker's share, and the same first refusal at valuation runs through the wills of Nathan Stamp, John Seale, William Young and Gabriel Ishacke senior decades later, a fallback to a second child guarding against a gift failing for want of a taker. [Film No. 37, 185, 191, 203–205]

Because so much turned on children reaching adulthood, testators planned minutely for early death, and chains of survivorship run through the wills. Property passed from son to surviving son and then to daughters in turn, as Goodwin arranged, or entire to whichever of a wife and son outlived the other, as Daniel Bush provided, while Orlando Bagley's will built an elaborate cascade of alternative destinations against the early death of his heirs, high mortality making such contingencies real rather than formal. After-born and posthumous children were guarded against throughout, James Corbett and Roderick Merchant both making express room for a child a pregnant wife might bear, and Gabriel Ishacke directing that any child born later, or carried by his wife at his death, be counted an equal sharer. [Film No. 22, 42, 132, 208]

Disinheritance was marked deliberately rather than by silence. A nominal legacy of 1s 0d appears as the recognised device to bar a child while forestalling any argument that he had been overlooked. William Seale senior left 1s 0d each to two daughters, and Gabriel Ishacke senior left his son Nathaniel 1s 0d and no more, expressly for his undutiful behaviour, using the will both to cut the son off and to record publicly why. A child entirely unmentioned might argue the testator had simply forgotten him, whereas a named token put the disinheritance beyond dispute. Distance too could fracture family ties past repair, Augustine Balls in 1754 leaving £200 0s 0d to his children in an English parish only if they were living and could be found, and giving the bulk of his estate to a man on the island who could actually take it. [Film No. 47, 198, 202]

The position of women under the law comes through with particular clarity, and the clearest local adaptation concerns the widow. Under English common law a widow's dower was a third of her husband's lands for life, but the custom recorded on St Helena gave her one half. Samuel Doveton in 1749 complained that this was very injurious to the number of children to be raised out of the estate, and persuaded his wife to take a child's sixth instead, her surrender recorded in a separate signed and witnessed deed so it could not later be questioned. The same generous custom recurs in the wills of John Swaites, William Burnham and Richard Mason, each giving a wife half the real estate for life and recording her promise to abide, the consistency making the half-share one of the securest findings the record yields. [Film No. 31, 35, 51, 56, 59]

A married woman under coverture had no separate legal identity in property, and this disability shaped many clauses, met by trusts that shielded a daughter's or wife's property from a husband's control. Mary Goodwin's will created an elaborate separate estate for her daughter Margaret Marriott, vesting the property in trustees free of the husband's debts, so that Margaret alone could receipt for it and dispose of it by her own will notwithstanding her coverture. Sarah Farrell made her will in 1775 under a marriage settlement dated before her wedding, and Lydia Denty held her Bengal fortune under a deed of settlement of 1789 made in three parts with her husband on one side and trustees on the others, the standard means of keeping property to a wife's separate use, which is why she, a wife, could direct both the capital to her children and the interest to their upbringing. Ann Seale likewise made her own will though her husband lived, passing slaves and goods she plainly held to her separate use to a daughter rather than through the husband. [Film No. 89, 186, 236, 244]

A widow, by contrast, regained full capacity, the death of a husband restoring the power that marriage had suspended. Mary Alexander in 1749 held and bequeathed a slave woman, a gold ring and an iron chest in her own name, and a widow's own testament commonly completed the disposal her husband's will had begun, as Mary Mason's will passed on the third of his estate that Richard had left her. A few wills show women managing their affairs wholly in women's hands, Sarah Funge in 1766 naming her two daughters joint executrices with no male executor or overseer, reflecting small households of women managing their own affairs on the island. [Film No. 18, 95, 133]

A widow's fuller provision was very often tied to her remaining unmarried, a device that recurs so consistently across the whole record as to mark it a settled island practice. Richard Goodwin ended a widow's authority at any remarriage in the 1740s, Thomas Cotgrave gave his wife his whole estate while she stayed a widow but cut her to half the real estate and a third of the movables should she remarry, and decades later Richard Bagley, John Shortley and John Price gave the widow the use of the whole so long as she remained unmarried but cut her down to her legal third should she wed again. Behind the pattern lay the fear that a new husband's claims might threaten the children's portions, the device rewarding the widow who remained single and withdrawing from the widow who remarried, so the estate reached beyond the grave to shape her most personal choices. [Film No. 24, 74, 176–179, 188]

Provision for dependent and unmarried female relatives was a recurring concern, met by charging the estate with their support and often tied to their remaining in the household. John Desfountain directed that his unmarried sister Rebecca have her maintenance out of his estate so long as she remained single, Richard Bagley settled an annuity of £40 0s 0d on his sister Margaret Fowler, and John Whitchurch's sister-in-law Margaret Goudy was to have maintenance only so long as she lived with the widow. These arrangements secured a home or an income to women who had no husband to keep them, binding the estate and its holder to their upkeep while their single state continued, and in some cases securing the widow a resident companion. Family threads reached far beyond the island, Thomas Cotgrave's two elder daughters gone to India and his grandson in the East Indies, their legacies to follow them there. [Film No. 74, 146, 207]

Religion, Education and Charity

Almost every will opens with the maker commending his soul to God and directing a Christian and decent burial, a form so uniform it frames the whole record, many hoping for salvation through the merits of Christ. The island's establishment was that of the Church of England, and clergy appear among the propertied inhabitants, the Reverend William Lee receiving mourning rings in Wrangham's will and a legacy from Edward Jennings. English funerary custom crossed the ocean, Stephen Suffkin in 1748 directing his burial be furnished with hatband and scarves distributed to mourners, and the proper offices of the church mattered to the dying, Eustace White in 1767 leaving the Reverend Mr Desmoineaux £1 1s 0d to have his corpse carried to the church and 10s 6d to the parish clerk. [Film No. 20, 87, 135]

Against this Protestant background the will of John Fretiss stands out sharply. A Portuguese Catholic of Terceira in the Azores, Fretiss left money to the clergy to pray for his soul, a practice foreign to the Church of England establishment around him, his testament recorded first in his own language and then in English. It shows the religious diversity that the Company's cosmopolitan crews brought to the island, a Catholic sailor's wish for masses set down among the Protestant forms of the island's own testators. [Film No. 106, 109]

Concern for education appears rarely but strikingly, and the placing of children in trades was a recognised form of provision. Rowland Davis, a gunner's mate, left his whole estate to John Sampell, the young son of a fellow gunner's mate, expressly to buy the boy books, a rare glimpse of concern for learning among wills that otherwise counted only cattle, land and silver. Later Julius Fabians directed that the freed boy Billy be educated fit for business and then bound to a trade, and William Young had bound his son William apprentice at a cost of £30 0s 0d, reckoned as part of his share, binding a boy apprentice equipping him with a craft and a livelihood treated as equivalent to a portion given in another form. [Film No. 84, 204, 214]

Spiritual kinship mattered in a society where blood ties were sometimes thin, and godparents and godchildren feature prominently as legatees, in the wills of Richard Bagley, John Whitchurch and Samuel Alexander among others, standing in for closer blood ties that were evidently wanting. A settled community also needed skilled craftsmen, and the wills name several, George Bird a cabinet maker and joiner, James Pritchard a tailor and John Bland a master mason, men of substance whose work and property formed part of the island's built fabric and its market in houses. [Film No. 175, 192–193, 195]

Charity followed the moral thinking of the age, which drew a firm line between the deserving and the undeserving poor. Thomas Greentree left £25 0s 0d to the honest and industrious poor of the island, or such of them as should be judged the worthiest, the choice left to his executors, embedding a test of character into the gift. Richard Bagley left £50 0s 0d to the poor of the island and Jane Bagley £30 0s 0d, both distributed at their executors' discretion, discharging a recognised social duty. The strongest statement of obligation comes from Julius Fabians, who directed that should his heir Billy die young his whole estate be sold and the money divided among the poorest families of the island in proportion to their needs, turning the property into a charitable fund of last resort rather than letting it fall to distant kin. [Film No. 129, 176, 214]

Crime, Punishment and Dispute

The wills say little of crime or punishment directly, being instruments of property rather than records of the court's criminal business, and this silence is itself worth noting. There is nothing here of courts sitting in judgement, of military engagements narrated, or of the Company's governance beyond its role as landlord, employer and regulator. The source is a register of private dispositions and cannot be made to speak of matters its makers had no occasion to record. What the wills do reveal is a strong concern to prevent dispute after death, Richard Harper and Thomas Wright each making a will expressly to avoid disputes, and Wrangham's exhaustive default provisions carrying the same impulse to its furthest point. [Film No. 79, 92, 104]

The absence of criminal matter, set beside this anxious concern to avoid dispute, suggests a community that managed its conflicts chiefly through the careful ordering of property, or that such matters lay outside the testamentary record entirely. The makeshift machinery of poor relief and social control surfaces only at the edges, Henry Rowell holding the office of parish house keeper charged with running the parish poorhouse, and the half share of punch house licence profits appropriated by the Council for orphans. These fragments show the modest apparatus of order and relief under the parish and the Council's authority, glimpsed only where it touched the disposal of an estate. [Film No. 171, 193–194]

Personalities

A few individuals stand out from the record's uniform pattern across its span. Samuel Doveton, whose wills of 1749 fill several leaves, was the most substantial early figure, a planter of unusual reach whose James Valley house held billiard tables and whose estate ran to engraved silver, freehold blocks named across the interior, slaves and cattle. He managed a leveraged land purchase from beyond the grave, provided for two sons at sea by remitting their shares to an attorney in England, and persuaded his wife to surrender her customary half. His will drew a speculative reading worth weighing, that he kept the family silver in the male line while sending its human property overwhelmingly to a daughter, Rebekah alone receiving three slaves while the engraved plate passed piece by piece to the sons. The suggested explanation, that the seafaring sons had little use for labouring slaves while the silver marked their lineage, is plausible but remains an inference about motive the document does not state. [Film No. 31–35]

Francis Wrangham the elder stands as the greatest figure of the war years, a planter of substantial wealth whose death was marked by mourning rings distributed to Governor Charles Hutchinson and the whole Council. His will filled six sheets and set out the fullest scheme of equalisation the record shows. It also preserves a glimpse of individual circumstance, his daughter Rebecca having long laboured under an unhappy state of mind that left her unable to manage property, for whom he set £600 0s 0d in trust, only the income spent on her support, with the whole to be paid her outright should she recover her senses and marry. [Film No. 86–94, 107]

Thomas Greentree, a gentleman who died in 1766, emerges as the largest landed figure of the middle period, his will running to seven sides of paper, holding a great scatter of freehold and leasehold parcels, goat ranges and slaves, and disposing of them with close attention, protecting his wife's separately owned property, shielding married nieces' legacies from their husbands, and leaving a charitable gift to the deserving poor. His widow Elizabeth Greentree then exercised the power he had left her, disposing of £400 0s 0d out of his estate by her own will of 1769, a clear instance of a widow controlling a defined portion of her husband's property as if it were her own to give. James Powell, dying in 1772, left the fullest picture of a wealthy island household, his will naming more than a score of slaves, a Cape horse, armorial silver, gold watches and a silver-hilted sword. [Film No. 126–131, 137, 158–161]

The later years throw up the most singular figures. William Harrison, the supercargo, is the richest and most far-flung, his will of 1774 providing for an unborn child of Maria da Rozario at Macao, directing that the child be brought to England and educated and its mother secured an income beyond the reach of any foreign jurisdiction, his care reaching across empires for a family formed far from home. Julius Fabians, the shipwright, is the most remarkable in his treatment of the slaves he owned, freeing several, making the boy Billy his principal heir and directing his residue to the island's poor, a man willing both to hold slaves as collateral and to raise a freed child into the propertied class. James Dick, the quartermaster of the *Earl of Mansfield*, is memorable for the care he took over his own end, charging his executor to bury him with a coffin, a clean shirt, white breeches and clean stockings and to set up a small headstone carrying his name, age and date, guarding against an anonymous pauper's burial where no family was present to do it. [Film No. 181, 210, 213–214]

The wills of the century's last decade preserve one of the sharpest personal declarations in the whole record. Captain James Greentree, dying in 1789, wrote into his will a blunt disavowal of his stepson's paternity, setting down that the boy Robert, though born in wedlock within three weeks of the marriage, was not and could not be his son, on the mother's own admission, and gave his reasons for leaving the boy only two acres. A child born to a married woman was presumed in law to be her husband's, and by reciting the timing of the birth and the mother's confession he built into the document the evidence to rebut that presumption. The attached speculation reads the choice as a deliberate preference for a wounding public declaration over a quiet gift that might later be overturned, and the reasoning is sound, for a bare gift without explanation would indeed have invited challenge on the boy's behalf. Edward Bagley stands beside him for the sweep of his manumissions, equipping the freed woman Pat with money and household goods to set her up as a householder rather than turning her loose without means. [Film No. 219, 239]

Certain individuals stand out for the trust concentrated in them, the recurring names allowing a few to be seen as fixtures of the island's legal business. William Wells received the whole estate of two fellow soldiers, Edward Archer and William Cross, within a single week of October 1760, marking him as a reliable comrade to whom others in the ranks turned. William Kennedy first appears nursing William Purcell in 1758 and serving as his executor, then makes his own will in 1760 as captain of the Fourth Company, an officer who cared for the sick and administered estates before providing for his own family. The Beale family, with Richard Beale senior and junior witnessing will after will, appear as a fixture of the island's legal machinery across the whole middle period. [Film No. 69, 81, 82, 85]

Conclusion

Read as a whole across seven decades, this run of wills gives a remarkably consistent picture of a small settler society under the East India Company. Land was scarce, held on a patchwork of freehold and Company lease, and its worth turned above all on access to water, families guarding their holdings by settling them whole on chosen sons and paying the other children in money, a strategy so widespread it defines island inheritance practice from the 1740s to the 1780s. A garrison ordered into companies under named officers defended the island, a constant traffic of ships carried men to the East and the proceeds of estates home, and English legal forms were extended to the station, sometimes imperfectly, the uncertain supply of stamped paper marking the limits of that apparatus from first to last. [Film No. 17–267]

Above all the record shows a community resting on slavery, in which human beings were owned, valued and bequeathed alongside land and silver, and in which even the granting of freedom was hedged with

conditions, tied to years of further service and coupled with departure from the island. The shifting practice of manumission, from an owner's sole gift in the 1750s to an act requiring the Council's leave and then, inconsistently, back again, shows how uncertain even the clearest-seeming pattern can be, and warns against reading these documents too confidently. The island emerges as a place shaped at every point by its distance from home and its dependence on the Company, its soldiers and servants dying far from birthplaces across Britain and Ireland while Asian goods reached ordinary households and local custom diverged from English law where it suited a settler community. [Film No. 72, 105, 120]

The material must be read for what it is and what it is not. It is strong, direct evidence of property, family and the machinery of settlement, and its accompanying interpretations mostly draw sound conclusions from the documents, though the more speculative readings of motive, and slight cases such as the status of the free black woman Sukey, should be held as plausible inference rather than fact. It is no evidence at all of the island's public and military affairs beyond their edges, and it renders its slaves visible only as assets. Within those limits this consolidated run of testaments stands as an unusually clear and human record of how a remote Company island ordered its property, provided for its dead and depended on coerced labour across the whole span from the 1720s to the 1790s. [Film No. 17–267]

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15		[Physical loss: upper left edge and upper right corner of the page] Y,Page,Z,Page Young William: 142 Young Stephen: 210	
16		Blank page	
17	1	In the Name of God Amen this fourteenth Day of December in the year of Our Lord God One thousand Seven Hundred and forty One I John Scott of the Island St Helena being Sick and Weak of Body but of Sound & perfect Mind and Memory (thanks to Almighty God) do make and appoint this and no other to be my last Will and Testament in manner and form as followeth first and principally I give & recommend my Soul into the Hands of Almighty God. My Body to the Earth to be buried in a Christian like Decent manner. My worldly goods wherewith God has blessed me I give Devise and Dispose of as followeth. Imprimis After my Debts are fully paid and Satisfied I give the One third part of my Estate to my Wellbeloved Wife to be at her Dispose and do also appoint her whole and Sole Executrix to this my Will Item I give at the Decease of my Wife that parcel of Land which I now Lease of the Honble Company called the Green Hill to the Two Daughters of my Wife by her former Husband Two poor Hands	John Scott of St Helena made his will on 14 December 1746. He was sick and weak in body but sound in mind, and he set down this document as his last will, cancelling any he had made before. He commended his soul to God and directed that his body be buried in the ordinary Christian way. He then disposed of the worldly goods God had given him as follows. First, once his debts were paid, he gave a third part of his estate to his wife, to use as she saw fit, and he named her sole executrix of the will. He next directed that, on his wife's death, a parcel of land he then leased from the Company, known as the Green Hill, should pass to his wife's two daughters by her former husband, Joseph Harris. All the rest of his estate he gave to be divided equally between his two children, John and Elizabeth, once they reached adulthood or married. He excepted his dwelling house in James Valley, which he left to his wife for her lifetime, and directed that on her death two thirds of it should be divided equally between his two children named earlier. The will was signed, sealed and declared as the last will of John Scott, before Thomas Willingham and John Leech junior. A further document from St Helena then set out that Elizabeth Kennedy, wife of William Kennedy and formerly the wife of the late John Scott, had been appointed sole executrix by John Scott's will of 14

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		Item All the rest and remaining part of my Estate I give to be Equally Divided between my two beloved Children John & Elizabeth at Age or Marriage Excepting my Dwelling House in James Valley which I leave in the Possession of my Wife during her Natural Life & at her Decease the two thirds thereof to be Equally Divided between my two before mentioned Children Disannulling all former Wills by me made Ratifying and Confirming this and no other to be my last Will and Testament Signed Sealed & Declared (Signed) John Scott to be the last Will of him the said John Scott. in the presence of Us. (Signed) Thos Willingham John Leech Junr Island St Helena Know all Men by these presents that I Elizabeth Kennedy of the said Island Wife to William Kennedy and late the Wife of John Scott Deceased. AND whereas by the said John Scotts last Will and Testament dated the Fourteenth Day of December in the year of our Lord One Thousand Seven Hundred and forty Six he did appoint me whole and Sole Executrix in the Mannagement of his Affairs and as the said Elizabeth Kennedy being very Sick and Weak of Body and no likelyhoode of	December 1746, with full management of his affairs. Being herself very sick and weak in body, and with little prospect of recovery, [...] **Interpretations** The bequest of the Green Hill land turned on a distinction the will was careful to preserve. John Scott held that ground only on a lease from the East India Company, which owned all land on the island and granted plots to settlers on terms it controlled. He could pass on the benefit of the lease to his stepdaughters, but not the freehold, which was never his to give. Directing the land to his wife's daughters by Joseph Harris, rather than to his own two children, kept the Harris line provided for while his own estate went to John and Elizabeth. The splitting of the James Valley dwelling house between a life interest and a later division was a standard device for protecting a widow. Elizabeth held and occupied the house for as long as she lived, which secured her a home she could not be turned out of, and only on her death did two thirds of it fall to be shared between Scott's children. The arrangement balanced her security against the children's eventual inheritance without forcing a sale while she was alive. The second document records the practical difficulty that Scott's widow had herself fallen sick and was unlikely to recover, so that the executrix he had appointed to wind up his affairs was now in need of arrangements for her own. Her remarriage to William Kennedy in the interval also mattered, since a married woman's dealings with property were constrained by her husband's rights, and the record sets out her standing as executrix precisely because that authority had to be established afresh in her changed circumstances.
18	2	recovering do by the power therein given me Authorize and Appoint my said Husband William Kennedy Mr Rich Mason and Mr Isaac Knipe of the said Island Trustees to the said deceaseds Will to Act and do as they shall think proper without any hindrance or Molestation of by or from any Person or Persons whatsoever In Witness whereof I have hereunto Sett my hand and Seal this twelfth Day of October in the Twenty first Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord George the Second by the Grace of God of Great Brittain France and Ireland King defender of the Faith and so forth and in the Year of Our Lord 1747 Signed Sealed and (Signed) The Mark of El: Eliz Kennedy Delivered in the presence of Us Thos French Wm Leech Junr In the Name of God Amen I Penelope Isacke Widow of the Island St Helena being Sick and weak of Boddy but of sound mind and perfect Memory thanks be to Almighty God for the same do make and Ordain this my last Will and Testament that is to say first and Principally I recommend my Soul into the Hands of Almighty God my Boddy to the Earth to be Decently Buried In a Christian like manner and my Worldly goods wherewith it	Elizabeth Kennedy, under the authority given her, appointed her husband William Kennedy together with Richard Mason and Isaac Kinipe of St Helena as trustees to the deceased's will, to act as they thought proper without hindrance or interference from anyone. She set her hand and seal to this on 12 October 1747. It was signed, sealed and delivered before Thomas French and Thomas Leech junior, and marked by Elizabeth Kennedy. Penelope Deacle Pindar of St Helena made her will while sick and weak in body but sound in mind. She commended her soul to God and directed that her body be buried decently in the Christian way. She then gave her worldly goods as follows. First, she gave her daughter Penelope a slave man named Hercules and a slave girl named Moll, together with a feather bed and its furniture, and £16 6s 0d in cash. She gave her grandson James Nettlefield a bed and its furniture, together with the house at the fort that had formerly belonged to his mother, six pieces of nankeen, a demand of cloth, one ewe sheep, £16 6s 0d in cash, six plates of pewter and one chest. She gave her grandchildren Penelope and Sutton one heifer each. She gave her daughter Eleanor a slave boy named Henry. She gave her grandson Thomas Leech one ewe sheep. She gave her son Gabriel a slave man named Jill, two dishes and six plates. **Interpretations** The bequests turned on the outright ownership of people as movable property, listed alongside beds, livestock and pewter with no distinction in kind. Hercules, Moll, Henry and Jill each passed by name from one household to another exactly as the furniture and sheep did, which is how slaveholding worked in

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		hath pleased God to bless me with I give and Bequeath as followes Vizt Imprimis I give my Daughter Penelope one Black Man Hercules One Black Girl Name Mell & one feather Bed & furniture and Sixteen Pounds fiveteen and Six Pence Each Item I give to my Grandson James Nettlefield One Bed & furniture a House at the Fort that formerly belonged to his Mother Six Pieces of Nanquin & a Remnand of Cloth One Ewe Sheep & Sixteen Pound fiveteen Shillence in Cash Six plates Pewter & one Chest Item I give to my Grand Children Penelope and Sutton Each one Heifer Item I give to my Daughter Eleanor one Black Boy Named Henry Item I give to my Grandson Thomas Leech One Ewe Sheep Item I give to my Son Gabriel one Black Man Sill two Dishes & Six Plates	practice on the island: a slave was an asset to be divided among heirs, and a will was one of the ordinary instruments by which that division was made. The nankeen and the demand of cloth given to James Nettlefield point to the reach of the East India Company's trade into daily provision on St Helena. Nankeen was a durable cotton cloth from the Nanjing region of China, imported through the Company's shipping and valued enough to be worth bequeathing by the piece. Its appearance in a modest island will shows how far Asian textiles had penetrated ordinary colonial households by the mid eighteenth century, reaching people well below the rank of the Company's own officers.
19	3	[Right-hand edge, running the full length of the page: worn and irregular from top to foot] Item All the rest and remainder of my Effects be it of what soever I give & Bequeathe unto my Beloved Children Named Gabriel Eleanor & Penelope to be Divided Equally betweixt them Lastly I hereby Nominate and Appoint my beloved Son Elisha Isa and Mr Stephen Young Executors to this my last Will and Testa Utterly Revoking and Disannuling all former Will or Wills by me made Ratifying and and Conforming this and no other to be my last Will & Testament in Witness whereof I have hereunto Sett my Hand and Seal this this 13 Day of September AD 1747 Signed Sealed and (Signed) Penelope her Isacke Delivered as her last Will and mark Testament in the presence of Us (Signed) Thos Manning Nathan Sampell In the Name of God Amen I Matthew Mudge of the Island called St Hellena Gentleman being Weak in Body but Sound of Mind and Memory do make this my last Will and Testament hereby all former Wills Revoaking in Manner as forme following Imprimis I will and Bequeath my Soul unto Almighty God that gave it and my Body to the Dust from whence it came to be Decently Interr'd at the Discretion of my Executrix & Executors hereafter Mentioned and as to all my Estate being all personal I gi as followeth I will and bequeath Unto my Loving Wife Elizabeth one Entire third part of all I shall Die possessed of and unto my Surviveing Children I have a like Notwithstanding Coverture to be	Penelope Deacle Pindar gave all the rest of her effects to her children Gabriel, Eleanor and Penelope, to be divided equally between them. She named her son Elisha junior and Stephen Young executors of the will, cancelling every will she had made before. She set her hand and seal to it on 13 September 1747. It was signed, sealed and delivered as her last will before Thomas Manning and Nathan Sampell, and marked by Penelope Deacle. Matthew Mudge of St Helena, gentleman, made his will while weak in body but sound in mind, cancelling every will he had made before. First, he commended his soul to God and directed that his body be buried decently at the discretion of his executors. His whole estate was personal property, and he disposed of it as follows. He gave his wife Elizabeth a full third part of everything he should die possessed of, and directed that the rest be divided equally among his surviving children. His wife, notwithstanding her coverture, was to take a share on the same footing as the children, the division to be made within twelve months and one day of his death. He named his wife Elizabeth, together with Matthew Purlin and Robert Maycock of the island, executrix and executors of the will. It was signed, sealed and delivered on 31 October 1747, before Thomas Spencer, John Burton and [...] Manteque, and marked by Matthew Mudge. **Interpretations** The clause allowing Elizabeth Mudge a child's share notwithstanding her coverture met a specific legal obstacle. A married woman under coverture had no separate legal identity in matters of property, so a husband could not simply leave his wife an outright portion to hold in her own right without addressing that bar. By writing the point into the will and naming her executrix alongside two men, Mudge gave her both a defined share and a formal standing to administer the estate, which the doctrine would otherwise have denied her. Mudge's note that his whole estate was personal property, with nothing in land, reflects how property was held on St Helena. The East India Company owned the island and granted land only by lease, so a settler's wealth lay in movable goods, slaves, livestock and cash rather than in freehold that could be devised. Setting the point down at the head of the will told the executors that the entire division fell to be made

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		Equally Divided Amongst them within twelve Months and one Day After my Decease. I have hereby Constituted and appointed and by this my last Will do constitute and Appoint my a foresaid Loving Wife Elizabeth together with Mr Robert Maycock of this Island to be Executrix and Executors of this my last Will Signed Sealed and Delivered published and Declared in the presence of Us and Two Sistator this thirty first Day of October in the Year of our Lord God one Thousand Seven Hundred and Fourty Seven and in the Twenty first Year of the Reign of Our Sovereign Lord George of Great Brittain France and Ireland the defender of the faith &c (signed) Matthew Mudge his † marke	among personal effects, with no real estate to complicate the shares.
20	4	[Right-hand edge, running the full length of the page: worn and irregular from top to foot] In the Name of God Amen I Stephen Luffkin of the Island St Helena Silver being of Sound mind & Perfect Memory but being in a very bad State of health do appoint this my last Will & Testament in manner & form following first I recommend my Soul to God that gave it my Body to the Earth to be there Decently Interr'd according to the Usual Custom of this Island with Hatband & Scarves Item I give & Bequeath to Margaret Leech the Sum of five pounds Immediatly after my Decease Item I Will to William & Sarah Hayes the Son & Daughter of Joseph Hayes Planter Deceasd the above Said Sum of five Pounds each Item I will & Bequeath to my Friend Joseph Long for his care of me in my Illness the Sum of two Pounds Sterrancy also my Chest at James Valley to be given to him Immediatly after my Decease and also do by these Presents appoint him Andr Joseph Whaley one Executor of this my last Will & Testament Item And lastly all the rest of Worldly Goods whatsoever I give and Bequeath to the above Mentioned Joseph Whaley Junr as well Debts as Cash from Serjt Solomon Jacobs which Sum is Sterrancy fifteen Shillings ten Shillings for a pair of Bristol Stone Studo Sett in Silver & five Shillings for a piece of Nankeen hereby revoking all former Wills by me made (Signed) Stephen Luffkin his Mark and Seal L Signd Seald & Delivered in the presence of Witnesses (Signed) Matthias Brightwell James Long Island Saint Helena In the Name of God Amen I Richard Godwin of the Island Saint Helena Planter being Sick and	Stephen Suffkin of St Helena, [...], made his will while sound in mind but in a very bad state of health. He commended his soul to God and directed that his body be buried decently in the usual manner of the island, with hatband and scarves. He then disposed of his goods as follows. He gave Margaret Leech the sum of £5 0s 0d, to be paid immediately after his death. He gave William and Sarah Hayes, the son and daughter of the late Joseph Hayes, planter, the sum of £5 0s 0d each. He gave his friend Joseph Long £2 0s 0d in currency, for his care during his illness, together with his chest at James Valley, to be handed over immediately after his death. He appointed Joseph Whaley junior sole executor of the will. Lastly, he gave all the rest of his worldly goods to Joseph Whaley junior, together with the debts owed to him by Sergeant Solomon Jacobs, which came to £15 10s 0d, being 10s for a pair of Bristol stone shoe buckles set in silver and 5s for a piece of nankeen. He cancelled every will he had made before. The will was signed, sealed and delivered before Matthias Brightwell and James Long, and marked by Stephen Suffkin. Richard Goodwin of St Helena, planter, made his will while sick and weak in body but sound in mind. He commended his soul to God [...] **Interpretations** The direction for hatband and scarves at the burial fixed a particular social form on the funeral. Mourning hatbands and scarves were distributed to those attending, often paid for out of the estate, and marked both the standing of the deceased and the obligation of the mourners. Writing the custom into the will as the settled practice of the island shows that St Helena had carried this English funerary convention across the ocean and made it the expected way of burying a settler of some means. The debt from Sergeant Solomon Jacobs opened a small window onto how goods and credit moved on the island. Jacobs had bought silver-set buckles of Bristol stone and a length of nankeen on credit, and the unpaid sum was itself an asset that Suffkin could bequeath. Bristol stone was rock crystal cut and polished to imitate diamond, a cheaper substitute worn by those who wanted the look of gems without the cost, and its presence alongside Chinese nankeen shows a garrison sergeant reaching for modest finery supplied through the Company's trade. The bequest tied to Joseph Long's care during the illness records payment for nursing rendered in the

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		Weak of Body but of Sound and Perfect Mind Memory and Understanding thanks to Almighty God for the Same do make this my last Will and Testament in manner and forme following. That is to Say I recommend my Soul into the Hands of Almighty God	absence of any settled provision for the sick. Long had looked after Suffkin through his final decline, and the £2 and the chest were the return for that service, set down in the will because there was no other mechanism to discharge the debt. The arrangement shows how the dying on St Helena depended on friends rather than any institution, and how such personal care was squared up through legacies.
21	5	God, and my Body to the ground to be decently buried Item I give and Bequeath unto my Children Richard John Margaret and Elizabeth All my Estate both Real and Personal to be equally divided between them at the Age of Twenty One Years or Marriage which shall first happen And to the Survivors and Surviver of them and the Heirs of such Surviver Subject to the Conditions and Limitations herein often mentioned Item I give and Bequeath unto my Beloved Wife Sarah Godwin All that Piece or Parcell of Freehold Land Containing three Acres more or less on which my Dwelling House in the Country now Stands together with the Said Dwelling House with the Appurtenances to the Said House belonging And also all those ten Acres and one quarter of Freehold Land more or less known by the Name of Crawford including the piece lately Purchased by me from William Prince And also all those twenty One Acres of Freehold Land more or less known by the Name of Samuel Taylors And also One Acre or so in Freehold Land more or less under the lower Waterfall in Fowerselley Gutt And also all those Forty One Acres of Freehold Land more or less part of the upper Land above Land called the old House and part of the Plain below the Said lastmentioned land And also all those five Acres of Leasehold Land below my aforesaid Dwelling House in the Country And also all those four Acres of Leasehold Land adjoyning to a pasture belonging to the Honourable East India Company of England called the Plantation House Hill And also all those Nineteen Acres of Leasehold Land being the lower part of Land Called Bradleys and Samsons Hill with a Watering place for Cattle in the Sheep pound Gutt To have and to hold unto my Said Beloved Wife during the Terms of her Natural Life And after her decease I give and Bequeath all the aforesaid Premisses and every part and Parcell thereof Subject to the Conditions and Limitations herein mentioned unto my beloved Son John Godwin at the Age of Twenty One Years or Marriage Item I give and Bequeath unto my Son Richard Godwin All that Piece or Parcell of Freehold Land containing Twenty	Richard Goodwin directed that his body be buried decently, and then disposed of his estate as follows. He gave his children Richard, John, Margaret and Elizabeth all his estate, both real and personal, to be divided equally between them once they reached the age of twenty-one or married, whichever came first. The share of any who died was to pass to the survivors and to the last survivor, subject to the conditions set out later in the will. He gave his wife Sarah Goodwin a piece of freehold land of about three acres on which his country dwelling house then stood, together with the house itself and everything belonging to it. With it he gave ten and a quarter acres of freehold land known by the name of Crawford, including the piece he had lately bought from William Lorenz. He also gave her twenty-one acres of freehold land known by the name of Samuel Taylor's, one acre or so of freehold land below the lower waterfall in Fisher's [...], forty-one acres of freehold land forming part of the upper land above called the Old House and part of the plain below that last-mentioned land, five acres of leasehold land below his country dwelling house, four acres of leasehold land adjoining a pasture belonging to the Honourable East India Company called the Plantation House Hill, and nineteen acres of leasehold land forming the lower part of a plot called Bradley's and Samson Hill, with a watering place for cattle in the Sheep Pound Gut. She was to hold all this for her lifetime, and on her death he gave the whole of it, every part, subject to the conditions set out later in the will, to his son John Goodwin, once he reached the age of twenty-one or married. He gave his son Richard Goodwin a piece of freehold land of twenty acres or so called Fuller's or Tiller's, together with the house standing on it and everything belonging to it. With it he gave twelve acres of freehold land lying above that last-mentioned house called the Plain, with a watering place for cattle in the spring gut, and a strip or gore of land sufficient to give free passage to and from that watering place, to be allotted by his executors named later, together with all the [...] **Interpretations** Goodwin's estate stands apart from the other wills on these leaves in resting so heavily on freehold. Where settlers such as Matthew Mudge held only personal property because the East India Company granted land by lease alone, Goodwin devised parcel after parcel of freehold, naming Crawford, Samuel Taylor's, Fuller's and the Old House land by their acreages. Freehold on St Helena was scarce and marked its holder as one of the more substantial planters, since most of the island was Company ground held on terms the Company controlled, and an estate assembled from named freehold blocks was the mark of a family that had accumulated real property over time. The careful provision of watering places and a gore of land for passage shows how the practical value of island land turned on access to water. A plot without a share in a spring or a right of way to reach one was of little use for grazing cattle, so Goodwin tied each pasture to its watering place and reserved a strip of land wide enough to drive stock to and from the spring. The detail reflects the constraint of farming on a dry volcanic island, where the worth of an acre

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		Acres more or less called fullers Sellers together with the House thereon Standing with the Appurtenances to the Said House belonging And also all those twelve Acres of Freehold Land more or less situate above the Said lastmentioned House called the plain together with a Watering place for Cattle in Spring Gutt with a Skirt or gore of Land Sufficient for free Ingress Egress and Regress to and from the Said Watering Place to allotted by my Executors hereafter Named And also all the	depended less on its size than on whether the beasts kept on it could be watered. The mixing of freehold and leasehold parcels in the single bequest to Sarah Goodwin shows how a working farm on the island was assembled from land held on different terms. Some blocks Goodwin owned outright, others he held only on lease from the Company, yet all were farmed together as one holding and passed together to his wife for life and then to his son. The arrangement tied the widow's security and the son's inheritance to a patchwork of tenures that had to be kept together to keep the farm viable.
22	6	ten Acres of Freehold Land more or less part of the Pasture Land above the old House And also all those Eleven Acres of Freehold Land more or less known by the Name of the old Garden Adjoyning to Francis Wranghams Land called Bremans And also all those ten Acres of Freehold Land more or less called Sicks And also all that One Acre of Freehold Land More or less Situate at the lower end of my Plantation near my beforementioned Dwelling House in the Country and known by the Name of Taylors And also one and a half Acres of my Freehold Land more or less Situate under the upper Waterfall in Lowdale Gutt And also all those Eleven Acres of Leasehold Land known by the Name of Sextons And also Sixteen Acres of Leasehold Land to contain the Enclosure known by the Name of Bradleys Gutt and so much of the upper part of the Land called Bradleys Adjoyning to Land called Boyces as make up the Said Quantity of Sixteen Acres To have and to hold unto my Said Son Richard to be delivered to him at Age of Twenty One Years or Marriage Subject to the Conditions and Limittations herein Mentioned Item I give and Bequeath my Dwelling House in James Valley with the Appurtenances to be Equally divided between my Said Sons Richard and John in manner following that is to Say the upper part formerly possessed by Thomas Greenham to my Said beloved Wife during her Natural Life and after her Decease to my Said Son John at the Age of Twenty One Years or Marriage And the lower part to my Said Son Richard at the Age of Twenty One Years or Marriage And my Will is that upon the Division of the Said House a party Wall be built (if required) to run from between the two back Doors entring into each House down to the back Door opening on the Main Water Course Subject to the Conditions and Limitations herein Mentioned	Richard Goodwin's bequest to his son Richard also took in ten acres of freehold land forming part of the pasture land above the Old House, eleven acres of freehold land known as the Old Pasture adjoining Francis Wrangham's land called Bowman's, ten acres of freehold land called Sixes, and one acre of freehold land at the lower end of his plantation near his country dwelling house known by the name of Taylor's. With these went one and a half acres of freehold land under the upper waterfall in Lowdale Gut, eleven acres of leasehold land known as Sextons, and sixteen acres of leasehold land taking in the enclosure known as Bradley's Gut, together with enough of the upper part of the land called Bradley's adjoining land called Boyce's to make up the sixteen acres. His son Richard was to hold all this, to be handed over to him at the age of twenty-one or on marriage, subject to the conditions set out later in the will. He gave his dwelling house in James Valley, to be divided equally between his sons Richard and John. The upper part, formerly held by Thomas Greenham, went to his wife for her lifetime and after her death to his son John at the age of twenty-one or on marriage, and the lower part to his son Richard at the age of twenty-one or on marriage. He directed that on the division of the house a party wall be built, if required, running from between the two back doors entering each house down to the back door opening on the main watercourse, subject to the conditions set out later in the will. He directed that all his land and houses divided above, together with the goat ranges bequeathed later, should on the death of either son before the age of twenty-one or marriage pass to the surviving son. If that son too died, the property was to go to his eldest daughter, if she chose to take it, and on her death or refusal to his youngest daughter, subject to the conditions set out later in the will. **Interpretations** The party-wall clause shows a single dwelling being physically split into two households rather than sold and the proceeds divided. Goodwin directed that the James Valley house be cut in two along a line running between the back doors down to the watercourse, with a dividing wall built if the sons needed it, so that each took a self-contained portion of the same building. Dividing the fabric of a house in this way, rather than forcing a sale, kept scarce built accommodation in the family and reflected how limited the housing stock was in the island's one substantial settlement. Goodwin's chain of substitutions, running from son to surviving son and then to eldest and youngest daughter in turn, was a device to keep the estate intact and in the family across the deaths of young heirs. By ordering the succession in advance and making each daughter's taking conditional on her choosing to accept, he guarded against the land being split up or

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		Item It is my Will that All my Land and houses before devised together with the Goat Ranges hereafter Bequeathed (in case of the Death of either of my Said Sons before the Age of twenty One Years or Marriage) Shall descend to the Surviver of my Said Sons if he shall Chuse the Same and in case of his Death or refusal to my Eldest Daughter if she shall Chuse the Same and in case of her Death or Refusal to my Youngest Daughter Subject to the Conditions and Limitations herein Mentioned Item	passing out of the line if his sons died before coming of age. The provision reflects the real hazard of early death on the island and the effort of a substantial planter to control the descent of property he had spent a lifetime assembling. The goat ranges named among the heritable property point to a distinctive feature of the St Helena rural economy. Goats were run over the open, rocky uplands that could not be enclosed or cultivated, and a recognised range over such ground was a valuable grazing right passed down with the farm. Treating these ranges as property to be bequeathed alongside freehold acres shows how far the use of the island's marginal land had been parcelled out and formalised into rights that attached to particular holdings.
23	7	Item I give full Power and Authority unto my Executors hereafter named in case the above Division of my Said Lands shall not be thought Convenient to alter and divide the Same as shall be most for the Advantage and Interest of my Said Sons and Estate Item I give unto my Said Wife during her Natural Life My Goat Range at Devils Hole for her Use and the Use of my Said two Daughters and the Surviver of my Said two Daughters as long as my Said two Daughters remain under Age or unmarried and after the Death of my Said Wife I give the aforesaid Range unto my Son John at the Age of Twenty One Years or Marriage Subject to the Conditions and Limittations herein Mentioned Item I give unto my Son Richard My Goat Range at Lemon Vale at the Age of Twenty One Years or Marriage Subject of aforesaid Item It is my Will that in case of the Marriage of either of my Said Daughters my Said Son Richard shall be Credited with one Hundred and fifty Pounds out of my Said Daughters part or Share if required from the time of my Said Son Richard taking Possesion of his Said part or Share for Eighteen Months at Common Interest And that my Son John be Credited with the like Sum of Beyond from the time of my Said Daughters demanding the Same for the time and at the Interest last Mentioned Item I give to my Said Wife One Black Woman Named Abigail at Valuation if she Chuses her and also one Chest made of Sundos Wood but not to be Valued to her together with one third part of my Personal Estate according to Valuation Item I give to my Son Richard One Black Boy Named Jack and Six Silver table Spoons Six Silver tea Spoons and one Silver Salver at Valuation Item I give to my Daughter Margaret One Black Girl Named Peg one Silver Mug and one Silver Soup Ladle at Valuation	Richard Goodwin gave his executors full power to alter and divide his lands differently, should the division set out above prove inconvenient, in whatever way best served the interest of his sons and the estate. He gave his wife, for her lifetime, his goat range at Devil's Hole, for her use and that of his two daughters and the survivor of them, for as long as the daughters remained unmarried. After his wife's death he gave the range to his son John, at the age of twenty-one or on marriage, subject to the conditions set out later in the will. He gave his son Richard his goat range at Lemon Valley, at the age of twenty-one or on marriage, subject to the same conditions. He directed that, should either daughter marry, his son Richard be credited with £150 0s 0d out of that daughter's share, if required, from the time Richard took possession of his own share, for eighteen months at common interest. His son John was to be credited with the same sum on the same footing, from the time the daughters demanded it, for the like period and at the interest set out above. He gave his wife a slave woman named Abigail, at valuation, if she chose to take her, together with a chest made of India wood, which was not to be valued to her, and one third part of his personal estate according to valuation. He gave his son Richard a slave boy named Jack, six silver table spoons, six silver tea spoons and one silver salver, at valuation. He gave his daughter Margaret a slave girl named Peg, one silver mug and one silver soup ladle, at valuation. He gave his son John a slave boy named Stephen, one large silver salver and six silver table spoons, at valuation. He gave his daughter Elizabeth a slave girl named Sarah and one small silver salver, at valuation. **Interpretations** The credit arrangement tied to the daughters' marriages worked as a way of keeping land with the sons while still giving the daughters a portion. Rather than carve the freehold into smaller pieces to endow Margaret and Elizabeth on marriage, Goodwin let each son draw £150 against a daughter's share at interest, so the sons kept the land intact and the daughters took their value in cash. The device shows a planter steering real property down the male line while discharging his daughters' claims in money, a common pattern where land was the family's principal asset and its fragmentation was to be avoided. The repeated instruction that slaves and plate be taken at valuation rather than simply handed over shaped how the estate was balanced between the heirs. By fixing each item at an appraised value and setting it against the taker's overall share, Goodwin ensured that a child who received a valuable slave or a quantity of

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		Item I give to my Son John One Black Boy named Stephen one large Silver Salver and Six Silver table Spoons at Valuation Item I give to my Daughter Elizabeth One Black Girl Named Arah and one Small Silver Salver at Valuation Item	silver had that value counted in the final reckoning of who got what. The method treated human beings and household silver alike as priced assets to be weighed in the division, which is how an estate of mixed movable wealth was made to come out even among several children. The valuation of Abigail to the widow, while the India-wood chest was expressly excepted from valuation, marks a deliberate distinction between what counted against Sarah's share and what did not. The slave woman was priced and set against her portion like any other asset, but the chest was given free and clear, a personal gift over and above her entitlement. The contrast shows how carefully the estate was reckoned, with a single item of furniture singled out as a bequest that lay outside the general division.
24	8	Item I do hereby will and Direct that in case my Said Wife at the time of my Death should be with Child and the Said Child or Children should be born a live and live to the Age of Twenty One Years or Marriage that then the Said Child or Children be Entitled to and receive a part and Share of my Estate Equall with my before mentioned Children Item I give and Bequeath unto Peter Shelly the Sum of Twenty five Pounds to be disposed of for his Use at the Discretion of my Executors hereafter named Item I do hereby will and direct that my Said two Sons or whoever of my Children may Possess my Said Lands & shall have an over proportion Shall pay to the others of my Children such an Allotment as shall made them all equall as is directed in the Second Paragraph of this my Will Item It is my Will and Direction that Whoever possesses my Said Lands shall have an Equal Benefit from the Springs of Water Lastly I hereby Nominate and Appoint My beloved Wife Executrix and Messieurs John Godwin Matthew Curling Thomas Greentree Matthew Sayer and my Said Son Richard Godwin Executors of this my Will but it is my Wish and direction that my Wife Act no longer than She Continues unmarried And I do hereby Revoke all former Will and Wills by me made & Ratify and Confirm this and no Other to be my last Will and Testament Sealed with my Seal and Dated this Twenty third Day of December in the twenty first Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord George the Second by the Grace of God of Great Brittain France and Ireland King Defender of the faith and so forth And in the Year of our Lord 1747 (Signed) Rich Godwin Signed Sealed published and declared to be the last Will and Testament of the Said Testator in the presence of Us (Signed) B Loraight Sam Falconer Rich Gurling	Richard Goodwin directed that, should his wife be pregnant at the time of his death, any child born alive who lived to the age of twenty-one or married should take an equal share of his estate alongside the children named earlier. He gave Peter Shelly the sum of £25 0s 0d, to be used for his benefit at the discretion of the executors named later. He directed that whichever of his sons, or whichever of his children, came to hold the larger portion of his lands should pay the others enough to make all the children equal, as set out in the second paragraph of the will. He directed that whoever held his lands should have an equal share of the water from the springs. Lastly, he named his wife executrix, together with John Goodwin, Matthew Purling, Thomas Greentree, Matthew Goodwin, Maycock and his son Richard Goodwin as executors, on condition that his wife act only for as long as she remained unmarried. He cancelled every will he had made before. He set his seal to it on 23 December 1747. It was signed, sealed, published and declared as his last will before B. Lodwick, Samuel Falconet and Richard Gurling, and signed by Richard Goodwin. **Interpretations** The condition limiting Sarah Goodwin's role as executrix to her widowhood reflects the legal disability that marriage imposed on a woman's control of property. Had she remarried, her new husband would at law have taken over her dealings, so Goodwin ended her authority at the point of any second marriage to keep the administration of his estate out of a stranger's hands. The clause shows a testator using the terms of his will to hold the management of his property within his own family, guarding against the reach of a hypothetical future husband over the assets meant for his children. The equalisation clause completed the scheme run through the whole will, by which land descended to the sons while the value was shared among all the children. Whichever child ended with the larger portion of land had to pay the others enough to bring everyone level, so the physical estate stayed intact while the wealth it represented was divided evenly. This closing direction shows the mechanism that made the earlier land bequests fair, turning an unequal division of acres into an equal division of value through compensating payments between the heirs. The direction that everyone holding his land share equally in the spring water set a permanent condition on the divided estate that reflected the island's central scarcity. Water, not acreage, governed the worth of land on St Helena, so Goodwin bound all the future holders of his parcels to a common right in the springs rather than letting whoever held the source control it. The provision shows a planter legislating for the shared use of a scarce resource across the separate holdings

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			his estate would become, so that no division of the land could leave one heir's ground without water.
25	9	In the Name of God Amen I Robert Wright of Saint Helena Factor knowing the Uncertainty of Life & being in perfect health of Body and Mind Do make this my Last Will and Testament as follows imprimis I trust my Soul into the Hands of Almighty God my Creator Father and Redeemer hoping for Salvation from him thro the Merits of Jesus Christ my Saviour and my Body I leave to be buried at the Discretion of my Executors hereafter Named Item I give to Mr Matthew Curling of this Island Gentleman the Sum of Ten Pounds Item I give and Bequeath all the Rest and Residue of my Estate Whatsoever and Wheresoever & all my Goods and Effects that I may Dye Possessed of to my Dear Wife Mary for her own sole and Separate Use and dispose after the Payment of my just Debts And I do hereby recommend and leave her to go to England by the first Convenient Opportunity to my Mother or Brother there And I do make Constitute and Appoint my Said Wife the Said Mr Matthew Curling & my Brother Jefferson Wright Executors of this my Will & do hereby revoke all other Wills by me made & do make and Ordain this only to be my Last Will and Testament Witness my hand this 6 Day of October 1745 (Signed) B Wright In the Name of God Amen this Twenty fourth Day of February in the Year of Our Lord God One Thousand Seven Hundred & Forty Seven I Gabriel Harper of the Island St Helena Planter being Sick and Weak of Body but of Sound & Perfect Mind & Memory (thanks to Almighty God) do hereby make Ordain and Appoint this my last Will and Testament that is to say first and principally I give and recommend my Soul into the Hands of Almighty God My Body I commit to the Earth to be buried in a Christian like and Decent manner at the Discretion of my Executr hereafter Named My Worldly Goods where with it hath pleased God to bless me with I give Devise and Dispose of the Same in manner and form as followeth Imprimis By the last Will of Capt Cason Deceasd he Bequeathed £31 to be Equally Divided between my two Daughters Mary and Elizabeth which Sum I have Received and hereby devise my Executor will pay the Said Sum to my Said Daughters According to the Will of Deceasd Capt Cason and this to be Exclusive of their Shares in my Estate Item	Robert Wright of St Helena, factor, made his will while in perfect health of body and mind, knowing how uncertain life was. He commended his soul to God, hoping for salvation through the merits of Christ, and left his body to be buried at the discretion of his executors. He gave Matthew Purling of the island, gentleman, the sum of £100 0s 0d. He gave all the rest and residue of his estate, and all his goods and effects, to his wife Mary, for her own separate use, to dispose of after the payment of his debts. He recommended and directed that she go to England by the first convenient opportunity, to her mother or brother there. He named his wife Mary, together with Matthew Purling and his brother Jefferson Wright, executors of the will, and cancelled every will he had made before. He set his hand to it on 4 October 1745, and signed it Robert Wright. Gabriel Harper of St Helena, planter, made his will on 24 February 1747 while sick and weak in body but sound in mind. He commended his soul to God and directed that his body be buried in the Christian and decent manner at the discretion of his executors named later. He then disposed of his worldly goods as follows. First, by the will of the late Captain Cason, the sum of £31 0s 0d had been bequeathed to be divided equally between his two daughters Mary and Elizabeth, which sum he had received. He directed that his executors pay that money to his daughters according to Captain Cason's will, and that it be over and above their shares in his own estate. **Interpretations** Robert Wright's direction that his widow sail for England reflects the position of a Company servant's wife left alone on a remote island. As a factor Wright was a commercial agent of the East India Company, and his standing gave his widow little reason to remain on St Helena once he was gone, with her own family in England to receive her. Writing the passage home into the will, and urging her to take the first available ship, shows how the island functioned as a posting rather than a settled home for the Company's officers, whose dependants were expected to return to England when the posting ended. The handling of the £31 from Captain Cason's estate shows one will reaching forward to discharge the terms of another. Harper had received money left to his daughters by Cason and held it on their behalf, so he directed his own executors to pay it over as Cason had intended, keeping it separate from and additional to what the girls took under his own will. The care to mark the sum as distinct shows how a trust obligation inherited from a third party was carried through successive hands, with the testator ensuring that money passing through his estate reached the beneficiaries the original will had named.

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26	10	Item I give to my Welbeloved Wife the Half of my Land and Houses as Well Freehold as Leased to Possess the same during the time she remains my Widow And also I give and Bequeath her the one third part of my Personal Estate to be at her Disposal and for the better Enabling her to Maintain her Self and the Benefit of my Younger Children I give her in part of her third one Black Man Named Cornwell but for no longer a time than she Remains my Widow and in such Case I desire my Executr will make good to my Said Wife the Value of the said black Man he being a Necesary Man to be kept in my family for the support of my Children being very Young Item To my Welbeloved Children Namely Mary Elizabeth Thomas Margaret & Gabriel I give them an Equal Share of my Estate and if my Wife should now be with Child either Male or Female to have an Equal part with the rest of my Said Children to be Delivered them and each of them as they shall Arrive to the Age of Twenty one Years or Marriage and in case of the Death of any my Said Children before Age or Marriage that the Survivors shall Enjoy their parts or Shares But as my Land being not Sufficient to be Divided among all my Children to Settle them upon it I hereby give my Mansion House and all the Lands adjacent to it in Powells Valley to my Son Thomas and Eleven Acres Called Griffins to my Son Gabriel they paying the other Children their proper parts or Shares the Management of which I leave Wholly to the discretion of my Executr if the Same can be complyd with And in case of the Death of either my Said Sons that the Survivor to have the refuse of the said Lands &c Lastly I hereby Nominate Constitute and Appoint my good friend Messrs Martin Harper James Powell Benjamen Mason and Richard Beale Executors to this my Will And I also Direct that my Said Son Thomas to be an Executor with the above Mentioned at the Age of Eighteen Years Revoking and Disannulling all former Will & Wills by me made Ratifying Confirming this and no other to be my Last Will and Testament (Signed) Gab Harper Signed Sealed and Declared to be the last Will and Testament of him the Said Gabl Harper in the presence of Us (Signed) John Worrall Saml Alexander George Alexander	Gabriel Harper gave his wife half of his land and houses, both freehold and leasehold, to hold for as long as she remained his widow. He also gave her a third part of his personal estate, at her disposal, to help her maintain herself and his younger children. As part of that third he gave her a slave man named Cornwell, but only for as long as she remained his widow, and he directed that in that case his executors make good to her the value of the man. Cornwell was a necessary man to be kept in the family for the support of the children, who were very young. He gave his children Mary, Elizabeth, Thomas, Margaret and Gabriel an equal share of his estate. Should his wife be pregnant, that child, whether boy or girl, was to take an equal part with the rest, to be handed over to each of them at the age of twenty-one or on marriage. Should any child die before coming of age or marrying, the survivors were to take that child's share. His land being too little to divide among all his children and still settle them on it, he gave his mansion house and all the land adjoining it in Powell's Valley to his son Thomas, and eleven acres called Griffin's to his son Gabriel, they paying the other children their proper shares. He left the management of this wholly to the discretion of his executors, so far as it could be complied with, and directed that should either son die the survivor have the refusal of the land. Lastly, he named his friends Martin Harper, James Powell, Benjamin Mason and Richard Beale executors of the will. He directed that his son Thomas act as an executor alongside them at the age of eighteen. He cancelled every will he had made before. The will was signed, sealed and declared as the last will of Gabriel Harper before John Worrall, Samuel Alexander and George Alexander, and signed by Gabriel Harper. **Interpretations** Harper's treatment of the slave Cornwell caught the tension between providing for a widow and keeping a working estate together. He gave the man to his wife as part of her third, yet only for her widowhood, and directed that his executors buy the value back for her rather than let Cornwell leave the family, since his labour was needed to support the young children. The arrangement shows a slave being valued in two ways at once, as an asset counted into the widow's portion and as a worker too useful to the household to be allowed to pass out of it, with money substituted so the family kept the man. The concentration of the land on the two sons, with cash compensation to the rest, followed the same logic that governed the Goodwin will on these leaves. Harper judged his holding too small to split among all his children and still leave any of them a viable farm, so he settled the mansion house and the Griffin's acres on Thomas and Gabriel and made them buy out their siblings. The decision shows the pressure that scarce and indivisible island land put on a middling planter, forcing him to keep the farm whole in the hands of a few and turn the other children's inheritance into money. The appointment of the son Thomas as an executor at eighteen, alongside the four adult friends, shows a father building his heir into the administration of the estate before he came of age. By bringing Thomas onto the body that managed the property while still short of twenty-one, Harper gave him an early hand in the affairs he would inherit and a check on how the executors handled the land destined for him. The provision reflects a concern to school the principal heir in the running of the estate and to protect his interest during the vulnerable years before majority.

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27	11	Know all Men by these Presents that I John Gray Considering the Frailty of Human Life and by all Appearance mine Drawing Very Nigh to a Period this is to Testifie to the World that it is my Desire and by these Presents I do fully Impower Mr Cleather Mr Dowse and Mr Jackson all or Either of them if in case my Decease should happen on this Island after Seeing me Decently Interd that my Effects above Mentioned with my Wearing Apparrell Chest Violin Books &c may be by them Exposd to Publick Sale According as they Shall Think proper to Direct and with the Mony Ariseing from that Sale tis my Desire that Dr Samuell Falkner Shall first be Satisfied as far as it will go And if there is any thing over and above the Defraying all Charges and Expences tis my Desire it may be Remitted Home to my Wife According as I Shall hereafter give Directions to the Said Mr Cleather Mr Dowse and Mr Jackson No Stampd Paper being to be had this I Declare to be my Last Will from my Appartment in the Hospital at St Helena this Ninth Day of June one Thousand Seven Hundred Forty Eight (Signed) John Gray Witness Signd Major Jackson Henry Steve In the Name of God Amen the 5 Day of April in the Year of our Lord God 1748 I David Wilson of the Island St Helena Serjeant being very Sick and Weak in Body but of perfect Mind & Memory (thanks be to God I do make and Ordain this my last Will and Testament That is to Say first and Principally I give and Recommend My Soul into the Hands of God that gave it and for my Body I recommend it to the Earth to be buryed in a Christian like and Decent Manner And as touching Such Worldly Estate wherewith it has Pleased God to bless me in this Life I give and devise and Dispose of the Same in the following Manner and form Imprimis I give and Bequeath to Isable my beloved Wife after my Debts are fully paid and Satisfied I give the one third part of my Estate to be at her Disposal Item I give and Bequeath all the Rest and Remaining part of my Estate to my beloved Child Jane and do appoint Ebenezer Leech John Leech Junr and William Kennedy to be my Executors to	John Gray, seeing his life drawing near its end, set down his wishes. He gave full power to Cleather, Dowse and Jackson, or any of them, that should he die on the island after being decently buried, his effects, along with his wearing apparel, chest, violin, books and the rest, might be sold at public auction as they thought proper. Out of the money raised he directed that Samuel Falconer first be satisfied, so far as it would go. Anything left over after all charges and expenses were met was to be sent home to his wife, according to directions he would later give to Cleather, Dowse and Jackson. No stamped paper being available, he declared this his last will from his room in the hospital at St Helena on 9 June 1748, and signed it John Gray. The witnesses were Major Jackson and Henry Steele. David Wilson of St Helena, sergeant, made his will on 5 April 1748 while very sick and weak in body but sound in mind. He commended his soul to God and directed that his body be buried in the Christian and decent manner. He then disposed of his estate as follows. First, once his debts were paid, he gave his wife Isabel a third part of his estate, at her disposal. He gave all the rest of his estate to his child Jane, and named Ebenezer Leech, John Leech junior and William Kenny executors of the will. **Interpretations** Gray's note that no stamped paper could be had records a practical gap between English legal requirement and island conditions. Stamp duty required certain legal documents to be written on officially stamped paper, but such paper was not always to be found on a remote station, so Gray set down the want expressly to forestall any challenge to the will's validity on that ground. The detail shows a dying man on the edge of the Company's world taking care to explain why his will did not meet a formality that could not be observed where he lay. The instruction to sell Gray's few possessions, his violin, books, clothes and chest, first to satisfy a named creditor and only then to remit the remainder to his wife shows how a modest estate was wound up at a distance. His property was too slight to divide, so it was turned into cash at auction, the debt to Falconer cleared out of the proceeds and whatever survived sent home to England. The arrangement reflects the reality of a man of small means dying far from his family, whose estate amounted to a handful of personal effects to be liquidated and accounted for.
28	12	this my last Will and Testament Disanulling all former Wills by me made Ratifying and Confirming this and no Other to be my Will and Testament Signd Seald and Declared to be the last Will of me David Wilson In the presence of Us (Signed) the Mark of	David Wilson cancelled every will he had made before and confirmed this as his own. The will was signed, sealed and declared as the last will of David Wilson before Robert Mason and William Moore, and marked by David Wilson.

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		Robt Mason David Wilson Willm Moore In the Name of God Amen I John Aldrich of the Island St Helena (Sergeant) being Sick and Weak of Body but of Sound Mind and Perfect Memory thanks to God for the Same do make and Ordein this my last Will & Testament in manner & form following Vizt Item I give and Bequeath unto my Well beloved Wife after all my Just Debts are fully paid and Satisfyed all my Estate be it in what kind Soever to be at her intire Disposal and Lastly I hereby Nominate & appoint her (my Said Wife) to be whole and Sole Executrix to this my last Will & Testament utterly revoking all former Wills by me made Ratifying and Confirming only this the Twenty fifth March One thousand Seven Hundred & forty Seven Signed & Sealed the mark of in the Presence of Us John Aldrich (Signed) F Wrangham Junr Sam Falconer In the Name of God Amen I Joseph Dassountain of the Island St Helena Planter being Sick & Weak in Body but of sound & perfect Mind & Memory do make & Ordain this my last Will & Testament in manner & form following that is to say my Soul I Commend to the Mercy of Almighty God my Body I recommit to the Earth to be Decently Interred & my Worldly Estate I dispose of as follows Imprimis I Will & Direct in case my Creditor should Demand any Sum or Sums of Money which I justly Owe & my Executors not capable of paying	John Aldrich of St Helena, sergeant, made his will while sick and weak in body but sound in mind. He gave his wife, once his debts were paid, all his estate of whatever kind, at her entire disposal. He named her sole executrix of the will, and cancelled every will he had made before, confirming only this one, on 25 March 1747. It was signed and sealed before Francis Wrangham junior and Samuel Falconer, and marked by John Aldrich. Joseph Dasfountain of St Helena, planter, made his will while sick and weak in body but sound in mind. He commended his soul to God and directed that his body be buried decently. He then disposed of his estate as follows. First, should any creditor demand a sum he justly owed, and his executors not be able to [...] **Interpretations** Aldrich's will shows how simply a soldier of modest estate could dispose of everything he owned. He left his whole property, after debts, to his wife absolutely and made her his sole executrix, with no division, no trust and no gift over, in a document of a few lines. The plainness reflects both the smallness of the estate and the position of a garrison sergeant whose affairs were uncomplicated, needing no more than a single clause to pass all he had to the one person he trusted to wind them up.
29	13	paying the same without Selling part of my Estate then in such Case I leave it Interely to their Discretion to Sell such part thereof as they shall Judge most for the Advantage & Interest of my Children & Estate Item I Will & Bequeath to my Beloved Wife the one half of my Freehold Estate during the Term of her Natural Life & the one third of my Personal Estate for ever Item The rest & remainder of my Estate I Will & Bequeath to my Beloved Children Vizt Samuel William John Mary Ruth Sarah & Elizabeth to be Equally Divided among them at Valuation together with the half of my Freehold Estate Bequeathed my Wife at her Disceace & in Case my Wife should be with Child I Direct that the Child of Children shall have an Equal Share or part with my Children above Named But in the Distribution of my Estate I Order that my Sons shall have the Refusal & be Settled upon my Lands they paying to each of my other Children a full proportion or Share according to Valuation	Joseph Dasfountain directed that, should a creditor demand a sum he owed and his executors not be able to pay it without selling part of his estate, he left it wholly to their discretion to sell whatever part they judged best for the interest of his children and estate. He gave his wife half of his freehold estate for her lifetime and a third of his personal estate outright. He gave the rest of his estate to his children Samuel, William, John, Mary, Ruth, Sarah and Elizabeth, to be divided equally among them at valuation, together with the half of his freehold estate given to his wife, once she died. Should his wife be pregnant, that child was to take an equal share with the children named. In the division he directed that his sons have the refusal of his lands and be settled upon them, paying each of his other children a full share according to valuation. He set out that, since his two eldest sons were near of age, letting them take their shares on coming of age would badly disadvantage his younger children. He therefore directed that neither of the two sons take any share until the debts he then owed were paid off. After that his desire was that they take their shares as given above, being maintained on his estate until then along with the rest of his children, who were to take their shares at the age of twenty-one or on marriage. Should any child die before that time, the survivors were to take the dead child's share. Lastly, he named his friends John French, Thomas French, Matthew Bazett and John Desfountain

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		Item that Whereas my two Eldest Sons are near of Age I Apprehend that having their parts or Shares of my Estate when they shall Arrive at Age will be very Disadvantageous to my Younger Children therefore I Direct that neither of my Said two Sons shall have any part or Share of my Estate but that the Whole be kept together untill the Debts which I now owe shall be first paid or Discharged & then it is my Desire they shall have their Shares above Bequeathed & to be Maintained upon my Estate untill that time with the rest of my other Children whom I Direct shall Enjoy their parts when they shall attain to the Age of Twenty one Years or Marriage & in case of the Decease of any of my Children before that time I Will that the Survivour or Survivours Shall Enjoy the Deceaseds part Lastly I Nominate & Appoint my Beloved Friends Mr John French Mr Thomas French Mr Matthew Bazett & Mr John Desfountain Executors to this my last Will & Testament Revoking all former Will or Wills by me made Confirming this & no other to be my last Will & Testament In Witness whereof I have hereunto Set my hand & Seal this Fourteenth Day of May in the Year of our Lord one Thousand Seven hundred & forty Nine (Signed) Joseph Desfountain Signed Sealed & Declared to be the last Will & Testament of the Testator in the presence of us (the word Sarah being first Interlined) (Signed) M Curling Willm Kale Benjn Seale	executors of the will, cancelling every will he had made before. He set his hand and seal to it on 14 May 1749. It was signed, sealed and declared as his last will, the word Sarah being first interlined, before Matthew Purling, William Hale and Benjamin Seale, and signed by Joseph Dasfountain. **Interpretations** Dasfountain's direction that his two eldest sons wait for their shares until his debts were cleared shows a testator subordinating the claims of his grown heirs to the security of the whole estate. Had the sons taken their portions on coming of age, the land would have had to be broken up or charged while debts still stood against it, to the injury of the younger children, so he held the elder two out of their inheritance until the estate was clear. The provision reflects a careful weighing of the interests of older against younger children, using the timing of the bequests to keep the estate solvent and undivided through the years of greatest strain. The note that the word Sarah was first interlined records a correction made to the will before it was executed. A daughter's name had been omitted from the list of children and was written in between the lines, and the witnesses attested the interlineation so that no doubt could later be raised about whether Sarah truly belonged among the beneficiaries. The detail shows the formality with which even a small amendment to a will had to be acknowledged, since an unexplained insertion might otherwise cast suspicion on the document. The instruction leaving the executors free to sell part of the estate to meet a creditor, but only if the debt could not otherwise be paid, shows a testator trying to protect his land from forced sale while still providing for his debts. He preferred the estate be kept whole for his children, yet recognised that a pressing creditor might leave no choice, so he gave his executors a discretion to sell as a last resort and in the children's best interest. The clause reflects the competing pulls on a landed estate burdened with debt, balancing the wish to pass on the land intact against the obligation to satisfy those the testator owed.
30	14	In the Name of God Amen this Sixteenth Day of July in the Year of our Lord God One Thousand Seven Hundred and Forty Nine I Thomas Hayes of the Island St Helena Planter being Sick and Weak of Body but of sound and perfect mind & Memory (thanks to Almighty God) and calling to mind the Uncertainty of this Life and knowing it is appointed for all Men once to Dye do make and appoint this my last Will and Testament that is to say first and princepally I give and recommend my Soul into the Hands of Almighty God my Creator My Body I commit to the Earth to be Buried in a Christian like and Decent Manner My Worldly Goods I give devise and dispose of in the following manner Imprimis I give and Bequeath to my Welbeloved Children George and William all my whole Estate both Real and Personal to be Delivered to them at Age or Marriage Item I give to my Mother as a Token of my Duty and filial Affection her Living upon my Estate during her Natural Life and to live with my Children and they to be enterely under her Care and	Thomas Hayes of St Helena, planter, made his will on 16 July 1749 while sick and weak in body but sound in mind. He commended his soul to God and directed that his body be buried in the Christian and decent manner. He then disposed of his worldly goods as follows. First, he gave his children George and William his whole estate, both real and personal, to be handed over to them at the age of majority or on marriage. He gave his mother, as a token of his duty and affection, her living upon his estate for her lifetime, to live with his children, who were to be entirely under her care and management during their minority. Lastly, he named his friends Nathan Sample, Elisha Sacke, Samuel Knipe and his brother John Hayes executors of the will, and his mother executrix. He cancelled every will he had made before. It was signed, sealed and declared as the last will of Thomas Hayes before William Hayes and Richard Beale, and signed by Thomas Hayes. **Interpretations** Hayes placed the care of his young children and the management of his whole estate in his mother's hands rather than dividing the two roles or naming a guardian outside the family. By giving her a home on the estate for life, making her executrix and putting the children entirely under her charge during their minority, he tied the raising of his heirs and the running of their inheritance together in the one person he most trusted. The arrangement shows a widower without a surviving wife turning to his own mother to

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		Management during their Minority Lastly I Nominate and appoint my good friends Nathan Sample Elisha Isacke Samuel Knipe and my Brother John Hayes Executors and my Mother an Executrix to this my Will Revoking and Disannulling all former Will by me made Ratefying and confirming this and no other to be my last Will and Testament Signed Sealed and Declard (Signed) Thomas Hayes as the last Will and Testament of him the said Thomas Hayes in the presence of Us William Hayes Richard Beale	hold the family and its property together until his sons came of age, an ordinary recourse where the natural guardian was gone.
31	15	In the Name of God Amen I Samuel Doveton of the Island St Helena Planter being Sick and Weak of Body but of Sound & perfect mind & Memory do make ordain and appoint this my last Will and Testament in Manner and form as followeth (Vizt) First and Principally of all I give and Recommend my Soul to the Mercy of Almighty God who gave it Hoping and Assuredly believing I shall receive a free and full pardon for all my Sins my Body I commit to the Earth to be Buried in a Christian like and Decent manner as my Executors hereafter Named shall in their Discretion Think proper My Worldly Goods wherewith it hath pleased God to Bless me with I give devise and Dispose of the same as followeth Imprimis I give to my Welbeleded Wife & Children Namely Richard Jonathan John Samuel my Sons & Rebekah my Daughter an Equal part and Share of my Estate to be Delivered my said Children as they shall Attain to the Age of Twenty One Years or Marriage and in Case of the Death of one or more of my said Children before they Arrive to Age or Marriage as aforesaid that their parts or proportion shall be Equally divided among the Survivors and whereas it is the Custom of this Island that the Widows shall Possess and Enjoy the one half of the Real Estate of their Deceasd Husbands during their Natural Lives which I think is very Injurious to the Number of children to be brought up and provided for out of their Deceasd Fathers Estate therefore upon my Request to my said beloved Wife she hath agreed and faithfully promised me to abide by and rest contented and Satisfied by this my Will that is to say she will take a Sixth part of my Estate Equally with my Children as shall be hereafter Specified and Allotted her and the same to be interely at her disposal and that if she shall not think proper to withdraw her part from my Children that then I furthermore Order and direct her this Advantage that if the Death of any of my beforenamed Children should happen	Samuel Doveton of St Helena, planter, made his will while sick and weak in body but sound in mind. He commended his soul to God, hoping for a free and full pardon for his sins, and directed that his body be buried in the Christian and decent manner at the discretion of his executors named later. He then disposed of his worldly goods as follows. First, he gave his wife and children, namely his sons Richard, Jonathan, John and Samuel and his daughter Rebekah, an equal part of his estate, to be handed over to the children as they reached the age of twenty-one or married. Should any child die before coming of age or marrying, that child's share was to be divided equally among the survivors. By the custom of the island a widow held and enjoyed half of her late husband's real estate for her lifetime, which he thought very injurious to the number of children to be brought up and provided for out of their late father's estate. At his request his wife had agreed and faithfully promised to abide by the will and rest content instead with a sixth part of his estate, equal with his children, allotted to her and entirely at her disposal. Should she choose not to withdraw her part from among the children, he further directed, as an advantage to her, that if any of his children died before coming of age or marrying with her part not taken out, she should take an equal share with his surviving children. Before any division was made of his estate, he gave the following legacies to his wife, children and others, these not to be counted against their shares. He estimated them at about £50 0s 0d to each, to be handed over to his wife when she thought proper to demand them, and delivered to his children when they came of age or married. The particulars set against each person's name were as follows. **Interpretations** Doveton's dealing with the island's widow custom shows a testator persuading his wife to give up a settled legal right for the sake of his children. Local usage gave a widow a life interest in half her husband's real estate, which Doveton judged too heavy a charge on land that had to support and raise a large family, so he obtained her agreement to take a child's sixth instead. Recording her promise in the will, and sweetening it with the chance of a larger share should a child die, shows how a customary entitlement could be bargained away by consent, with the husband setting down the arrangement to bind the widow to a bargain that reduced her claim in favour of the children. The widow's half interest by custom on St Helena is itself worth noting as a divergence from ordinary English practice. At home a widow's dower was a third of her husband's lands for life, but the island custom recorded here gave her one half, a more generous provision that pressed harder on the estate left for the children. Doveton's complaint that the custom was injurious to his family, and his effort to contract out of it, shows a settler community that had developed its

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		before Age or Marriage and her part not taken out that she shall be an Equal Sharer with my Surviving Children Item Before any Division is made in my Estate I give and Bequeath the following Legacies to my Wife and Children and others but the said Legacies to my Wife and Children are not to be Valued to them All which I Estimate to about fifty Pounds to Each to be Delivered to my Wife when she shall think proper to Demand the Same and to be delivered my Children when come to Age or Marriage the particulars given and against each Persons Name are as follows Viz Item	own more favourable rule for widows and a testator working against that local rule to protect the interests of the next generation.
32	16	Item To my Wife I bequeath one Mohogony Burow one Looking Glass Walnut frame One Feather Bed and Furniture one Portmantua one Oval Mohogony Table Six Cane Chairs twenty four China Plates and three ditto Dishes one Damask Table Cloth and twelve Napkins one black Girl Named Sarah with her Choice of a Cow out of my whole Stock and Cash to the Value of Ten Pounds to buy her a peece of plate Item To my Son Richard I give one China Bowle and Plate which was my Mothers one Mourning Ring the Posey in Memory of MI and Cash forty Eight Pounds to buy him a peece of plate Item To my Son Johathan I give one black Man Named Stephen one black Boy Named Dawson one Enameled Ring one Silver Soup Ladle one Mourning Ring Marked John Bazell one Silver Teapot Item To my Son John I give one Enameled Ring one Silver Tankard markt MI and Cash forty Pounds to buy him a peece of plate Item To my Son Samuel I give one Black Man Named Frank one black Boy Named John one Enameld Ring Six New Table Spoons one Snuff Box China Make one Silver Mugg Item To my Daughter Rebekah I give one Black Man Named peat Jack one black Woman Named Peg one black Girl Naimd Abigail one Wickt Quilt that was my Mothers one Ruby Ring with four Sparks Item To my God Daughter Elizabeth the Daughter of my Brother John Doveton I give the Sum of five Pounds and one Cow to be delivered soon after my Decease my Executors taking his receipt for the same to his Daughter Item To my Beloved Brother John Doveton I give a Suit of Mourning Item To my Father in Law Mr Rich Beale I give a Suit of Mourning Item To each of my Executors hereafter Named I give forty Shillings to buy them a Ring Item As I have lately made large Purchases and the Payment thereof to be fixed at Several Payments I desire my Executors will in some Convenient time after my decease Set to publick Sale all the Lands I lately purchased of Francis Hayes with the Goats and Goat Range at Stone Top and also	Samuel Doveton gave his wife the following legacies, over and above her share of the estate. To his wife: 1 mahogany bureau, 1 walnut-framed looking glass, 1 feather bed and its furniture, 1 portmanteau, 1 oval mahogany table, 6 cane chairs, 24 china plates, 3 china dishes, 1 damask table cloth, 12 napkins, 1 slave girl named Sarah, her choice of a cow out of the whole stock, and £10 0s 0d in cash to buy a piece of plate. To his son Richard: 1 china bowl and plate that were his mother's, 1 mourning ring with the posy in memory of MV, and £48 0s 0d in cash to buy a piece of plate. To his son Jonathan: 1 slave man named Stephen, 1 slave boy named Dawson, 1 enamelled ring, 1 silver soup ladle, 1 mourning ring marked John Bazett, and 1 silver teapot. To his son John: 1 enamelled ring, 1 silver tankard marked MV, and £40 0s 0d in cash to buy a piece of plate. To his son Samuel: 1 slave man named Frank, 1 slave boy named John, 1 enamelled ring, 6 new table spoons, 1 snuff box of china make, and 1 silver mug. To his daughter Rebekah: 1 slave man named Great Jack, 1 slave woman named Peg, 1 slave girl named Abigail, 1 quilt that was his mother's, and 1 ruby ring with four sparks. To his god-daughter Elizabeth, daughter of his brother John Doveton: £5 0s 0d and 1 cow, to be handed over after his death, his executors taking her father's receipt for the same. To his brother John Doveton: 1 suit of mourning. To his father-in-law Richard Beale: 1 suit of mourning. To each of his executors: 40s to buy a ring. Since he had lately made large purchases whose payment fell due at several dates, Doveton directed his executors to sell at public auction, at some convenient time after his death, all the lands he had lately bought of Francis Hayes, together with the goats and goat range at Stone Top. With these went his dwelling house at the fort in James Valley, the billiard tables and the like, such portable household goods as could best be spared, as much of his stock of cattle as could be spared and such slaves as the executors thought proper to dispose of. His two sons Richard and John were then at sea, and he intended them to continue in that way. He desired that their shares in his estate be paid to them in cash, and particularly directed his executors to remit the money to his attorney in England, [...] **Interpretations** The estate reveals a planter of unusual reach, holding not only land, slaves and cattle but billiard tables and quantities of silver plate, china and mourning rings. The billiard tables in the James Valley house point to a dwelling that served as a place of

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		my Dwelling House at the Fort in James Valley with the Billiard Room Tables &c and such Perishable Household Goods as can be best spared likewise as much of my Stock of Cattle and such Blacks as my said Executors shall think proper to dispose of Item My two Sons Richard and John who are now at Sea and my intentions are to continue them in that way I desire that their parts or Shares in my Estate may be paid them in Cash and I particularly recommend it to my Executor that they would remit to my Attorney in England such Sums	resort or entertainment beyond an ordinary planter's home, and the mass of engraved silver and enamelled rings marks a family with wealth to lock up in durable, portable valuables. The inventory shows the upper reach of St Helena society, where a successful settler accumulated the movable finery of a genteel English household on a small mid-ocean island. Doveton's instruction to sell the recently bought Hayes lands to meet the payments still owing on them shows the hazard of buying land on deferred terms. He had purchased land from Francis Hayes with the price payable in instalments falling due after his death, so he directed that the same lands, along with dispensable goods and stock, be sold to raise the money, rather than let the debt fall on the rest of the estate. The arrangement shows a planter managing a leveraged purchase from beyond the grave, turning the very assets he had bought back into cash to clear what he still owed for them. The direction to pay the two seafaring sons their shares in cash remitted to an attorney in England shows how an estate provided for heirs who had left the island for a life at sea. Richard and John were away and meant to stay in that calling, so their inheritance was to be turned into money and sent to an agent in England where they could reach it, rather than tied up in island land they would never work. The provision reflects the mobility of a maritime family, with a father arranging his affairs so that sons scattered by the sea could still receive their portions through the Company's channels of remittance. **Speculations** Doveton chose to keep the family's silver in the male line while sending its human property overwhelmingly to a daughter, a division that ran against the obvious course of spreading the most valuable slaves among the sons who would farm. Rebekah alone received three slaves, Great Jack, Peg and Abigail, while the engraved plate, tankards and enamelled rings went piece by piece to Richard, Jonathan, John and Samuel. The page shows the reason in the sons' circumstances, two of them at sea and meant to stay there and their shares turned to cash, so that concentrating labouring slaves on them would have served little purpose, and the enduring family silver marked with the initials MV passed instead to the sons as portable tokens of lineage while the working people went to the daughter who would remain on the island.
33	17	Sums of Money as shall be Necesary to Clothe & fit them out to Sea Yearly or otherwise as Occasion Requires but the same not to be Valued to them but to be Maintained during their Minority with the rest of my Family out of my Estate Item If my Wife is willing and Contented to be an Equal Sharer with my Children who shall be Surviving at the time she shall think proper to withdraw or take out her part I hereby Direct my Executors to pay her the one half in Money and the other half in such Goods as they can best agree with my said Wife I also allot her five Acres of Leasehold Land in Sandy Bay which is a Lease for Ninety Nine Years but the same to be Valued to her Item To avoid any dispute that may hereafter arise in the Diversion of my Lands among my Children whom I intend to Settle upon this Island I	Samuel Doveton directed that his attorney remit whatever sums were needed to clothe and fit his two seafaring sons out for sea, yearly or as occasion required, these payments not to be counted against their shares. Until they came of age they were to be maintained along with the rest of the family out of his estate. Should his wife be willing to take an equal share with his surviving children, at whatever time she thought proper to withdraw her part, he directed his executors to pay her half in money and the other half in such goods as they could best agree upon with her. He also allotted her five acres of leasehold land in Sandy Bay, held on a lease for ninety-nine years, to be valued to her. To avoid any dispute in the division of his lands among the children he meant to settle on the island, he set out the divisions as follows. He gave his son Jonathan his mansion house with nine acres of freehold land about it. Those nine acres were the upper part of fourteen he had bought of John Goodwin, to be parted from the lower part at the lemon tree at the bottom of Suffkin's Gut, straight over to the head of the watercourse that ran in the top channel right round the Knowle, with the old fence as

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		Appoint and set off the said Divisions as followeth Viz To my Son Jonat I give my Mansion House with nine Acres of Freehold Land about the same the said Nine Acres is to be the upper part of fourteen Acres that I purchased of Mr John Goodwin to be parted from the lower part from the Lemmontree at the bottom of Luffkinds Gutt strait over to the head of the Water Course that runs in the top Channel quite round the Knowle and the old fence to be the bounds thereof and to be continued as high as the Water will run round to the Corner of Onesipr Gurlings Plantation and the said Nine Acres running each Side of the House as far as the fence that Encloseth the Bull Post Pasture be the same more or less than Nine Acres Also Thirty Acres & three Quarters of an Acre Freehold Land called the Bull Post pasture Also Twenty Acres of Freehold Land calld Frances Also twenty two Acres and one quarter of an Acre Freehold Land the lower part of that Land Called Bowman Land Also Six Acres of Leasehold Land at the Briers Also Six Acres of Leasehold Land called Taylors and a Range for Goats calld the high Hill Item To my Son Samuel I give and sett off the other five Acres out of the fourteen that I purchased of Mr John Goodwin being the lower part thereof to run from the Lemmontree at the bottom of Luffkins Gutt strait over to the head of the Channel that the Water Runs in Quite round the Knowles and Gutt downwards as far as to Sicke's Water be the same more or less than five Acres Also Ten Acres of freehold Land called Frances also Twenty four Acres of freehold Land (Adjoining to the said Ten Acres of Frances) called Sicke's Land Also twenty Seven Acres and half an Acre freehold Land Called Beales Also Twenty Acres of freehold Land Called Beales Upper Land Also Six Acres of Lease Land Called Taylors Also four Acres of Lease Land in Sickes Also Six Acres of Leasehold Land at the Briars and a Range for Goats in Ruperts Valley Item	the boundary, continued as high as the water would run round to the corner of Onesipherus Gurling's plantation. The nine acres ran on each side of the house as far as the fence enclosing the Bull Post pasture. With this went thirty and three-quarter acres of freehold land called the Bull Post pasture, twenty acres of freehold land called Frances, twenty-two and a quarter acres of freehold land forming the lower part of the land called Bowman's land, six acres of leasehold land at the Briars, six acres of leasehold land called Taylor's and a goat range called the High Hill. He gave his son Samuel the other five acres of the fourteen he had bought of John Goodwin, being the lower part, running from the lemon tree at the bottom of Suffkin's Gut straight over to the head of the channel where the water ran right round the Knowle, and by the gut downwards as far as Sixe's water. With this went ten acres of freehold land called Frances, twenty-four acres of freehold land adjoining that ten called Sixe's land, twenty-seven and a half acres of freehold land called Beale's upper land, twenty acres of freehold land called Taylor's, four acres of leasehold land in Sixe's, six acres of leasehold land at the Briars and a goat range in Rupert's Valley. **Interpretations** Doveton's minute description of boundaries by lemon tree, watercourse, old fence and neighbour's plantation shows how island land was identified before any formal survey mapped it. Each parcel was fixed by natural marks and the memory of where one man's ground met another's, so the will had to walk the bounds in words to make the division certain and forestall the disputes he expressly sought to avoid. The passage records the practical business of parcelling land in a place where title rested on local knowledge and named features rather than on plans and measured maps. The recurrence of watercourses as boundary markers underlines again how water dominated the worth and the very definition of land on St Helena. Doveton drew his sons' shares along the lines where water ran round the Knowle and down the gut, so that the streams that made the land usable also served to divide it. The detail shows how completely the island's dry terrain organised itself around its watercourses, which functioned at once as the source of a holding's value and as the natural fences between one man's ground and the next. The ninety-nine-year lease on the Sandy Bay land allotted to the widow shows the long terms on which the Company granted some island ground. Such a lease gave its holder security across several lifetimes, close to freehold in practical effect, and marked the difference between land held on a long Company grant and the outright freehold Doveton owned elsewhere. The provision shows the range of tenures a substantial planter might hold, from freehold through long leasehold, all folded into the one estate divided among his family.
34	18	Item To my Daughter Rebekah Isob of twenty Six Acres of Freehold Land which is the upper part of Bowmans Land Item I give to my Sons Jonathan and Samuel a Small Stock of Goats which I now keep at the Briars Grazing upon my own Land there to be Equally Divided between them and to run together upon the said Land at the Briars which I have given between them Item I desire my Executors will deliver the Land and Goat Ranges abovementioned to my Children at the time appointed by Valuation they	Samuel Doveton gave his daughter Rebekah twenty-six acres of freehold land forming the upper part of Bowman's land. He gave his sons Jonathan and Samuel a small stock of goats then kept at the Briars, grazing on his own land there, to be divided equally between them and to run together on that land at the Briars he had given between them. He directed his executors to deliver the lands and goat ranges named above to his children, at valuation, at the time appointed, they paying their other brothers their proper shares as conveniently as could be. The goats at the Briars were likewise to be valued to them, but whenever his son Jonathan received his half of the

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		paying their other Brothers their proper Shares or proportions as Convenient as possible may be Also the Goats at the Briars to be Valued to them but whenever my Son Jonathan shall receive his half of the Goats at the Briars that then the other half shall be kept in a Distinct mark for my Son Samuels benefit and Advantage Item As I have given my Son Jonathan my Mansion House my meaning and intention is that he shall not be put in possession of the Same Untel he shall come to Age or Marriage as aforesaid But to be for the Use of my Family and furthermore that my Wife shall have half the House during the time She remains my Widow and no longer I also appoint her to be an Executrex while She Contenues my Widow and no longer Item Whereas my Father in Law Mr Richard Beale upon the Marriage of his Daughter gave me a Writing Entituling me to a Childs part Equal With the rest of his other Children to his Estate at the time of his Decease I hereby Direct that the Same Childs part shall be Equally Divided between my Wife and Children at the time it shall become due to me Lastly I Nominate Constitute and appoint my good friends Viz Messrs John Doveton my Brother William Young Richard Beale Executors to this my Will Also I Appoint each and every my Sons to be Executors as they Shall attain to the Age of Eighteen Years Disanmulling and making Void all former Will or Wills by me made Ratifying and Confirming this and no other to be my last Will and Testament this twenty Eight day of July in the Year of Our Lord God One thousand Seven Hundred and forty Nine (Signed) Saml Doveton Signd Seald and Declard to be the last Will and Testament of him the said Samuel Doveton in the presence of Us Sam Falconer Thos French Onesr Meade	goats, the other half was to be kept under a distinct mark for the benefit of his son Samuel. Having given his son Jonathan the mansion house, he directed that Jonathan not take possession of it until he came of age or married, the house until then serving for the use of the family. His wife was to have half the house for as long as she remained his widow, and he named her executrix for the same period. On the marriage of his daughter, his father-in-law Richard Beale had given Doveton a writing entitling him to a child's part of Beale's estate, equal with Beale's other children, to fall due at Beale's death. He directed that this child's part be divided equally between his wife and children when it became due to him. Lastly, he named his friends John Doveton, his brother, William Young and Richard Beale executors of the will. He directed that each of his sons act as executor on reaching the age of eighteen. He cancelled every will he had made before. He made this his will on 28 July 1749. It was signed, sealed and declared as the last will of Samuel Doveton before Samuel Falconer, Thomas French and Onesipherus Beale. **Interpretations** The direction to keep the two halves of the goat stock under distinct marks shows how communally grazed livestock were owned and divided on the island's open ranges. Goats ran loose over unenclosed upland and were told apart by owners' marks rather than by fences, so when Jonathan took his half the remainder had to be re-marked for Samuel to keep the two shares legally separate on the same ground. The detail records the practical method by which divided ownership of free-ranging animals was maintained where the land itself could not be partitioned. Doveton's disposal of the child's part promised him by his father-in-law shows a marriage settlement reaching across two generations. Beale had bound himself in writing to give his daughter's husband a share of his estate equal to his own children's, and Doveton, not knowing whether he or Beale would die first, directed that this future entitlement be divided among his own wife and children when it fell in. The provision shows how a promise made on marriage became an asset that a testator could himself dispose of, carrying the benefit of one family's settlement forward into the distribution of another's estate.
35	19	The following Obligation of Mrs Dovetons found Enclosed with the Will Be it known unto all Men by these Presents that I Margaret Wife of Samuel Doveton for divers good reasons and Considerations me thereunto moving do make appoint I consent to the following Agreement with him my said Husb in the Disposal of his Estate (Vizt) That whereas he the said Samuel my Husband hath now made his last Will and Testament in writt in Order to Settle his Estate among his Children Viz Richard Jonathan John Samuel and Rebecca and my Self (as his Widow in Case of his Death) And Whereas by Law the Widows of this Island are Entituled to the one half of the	The following undertaking by Margaret Doveton was found enclosed with the will. Margaret Doveton, wife of Samuel Doveton, for good reasons of her own, agreed and consented to the following arrangement with her husband over the disposal of his estate. Her husband had made his will to settle his estate among his children Richard, Jonathan, John, Samuel and Rebecca, and herself as his widow should he die first. By the law of the island a widow was entitled to half of the freehold or real estate for her lifetime, but instead of that her husband had offered her an equal share with his children, on these terms. After his death she might remain and live upon his estate along with his children, the whole being kept together for the good of all until a division was made, which as to her own share was to be entirely at her choice. Should one or more of his children marry or come of age and take out their shares, and she thought

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		Freehold or Real Estate during her Natural Life But instead thereof he the said Samuel Doveton my Husband hath offered one an Equal Share and part of his Estate with his Children in manner and form as follows Vizt that after his decease I may remain and Live upon his Estate with his Children the whole being kept together for the good and benefit of Us all untill a Division is made which if to my Self shall be interely at my Option but if or more of his Children should Marry or be at full Age to take out his or their Shares or parts and I think proper to let my part remain in the said Estate that the true meaning and Intent of this agreement is that I shall be an Equal Sharer in his said Estate with the abovementioned Surviving Children that shall be Minors who have not before had their respective Shares And that I shall Receive the same the one half in Mony and the other half in such personal Estate as his Execut and my Self shall best agree to pay me in And in Consideration hereof I freely and intirely Quit all Right and Claim of Possessing his Real Estate (according as the Law hath appointed) no otherwise than in the Valuation thereof as the true meaning abovementioned and by his said last Will and Testament will more fully Appear In Witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and Seal this Twenty Second day of March in the Year of our Lord one Thousand Seven Hundred and forty Eight Signd Seald and Deliverd (Signed) Margaret Doveton in the peresence of Us (Signed) Onesr Beale Jno Doveton Eleanor Beale The following Obligation of Mrs Dovetons found Enclosed with the Will Be it known unto all Men by these Presents that I Margaret Wife of Samuel Doveton for divers good reasons and Considerations me thereunto moving do make appoint I consent to the following Agreement with him my said Husb in the Disposal of his Estate (Vizt) That whereas he the said Samuel my Husband hath now made his last Will and Testament in writt in Order to Settle his Estate among his Children Viz Richard Jonathan John Samuel and Rebecca and my Self (as his Widow in Case of his Death) And Whereas by Law the Widows of this Island are Entituled to the one half of the Freehold or Real Estate during her Natural Life But instead thereof he the said Samuel Doveton my Husband hath offered one an Equal Share and part of his Estate with his Children in manner and form as follows Vizt that after his decease I may remain and Live upon his Estate with his Children the whole being kept together for the good and benefit of Us all untill a Division is made which if to my Self shall be interely at my Option but if	proper to let her part remain in the estate, then the true meaning of the agreement was that she should be an equal sharer with the surviving children who were still minors and had not yet taken their shares. She was to receive her share half in money and half in such personal estate as her husband's executors and she should agree. In return she freely gave up all right and claim to hold his real estate, taking instead its appraised value, as the will more fully set out. She set her hand and seal to this on 22 March 1748. It was signed, sealed and delivered before Onesipherus Beale, John Doveton and Eleanor Beale, and signed by Margaret Doveton. **Interpretations** This separate deed shows the widow's surrender of her customary right being formalised in its own instrument rather than left to rest on the will alone. Because Margaret was giving up a valuable entitlement fixed by island law, her consent was recorded in a signed and witnessed writing of her own, enclosed with the will, so that her agreement could not later be questioned. The document reveals the legal caution surrounding a wife's release of property rights, which required her express and attested act to bind her, since a husband could not simply cut down by his will what the law conferred on her. The arrangement gave Margaret a continuing option rather than a fixed share, letting her leave her portion in the estate and stay level with the minor children as each elder child was paid out. She could take her share when she chose, but if she left it in she remained an equal sharer with those children who had not yet withdrawn, keeping her interest tied to the youngest and least provided for. The scheme shows a careful balancing of a widow's security against the children's claims, giving her flexibility to keep her stake in a working estate rather than forcing an immediate settlement that might leave her worse placed. The terms confirm the island custom that a St Helena widow took half her husband's real estate for life, set here against the English rule of a third in dower. Margaret's writing spells out the entitlement she was giving up, and so records both the existence of the more generous local custom and the value the family placed on buying it out with an equal share taken partly in cash. The document stands as direct evidence of how the island's property law diverged from England's and how families negotiated around that divergence.

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		or more of his Children should Marry or be at full Age to take out his or their Shares or parts and I think proper to let my part remain in the said Estate that the true meaning and Intent of this agreement is that I shall be an Equal Sharer in his said Estate with the abovementioned Surviving Children that shall be Minors who have not before had their respective Shares And that I shall Receive the same the one half in Mony and the other half in such personal Estate as his Execut and my Self shall best agree to pay me in And in Consideration hereof I freely and intirely Quit all Right and Claim of Possessing his Real Estate (according as the Law hath appointed) no otherwise than in the Valuation thereof as the true meaning abovementioned and by his said last Will and Testament will more fully Appear In Witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and Seal this Twenty Second day of March in the Year of our Lord one Thousand Seven Hundred and forty Eight Signd Seald and Deliverd (Signed) Margaret Doveton in the peresence of Us (Signed) Onesr Beale Jno Doveton Eleanor Beale	
36	20	Island St Helena Decemr ye 2 1749 In the Name of God Amen I John Norton Soldier in the Honourable United East India's Company's Service on this Island being Sick and Weak in Body but of perfect mind and Memory thanks be to Almighty God and knowing it is appointed for all Men once to Dye do will and Bequeath of my Worldly Effects as follows that is to say first I recommend my Soul into the hands of Almighty God who gave it me and my Body to the Earth from whence it came to be Buried in a Christian and decently like manner as to my Worldly Effects I give and Bequeath as follows at my Decease Item To Samuel Talbot of the Second Company one small Jump &c Item To Wm Brooks & Samuel Talbot my red Chest and all my Wearing Apparrell to be Equally divided between them Appointing Robert Vickers of the Artillery Company my full and whole Executor of this my last Will & Testament and that he the said Robert Vickers my Executor after payment to himself shall distribute to my Creditors their Severall Sums out of the remainder and if any Remainding to be at his own Disposal Ratifying and Confirming this to be my last Will & Testament and no other this Second day of December in the Year of our Lord one Thousand Seven Hundred & forty Nine In Witness whereof I have sett my hand & Seale his	John Norton, soldier in the Honourable East India Company's service on St Helena, made his will on 2 December 1749 while sick and weak in body but sound in mind. He commended his soul to God and directed that his body be buried in the Christian and decent manner. He then disposed of his worldly effects as follows. He gave Samuel Talbot of the Second Company one small [...]. He gave William Brooks and Samuel Talbot his red chest and all his wearing apparel, to be divided equally between them. He named Robert Vickers of the Artillery Company sole executor of the will, and directed that after paying himself, Vickers distribute to his creditors their several sums out of the remainder, anything then left to be at his own disposal. He set his hand and seal to it on 2 December 1749. It was signed, sealed and delivered, no stamped paper being available, before Thomas Draper and John Spencer junior, and marked by John Norton. **Interpretations** Norton's will shows the barest form a soldier's estate could take, amounting to a chest, his clothes and a single small item, with debts still outstanding against even that. His executor was to pay himself first, then settle the creditors from what little remained, and only any residue passed as a gift. The document records the position of a common soldier of the garrison, whose worldly effects were so slight that winding up his estate meant little more than dividing a few possessions and clearing what he owed. The recurrence of the note that no stamped paper could be had, seen in other island wills of these years, points to a persistent shortage of the officially stamped paper that English law required for legal instruments. Witnesses on St Helena repeatedly recorded the want to protect the validity of wills that could not be drawn on the proper form. The pattern shows how an imperial legal formality designed for England sat awkwardly on a remote island where the necessary materials were often simply unavailable.

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		John † Norton Mark Signd Seald & Deliverd in the presence of Us where no Stamp Paper is to be had (Signed) Thomas Draper John Spencer Junr	
37	21	In the Name of God Amen this Twenty fifth day of march in the Year of our Lord God One Thousand seven hundred and fifty I Giles Smith of the Island St Helena Planter being Sick and Weak of Body but of perfect Mind and Memory (thanks to Almighty God) do hereby make and Appoint this my last Will and Testament in manner and form as followeth And first of all I give and recommend my Soul into the hands of Almighty God my Creator My Body I commit to the Earth to be buried in a Christian manner at the Discretion of my Executors hereafter Named My Worldly goods I give Devise and Dispose of in the manner as follows Vizt Imprimis I desire that all my Debts and Funeral Expences be fully Satisfied and Discharged in some Convenient after my Decease Item I give to my Grandchildren Namely Sutton Penelope and the Child that my Daughter is now big with a Silver Spoon One to each of them Item All the rest and remaining part of my Estate I give to be Equally Divided among my beloved Children Namely Thomas and John my Sons and Sarah and Mary the Wife of Gabriel Isacke but to prevent any Disagreement among my Children in the Division of my Estate I hereby Allot them the following particulars which are to be Valued by two indifferent persons in their part and Share of my Estate and to be Accountable to each other Vizt I give to my Son Thomas my House and four Acres of Land being the lower part of my Land I now Leave of the Honble Company And to my Son John I give four Acres being the upper part of my Said Land And also Give him a Man Slave Named Toby And to my Daughter Mary the Wife of Gabriel Isacke I give a Woman Slave Named Sue Also to my Daughter Sarah I give a Woman Slave Naimd Ellen Lastly I Nominate and Appoint my Sons Thomas and John and my Son in Law Gabriel Isacke Executors to this my Will Utterly Revoking and Disannulling all former Will or Wills by me heretofore made Ratifying and Confirming this and no other to be my last Will and Testament (Signed) Giles Smith Signd Seald and Declard as the last Will and Testament of him the Said Giles in the presence of Us (Signed) Onesr Beale Richd Beale	Giles Smith of St Helena, planter, made his will on 25 March 1750 while sick and weak in body but sound in mind. He commended his soul to God and directed that his body be buried in the Christian manner at the discretion of his executors named later. He then disposed of his worldly goods as follows. First, he directed that all his debts and funeral expenses be paid at some convenient time after his death. He gave his grandchildren Sutton, Penelope and the child his daughter was then carrying a silver spoon each. All the rest of his estate he gave to be divided equally among his children, namely his sons Thomas and John, and Sarah and Mary, the wife of Gabriel Deacle. To prevent any disagreement among his children in the division, he allotted them the following particulars, to be valued by two impartial persons as part of their share and accounted for by each. He gave his son Thomas his house and four acres of land, being the lower part of the land he then leased from the Company. He gave his son John four acres being the upper part of that land, together with a slave man named Toby. He gave his daughter Mary, wife of Gabriel Deacle, a slave woman named Sue. He gave his daughter Sarah a slave woman named Ellen. Lastly, he named his sons Thomas and John and his son-in-law Gabriel Deacle executors of the will, cancelling every will he had made before. It was signed, sealed and declared as the last will of Giles Smith before Onesipherus Beale and Richard Beale, and signed by Giles Smith. **Interpretations** Smith's whole landed provision rested on four acres held from the Company, split into an upper and a lower part for his two sons, which marks him as a planter of small means beside the large freeholders on these leaves. Where a man like Goodwin devised named freehold blocks running to scores of acres, Smith had only a modest leasehold to divide, giving one son the house and the lower ground and the other the upper. The contrast shows the range of holdings among the island's planters, from substantial freehold estates down to a few rented acres, all described in the same testamentary form. The device of valuing the specific gifts of land and slaves by two impartial appraisers, and setting each against the taker's share, was Smith's means of keeping the division equal and heading off the disagreement he feared. By having house, acres and named slaves priced and counted into each child's portion, he ensured that no child was advantaged by receiving a particular asset, since its value was reckoned in the final balance. The method shows how a planter with unequal things to leave, some land, some people, some money, made an even division among four children by turning every gift into an appraised sum.
38	22	In the Name of God Amen I Robert Meacock of the Island of St Helena Cooper being Sick and Weak of Body but	Robert Meacock of St Helena, cooper, made his will while sick and weak in body but sound in mind. He commended his soul to God and directed that his body

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		of perfect mind and memory thanks to Almighty God I doe hereby make and appoint this my last Will and Testament in manner and form as followeth first of al I recommend my Soul into the hands of Almighty God my Creator my Body I commit to the Earth to be bureyed in a Christian manner at the direction of my Executors hereaft Named my Wordly goods I give devise and dispose of in manner as follows I desire that all my Wordly Debts may be paid as soon as possible after my Decease Imprimis All the remaining part of my Estate I give unto my Beloved Wife Elizabeth Meacock of the City of London Item I desire that all my Effects maybe Sold to the best advantage and Remitted to my Wife as soon as Conveniance suits Item If my Beloved Wife should be Dead which God forbid what Remains after my Debts are paid and my Funeral Expences Discharged I bequeath unto John Bush Son of my Dear friend Daniel Bush of the Island aforesaid Item I think proper to Certifie in case of my Death that John Collins late of this Island Serjeant did stand indebted to one when he took his Departer from this Island thirty Pounds lawful Money of this Island for which he left in my Possesion his house in James Valley till paid Item I likewise doe Certifie that the Black Boy Toney commonly thought to be the aforesaid John Collins is my property and never did belong to John Collins only Liveing with him upon accot of my Lodging in Collins House Item I doe appoint this to be my last Will and Testament Revoking all other Wills that may be found hear or Else where Item I doe hearby appoint my two dear friends John Bland and Matt Hawkins Masons of this Island to be my Executor administator and Assigns of this my last Will and Testament as witnes my hand and Seal this Eleventh day of June and in the Year	be buried in the Christian manner at the discretion of his executors named later. He then disposed of his worldly goods as follows, directing first that all his debts be paid as soon as possible after his death. First, he gave all the rest of his estate to his wife Elizabeth Meacock, of the City of London. He directed that all his stock be sold to the best advantage and the money remitted to his wife as soon as convenient. Should his wife die before him, which he prayed would not happen, he gave whatever remained after his debts and funeral expenses were paid to John Bush, son of his friend Daniel Bush of the island. He certified, in case of his death, that John Collins, late of the island and a sergeant, had owed him £30 0s 0d in island money at the time he left the island, for which Collins had left his house in James Valley in Meacock's possession until the sum was paid. He likewise certified that the slave boy Toney, commonly supposed to belong to John Collins, was in fact his own property and had never belonged to Collins, having only lived with Collins while Meacock lodged in Collins's house. He directed that this be his last will, cancelling every other will that might be found. He named his friends John Bland and Matthew Hawkins, masons of the island, executors, administrators and assigns of the will. He set his hand and seal to it on 11 June [...] **Interpretations** Meacock's careful certification that the boy Toney was his and not Collins's shows a testator moving to fix the ownership of a slave before a dispute could arise after his death. Because Toney had lived in Collins's house while Meacock lodged there, the boy might be taken for Collins's property, so Meacock set the record straight in his will to secure the child for his own estate. The passage shows how the ownership of a human being could be clouded by mere residence in another man's house, and how a slaveholder used his will to assert title against the appearance created by where the slave had lived. The unpaid debt of Sergeant Collins, secured by his James Valley house left in Meacock's hands, records an informal mortgage of the kind that served for credit on the island. Collins had borrowed £30 and pledged his house, handing over possession until the debt was cleared, so that Meacock held the property as security rather than by any formal charge. The arrangement shows how men on St Helena raised and secured loans between themselves through the direct transfer of possession, the house standing in the creditor's hands as a living pledge for the money owed. Meacock's direction that his whole estate be turned to cash and remitted to his wife in London shows the island functioning as a place of temporary work whose earnings flowed home to England. As a cooper with his wife living in the City, Meacock had no wish to leave property on St Helena, so he ordered his stock sold and the proceeds sent to her across the ocean. The provision reflects the position of a tradesman working a spell on the island while his family remained in England, his estate meant to follow him home in the form of money rather than to root itself where he had earned it.
39	23	of our Lord one thousand Seven hundred and fifty Signd Seald and delivered the mark of in the presence of us Robert Meacock Jno Leech Junr Charles Mountegue In the Name of God Amen the Sixth day of February in the Year of Our Lord God One Thousand Seven Hundred and Forty Nine I Mary Alexander Widow of the Island St Helena being	Robert Meacock set his hand and seal to his will in 1750. It was signed, sealed and delivered before John Leech junior and Charles Mountegue, and marked by Robert Meacock. Mary Alexander, widow, of St Helena, made her will on 6 February 1749 while sick and weak in body but sound in mind. She commended her soul to God and directed that her body be buried at the discretion of her executors named later. She then disposed of her worldly goods as follows.

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		Sick and Weak of Body but of Sound and perfect mind and Memory do make and Appoint this my last Will and Testament in manner and form as followeth First I Give and Recommend my Soul to the Almighty God my Creator my Body I commit to the Earth to be buried at the Discretion of my Executor hereafter mentioned my Worldly Goods I Give devise and Dispose of in the Manner following (Vizt) Imprimis I Give to my Daughter Rachel One Black Woman Named Mary one Gold plain Ring one Iron Chest with all my Wearing Apparel Item All the rest and remaining part of my Estate be it in what kind soever I give to my Son in Law James Powell with this Proviso that he will be Answerable and discharge all such Debts that I am engaged with any Persons and to pay the same when shall be legally Demandd together with my funeral Charges &c Lastly I Nominate and Appoint my said Son in Law James Powell and Mr Rich Beale Executors to this my Will Disannulling and making Void all former Will or Wills by me made Ratifying and Confirming this and no other to be my last Will and Testament Signd Seald and Declard to be the last Will & Testament (Signed) of her the said Mary Alexander Mary Alexander in the presence of Us Sam Alexander George Alexander	First, she gave her daughter Rachel a slave woman named Mary, one plain gold ring and one iron chest with all her wearing apparel. She gave all the rest of her estate, of whatever kind, to her son-in-law James Powell, on condition that he answer and discharge all the debts she owed to anyone, paying them when legally demanded, together with her funeral charges. Lastly, she named her son-in-law James Powell and Richard Beale executors of the will, cancelling every will she had made before. It was signed, sealed and declared as the last will of Mary Alexander before Samuel Alexander and George Alexander, and signed by Mary Alexander. **Interpretations** Mary Alexander's will shows a widow with property of her own to dispose of, chiefly a slave woman, a gold ring and an iron chest, passing to a daughter, with the residue to a son-in-law charged with clearing her debts. That she held and bequeathed a slave and other assets in her own name reflects the position of a widow, who unlike a wife under coverture could own and devise property freely. The document records how the death of a husband restored to a woman the legal capacity to make a will and direct her estate, a capacity marriage had suspended. The gift of the residue to the son-in-law on condition he discharge all her debts was a practical way of settling her affairs through a single trusted heir. Rather than have her small estate administered piecemeal, she passed the bulk to James Powell and made his taking of it conditional on his answering her creditors, so that the benefit and the burden went together. The arrangement shows how a modest estate could be wound up by loading both the assets and the obligations onto one person, who took what remained after meeting what was owed.
40	24	In the Name of God Amen I Woulston Jones being at this present of sound Mind altho Weak in Body do here make my last Will and Testament hereby revoking all my former Wills Imprimis I give after my Decese to Augustine Balls all my Wearing Aparel and to the said Augustine Balls and Daniel Langston my Wages due from Capt Hunter to be equally Divided betwixt them and likewise it is my Will that the said Augustine Ball and Daniel Langston at the receiveing of the said Wages pay to Thomas Greenaway ten Shillings each and that the said Augustine Balls & Daniel Langston pay all my Debts Dues and Demand as Witness my hand and Seal this 18 day of January 1750/50 (Signed) Woulston Jones Witness (Signed) Humphry Pugh his Edward † Cocher mark Thomas Brown In the Name of God Amen this Sixteenth day of June in the Year of our Lord God one thousand Seven hundred and Fifty I Richard Sinsley of the Island St Helena being Sick and Weak in Body but of sound and perfect Mind and Memory	Woulston Jones made his will while sound in mind though weak in body, cancelling every will he had made before. First, he gave Augustine Balls all his wearing apparel after his death. To Augustine Balls and Daniel Langston he gave his wages due from Captain Hunter, to be divided equally between them. He directed that, on receiving the wages, Balls and Langston pay Thomas Greenaway 10s each, and that they also pay all his debts and demands. He set his hand and seal to it on 18 January 1750. It was signed by Woulston Jones, and witnessed by Humphry Pugh, Edward Cocker and Thomas Brown. Richard Tinsley of St Helena made his will on 16 June 1750 while sick and weak in body but sound in mind. He commended his soul to God and directed that his body be buried decently at the discretion of his executrix named later. He then disposed of his worldly goods as follows. Once his debts and funeral charges were paid, he gave his wife everything he possessed, of whatever kind, whether on the island or elsewhere, entirely at her disposal. He named her sole executrix of the will. **Interpretations** Jones's disposal of the wages owed him by Captain Hunter shows how a seafaring or working man's chief asset was often unpaid earnings still in his employer's hands. Having little else beyond his clothes, Jones left these accrued wages to two men on condition they pay a small sum to a third and clear his debts, turning a claim for wages into the means of settling his affairs. The will records how the estate of a man of small means might consist mainly of money not yet received, disposed of by directing those who collected it how it was to be shared and spent.

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		thanks to Almighty God do make appoint this to be my last Will and Testament that is to say first and Principally of all I give and recommend my Soul into the Hands of God my Creator my Body I commit to the Earth to be Decently Interd according to the Discretion of my Executrix hereafter Named my Wordly Goods wherewith it hath pleased God to bless me with I give Devise and Dispose of in the Manner and form as followeth that is to say After my Debts and Funeral Charges are fully paid and Satisfyd I give to my Welbeloved Wife all and every thing that I am Possesed of be it in what kind so ever either upon this said Island or elsewhere to be entirely at her Disposal as she shall think proper And I also appoint her whole and Sole Executrix of this	
41	25	my Will Disanneiting and making Vod all other Will or Wills by me heretofore made Ratifying and Confirming this and no other to be my last Will and Testament (Signed) his Richard † Sinsley Signd Sealed and Declared to be mark the last Will and Testament of him the said Richard Sinsley in presence of Us (Signed) Onesr Beale Rich Beale July the 30 1751 The last Will and Testment of Edward Arnold of the Artillery Company Born in Boshope Stafford in the County of Harford Shire in the Kingdom of Greate Brittain being perfect in Mind but weak in Body and finding my Salf not to be long in this World do give and bequeat unto John Whitchurch of the said Company my Chest and all things that belongs to me likewise I do give him whatsoever Money that is due unto me I leve the said John Whitchurch he whole and Sole Executer of all that I have as Witness my hand and Seale As Witness to these two Men Andrew Gregur his Willam † Campbell mark St Helena July the 30 1751 In the Name of God Amen I Daniel Bush Soldier on the Island St Helena being very Sick and Weak but of sound Mind & perfect memory (praised be God) do make this my last Will and Testament hereby revoking all former Wills be one made and do appoint this my last Will to be Observed as followeth Imprimis I give to my Well beloved Wife Eleanor Bush the House in James Valley formaly Elizabeth Manlove's also a Slave Man	Richard Tinsley cancelled every will he had made before and confirmed this as his own. It was signed, sealed and declared as the last will of Richard Tinsley before Onesipherus Beale and Richard Beale, and marked by Richard Tinsley. Edward Arnold of the Artillery Company, born in Bishop's Stafford in the county of Hertfordshire in Great Britain, made his will on 30 July 1751 while sound in mind but weak in body, finding he would not be long in the world. He gave John Whitchurch of the same company his chest and everything belonging to him, and likewise all the money owed to him. He left Whitchurch sole executor of all he had. At the time of the will James Hall owed him £7 6s 0d in money lent, and John Wathouse owed him £2 2s 6d. It was witnessed by two men, Andrew Gregur and William Campbell, at St Helena on 30 July 1751. Daniel Bush, soldier on St Helena, made his will while very sick and weak in body but sound in mind, cancelling every will he had made before. First, he gave his wife Eleanor Bush the house in James Valley formerly belonging to Elizabeth Manlove, a slave man known by the name of Harry, his best bed and all its furniture, everything fit to make up her wearing apparel, half the debts owed to him and half his household furniture. **Interpretations** Arnold's careful listing of the two men who owed him money, with the exact sums set against their names, shows how much of a soldier's small estate could consist of private loans made to his fellows. Away from banks or any formal credit, men of the garrison lent to one another, and Arnold's will functioned partly as a record of these debts so his executor could collect them. The document preserves the web of small personal lending that ran through a military community, where a dying man's assets included the sums he had advanced to comrades still living. The record of Arnold's birthplace in Hertfordshire, unusually precise for these wills, marks the distance between a soldier's origins and the mid-ocean island where he came to die. Men of the Company's garrison were drawn from across Britain and ended their lives thousands of miles from home, and the naming of Arnold's home parish is a reminder that the island's military population was a transient body of men uprooted from their birthplaces. The detail throws into relief the reach of the Company's

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		know by the Name of Harry likewise my best Bed and all its Furniture also all kind of things fit to make up for her Wearing Apparel also half the Debts due to me and half ony Household furniture Item Margin Notes: James Hall Money lent £ 7. 6 John Wathenge £ 2. 6	recruitment and the isolation of those who served and died in its distant stations.
42	26	Item I give to my Son John Bush the House I now Dwell in also my other Slave Man called Isaac Item I give to my Son John Bush one pare of Silver Shoe Buckles one pare of Knie Do one Stock Do one pare of Silver Clasps Pone Gold Ring also all the other half of all my Goods Debts &c only out of these my Goods & Debts as I leave to my Son John Bush I direct my Executors to pay to Elyzabeth Leech Spinster the Sum of five Pound Item All these my Goods Estates & Effects upon the Death of any Wife incase my Son John Bush Survives her to be his and only his but in Case my Wife Survives my Son then all these my Effects whatsoever after my Debts are paid to be hers I only heir hereby appointing my said Wife my principle Executrex but as Assistant to my Wife I Constetute my loveing friends under her Robert Mason Matthes Brightwell to be my Executors to this my last Will and Testament (Signed) Daniel Bush Signed Seald and declard as the last Will and Testament of him the said Danl Bush in the presence of Us (Signed) this 26 day of Wm Oakman Novembr 1750 Richd Twaits In the Name of God Amen this 26 day of July 1751 I Joseph Whaley of the Island St Helena Planter being Sick & Weak of Body but Sound & perfect Mind and Memory thanks be to Almighty God do make and Appoint this my last Will & Testament and first I give and recommend my Soul to Almighty God my Creator & my Body I commit to the Earth to be Buried in a Christian like manner at the descreation of my Executors hereafter Named and as touching such Wordly Goods wherewith it pleased God to bless me with I give devise & disposs of my same in manner and form as followes Imprimis I give to my Dear Beloved Wife one red Cow Item	Daniel Bush gave his son John Bush the house he then lived in, together with his other slave man called Isaac. He gave his son John Bush one pair of silver shoe buckles, one pair of knee buckles, one stock buckle, one pair of silver clasps, one gold ring, and the other half of all his goods and debts. Out of these goods and debts he directed his executors to pay Elizabeth Leech Spencer the sum of £5 0s 0d. All his goods and effects were to pass, on the death of his wife, to his son John Bush if he outlived her, to be his alone. Should his wife outlive his son, then all his effects, after his debts were paid, were to be hers alone. He named his wife principal executrix, and appointed his friends Robert Mason and Matthias Brightwell to act as her assistants. The will was signed, sealed and declared as the last will of Daniel Bush before William Oakman and Richard Sweats, on 26 November 1750. Joseph Whaley of St Helena, planter, made his will on 26 July 1751 while sick and weak in body but sound in mind. He commended his soul to God and directed that his body be buried in the Christian manner at the discretion of his executors named later. He then disposed of his worldly goods as follows. First, he gave his wife one red cow. **Interpretations** Bush's cross-remainder between wife and son, giving the whole estate to whichever outlived the other, shows a testator with a single main heir guarding against the order of deaths. Rather than split his property, he let it pass entire to his son if the wife died first, or to his wife if the son died first, keeping it undivided in the survivor's hands. The arrangement reflects the concern of a man of modest estate to see all he had descend intact to one of two people closest to him, whichever the chance of survival left. The set of silver buckles, clasps and a gold ring given to the son marks the small store of personal finery through which a soldier of the garrison held and passed on a little durable wealth. Shoe, knee and stock buckles in silver were both everyday dress and a form of portable value, and their careful enumeration in the will shows them treated as objects worth naming and bequeathing individually. The detail reflects how men of small means invested modest sums in wearable silver that served at once for adornment and as a store of value to hand down.
43	27	Item I give to my Son Simon one Boy Named George and pair of Shoe Buckels Item I give to my Son James a goat Range from Stone Top to Prosperous	Joseph Whaley gave his son Simon a slave boy named George and a pair of shoe buckles. He gave his son James a goat range from Stone Top to Prosperous Bay Valley, along with five cows when he received it and one pair of silver shoe buckles.

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		Bay Valley & likewise 5 Ewes when he Receives it & one pair of Silver Shoe Buckels Item I give to Son Joseph on Brindle Cow a large pair of Silver Shoe Buckels Nee Buckels & Stock Buckel Item I give to Son John on Black Hiffer & Wr of Silver Shoe Buckels & a Stock Buckel & one large Silver Spoon Item I give to my Son Simon the Rephial of all my Land Paying his Brothers their Equal dividend at appraisment Item All the rest & remaner of my Estate I give & Bequeath to my beloved Children Namely Simon James Joseph and John to be divided amongst them as they shall come to Age or Marriage Lastly I Nominate and Appoint my trusty Freinds Mr Rich Bagley Mr John Desfountain Mr Elisha Isacke & Joshua Worrall Executors of this my last Will Revoaking and Disannuling all former Will or Wills by me made Ratifiying Confirming this and no other to be my last Will & Testament (Signed) his Joseph † Whaley Signd Seald published & Declard mark this his last Will in the presence of us (Signed) Saml Desfountain James Long In the Name of God Amen I Ebenezar Leech of the Island St Helena being Sick and Weak of Body but of Sound and perfect mind and memory (thanks be to Almighty God) do make Ordain constitute and appoint this my last Will and Testament as follows Viz Imprimis I Will and recommend my Soul into the Hands of Almighty God my Creator trusting in his mercy for the remission of all my Sins Item I Will and Direct that all my just Debts and Funeral Expences be paid and Adjusted by my Executors hereafter Named	He gave his son Joseph a brindle cow, a large pair of silver shoe buckles, knee buckles and a stock buckle. He gave his son John a black heifer, a pair of silver shoe buckles, a stock buckle and one large silver spoon. He gave his son Simon the refusal of all his land, paying his brothers their equal shares at appraisal. All the rest of his estate he gave to his children Simon, James, Joseph and John, to be divided among them as they came of age or married. Lastly, he named his friends Richard Bagley, John Desfountain, Elisha Sacke and Joshua Worrall executors of the will, cancelling every will he had made before. It was signed, sealed, published and declared as his last will before Samuel Desfountain and James Long, and marked by Joseph Whaley. Ebenezer Leech of St Helena made his will while sick and weak in body but sound in mind. He commended his soul to God, trusting in his mercy for the forgiveness of his sins. He directed that all his debts and funeral expenses be paid by his executors named later. **Interpretations** Whaley gave one son, Simon, the refusal of all his land on condition he pay his brothers their equal shares at valuation, the same device seen through these leaves for keeping a holding whole. Rather than divide the ground among four sons, he let the eldest take it entire and buy out the others at an appraised price, so the land stayed in one pair of hands while its value was shared. The provision shows once more how island planters preferred concentration of land with compensation in money over fragmentation among heirs. The goat range from Stone Top to Prosperous Bay Valley given to James records again the recognised grazing rights over the island's open uplands that passed as property with a farm. Such ranges, defined by named points across the rocky interior, let a holder run goats over ground that could not be enclosed or tilled, and were valuable enough to be bequeathed on their own. The detail confirms how thoroughly the use of St Helena's marginal land had been parcelled into heritable rights attached to particular families.
44	28	in some convenient time after my Decease Item I Will and Bequeath unto my well beloved Wife Bridget Leech one Black Woman Named Abigail to be at her her entire Disposal and I also give her the use and benefit of my House in Chappel Valley with all the Appurkenances thereunto belonging deering the Merm of her Natural Life without any interruption or mollestation provided she keeps it in repair Item I Will and Direct that at the Decease of my Wife the abovementioned House with the aforesaid premisses be equally Divided between my Beloved Son and Daughter John Leech and Isabel Meason but my Will and intention is that the part Bequeathed my Said Daughter Isabel shall at her Decease descend to my said Grand Daughter Jane Wilson but in case my said Grand Daughter should Die before Age or Marriage I give	Ebenezer Leech directed that his debts and funeral expenses be paid at some convenient time after his death. He gave his wife Bridget Leech a slave woman named Abigail, at her entire disposal. He also gave her the use of his house in Chapel Valley, with everything belonging to it, for her lifetime, without any interruption, provided she kept it in repair. He directed that on his wife's death the house and everything belonging to it be divided equally between his son and daughter, John Leech and Isabel Meason. His intention was that the part given to his daughter Isabel should, on her death, pass to his granddaughter Jane Wilson. Should Jane die before coming of age or marrying, he gave her part to his son John Leech and his heirs forever. He gave his nephew John Chillingworth all his wearing apparel and one feather bed, bolster and pillow. All the rest of his estate, of whatever kind, he directed be divided equally between his wife and his son and daughter. Lastly, he named his friend Joshua Worrall and his son John Leech executors of the will, and his wife executrix. He cancelled every will he had made before.

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		and Bequeath her part or share to my said Son John Leech and his Heirs forever Item I give and Bequeath unto my beloved Nephew John Chillingworth all my Wearing Apparel and also one Feather Bed Bolster and Pillow Item All the rest and remainder of my Estate be it whatsoever and wheresoever I Order and direct shall be Divided Equally between my Wife and my Son and Daughter Lastly I Nominate and Appoint my Wellbeloved Friend Mr Joshua Worrall and my Son John Leech Executors and my beloved Wife Executrix to this my Will revoking all former Will or Wills by me made Ratifying and Confirming this and no other to be my last Will and Testament this fourth day of January in the Year of our Lord 1751 The mark of Eben Leech Signd Sealed and Declared to be the last Will and Testament of the Testator in the presence of us (the word two being enterlined before the Signing & Sealing (Signed) James Pritchard John Smith	He made this his will on 4 January 1751. It was signed, sealed and declared as the last will of the testator, the word two being interlined before signing, before James Pritchard and John Smith, and marked by Ebenezer Leech. **Interpretations** Leech's arrangement for his house shows a testator directing property down three generations in a single clause, from wife to daughter to granddaughter. He gave his wife the house for life, then a half to his daughter Isabel, then Isabel's half onward to the granddaughter Jane Wilson, with a fallback to his son should the girl die young. By naming each taker in turn he controlled the descent of the property well beyond his own death, tying up its future course to keep it in the line he chose. The provision shows how a modest house could be made the subject of a careful chain of succession reaching to grandchildren yet unmarried. The condition that the widow keep the house in repair while she held it for life reflects the standard concern to preserve property held on a life interest for those entitled after. A life tenant had the use of the house but not the right to let it fall into decay to the loss of the son and daughter who would take it, so the obligation to maintain it was written into the gift. The clause shows the law's care to balance a widow's enjoyment of property against the interest of the remaindermen waiting to inherit it in sound condition.
45	29	In the Name of God Amen this Thirty first of March in the Year of our Lord God one Thousand seven hundred & fifty two I Francis Feunge of the Island St Helena being Sick and Weak of Body but of sound mind and Memory do make and Ordain this my last Will & Testament that is to say first and princepally I give and recommend my Soul unto the Hands of Almighty God my Body to the Earth to be Buried in a Christian like manner my Wordly Goods I give Devise and Dispose of in the following manner Imprimis I give to my beloved Wife the third part of my Estate Also one Black Boy Named Frank to be at her disposal Item I desire that my Dwelling House & Lands & all the Provisions thereon may be Sold to Benjn Seale att Valleation by two Men whom my Executors shall think proper to choose He the said Benjn Seale paying to all my Children Namely John Ann the Wife of Benjamin Seale Susannae the Wife of John Worrale Sarah Mary & Elyzabethan Equal Share Item To my two Youngest Daughters Mary and Elyzabeth to each of them ten pound more then an Equal Share Item I give to Sarah Daughter of John Worrale one Heifer Calf to be delivd soon after my Decease Lastly I Nominate and Appoint Messrs John Worrale Benjamin Seale and Samuel Alexander Executors to this my Will Revoking all Will or Wills by me heretofore made Ratifying and Confirming this and no other to be my last Will and Testament (Signed) Fran Feunge Signd Seald and Declard to be the last Will & Testam of him the said Francis Feunge in the presence of Us	Francis Funge of St Helena made his will on 31 March 1752 while sick and weak in body but sound in mind. He commended his soul to God and directed that his body be buried in the Christian manner. He then disposed of his worldly goods as follows. First, he gave his wife a third part of his estate, together with a slave boy named Frank, at her disposal. He directed that his dwelling house and lands, with all the provisions on them, be sold to Benjamin Seale at valuation, appraised by two men his executors thought proper to choose. Benjamin Seale, paying his children, namely John, Ann the wife of Benjamin Seale, Susanne the wife of John Worrall, Sarah, Mary and Elizabeth, an equal share. To his two youngest daughters Mary and Elizabeth he gave, to each of them, more than the rest an equal share. He gave Sarah, daughter of John Worrall, a heifer calf, to be handed over soon after his death. Lastly, he named John Worrall, Benjamin Seale and Samuel Alexander executors of the will, cancelling every will he had made before. It was signed, sealed and declared as the last will of Francis Funge before John Leech, Onesipherus Gurling and Samuel Alexander, and signed by Francis Funge. **Interpretations** Funge chose to have his house and land sold outright to a named buyer at valuation, rather than divide the ground among his children as most planters on these leaves preferred. His son-in-law Benjamin Seale was to take the whole property at an appraised price and pay each child an equal share of the value, turning the estate into cash for even distribution. The arrangement shows an alternative to keeping land in the family, where a testator with several children and no wish to favour a son converted his real estate into money by a fixed sale to one of his daughters' husbands. The direction that the two youngest daughters, Mary and Elizabeth, receive something beyond an equal share reflects a father's care for the children least able to provide for themselves. Being youngest and presumably unmarried and unsettled, they were given more than their siblings to help establish them, a common adjustment where a testator weighted his

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		(Signed) John Leech Onesiphorus Gurling Sam Alexander	provision toward those with the furthest still to go. The clause shows a parent using his will to correct for the different circumstances of children at different stages of life, rather than treating strict equality as the only fair course.
46	30	In the Name of God Amen this 22 day of June Anno Domini 1752 I Onesiphorus Gurling of the said Island Planter being Sick and Weak in Body but of good and perfect Memory thanks be to Almighty God for the same and knowing the uncertainty of this Transitory life Do make and declare this my last Will and Testament in manner and form following First being penitent and sorry for my Sins most humbly desire forgiveness for the same I recommend my Soul to Almighty God and my Body I commit to the Earth to be Decently Buried at the discretion of my Executors here after Named And my Worldly Estate and such Goods as it hath pleased God to bestow upon me after all my just Debts and Funeral Charges are fully paid and Satisfyed I Order Give and Dispose of the same in manner following Imprimis I give and Bequeath unto my beloved Son William one sett of Silver Shoe and Knee Buckles that are wrought not to be Valued to him Item I give and Bequeath unto my beloved Son Robert one sett of Silver Shoe and Knee Buckles that are plain not to be Valued to him Item I give and Bequeath unto my beloved Daughter Margaret two plain Gold Rings not to be Valued to her Item All the Rest Residue and Remainder of my Estate be it in what kind soever or wheresoever to be equally Divided between my beloved Children Namely William Robert and Margarett to be delivered to them as they shall severally arrive at the Age of twenty one Years or Marriage and in case of the Death of either my said Children before he or they shall arrive at the Age of Twenty one Years or Marriage as aforesaid I hereby Direct that the Survivors shall enjoy the Deceededs Dividend or Share of my Said Estate Lastly I hereby Nominate my beloved Brother Richard Gurling and my good Freinds Mess John Doveton John Desfountain and Francis Brangham Junr Executors to this my last Will & Testament Revoking and Disannulling all former Wills by me made and declaring this only to be my last Will and Testament the day and Year abovewritten (Signed) Onesiphorus Gurling Signd Sealed & Declared to be the last Will & Testament of the Testator in the presence of Us (Signed) Sam Falconer Wm Young Benjn Mason	Onesipherus Gurling of St Helena, planter, made his will on 22 June 1752 while sick and weak in body but sound in mind, knowing how uncertain life was. Being penitent for his sins, he commended his soul to God and directed that his body be buried decently at the discretion of his executors named later. Once his debts and funeral charges were paid, he disposed of his worldly estate as follows. First, he gave his son William one set of wrought silver shoe and knee buckles, not to be valued to him. He gave his son Robert one set of plain silver shoe and knee buckles, not to be valued to him. He gave his daughter Margaret two plain gold rings, not to be valued to her. All the rest of his estate, of whatever kind, he gave to be divided equally between his children William, Robert and Margaret, to be handed over as they each reached the age of twenty-one or married. Should any of the children die before coming of age or marrying, he directed that the survivors take the dead child's share. Lastly, he named his brother Richard Gurling and his friends John Doveton, John Desfountain and Francis Wrangham junior executors of the will, cancelling every will he had made before. It was made on the day and year above, signed by Onesipherus Gurling. It was signed, sealed and declared as the last will of the testator before Samuel Falconer, William Young and Benjamin Mason. **Interpretations** Gurling's decision to give the buckles and rings free of valuation, expressly excepted from the general division, marks these items as personal keepsakes set apart from the reckoning of shares. Where the residue was to be appraised and divided evenly, each child's piece of silver or gold was a gift over and above their portion, not counted against it. The distinction shows a father singling out particular tokens to pass to particular children as remembrances, deliberately lifting them out of the arithmetic that governed the rest of the estate so that each child kept its piece regardless of the final balance. The contrast between the wrought buckles given to William and the plain buckles given to Robert shows a small but deliberate distinction drawn between the two sons. Wrought silver was worked with decoration and worth more than plain, so the elder or favoured son took the finer set while the younger took the plainer, a quiet gradation within an otherwise equal division. The detail reflects how a testator could mark differences between children even while dividing the bulk of his estate evenly, using the character of particular gifts to signal a distinction the equal shares did not.

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47	31	In the Name of God Amen I (Augustine Balls) of St Helena Soldier being of perfect mind and memory make this my Last Will and Testament First I desire to be Decently buried My temporal Estate I bequeath and dispose of in the following manner Imprimis To my Son James Martha and Elizabeth Balls of the Parish of Peters after Montagate in Cornis Foard I bequeath the Sum of Two Hundred pounds to be equally Shard if living and Can be found The Residue and Remainder of my Estate Lands Tenements Hereditaments with my Goods Chattels Plate and Bonds Arrears of Rent with all other Properties of what kind soever to me appertaining I give devise and bequeath to Mr John Clark whom I constitute and appoint the whole and sole Executor of this my last Will and Testament and I do hereby utterly revoke disallow and disannul all former Bequeaths Wills and Legacies by me heretofore in any wise left or Made declaring ratifying and Confirming this and no other to be my last Will and Testament In Witness whereof I have hereunto set my Hand and Seal this Eighteenth day of May in the Year of our Lord one Thousand seven Hundred and fifty four his Augustine † Balls Signed Sealed Published and Delared Mark (where no Stamp paper is to be had) by the within named Testator (Augustine Balls) to be his last Will and Testament in Presence of us who Subscribed our Names in Presence of the said Testator and each other (Signed) Solo Jacobs Thos Jones Jno Legg	Augustine Balls of St Helena, soldier, made his will on 18 May 1754 while sound in mind. He directed that his body be buried decently, and disposed of his estate as follows. First, to his children James, Martha and Elizabeth Balls, of the parish of St Peter's near Montaigate in the county of Fyord, he gave the sum of £200 0s 0d, to be divided equally between them if living and if they could be found. All the rest of his estate, his lands, houses and property, together with his goods, chattels, plate, bonds, arrears of rent and everything else of whatever kind belonging to him, he gave to John Clark, whom he named sole executor of the will. He cancelled every will and legacy he had made before. He set his hand and seal to it on 18 May 1754. It was signed, sealed, published and declared, no stamped paper being available, as the last will of Augustine Balls before Solomon Jacobs, Thomas Jones and John Legg. **Interpretations** Balls's provision for children in an English parish, with the sum to be shared only if they were living and could be found, records the fractured family ties of a soldier who had left home for the Company's distant service. His children remained in England while he served and died on St Helena, and years of separation had left him unsure whether they still lived or where they were. The conditional gift shows how enlistment in the Company's forces could sever a man from his family so completely that he could not say, at his death, whether his own children survived to inherit. The bulk of the estate passing to John Clark rather than to the absent children reflects a testator settling his affairs on someone present and known over kin he could no longer reach. With his children lost to distance and uncertainty, Balls gave the residue and the executorship to a man on the island who could actually take and manage it, reserving only a fixed sum for the children if they could be traced. The arrangement shows how the practical need for an heir who was reachable could displace the natural claims of blood when family lay an ocean away and perhaps beyond finding.
48	32	In the name of God Amen this 1 Day of June in the Year of our Lord 1754 I Martin Harper of the Island St Helena Planter being Sick & Weak in Body but of sound mind a Memory do make and Ordain this my last Will and Testament First I recommend my Soul to the Mercy of Almighty God my Body to the Earth to be decently Baried in a Christian like manner at the discretion of my Executors hereafter named and the Worldy goods that it hath pleased God to bless me with I hereby give and dispose of as followeth Vizt Imprimis I will and direct that all my just debts & and Funeral Charges be fully paid and satisfyed Item I give and Bequeath to my well beloved Wife the Sole use of my House in the Country and all my land dureing her Life if she continues my Widow reposing great confidence in her good management for the comfortable maintenance of my Children who are to be supported upon the produce of my Estate which I desire may be kept together for their joynt Benefit but in Case my Said Wife should Marry again I then and in such case give her only the use of one half of my House	Martin Harper of St Helena, planter, made his will on [...] June 1754 while sick and weak in body but sound in mind. He commended his soul to God and directed that his body be buried decently in the Christian manner at the discretion of his executors named later. He then disposed of his worldly goods as follows. First, he directed that all his debts and funeral charges be paid. He gave his wife the sole use of his country house and all his land for her lifetime, so long as she remained his widow, placing great confidence in her good management for the comfortable maintenance of his children. The children were to be supported out of the produce of his estate, which he desired be kept together for their joint benefit. Should his wife marry again, he gave her instead only the use of half his country house for her lifetime, one third part of his personal estate, except the leasehold lands, at her disposal, and half his real estate for her lifetime. He directed that on his wife's death or remarriage his whole estate be divided equally among his children Thomas, John, Martin and Gabriel, as they each reached the age of twenty-one or married. His intention was that no division be made so long as his wife remained his widow. Should she marry again, he then gave his son Thomas half the country house, with the refusal of his lands, paying his other brothers their proper shares, and on his wife's death he gave Thomas

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		in the Country dureing her Life and one third part of my Personal Estate (except Leasehold Lands) to be entirely at her disposal and half my real Estate where or dureing Life Item I will and direct that at the Decease of my Wife or her being again married that my whole Estate be equally divided among my beloved Children namely Thomas John Martin and Gabriel as they shall severally arrive at the Age of Twenty one Years or Marriage my meaning and intention is that the same may not be made any Division of my Estate so long as my Wife remains to be my Widow but in case She should Marry again I then give my Son Thomas one half of the House in the Country with the refusal of my Lands he paying his other Brothers their proper Share or proportion and at the decease of my Wife I give him the Whole House under the Condition of being accountable to his Brothers for their equal dividends as aforesaid Item As I have already Directed that my whole Estate be kept together which I think will be for the greater Benefit of my Children I hereby desire that Mr Orlando Bagley who Married my Daughter Martha may be paid a Childs dividend of my Estate equal with the rest of my Children only so fast as the Money amounting to her part can be raised from the produce of my Estate and conveniently paid to him at the discretion of my Executors which I hope and expect he will be satisfyed with Item	the whole house, on condition he account to his brothers for their equal shares. Having directed that his whole estate be kept together for the greater benefit of his children, he gave Orlando Bagley, who had married his daughter Martha, a child's share equal with the rest of his children, but only as fast as the money for her part could be raised from the produce of the estate and conveniently paid, at the discretion of his executors. **Interpretations** Harper's provision turned entirely on whether his widow remarried, giving her the whole estate to manage while she stayed single but cutting her back sharply if she took another husband. So long as she remained his widow she held the country house and all the land for the children's benefit, but on remarriage she dropped to half the house, a third of the personalty and a life interest in half the land. The scheme shows a testator using the widow's own choices to protect his estate, rewarding her with full control if she devoted herself to the children and withdrawing it if a new husband might divert the property from them. The exclusion of the leasehold lands from the third of the personal estate the widow could take on remarriage marks a careful distinction between kinds of property. Leasehold on the island was held on Company grants that the family needed to keep intact for the children, so Harper kept it out of the portion a remarried widow could take at her own disposal. The clause shows how a testator distinguished between the movable wealth a widow might freely take and the land held on tenure that had to be preserved for the next generation. The staged payment of the married daughter's share, released only as the estate's produce allowed, shows how a son-in-law's claim was met without breaking up the working farm. Rather than raise a lump sum that would have forced a sale, Harper had Orlando Bagley paid his wife's portion gradually from the yearly produce, keeping the estate whole while still discharging the obligation. The arrangement reflects the tension between providing for a daughter who had married out and preserving the land for the sons, resolved by spreading the daughter's payment over time.
49	33	Item I Give and Bequeath to my Daughter in Law Elizabeth Draper one Black Gvil named Mdorn to be Delivered to her soon after my Decease Item In case any of my Creditors should come upon my Executors for peyment of their upon my Estate I hereby direct that they first Sell my Houses and Ground in James Valley with all the House hold Furneture in order to discharge them Lastly I hereby Nominate Constitute and appoint my beloved Wife Margaret Harper Executrix so long as she contenues my Widow and my Good Friends Mr John Goodwin Mr Samuel Alexander and my Son Thomas Harper to be Executors of this my last Will and Testament Revoking all other or former Will or Wills by me heretofore or at any time Made ratifying and conforming this and no other to be my last Will and Testament In Witness whereof I have hereunto set my Hand and Seal this day and Year above written Signed Sealed and Declared (Signed) Martin Harper by the Testator to be his last Will and Testament in the presence of us (Signed) Jno Inglis John Alexander F Wrangham Junr	Martin Harper gave his daughter-in-law Elizabeth Draper a slave girl named Adorn, to be handed over soon after his death. Should any creditor come upon his executors for payment out of his estate, he directed that they first sell his houses and ground in James Valley, with all the household furniture, to discharge the debts. Lastly, he named his wife Margaret Harper executrix for as long as she remained his widow, and his friends John Goodwin, Samuel Alexander and his son Thomas Harper executors of the will. He cancelled every will he had made before. He set his hand and seal to it on the day and year above. It was signed, sealed and declared as the last will of the testator before John Inglis, John Alexander and Francis Wrangham junior, and signed by Martin Harper. John Bagley of St Helena, planter, made his will while sick and weak in body but sound in mind. He commended his soul to God, trusting in his mercy for the forgiveness of his sins, and directed that his body be buried at the discretion of his executors named later. He then disposed of his worldly goods as follows. First, he gave his wife half of his land for her lifetime, and likewise half of his house at the fort. He gave her a third part of his movables, to take what she thought proper, along with one feather bed. He gave his son John his goat range and five cows in the range. He gave his daughter Ann Sacke one feather bed.

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		In the Name of God Amen I John Bagley of the Island St Helena Planter Being Sick & Weak of Boddy but of sound mind and Memory Thanks be to almighty God but knowing that it is appointed for all men Once to Die to make and Ordain this my last Will & Testament FIRST and principally I Recommend my Soul to almighty God trusting in his Mercies for the remition of all my Sins my to the Earth to be Baried at the discretion of my Executors hereafter Named My Worldly Goods I Give devise and bequeath as follows Imprimis I Give to my Well beloved wife the half of my land dueing her Natural Life and likewise the half of house at ye fort & I Give her leave to take the third Part of my moveables to take of what she shall think proper with one feather Bed Item I Give to my Son John my Goat Range & five Ewes in the Range Item I Give to my Daughter Ann Isacke one feather Bed Item I Give to my Daughter Margaret Alexander one feather Bed Item I Give to my Son Orlando my house at the fort paying his Brother John	He gave his daughter Margaret Alexander one feather bed. He gave his son Orlando his house at the fort, paying his brother John [...] **Interpretations** Harper's direction to meet any creditor by first selling the James Valley houses and furniture shows a testator marking out which part of his estate should bear his debts. Rather than let a creditor's claim fall on the country land and disrupt the provision for his widow and children, he set aside the town property to be sold first for that purpose. The clause shows how a landowner with holdings of different kinds could protect the core of his estate by designating particular assets, here the James Valley houses, as the fund from which his debts were to be paid. The recurrence of feather beds as the chief gift to daughters and widow across these island wills shows how such bedding ranked among the more valuable movable possessions of an ordinary household. A feather bed represented a substantial store of domestic wealth, warm, durable and costly, and was routinely singled out for bequest where finer goods were few. The pattern reflects the material world of the island's middling planters, in whose estates a good bed stood among the possessions most worth naming and passing on.
50	34	John the half what is shall be valued at Item I Give to my Son John the resitial of all my Lands paying his Brothers & Sisters an Eaqual Dividend Item All the rest remainer & residue of my Estate I Give to be Eaqually Dividen amoung them Namely Orlando John Elisha Isacke George Alexander Mary & Sarah Lastly I Nomenate and appoint my beloved wife Executrix & Beloved Son Executors of this my last will and Testament utterly Revoking & Disannuling all former will or Wills my one made rathfying & confirming this and no Other to be my Last will Whereto I have Set my hand and Seal this 29 Day of August AD 1754 (Signed) Signed Sedled and Declared John Bagley his last Will & Testament in the Presence of us (Signed) Benjamin Mason Josa Worrall Island St Helena In the Name of God Amen I Barthol Molly being Sick & Weak in Body but of Good & perfect memory thanks be to God for it & calling to remambrance the uncertainties of this Transatory Life and that all Flesh must yeeld unto Death when it shall please God to call On to avoid any Cantroveries after my Decease make & declare this as my Last Will and Testament in manner and Form as followeth That is to say First I recommend my Soul to God that Gave it and as to my Body I commit it to the Earth to be buried in a Christian Like manner at the Discretian of my Executor hereafter Named Secondly I do give & bequeath unto my	John Bagley gave his son Orlando the house at the fort, on condition he pay his brother John half of whatever it was valued at. He gave his son John the refusal of all his lands, on condition he pay his brothers and sisters an equal share. All the rest of his estate he gave to be divided equally among his children Orlando, John, Elisha, Isaac, George, Alexander, Mary and Sarah. Lastly, he named his wife executrix and his son executor of the will, cancelling every will he had made before. He set his hand and seal to it on 29 August 1754. It was signed, sealed and declared as his last will before Benjamin Mason and Joshua Worrall, and signed by John Bagley. Bartholomew Molly of St Helena made his will while sick and weak in body but sound in mind, mindful of how uncertain life was and that all must yield to death when God willed it. To avoid disputes after his death, he set down his last will as follows. First, he commended his soul to God and directed that his body be buried in the Christian manner at the discretion of his executor named later. He gave his friend Solomon Jacobs all sums of money [...] **Interpretations** Bagley's division shows the familiar island pattern of giving the sons the fixed property, the town house to Orlando and the lands to John, while charging each with paying out the other children in money. The house and the land each passed whole to one son at valuation, with the value shared among the eight children, so the two heritable assets stayed undivided while every child took an equal share of their worth. The arrangement again shows how island planters kept land and buildings intact in the hands of chosen sons and turned the claims of the remaining children into compensating payments. Molly's opening statement that he made his will to avoid disputes after his death names the purpose that lay behind most of these testaments, though few state it so plainly. A clear disposition of property, made while the testator was still of sound mind, was the surest guard against the quarrels and litigation that an

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		Loving Freind Solomon Jacobs all Sum or Sums of Money Pay a man	intestate or doubtful estate could breed among survivors. The declaration shows an awareness that the will's chief practical function was to forestall conflict, fixing in advance who should take what so that no room was left for contention among those who remained.
51	35	of any Cloathing Wearing Apparell &c that may be due oweing or belonging to unto me at my Decease & I do hereby appoint my Loving Friend Solomon Jacobs Sole Executor of this my Last Will and Testament Hereby revokeing all former Wills by me made & Declareing this only to be my Last Will & Testament in Witness whereof I have hereunto Set my hand & Seale this Twentieth Day of December 1754 (Signed) Signed Seald & Delivered Bartholomew Molloy in presence of (Signd) John Walker John Howard In the Name of God Amen I Richard Mason of the Island St Helena Planter being Sick & weak of Body but of sound and perfect Mind and Memory thanks to Almighty God do hereby make ordain and appoint this my last Will and Testament And first and principally I Give and Recommend my Soul unto into the hands of Almighty God my Creator My Body I commit to the Earth to be Buried in a Christian like and Decent manner at the Discretion of my Executors hereafter Named My Wordly Goods wherewith it hath pleased God to Bless me with I Give devise and Dispose of in the manner and form as followeth Vizt Imprimis I Give to my Well beloved Wife According to the Provision made and settled by the Laws of this Island to the Widows but as my Wife is pretty far advanced in years I am willing and Desirous that my whole Estate shall remain in the Possession of my Wife during her Natural Life by reason that if any Diversion were made to my Children that it must give her a great Deal of trouble And as my Wife hath promised me to rest Satisfyed to this my Will and that at her Decease the divisions and legacies to my Children and Grand Children shall be so then appoint and Bequeath all which I Charge and direct my said Children to be Contented and Satisfied I hereby Give and allot them in the several parts and Parcels both in Land and Houses as followeth Item I Give to my Well beloved Son Benjamen my Dwelling House and all the Lands about it as far upwards as the Stile that leads towards Mr John Alexanders and downwards	Bartholomew Molloy gave his friend Solomon Jacobs all the money, clothing, wearing apparel and everything else owed to him or belonging to him at his death. He named Jacobs sole executor of the will, cancelling every will he had made before. He set his hand and seal to it on 20 December 1754. It was signed, sealed and delivered before John Walker and John Howard, and signed by Bartholomew Molloy. Richard Mason of St Helena, planter, made his will while sick and weak in body but sound in mind. He commended his soul to God and directed that his body be buried in the Christian and decent manner at the discretion of his executors named later. He then disposed of his worldly goods as follows. First, he gave his wife what the island's law provided for widows, but since she was fairly advanced in years he wished his whole estate to remain in her possession for her lifetime. Any division among his children would give her a great deal of trouble, and she had promised him to rest satisfied with the will and that on her death the divisions and legacies to his children and grandchildren should take effect. He directed his children to be content with that arrangement, and gave and allotted them their several parts and parcels of land and houses as follows. He gave his son Benjamin his dwelling house and all the land about it, as far up as the stile leading towards John Alexander's and downwards [...] **Interpretations** Mason's reasoning, that his wife's age made an immediate division troublesome and that she had agreed to hold the whole estate for life, shows a testator keeping the estate undivided out of practical regard for an elderly widow. Rather than settle the children's shares at once and burden his wife with a divided property to manage in her declining years, he let her hold everything for life on her promise to abide by his scheme thereafter. The arrangement shows how the convenience and security of an aging widow could take precedence over the children's immediate interests, the division deferred until her death for the sake of her peace. The identification of Benjamin's land by a stile leading toward a neighbour's ground shows once more how island holdings were bounded by local landmarks and named neighbours rather than by survey. The stile on the path to John Alexander's marked the upper limit of the parcel, fixing the boundary by a feature every neighbour would know. The detail confirms how property lines on St Helena were drawn from the familiar features of the ground and the known holdings adjoining, the will recording boundaries as they were understood on the spot.
52	36	a piece of Land in Old Womans Valley which is the lower piece already taken in for with a distance & I also give her that upper part of Pasture land which Joins to this lower Land and runs Round above the Planting Land that I intend for my Son in Law Isaac Knipe Item I give to my Son in Law Isaac Knipe a Piece of Plantation Land from the before mentioned Stile upwards as far the Lands which is Pasture Land given and mentioned to my Son Benjamen I Also give my said Son in Law all that Piece and Parcel of Land that I hold in Somstone Wood with the House Yea I also give him a	Richard Mason also gave his son Benjamin a piece of land in Old Woman's Valley, being the lower piece already taken in with a fence. With it he gave the upper part of the pasture land adjoining that lower land, running round above the planting land he intended for his son-in-law Isaac Knipe. He gave his son-in-law Isaac Knipe a piece of plantation land running from the stile mentioned above upwards, as far as the pasture land given to his son Benjamin. He also gave Knipe all the piece of land he held in Lemon Tree Wood, together with the house on it. He also gave him a piece of planting land already fenced in Old Woman's Valley, being the middle piece. He also gave him his dwelling house at the fort, which

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		piece of planting Land arleady fenced in Old Womans Valley which is the middle piece I also give him my Dwelling House at the Fort which I bought of Mr Joseph Bates that is to say the refusal of the said House at Valuation and if he Chuses the same to that though he shall be Accountable to the Estate as shall be hereafter mentioned but as I have given my said Son in Law the upper part of my Plantation land and to prevent any disputes that may arise in relation to the Water which may hurt the lower Lands I hereby Direct that the Water shall be continued in the lower Trenches as they are now and always hath been and which can in no case detriment my said Son in Law Item I give I give to my Grand Daughter Mary Knipe one House at the Fort and also a Black boy named Will to be delivered at Age or Marriage the House calld Marshes Item I give to my Grand Son Samuel Knipe the Sum of Twenty Pounds the money to be paid him by my Son Benjamen when the said Child Shall arrive to the Age of Twenty one years or Marriage the reason why my said Son Benjamin is to pay the said Twenty is that I give my son that piece of Land called the Guts which I purchased of Mr Joseph Powell and upon his paying the aforesaid Sum of Twenty Pounds to my said Grand Son that the land shall be my Son Benjamens and he having the Use of that piece of Land until the time the mony shall become due Item Also my Grand Daughter Kitty Knipe all the Mony that shall Arise from the Rent of that House given to my Grand Daughter Mary Knipe the Mony so Arising shall be Deposited in the hand of my Son Benjamin untill my said Grand Daughter Kitty shall Arrive to the Age of Twenty one Years or Marriage And in Case of the Death of me or more of these my Grand Children that then I direct the Survivors with any others of the Children of my Daughter Flora the Wife of my Son in Law Knipe shall be Equally shard and Divided among them and in Case of one Survivour that then the mony shall return into my Estate Item All the rest and and Remainder of my Estate be it in what kind soever I give to be Equally Divided between my Son Benjamin and son in Law Isaac Knipe at the Decease of my Wife as already Specifyed	he had bought of Joseph Bates, that is to say the refusal of the house at valuation, and if Knipe chose to take it, he was to account to the estate as set out later. Having given his son-in-law the upper part of his plantation land, and to prevent any disputes over the water that might hurt the lower lands, he directed that the water be kept running in the lower trenches as it then ran and always had, which could in no way harm his son-in-law. He gave his granddaughter Mary Knipe one house at the fort, called Manshews, together with a slave boy named Will, to be handed over at her coming of age or marriage. He gave his grandson Samuel Knipe the sum of £20 0s 0d, the money to be paid him by his son Benjamin when the child reached the age of twenty-one or married. The reason his son Benjamin was to pay the £20 was that Mason had given Benjamin the piece of land called the Guts, which he had bought of Joseph Powell, and on Benjamin paying that £20 to the grandson the land was to be Benjamin's, Benjamin having the use of it until the money became due. He gave his granddaughter Kitty Knipe all the money arising from the rent of the house given to his granddaughter Mary Knipe, the money to be deposited in the hands of his son Benjamin until Kitty reached the age of twenty-one or married. Should any of these grandchildren die, he directed that the survivors, together with any other children of his daughter Flora, the wife of his son-in-law Knipe, share the money equally, and should there be but one survivor, the money was to return into his estate. All the rest of his estate, of whatever kind, he gave to be divided equally between his son Benjamin and his son-in-law Isaac Knipe, on his wife's death, as already set out. **Interpretations** Mason's direction that the water be kept running in the lower trenches as it always had shows a testator anticipating the classic island dispute between upper and lower holdings over a shared stream. By giving Knipe the upper land he put him in a position to divert or hold back water needed below, so he fixed the existing flow into the will as a binding condition to protect the lower ground. The clause shows how acutely the division of land on St Helena raised the danger of one heir's holding being starved of water by another's, and how a careful testator legislated the watercourses into his settlement to head off the quarrel. The £20 charged on Benjamin's land called the Guts, payable to the grandson Samuel when he came of age, shows land being given subject to a money obligation that turned the gift into a means of providing for another heir. Benjamin took and used the land at once but held it clear only on paying the fixed sum to his nephew, so the bequest served two beneficiaries, giving the land to one and its purchase price to the other. The device shows how a testator could make a single parcel do double duty, settling it on one heir while drawing from it the portion of a second. The chain of survivorship among the Knipe grandchildren, ending with the money returning to the estate if only one survived, shows a testator planning minutely for the deaths of young beneficiaries. He directed how the rents and sums were to be shared if some grandchildren died, brought in any later children of his daughter Flora, and provided for the whole to fall back into his estate in the last resort. The provision reflects the high mortality that shadowed these bequests to children and the effort to keep the property moving through the family whatever the order of deaths.

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53	37	Lastly I Nominiate and Appoint my beloved Wife with my Son Benjamen and Son in Law Isaac Knipe Executors to this my Will Revoking and Disannulling any other Will or Wills by me heretofore made Ratifying and Confirming this to be my last Will and Testament this fourth Day of February in the Year of Our Lord God one Thousand Seven Hundred and Fifty (Signed) Rich Mason Signed Sealed and Declared to be the last Will and Testament of him the said Richard Mason in the presence of Us (Signed) Martin Harper John Alexander Rich Beale In the Name of God Amen I Richard Mason of the Isd St Helena Planter having made my last Will and Testament bearing Date February the fourth One thousand Seven hundred and Fifty which I hereby Confirm And do also Will and Direct that this Codicil shall be taken and Deemed as part of my said Will as followeth Imprimis I give to my Grandson Richard Mason a Black Boy named Dick whom I bought of Captain Braund Item I Give to my Grandson Benjamen Mason the Sum of Twenty Pounds in Cash These two Legacies to be delivered at the Age of 21 Years or Marriage and in Case of the Death of either before Age or Marriage that the Survivor to have both the Legacies (Signed) this 25 Days of march 1752 (Signed) Rich Mason in the presence of Us (Signed) Rich Bagley Orlando Bagley	Richard Mason named his wife, together with his son Benjamin and his son-in-law Isaac Knipe, executors of the will, cancelling every will he had made before. He made this his will on 4 February 1750. It was signed, sealed and declared as the last will of Richard Mason before Martin Harper, John Alexander and Richard Beale, and signed by Richard Mason. Richard Mason, having made his will dated 4 February 1750, added a codicil to be taken as part of it, as follows. First, he gave his grandson Richard Mason a slave boy named Dick, whom he had bought of Captain Braund. He gave his grandson Benjamin Mason the sum of £20 0s 0d in cash. These two legacies were to be handed over at the age of twenty-one or on marriage, and should either grandson die before coming of age or marrying, the survivor was to take both. It was signed on 25 March 1752, before Richard Bagley and Orlando Bagley, and signed by Richard Mason. **Interpretations** The codicil added two years after the will shows a testator returning to his settled dispositions to provide for grandsons as his circumstances or affections changed. Having made his will in 1750, Mason came back in 1752 to add gifts of a slave and a cash sum to two grandsons named Richard and Benjamin, formally tying the addition into the original will. The document shows how a codicil served to adjust an existing will without remaking it, letting a testator graft new bequests onto a scheme already set down as his needs or family grew. The naming of Captain Braund as the man from whom the slave boy Dick had been bought records the maritime channel through which slaves reached the island. Mason had acquired the child from a ship's captain, one of the commanders whose vessels carried human cargo among the Company's ports, and the will notes the purchase as it would any other title to property. The detail shows how the island's slaveholders drew their slaves from the passing ships, the captains serving as the traders through whom people were bought and sold on St Helena.
54	38	In the Name of God Amen I William Pendery Serjt in the Honorable United East India Company's Service thro the Abundant Mercy and Goodness of God tho Weak in Body yet of a Sound and Perfect Understanding and memory Do make this my last Will and Testament in manner following that is to say Imprimis I most humbly bequeath my Soul to God my Maker beseeching his most gracious Acceptance of the same thro the Allsufficient merits and mediation of my most Blessed Redeemer Jesus Christ Next I give my Body to the Earth from whence it was taken in full Assurance of its Resurrection from thence at the Last Day as for my funeral I desire it may be decent at the Discretion of my Commander and my Executors hereafter named who I doubt not will manage it with all requisite prudence and as to my Worldly Estate & Effects I do hereby Will and possitively order that all my Just Debts as Soon as it possibly Can be raised from my said Effects be duely & Justly paid and as for the remainder and residue of the Amount of the part of my Effects together with my Wearing Apparell (Except one Silver	William Pendery, sergeant in the Honourable East India Company's service, made his will while weak in body but sound in mind. He commended his soul to God, trusting in the merits of Christ, and gave his body to the earth in full assurance of its resurrection at the last day. He directed that his funeral be decent, at the discretion of his commander and executors named later, whom he trusted to manage it with all due prudence. He then disposed of his estate as follows. First, he ordered that all his debts be paid as soon as the money could be raised from his effects. He gave the rest and residue of his effects, together with his wearing apparel, except one silver-laced hat and one new regimental coat which he gave to William Langhorne, to his sister Esther Pendery. Should she not be living, he gave the same to his mother Sarah Pendery, and should she also be dead, then to his brother Abraham Pendery. He named his friends Samuel Price and William Langhorne executors of the will. He set his hand and seal to it on 8 May 1755. It was signed, sealed and delivered before Thomas Harper and John Walker, and signed by William Pendery. **Interpretations** Pendery's whole estate, after debts, passed home to his family in England through a chain of survivorship running from sister to mother to brother, with only a hat and a coat left to a comrade on the island. As a Company sergeant serving far from home, he directed his effects to kin in England, naming each in turn so that the property would find a living relative

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		Laced Hatt & one new Regimental Coat which I do hereby give to Wm Langhorn) I do give & Bequeath to my Loving Sister Esther Pendery but in Case she be not Living than I Bequeath the same to my Honrd Mother Sarah Pendery But if she also should be Dead I then Bequeath the same to my loving Brother Abm Pendery and I do hereby Constitute and appoint my trusty friends Mr Samuel Price and William Langhorn Executors of this my Last Will & Testament In Witness whereof I do hereby Set my hand and Seal this Eight Day of May in the Twenty Seventh year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord King George and in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred & fifty five Signd Sealed & Delivered in the Presence of (Signed) (Signed) William Pendery Thos Harper John Walker	whatever deaths had intervened. The will shows the pull of home on a soldier who died in the Company's distant service, his modest estate meant to return across the ocean to the family he had left. The gift of the silver-laced hat and new regimental coat to William Langhorne singles out a soldier's dress uniform as a bequest of particular note. Laced hats and regimental coats were costly items of military finery, marking rank and worn on parade, and their separation from the general residue to go to a named fellow shows them treated as objects of special value. The detail reflects how a soldier's most prized possessions might be the trappings of his uniform, worth setting apart to pass to a comrade who would value and perhaps wear them.
55	39	In the Name of God Amen this Thirteenth Day of June One thousand Seven Hundred and Fifty Five I Erasmus Perling of St Helena in the Service of the Honble Company Soldier being Sick and Weak of Body but of sound and perfect Mind and Memory thanks to Almighty God do make and Appoint this My last Will and Testament that is to say First and Principally I Give and Recommend my Soul into the Hands of Almighty God my Creator My Body to the Earth to be Buried in a Christian like and Decent manner My Worldly Goods I Give Devise and dispose of in manner and Form as followeth Imprimis After my Debts and Funeral Charges are fully paid and Satisfied I Give to my Godson John (son of Thomas Harper the Sum of Ten Pounds Item I Give to Sarah Vaughn the Sum of Seven Pounds Item All the rest and Remainder of my Estate I Give to Thomas Harper in whose House I Dwell as a Compensation of the trouble I give him in my Sickness Lastly I Nominate and Appoint my good friends the Said Thomas Harper and his Brother Richard Harper Executors to this my Will Revoking all former Will or Wills Ratifying and Confirming this to be my last Will and Testament (Signed) Erasmus Perling Signd Sealed and Declard to be the last Will of him the said Erasmus Perling in the presence of Us (Signed) John Tull Richard Beale	Erasmus Purling of St Helena, soldier in the Company's service, made his will on 13 June 1755 while sick and weak in body but sound in mind. He commended his soul to God and directed that his body be buried in the Christian and decent manner. He then disposed of his worldly goods as follows. First, once his debts and funeral charges were paid, he gave his godson John, son of Thomas Harper, the sum of £10 0s 0d. He gave Sarah Vaughan the sum of £7 0s 0d. All the rest of his estate he gave to Thomas Harper, in whose house he lodged, as compensation for the trouble he had given him during his illness. Lastly, he named his friends Thomas Harper and his brother Richard Harper executors of the will, cancelling every will he had made before. It was signed, sealed and declared as the last will of Erasmus Purling before John Tull and Richard Beale, and signed by Erasmus Purling. **Interpretations** Purling's gift of the residue to Thomas Harper as compensation for the trouble of nursing him records once more how the sick on the island depended on private householders rather than any institution. Lodging in Harper's house and cared for there through his final illness, Purling repaid that service by leaving him the bulk of his estate, the will serving to discharge a debt of care that had no other means of settlement. The arrangement shows how a soldier without family on the island relied on the household that took him in, and how such care was squared up through a legacy at death.
56	40	Decr 1 1755 In the Name of God Amen The Last Will and Testament of Wm Cain I William Cain Born in Queens County in the Parish of Durra Ireland being perfect in Mind But weak in Body and finding my	William Cain, born in Queen's County in the parish of Durrow, Ireland, made his will on 1 December 1755 while sound in mind but weak in body, finding he was not for this world. He gave William Lindsey all his wearing apparel, everything else belonging to him, and all debts owed to him. It was

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		Self not for this world Do Bequeath unto William Lindsey all my Wearing Apparel Likewise every thing that belongs to me all Debts Dues and Demands Witness Witness my hand Mark † Wm Beckett Wm Cain In the Name of God Amen this 10 Day of April 1755 I John Twaites of the Isd St Helena being Sick and Weak in Body but of Sound and perfect Mind and memory Do make and appoint this to be my last Will and Tastament that is to say first and principally I give and Recommend my Soul into the hands of Almighty God my Creator My Body I commit to the Earth to be Buried in a Christian like and Decent manner At the Discretion of my Executors hereafter Named My Wordly Goods wherewith it hath pleased God to Bless me with I give devise and Dispose of in manner and form as followeth Imprimis I give to my well beloved Wife the half of my Freehold Lands as also the half of my dwelling house or Houses during her Natural Life and the Thirds of my Personal Estate to be at her Disposal Item To my well beloved Children which are One Son and Five Daughters I give an Equal Share and proportion in my Estate but as my said Children are all Young and my Lands when Divided not Sufficient to bring them up it is my Will and Desire that my Lands and other Goods & Chattles be kept intirely together for the good and Benefit of my Wife and Children until the Youngest Child that shall be Surviving Shall attain to the Age of fifteen Years or Marriage and then all that are of Twenty one Years of Age to receive their parts or Share to these Conditions my said Wife hath promised and hope she will abide by and be agreeable to her Item	marked by William Cain and witnessed by William Beckett. John Swaites of St Helena made his will on 10 April 1755 while sick and weak in body but sound in mind. He commended his soul to God and directed that his body be buried in the Christian and decent manner at the discretion of his executors named later. He then disposed of his worldly goods as follows. First, he gave his wife half of his freehold lands and half of his dwelling houses for her lifetime, together with a third of his personal estate at her disposal. He gave his children, one son and five daughters, an equal share of his estate. Since they were all young, and his lands when divided would not be enough to bring them up, he directed that his lands and other goods be kept together for the benefit of his wife and children until the youngest surviving child reached the age of fifteen or married. Those who were then twenty-one were to receive their shares. His wife had promised him to abide by these conditions. **Interpretations** Swaites judged his land too small to divide among six young children and still support them, so he ordered the whole estate kept together until the youngest reached fifteen, the same device of deferred division seen through these leaves. Rather than break up a modest holding at once among children too young to work it, he held it intact for their common maintenance until they neared adulthood. The provision shows the pressure that small landholdings and large young families put on island planters, forcing them to postpone division for years to keep the estate able to feed and raise the children. The choice of fifteen rather than the usual twenty-one as the point at which the youngest child's coming triggered division marks a testator setting an earlier threshold than most. Where other wills held the estate together until the youngest reached majority or married, Swaites fixed on fifteen, perhaps to free the elder children's shares sooner while the youngest was still short of full age. The detail shows the room a testator had to tune these arrangements to his own family's needs, choosing when the estate should be broken up rather than following a single fixed rule.
57	41	Item As to the Division of my Lands there not being Enough for them all I leave the same to Three of my said Children they to be Accountable to the other Children in their Equal Shares as above mentioned as also when the whole shall fall to them at their Mothers decease Vizt John my Son and Temperance and Mary my Daughters that is to say To my Son John I give the Cabbagetree Lands being Nine Acres of Freehold and Seventeen Leased To my Daughter Temperance I give the Lands Called Easthopes being thirteen and an half Acres Leased To Mary my other Daughter I give the Land my Dwelling House stands upon being Four Acres and Also Four Acres called Highams the whole containing Eight Acres all Leased Item I give to Mary Griffith my Daughter in Law One Black Girl Named Patt to be delivered soon after my Decease Item I Constitute Nominate and Appoint my beloved Wife to be Executrix and my good friends James Greentree & John Worrall Executors to this my Will Revoking and making Void all former Will or Wells by me made Ratifying and	Since his land was not enough to divide among all his children, John Swaites gave it to three of them, they to account to the other children for their equal shares, both at once and when the whole fell to them on their mother's death. He gave his son John the Cabbage Tree lands, being nine acres of freehold and seventeen leased. He gave his daughter Temperance the lands called Easthopes, being thirteen and a half acres leased. He gave his daughter Mary the four acres of land his dwelling house stood upon, together with four acres called Highams, the whole being eight acres, all leased. He gave his daughter-in-law Mary Griffith a slave girl named Patt, to be handed over soon after his death. He named his wife executrix and his friends James Greentree and John Worrall executors of the will, cancelling every will he had made before. It was signed, sealed and declared as the last will of John Swaites before Benjamin Seale, Owen Griffith and Richard Beale, and signed by John Swaites. Joshua Worrall of St Helena, planter, made his will while sick in body but sound in mind. He commended his soul to God, hoping for salvation through Christ, and directed that his body be buried decently at the discretion of his executors named later. He then disposed of his worldly goods as follows.

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		Confirming this and no other to be my last Will and Testament (Signed) Signed Sealed and Declared John Twaites to be the last Will of him the said John Twaites in the presence of Us (Signed) Benjn Seale Owen Griffith Richd Beale St Helena In the name of God Amen I Joshua Worrall of St Helena Planter being Sick of Body but of sound mind and understanding (thanks be to Almighty God for the same) Do make this my last Will and Testament in manner and form following Imprimis I commit my Soul into the hands of Almighty God my Creator hoping for Salvation from him through Jesus Christ and my Body I commit to the Ground to be decently Buried at the discretion of my Executor hereafter named And as to my Worldly Goods wherewith it hath pleased God to bless me I give and dispose of the same as follows Item	**Interpretations** Swaites concentrated his land on three of his children while charging them to account to the rest, choosing which children should hold the ground rather than dividing it among all six. The Cabbage Tree lands went to John, Easthopes to Temperance and the home acres with Highams to Mary, the three taking the land and owing the others their shares in value. The arrangement shows a testator with more children than his land could support settling the ground on a chosen few and turning the claims of the others into a charge upon them, keeping each parcel whole in one child's hands. The heavy preponderance of leasehold over freehold in Swaites's holdings, seventeen leased acres to nine freehold in the Cabbage Tree lands alone and all the other parcels leased, marks him as a planter farming largely on Company grants rather than owned land. Most of his ground was held on lease from the Company, with only a small freehold core, which was the common footing for island planters below the substantial freeholders. The detail confirms how far the working farms of St Helena rested on land held from the Company on terms it set, freehold being the exception and leasehold the rule.
58	42	Item I give and Bequeath to my Son in Law James Torbet the refusal of my House in the Fort Valley at Valuation which House I lately purchased of John Bland and is adjoyning to the House now in the possession of Samuel Desfountain upon condition that my said Son in Law James Torbet pays thereof my Children what the said House is Valued at above an equal dividend of my Estate amongst them and also that he is not to Dispose of the House hereby bequeathed without the consent of my Daughter Margaret his Wife Item I give and Bequeath to my beloved Sons John and William when they arrive at Age or Marriage the refusal of my House and all my Lands in the Country at Valuation they being accountable to the rest of my Children for their proportions of my Estate and my further Will is that my Son John shall have his choice of the Lands as it is now divided and in case of the Death of either of my said Sons John and William I then give the refusal thereof to my Son Joshua under the same conditions as are above mentioned that is to pay his Sisters an equal dividend according to the Valuation of my Estate as aforesaid Item After paying my just Debts I give and Bequeath all the rest residue and remainder of of my Estate be it in what kind soever or wheresoever to be equally Divided amongst my beloved Children namely John William Joshua Margaret Eleanor Elyzabeth Penelope and Mary as they shall severally arrive at the Age of Twenty one Years or Marriage and in case of the Death of any of my said Children before they arrive to Age or Marriage my intention is that the Deceaseds part of my Estate shall be equally Divided among the Survivors Lastly I Nominate and appoint my good Friends Richard Bagley John Desfountain John Doveton James Torbet my Son in Law and my Son John (at the Age of Eighteen Years) Executors of this my Will and do hereby revoke and Disannull	Joshua Worrall gave his son-in-law James Torbet the refusal of his house in the Fort Valley at valuation, which house he had lately bought of John Bland and which adjoined the house then held by Samuel Desfountain. This was on condition that Torbet pay the rest of his children what the house was valued at, over and above an equal share of his estate among them, and that he not sell the house without the consent of his daughter Margaret, Torbet's wife. He gave his sons John and William, when they came of age or married, the refusal of his house and all his country lands at valuation, they to account to the rest of his children for their shares of his estate. He further directed that his son John have his choice of the lands as then divided. Should either son John or William die, he gave the refusal to his son Joshua on the same conditions, that is, paying his sisters an equal share according to the valuation of the estate. Once his debts were paid, he gave all the rest of his estate, of whatever kind, to be divided equally among his children John, William, Joshua, Margaret, Eleanor, Elizabeth, Penelope and Mary, as they each reached the age of twenty-one or married. Should any child die before coming of age or marrying, he intended that the dead child's part be divided equally among the survivors. Lastly, he named his friends Richard Bagley, John Desfountain, John Doveton, James Torbet his son-in-law, and his son John at the age of eighteen, executors of the will. He cancelled every will he had made before. He made this his will on 13 May 1755. It was signed and sealed, the word estate being first interlined, before Thomas Evans, Benjamin Pledger and Francis Wrangham junior, and signed by Joshua Worrall. **Interpretations** Worrall's condition that Torbet not sell the Fort Valley house without the consent of his wife Margaret shows a testator protecting a married daughter's interest in property given to her husband. Though the house passed to Torbet, Margaret was given a veto over any sale, a check on her husband's power to dispose of it that she would not otherwise have held under coverture. The clause shows a father using his will to secure to his daughter a measure of control over property that the law would otherwise have vested wholly in her husband, guarding her stake against his sole decision.

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		all Will or Wills by me heretofore made and do declare only this to be my last Will and Testament signed with my hand and Sealed with my Seal this thirteenth Day of May in the Twenty eighth Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord George the second by the Grace of God of great Brittain France and Ireland King defender of the Faith and so forth and in the Year of our Lord 1755 (Signed) Jos Worrall Signed and Sealed in the presence of the Testator before us (the word Estate being first interlined) (Signed) Thomas Evans Benjamin Pledger F Wrangham Junr	The giving of the eldest son John his choice among the divided lands marks a small preference accorded to seniority within an otherwise equal settlement. While all the children were to share the value of the estate equally, John was allowed first pick of the parcels, a privilege of the eldest that cost the others nothing in value but gave him the advantage of selection. The detail shows how a testator could honour the standing of an eldest son through the order of choosing rather than the size of the share, a distinction of precedence laid over a division of equal worth. The long chain of substitution among the sons for the refusal of the land, passing from John and William to Joshua on the same buy-out terms, shows a testator ensuring the land would find a son to take it whatever deaths occurred. Each son in turn was offered the land at valuation on condition of paying out the sisters, so the property would descend through the male line while the daughters received their value in money. The provision reflects the by now familiar island preference for keeping land in a son's hands with compensation to the rest, extended through successive sons against the risk of early death.
59	43	In the Name of God Amen I William Burnham of the Island St Helena in the Service of the Honble Company at Present an Invalid and knowing it is appointed for all men once to Dye but the time very Uncertain and being of Sound mind & memory do hereby make & appoint this my last Will and Testament and first and Principally I Give and Recommend my Soul into the Hands of Almighty God my Creator My Body to the Earth to be Buried in a Christian like and decent manner My Worldly Goods wherewith it has pleased God to Bless me with I give devise and Dispose of in manner and Form following Imprimis I give to my well beloved Wife one half of my Real Estate both House and Lands during her Natural Life and the one third of my Personal Estate to be at her disposal but as our family of Children some of them very Young and Unable to get their living I recommend it to her that the whole Estate may be kept together for the Benefit of her Self and Children as long as possible And at her Decease the Real Estate she possesseth is to be Equally Divided among our then Surviving Children And I also appoint her Executrix to this my Will so long as she remains my Widow Item I Give to my Son John One small Feather Bed and Quilt with the Bedstead and Curtains and above his equal share with the other Children and not to be Reckoned Item I give to my Son Thomas a Goat Range called Stone Top and also the Goats on the said Range to be Delivered to him when he shall come to Fifteen Years of Age but not to be Reckoned in his part of my Estate youngest Item I give to my Daughter Mary one Heifer Calf which is now put into a distinct mark and the Increase to be for her Benefit but not to be Reckoned to her as any part of my Estate Item I give to my two Youngest Daughters at my Decease Each of them a Gold Ring to the Value of a Guinea each Ring but not to be Valued to them Item All the Rest and Residue of my Estate be it in what kind soever I give to be Equally	William Burnham of St Helena, in the Company's service and at present an invalid, made his will while sound in mind but knowing how uncertain life was. He commended his soul to God and directed that his body be buried in the Christian and decent manner. He then disposed of his worldly goods as follows. First, he gave his wife half of his real estate, both house and lands, for her lifetime, together with a third of his personal estate at her disposal. Since some of his children were very young and unable to earn their living, he desired that the whole estate be kept together for the benefit of his wife and children as long as possible. On her death the real estate she held was to be divided equally among the surviving children. He named her executrix for as long as she remained his widow. He gave his son John one small feather bed and quilt, with the bedstead and everything belonging to it, over and above his equal share with the other children and not to be counted against it. He gave his son Thomas a goat range called Stone Top, together with the goats on that range, to be handed over when he reached the age of fifteen, but not to be counted as part of his share. He gave his daughter Mary a heifer calf then put under a distinct mark, together with its increase, for her benefit, but not to be counted as any part of his estate. He gave his two youngest daughters, at his death, a gold ring each to the value of a guinea, not to be valued to them. All the rest of his estate, of whatever kind, he gave to be divided equally among his surviving children who reached the age of twenty-one or married, namely Sarah, Martha, John, Thomas, Margaret and Mary, being two sons and four daughters. He gave his son John the refusal of his lands and dwelling house, John paying the other children their shares at the appraisal of two impartial men. Since two of his daughters were older than his son John, he directed his executors to pay them their shares out of the personal estate, if convenient, for if their mother were living when they came of age they could make no demand on the half of the freehold estate until her death. He desired his executors to take an inventory of his estate at some convenient time after his death. **Interpretations** Burnham's provision that his two elder daughters be paid their shares from the personal estate, because they could claim nothing from the freehold while their mother lived, shows a testator working around the

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		Divided among my Children that shall be Surviving at the Age of Twenty one Years or Marriage Namely Sarah Martha John Thomas Margaret and Mary that is two Sons and four Daughters And I give my Son John the Refusal of my Lands & Dwelling House he paying the other Children their Shares or Dividends at the appraisement of two indifferent Men but as two of my Daughters are Elder than my Son John I Recommend it to my Executors to pay them their Shares out of the Personal Estate if it can be Conveniently done for if their Mother be living when they come to Age they can have no demand on the Half of the freehold Estate until her Decease I also desire my Executors (hereafter Mentioned to take an Estate Inventory of my in a convenient time as may be after my Decease Lastly	collision between his widow's life interest and his daughters' coming of age. The daughters would reach majority while their mother still held half the real estate for life, so their portions could not come from that land and had to be found in movable wealth instead. The clause shows the careful sequencing a testator needed where a widow's life interest locked up the land for years, obliging him to provide for children who came of age in the meantime out of other assets. The marking of the heifer given to Mary under a distinct mark, with its increase reserved to her, shows how a single animal and its future offspring could be set aside as a child's separate property within a working herd. By putting the calf under its own mark, Burnham kept it and all it bred identifiable as Mary's alone, distinct from the general stock and excepted from the reckoning of her share. The detail shows the practical method of carving out individual ownership of livestock on an island where beasts ran together and were told apart by their marks, the mark serving to fix a child's growing portion in the herd.
60	44	Lastly I Nominate Constitute and Appoint my Wife Executrix and my Good friends Messrs John Desfountain Thomas Cotgrave Stephen Young Executors I also direct that my two Sons shall be Executors when they attain to the Years or Age of Eighteen hereby Revoking and Disannulling all former Will or Wills by me made Ratifying and Confirming this and no other to be my last Will and Testament this 11 Day of August 1755 his Mark † William Burnham NB the two Words Interlined Estate and Sons were interlined before the Signing and Sealing Signd Sealed and Declard to be the last Will of him the said William Burnham in the presence of Us (Signed) Thos Bazett Jas Torbet Rich Beale Senr In the Name of God Amen this 23 day August in the Year of Our Lord God one thousand Seven hundred and fifty Six I Isaac Leech of the Island St Helena in the Service of the Honble Company being Sick and Weak of Body but of sound mind and memory (thanks to Almighty God) do hereby make and appoint this my last Will and Testament in manner and form as follows First and princepally I give and recommend my soul into the hands of Almighty God my Creator my Body I commit to the Earth to be Buried in a Christian like and Decent manner my Wordly Goods to be disposed of as follows (Viz) Imprimis I Desire that all my household God may be sold at Publick Auction and the Mony arising for them to Defray my funeral Expences and other Debts that I am Engaged in to any Person or Persons as also what Salary shall be Due to me at the time of my death to be disposed of in the same manner Item I give to my son John one Black Man naimd Manuel as also the	William Burnham named his wife executrix, together with his friends John Desfountain, Thomas Cotgrave and Stephen Young as executors. He directed that his two sons act as executors on reaching the age of eighteen. He cancelled every will he had made before. He made this his will on 11 August 1755. The two words estate and sons had been interlined before signing. It was signed, sealed and declared as the last will of William Burnham before Thomas Bazett, James Torbet and Richard Beale senior, and marked by William Burnham. Isaac Leech of St Helena, in the Company's service, made his will on 23 August 1756 while sick and weak in body but sound in mind. He commended his soul to God and directed that his body be buried in the Christian and decent manner. He then disposed of his worldly goods as follows. First, he directed that all his household goods be sold at public auction, the money to pay his funeral expenses and his debts, together with whatever salary was due to him at his death, to be disposed of in the same way. He gave his son John a slave man named Manuel, together with any surplus remaining after his debts and funeral expenses were paid. He named his son executor of the will. It was signed, sealed and declared as the last will of Isaac Leech before Richard Sweats and William Dutton, and signed by Isaac Leech. **Interpretations** Leech's inclusion of his unpaid Company salary among the assets to be gathered for his debts and funeral shows how a servant's accrued pay formed part of the estate his executors had to collect. As a man in the Company's service, Leech was owed salary at his death, and he directed that this sum, like the proceeds of his household goods, go first to his funeral and debts. The provision shows how the wages still owing to a Company servant at death were treated as a recoverable asset, to be claimed from the Company and applied to winding up his affairs.

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		Overplus if any thing remains after my Debts &c are fully paid and Satisfyed Appointing my Said Son Executor to this my last Will and Testament Signd Seald and Declared to be the (Signed) Isaac Leech last Will of him the said Isaac Leech in the presence of Us (Signed) Rich Twaits Wm Duffson	
61	45	In the Name of God Amen the fourth day of September in the Year of our Lord one Thousand Seven hundred and Fifty Six I John Spencer Quarter Gunner in the Artillery at St Helena belonging to the Honble East India Company being weak of body but of sound mind and memory praised be God for the same do make this my last Will and Testment in manner and form following that is to say First I recommend my Soul to Almighty God that gave it me and my Body to the Earth to be decently buried at the discretion of my Executors hereafter named And as to my worldly Goods which it pleased God to bestow upon me I give and bequeath as followeth Imprimis I give and bequeath to Thomas Midge and John Shirtley Mattrosses in the abovesaid Artillery Company all my Goods and Chattles that is to say all my Cloathing Woollen and Linnen and all my Money and every other thing to me belonging or in any wise appertaining To have and to hold to them the said Thomas Midge and John Shirtley of one and after my decease hereafter Also I do hereby make them the said Thomas Midge and John Shirtley sole Executors of this my last Will and Testament revoking and making Void all other Wills and Testaments heretofore by me made In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and Seal the day and Year first above written (Signed) his John † Spencer Signed Sealed published and declared Mark to be my last Will and Testament in the presence of us (Signed) R Billington John Clavey John Hellings In the Name of God Amen I Timothy Wilson late a Sailor in the Ship Earl of Harcourt East India Man being of a very weak Estate in health but of Sound and Disposing Mind Memory & Understanding Do hereby make my last Will and Testament in manner and form following that is to say First I hereby give and bequeath unto John Shirtley Mattross all my wearing Apparell both Linnen and Woollen in the Island St Helena All the rest and residue of my Estate real and personal whatsoever and wheresoever and of what nature and kind Soever to John Steere Citizen & Oilman of London whom I appoint sole Executor of this my last Will and Testament hereby revoking all former Wills by me at any time heretofore made	John Spencer, quarter gunner in the Artillery at St Helena, belonging to the Honourable East India Company, made his will on 4 September 1756 while weak in body but sound in mind. He commended his soul to God and directed that his body be buried decently at the discretion of his executors named later. He then disposed of his worldly goods as follows. First, he gave Thomas Midge and John Shirley, both mattrosses in the Artillery Company, all his goods and chattels, that is his clothing, woollen and linen, all his money and everything else belonging to him, to have and to hold from and after his death. He named Thomas Midge and John Shirley sole executors of the will, cancelling every will he had made before. He set his hand and seal to it on the day and year above. It was signed, sealed, published and declared as his last will before B. Billington, John Clavey and John Hellings, and marked by John Spencer. Timothy Wilson, sailor in the ship Earl of Holderness, East India Man, made his will while very weak in body but sound in mind. He gave John Shirley, mattross, all his wearing apparel, both linen and woollen, on the island of St Helena. All the rest and residue of his estate, real and personal, of whatever kind, he gave to John Steer, citizen and oilman of London, whom he named sole executor of the will, cancelling every will he had made before. **Interpretations** The appearance of mattrosses as legatees and executors identifies a distinct rank within the island's artillery. A mattross was a gunner's assistant, ranking below a matross-gunner and serving to load, sponge and handle the guns, and the term marks the lower grades of the Company's artillery establishment on St Helena. The naming of these men shows the military community from which Spencer drew his heirs and executors, the fellow soldiers of the gun crews standing in for the family he lacked on the island. Wilson's disposal of his estate to a London oilman as executor while leaving only his clothes to a fellow on the island shows the reach of a sailor's ties back to England even from a ship at St Helena. His main estate was directed to a named tradesman in London, a citizen and oilman who would administer it at home, while the immediate gift of apparel went to a man to hand. The arrangement shows how a seaman dying on an East India voyage kept his substantial affairs anchored in England, entrusting them to a London contact rather than to anyone in the mid-ocean island where he happened to lie.

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62	46	made Except a Will be me executed wherein I have appointed him the said John Steere Sole Executor In Witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and Seal this Seventeenth day of January One thousand Seven hundred and Fifty Seven (Signed) Timothy Wilson Signed and Sealed in the presence of (Signed) F Dunn Daniel Forbes In the name of God Amen I William Coaker Soldier in the Service of the Honorable the East India Company being of sound and disposing mind Memory and Understanding do hereby make and publish this my last Will & Testament in manner and form following that is to say First I desire that all my just Debts and the expence of making this my Will be first paid All the rest and residue of my Estate real and personal of what nature & kind soever and wheresoever the same may be found in the Island St Helena I hereby give and bequeath unto James Truelove also Soldier in the Said Honorable Company's Service and do appoint him sole Executor of this my last Will and Testament hereby revoking all former Wills by me at any time heretofore made In Witness whereof I the said William Coaker have hereunto set my hand and Seal this fourth day of March in the Year of our Lord One Thousand Seven hundred and Fifty Seven The mark of † William Coaker Signed Sealed published and declared by the said William Coaker to be his last Will and Testament in the presence of us who at his request and in his presence have subscribed our names as Witnesses (Signed) Isaac Bush † his Mark F Dunn	Timothy Wilson named John Steer sole executor of his will. He set his hand and seal to it on 17 January 1757. It was signed and sealed before [...] Dunn and Daniel Forbes, and signed by Timothy Wilson. William Cocker, soldier in the Honourable East India Company's service, made his will while sound in mind. He directed first that all his debts and the cost of making the will be paid. He gave all the rest and residue of his estate, real and personal, of whatever kind, to be found on the island of St Helena, to James Truelove, also a soldier in the Company's service, and named him sole executor of the will, cancelling every will he had made before. He set his hand and seal to it on 4 March 1757. It was signed, sealed, published and declared as the last will of William Cocker before Isaac Bush and [...] Dunn, and marked by William Cocker. **Interpretations** Cocker's whole estate passed to a fellow soldier of the Company, a plain instance of the bonds that stood in for family among the garrison. With no kin named and his property confined to what lay on the island, Cocker left everything to a comrade in arms who could take and administer it. The will shows how completely a common soldier's world could be bounded by his fellows in the service, the man beside him in the ranks becoming both heir and executor where blood relations were absent or beyond reach.
63	47	In the Name of God Amen I John Gaynor private Centinel in the Company Commanded by Lieut Onesr Beale In the Honble United East India Company Service In the Island St Helena being weak in Body but of sound and well disposing Mind and Memory and being mindfull of my Mortality & desirous to settle my Worldly affairs in the best manner I can do make and ordain this my last Will & Testament in manner follows That is to say After my just debts & funeral Expences be duly paid I give & bequeath In manner following I give to my Trusty & most Esteemed Friend William Smith of said Company private Centinel All and whatsoever I shall be possessed of at the time of my decease of what nature or kind soever and whether Real or personal I give & bequeath the same unto the said William Smith To Said to him his heirs and Assigns for ever And I do hereby Nominate and appoint the said William Smith to be the Sole Executor of this my last Will and Testament hereby revoking all former & other Wills by me heretofore made In Witness whereof I the	John Gaynor, private sentinel in the company commanded by Lieutenant Onesipherus Beale in the Honourable East India Company's service at St Helena, made his will while weak in body but sound in mind, mindful of his mortality and wishing to settle his affairs as well as he could. He directed first that his debts and funeral expenses be paid. He gave his friend William Smith, private sentinel of the same company, everything he should be possessed of at his death, of whatever kind, whether real or personal, to Smith and his heirs forever. He named Smith sole executor of the will, cancelling every will he had made before. He set his hand and seal to it on 21 April 1757. It was signed, sealed, published and declared as the last will of John Gaynor before John Fleming and John Bussell, and marked by John Gaynor. Robert Baker of St Helena, private sentinel, made his will while weak in body but sound in mind. He gave his friend Stephen Cleverley, private sentinel of the same island, everything he should be possessed of at his death, of whatever kind. He named Cleverley sole executor of the will, cancelling every will he had made before. He set his hand and seal to it on 12 May 1757. It was signed, sealed, published and declared as the last will of Robert Baker before John Cripps, Arthur Evans and William Boddington, and signed by Robert Baker.

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		said John Gaynor the Testator have hereunto set my hand and Seal this Twenty first day of April in the Year of our Lord one thousand Seven hundred and Fifty Seven (Signed) his John † Gaynor Signed Sealed published & delived by the above mark named John Gaynor the Testator for and as his last Will and Testament In the presence of Us who have hereunto subscribed our Names at his request (Signed) John Fleming John Bussell In the Name of God Amen I Robert Baker of the Island of St Helena private Centinel being weak of Body but of sound and well disposing Mind & Memory do make & Ordain this my Last Will & Testament Imprimis I Give devise and bequeath unto my most Esteemed Friend Stephen Cleverley of the same Island private Centinel All and whatsoever I shall be possessed of at the time of my decease of what Nature kind or degree whatsoever And I do Nominate and appoint the said Stephen Cleverley to be the Sole Executor of this my last Will and Testament hereby revoking all other & former Wills by me heretofore made In witness whereof I the said Robert Baker have hereunto set my Hand Seale the Twelfth day of May One Thousand seven hundred and Fifty Seven (Signed) Robert Baker Signd Sealed published and declared by the said Robt Baker for & as his last Will and Testament in the presence of us (Signed) John Cuppus Arthur Evans Wm Boddington	**Interpretations** Both wills on this leaf show private sentinels of the garrison leaving all they had to a comrade of the same rank, the plainest expression of how soldiers without family on the island provided for one another. Gaynor left everything to a fellow private in his own company, and Baker did the same for a fellow private of the island, each naming his beneficiary sole executor. The pattern shows the mutual dependence of common soldiers far from home, who made their closest comrades their heirs because there was no one nearer to receive what little they left. The identification of the company by its commanding officer, the company commanded by Lieutenant Beale, records how the garrison was organised into units under named officers. A private sentinel belonged to a particular company known by its lieutenant, and the will places Gaynor within that structure as a matter of course. The detail shows the military framework within which these men lived and died, their identity fixed by the company and officer they served under as much as by their own names.
64	48	In the name of God Amen I Thomas Easthope of the Isd St Helena in the Service of the Honorable East India Company Lieutenant in their Garrison being of perfect mind and memory (thanks to Almighty God) do make ordain and appoint this my last Will and Testament that is to say My Soul I recommend into the hands of Almighty God my Creator My Body I commit to the Earth to be buried in a Christian like and decent manner at the discretion of my Executors hereafter named My Wordly Goods wherewith it has pleased God to bless me with I give devise and dispose of in the manner and form as followeth Imprimis I desire that all my debts and funeral Charges be fully Satisfied and paid as soon as conveniently may be after my decease Item I have in my hands one hundred pounds belonging to my daughter Mary being a bequest to her from Capt Thomas Cason deceasd of which Sum fifty pounds is to be paid her at age or Marriage and the other fifty pounds to be paid at my discretion by the Will of the donor which said Sum of fifty pounds I leave to the discretion of my Executors to pay her in the best manner they can out of my Estate so soon as they can conveniently raise the Money without any	Thomas Easthope of St Helena, lieutenant in the Honourable East India Company's garrison, made his will while sound in mind. He commended his soul to God and directed that his body be buried in the Christian and decent manner at the discretion of his executors named later. He then disposed of his worldly goods as follows. First, he directed that all his debts and funeral charges be paid as soon as convenient after his death. He held £100 0s 0d belonging to his daughter Mary, left to her by the will of the late Captain Thomas Cason. Of this sum £50 0s 0d was to be paid her at her coming of age or marriage, and the other £50 0s 0d at Easthope's discretion, as the donor's will directed. He left the second £50 0s 0d to the discretion of his executors, to pay her in the best manner they could out of his estate, so soon as they could conveniently raise the money without prejudice to his other children. The following slaves also belonged to her, likewise to be handed over at her coming of age or marriage, being her property and not part of his estate, namely a slave man named Gilford, a slave woman named Hannah with three children, being a slave boy named Frank, a girl named Patt and a girl named Mary. There also belonged to her the following table linen, namely one large table cloth, one small cloth and eighteen napkins, all damask, which he desired be handed over to her at her coming of age or marriage. He gave his sons Henry and James all his real estate, to be divided equally between them, they paying his daughter Mary £27 0s 0d each at their coming of

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		great prejudice to my other children there is also the following Blacks belonging to her which are also to be delivered her at Age or Marriage which are her property and not part of my Estate Vizt A Black Man naimd Gilford a Black Woman named Hannah with three Children Vizt a Black boy naimd Frank a Girl naimd Dott and one other Girl named Mary Also there is belonging to her the following Table Linnen Viz One large Table Cloth one Small and Eighteen Napkins all damask which I desire may be delivered to her at Age or Marriage as aforesaid Item I give to my Sons Henry and James All my real Estate to be equally Divided between them they paying out of it to my daughter Mary twenty five pounds each when they shall arrive to age or Marriage but as to the Division of my said Freehold Estate I derect that my eldest Son Henry Shall Chuse my dwelling House with fourteen acres of free Lands adjoining to that and twenty Seven Acres of Leased Lands it to be valued to him and delivered at Age or Marriage he paying his his other Brother and Sister their proper Shares if it shall exceed his proportion as before mentioned then my Son James to be put in possession when he Shall come to Age or Marriage Item My Personal Estate I give to be equally divided among my three above mentioned Children and as I esteem my Leasehold Lands to be part of my personal Estate I desire that my Executrix will have the same Valued to pay my daughter Mary her part in Money if it can be so managed knowing it will be Some prejudice to my Sons if the Leasehold Lands should be parted from it all which I leave to the discretion of my Executors Item And I have disposed of my personal Estate equally to my above named beloved Children I hereby allott them their dividends on my Blacks Viz Bacchus and Jack to my Son Henry and Casar and Ellen a Girl to my Son James it to be valued to them and paying to each other the Overplus of their proper Shares And as I have given my Lands to my Sons and to prevent any Feuds a Diminution that may arise on Account of the Water for each others Cattle	age or marriage. As to the division of his freehold estate, he directed that his eldest son Henry take his dwelling house with fourteen acres of freehold land and twenty-seven acres of leased land adjoining it, valued to him and handed over at his coming of age or marriage, Henry paying his brother and sister their proper shares should it exceed his proportion as set out above. His son James was to be put in possession of his share when he came of age or married. His personal estate he gave to be divided equally among his three children named above. Since he had given his leased lands to be shared the same way, he desired that his executrix pay his daughter Mary her part in money if it could be so managed, knowing it would be some prejudice to his sons if the leased lands were parted from them, all which he left to the discretion of his executors. Having disposed of his personal estate equally among his three children, he allotted them their portions of his slaves, namely Bacchus and Jack to his son Henry, and Caesar and Ellen, a girl, to his son James, to be valued to them, each paying the other the surplus of their proper shares. Having given his lands to his sons, and to prevent any animosities that might arise over the water, so that each other's cattle [...] **Interpretations** The £100 held for Mary under Captain Cason's will, kept wholly distinct from Easthope's own estate along with her slaves and damask linen, shows a trust obligation carried faithfully through a second man's hands. The money and property were left to Mary by Cason, and Easthope held them for her, marking them off from his own goods so that his executors would deliver them to her intact at her coming of age. The care to separate her Cason legacy from his estate shows how property left to a child through one will was preserved and passed on when it lay in the keeping of another, the trust surviving the death of the man who held it. The whole household of slaves reserved to Mary, a man, a woman and her three children, held for her as her own separate property apart from her father's estate, shows how slaves left to a child by an earlier bequest were kept identifiable and intact through the years of her minority. Gilford, Hannah and Hannah's three children were Mary's alone, not to be divided or valued among the other heirs, and were to pass to her whole at her coming of age. The arrangement shows the durability of a child's title to slaves received by legacy, the human family held together and set aside until the girl who owned them came of age to take them. The distinction Easthope drew between freehold and leasehold in dividing the estate, wishing the leased lands kept whole with his sons and Mary's share of them paid in money instead, shows a testator alert to the different value and security of the two tenures. The freehold his sons could hold and divide, but the leasehold was better kept undivided in their hands, so he preferred to give Mary the cash equivalent rather than a portion of leased ground. The clause shows how the mixed tenures of an island estate shaped its division, the more precarious leasehold reserved to the sons who would work it while the daughter took its value in money.
65	49	to drink & I direct that the watering place shall be in Common to each other without prejudiceing each other all which I leave to the discretion of my Executors to be amicably divided and set apart as they Shall think meet and proper for each others advantage Lastly I nominate and appoint my good friends Messrs Richard Bagley	Since he had given his lands to his sons, and to prevent any quarrels over water, Thomas Easthope directed that the watering place be held in common by both, so that each other's cattle could drink without harm to the other, leaving the arrangement to the discretion of his executors to divide and settle amicably as they thought best. Lastly, he named his friends Richard Bagley, Orlando Bagley senior and Lieutenant Onesipherus

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		Orlando Bagley Senior and Lieutenant Onesiphorus Beale Executors to this my Will And also appoint my Said Sons Henry and James to be Executors to this my Will at the Age of Eighteen Years utterly revoking & disannulling all former Will or Wills by me heretofore made Ratifying and Confirming this and no other to be my last Will and Testament this first day of August in the Year of our Lord One thousand Seven hundred and Fifty one (Signed) Thos Easthop Signed Sealed and declared to be the last Will and Testament of him the said Thomas Easthope in the presence of us (Signed) Tho Greentree Richard Beale Junior Rich Beale Senr In the Name of God Amen I John Murray Soldier in the Service of the Honarable the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies in the Company Commanded by Lieutenant John Clark being Sick and Weak in Body but of Sound and disposing Mind Memory and Understanding do hereby make and publish my Last Will and Testament in manner and form following that is to say First I desire that all my just Debts may be first paid and discharged and then all such Sum and Sums of Money whatsoever which shall be in my possession at the Time of my Decease or due and owing to me in Arrears of Pay or Otherwise from any Person or Persons whatsoever And also all my Wearing Apparell Personal Estate and Effects whatsoever unto David Miles Soldier in the said Company his Heirs Executors Administrators and Assigns for ever To Hold to him the said David Miles his Heirs Executors & Administrators and Assigns for ever And I do hereby Nominate and Appoint him the said David Miles Sole Executor of this my Last Will and Testament hereby revoking all former Wills by me at any Time made or executed and do declare this to be my Last Will and Testament In Witness whereof I the said John Murray have hereunto set my Hand and Seal this Sixteenth Day of July in the Year of our Lord One thousand seven hundred and fifty Seven (Signed) John Murry Signed	Beale executors of the will, and appointed his sons Henry and James executors at the age of eighteen. He cancelled every will he had made before. He made this his will on 1 August 1751. It was signed, sealed and declared as the last will of Thomas Easthope before Thomas Greentree, Richard Beale junior and Richard Beale senior, and signed by Thomas Easthope. John Murray, soldier in the service of the Honourable United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies, in the company commanded by Lieutenant John Clark, made his will while sick and weak in body but sound in mind. He directed first that all his debts be paid. He gave all the money in his possession at his death, or owed to him in arrears of pay or otherwise by anyone, together with all his wearing apparel and his whole personal estate, to David Miles, soldier in the same company, and his heirs forever. He named David Miles sole executor of the will, cancelling every will he had made before. He set his hand and seal to it on 16 July 1757, and signed it John Murray. **Interpretations** Easthope's provision that the watering place be held in common between his two sons shows once more how the division of island land turned on securing water to every share. Having split his ground between Henry and James, he guarded against the quarrel that a divided water source could breed by making the watering place common to both, so neither son could deny the other's cattle. The clause shows how acutely a testator had to legislate for shared access to water when parting land among heirs, the common watering place written into the will to keep peace between the divided holdings. The full style of the Company given in Murray's will, the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies, records the formal name of the reorganised concern behind the more usual shorthand. This was the title of the united East India Company as constituted after the merger of the older and newer companies, and its appearance marks the corporate body whose soldiers and servants fill these wills. The detail shows the formal identity of the great trading concern that garrisoned and governed the island, named in full where most documents used only the shorter form.
66	50	Signed Sealed published and declared by the said Testator John Murray as his Last Will and Testament in the presence of Us who at his request and in his presence have Subscribed as Witnesses Wm Smith George Bennett In the name of God Amen I Joseph Pritchard in the Service of the Honble the United Company of Merchants of England	John Murray's will was signed, sealed, published and declared before William Smith and George Bennett. Joseph Pritchard, in the service of the Honourable United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies, made his will while sick and weak in body but sound in mind. He directed first that all his debts and expenses be paid. He gave his friend William Dutton of James Valley, on the island of St Helena, all the rest and

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		trading to the East Indies being Sick and weak in Body but of sound and disposing mind memory & Understanding do hereby make and publish this my Last Will and Testament in manner and form following that is to say First I will and desire that all my just Debts and Expences about one may be first paid and discharged And after such Payments I hereby give and bequeath unto my Friend William Duffton of James Valley in the Island St Helena all the Rest and Residue of my Goods Personal Estate and Effects whatsoever and of what nature or kind soever and wheresoever the Same may be and do Nominate and Appoint him the said William Duffton Sole Executor of this my Last Will and Testament hereby revoking all former Wills by me at any Time heretofore made and executed and do declare this to be my Last Will and Testament In Witness whereof I the said Joseph Pritchard have hereunto set my Hand and Seal this Twenty third day of July in the Year of Our Lord One thousand Seven hundred and Fifty seven his Joseph † Pritchard Mark Signed Sealed published and declared by the said Testator Joseph Pritchard as his Last Will and Testament in the presence of Us who at his request and in his presence have Subscribed our Names as Witnesses John Jacks his John † Shirtley F Dunn	residue of his goods, personal estate and effects, of whatever kind, wherever they might be. He named William Dutton sole executor of the will, cancelling every will he had made before. He set his hand and seal to it on 23 July 1757. It was signed, sealed, published and declared as the last will of Joseph Pritchard before John Jacks, John Shirley and [...] Dunn, and marked by Joseph Pritchard.
67	51	In the name of God Amen I William Turner of the Island St Helena Gunners Mate in the Service of the Honorable the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies being Sick and weak in Body but of sound and disposing Mind Memory and Understanding do hereby make and publish this my Last Will and Testament in manner and form following that is to say FIRST I will and desire that all my just debts and funeral Excpences may be fully paid and Satisfiede Item All and singular the rest residue and remainder of my Real and Personal Estate whatsoever and wheresoever in the said Island St Helena I do hereby give devise and bequeath unto my Son in Law James Pritchard his Heirs Executors Administrators and Assigns respectively for Ever And I do hereby nominate and appoint the Worshipful the Governor and Council of the said Island for the Time being and their Successor Executors of this my said Will and Guardians and Trustees for the Said James Pritchard till he shall arrive to the Age of Twenty One	William Turner of St Helena, gunner's mate in the service of the Honourable United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies, made his will while sick and weak in body but sound in mind. He directed first that all his debts and funeral expenses be paid. He gave all the rest and residue of his real and personal estate, of whatever kind, on the island of St Helena, to his son-in-law James Pritchard and his heirs forever. He named the Governor and Council of the island for the time being, and their successors, executors of the will and guardians and trustees for James Pritchard until he reached the age of twenty-one, humbly desiring that they see the will performed. He cancelled every will he had made before. He set his hand and seal to it on 13 September 1757. It was signed, sealed, published and declared as the last will of William Turner before Nathan Sampell, John Whitchurch and [...] Dunn, and signed by William Turner. **Interpretations** Turner's appointment of the Governor and Council themselves as executors and guardians shows a testator entrusting his son-in-law's inheritance to the island's government rather than to private friends. Lacking anyone he judged fit to hold the estate and protect the young man until he came of age, Turner named the standing authority of the island, the

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		Years humbly desiring they will see this my Will performed And I do hereby revoke and make Void all former Wills by me at any time heretofore made and Executed And do declare this and no other to be my Last Will and Testament In Witness whereof I the said William Turner have hereunto set my hand and Seal this thirteenth day of September in the Year of our Lord One thousand seven hundred and Fifty Seven (Signed) William Turner Signed Sealed Published and Declared by the said Testator William Turner in the presence of us who at his request and in his Presence have Subscribed our Names as Witnesses (Signed) Nathan Sampell John Whitchurch F Dunn	Governor and Council for the time being, to serve as trustees. The choice shows how the island's rulers could be called on to act as guardians of a minor's property, the machinery of government standing in where a testator had no suitable private hand to manage the trust. The naming of the office rather than the men, the Governor and Council for the time being and their successors, shows a testator relying on a permanent institution to outlast any individual holder. By vesting the trust in the offices rather than in named persons, Turner ensured that whoever held the government when the need arose would carry the duty, so the guardianship could not fail through the death or departure of a particular officer. The device shows an understanding of how a public body offered a continuity that private executors could not, the succession of officeholders guaranteeing the trust would endure until the boy came of age.
68	52	In the Name of God Amen I Mary Twaits Widow being Sick and weak of Body but of sound and perfect Mind and Memory thanks to Almighty God do hereby make ordain and Appoint this my last Will and Testament that is to say Principally and first of all I give and recommend my Soul into the hands of Almighty God my Creator My Body I commit to the Earth to be buried in a Christian like and decent manner at the Discretion of my Executors hereafter named My Worldly Goods wherewith it hath pleased God to bless me with I give Devise and dispose of in the manner and form as followeth Imprimis My late Husband John Twaits by his last Will bequeathed me one Third of his personal Estate which includes the third part of all Leasehold Lands which at the time of his making his Will was not rightly understood to be so but now Settled and fixed by the Honble Company as Personal Estate I therefore give my one third part of Leasehold Lands to my three Children respectively mentioned in the last Will of Mr John Twaits dece in his Leasehold Lands to be in equal Proportion by Valuation between the three Said Children Namely John Temperance and Mary Item I give the remaining part of my Personal Estate to be equally Divided between my other three Children Ann Elyzabeth and Jane to be delivered at Age or Marriage or when if my Executors hereafter named Shall think proper for their benefit or advantage Item My Daughter Elyzabeth who is now Married to Mr James Powell hath a Childs right to the Estate of my former husband Daniel Griffith which Childs part or Share as well that right she hath to my Mothers Estate Namely Elyzabeth Greentree dece being a Legacy given my Said Daughter Elyzabeth as by her last Will may more fully appear (which Bequest are unanimously given to me by my Said	Mary Swaites, widow, made her will while sick and weak in body but sound in mind. She commended her soul to God and directed that her body be buried in the Christian and decent manner at the discretion of her executors named later. She then disposed of her worldly goods as follows. First, her late husband John Swaites had by his will left her a third part of his personal estate, which included a third of all his leasehold lands. At the time he made his will leasehold was not rightly understood, but the Company had since settled and fixed that leasehold lands counted as personal estate. She therefore gave her third part of the leasehold lands to her three children named in John Swaites's will, to be divided among them in equal proportion by valuation, namely John, Temperance and Mary. She gave the rest of her personal estate to be divided equally among her other three children Ann, Elizabeth and Jane, to be handed over at their coming of age or marriage, if her executors thought proper, for their benefit. Her daughter Elizabeth, then married to James Powell, had a child's right to the estate of her former husband Daniel Griffith, which was Elizabeth's share, as well as the right she had to her mother's estate, being Elizabeth Greentree. This came to her as a legacy given to her daughter Elizabeth by her will, and had been unanimously granted to Mary by her son-in-law James Powell and by Elizabeth his wife. She gave the same to her three youngest daughters Ann, Elizabeth and Jane, to be handed over as set out above, they paying her son Owen Griffith [...] Griffith each, and the rest to be divided equally among her daughters Ann, Elizabeth and Jane. As to her daughter [...] she had already provided for her, and intended nothing further. Lastly, she named her brother James Greentree and her friend John Worrall executors of the will, cancelling every will she had made before. She made this her will on 13 August 1757. It was signed, sealed and declared as the last will of Mary Swaites before C. Steward and Benjamin Seale. It was proved in consultation on 22 April 1758. **Interpretations** Mary Swaites's will turns on a change in how the Company classified leasehold land, which had shifted its legal character between her husband's death and her own. When John Swaites made his will, leasehold was treated as an interest in land, but the Company had

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		Son in Law Jas James Powell and Elyzabeth by wife) I hereby bequeath the same to my three youngest daughters Ann Elizabeth and Jane to be delivered them as abovesaid they paying to my Son Owen Griffith and Mary Griffith each the remainder to be equally divided between my Said daughters Ann Elizabeth & Jane And as to my dat at Helena I have already provided for her and no further Share design Lastly I Nominate and appoint my dear Brother James Greentree and my Good friend John Worrall Executors to this my Will Revoking & disannulling all former Wills Ratifying and Confirming this to be my last Will & Testament this 13 Day of August 1757 (Signed) Mary Twaits Signed Sealed and Declared to be the last Will of her the Said Mary Twaits in the presence of (Signed) C Steward Proved in Consultation 22 Apr 1758 Benjn Seale	since fixed that leasehold counted as personal estate, altering what Mary's one-third of his personalty actually comprised. Her careful recital of the change, and her regranting of the leasehold third to his children accordingly, shows how a shift in the Company's rules on tenure reached directly into the settlement of family estates, obliging a widow to adjust her own bequests to match the new classification. The reclassification of leasehold as personal rather than real estate carried real consequences for how such land descended and was divided. Real estate and personal estate passed under different rules and different shares, so treating leasehold as personalty changed who took it and in what proportion. Mary's response, redirecting her leasehold third to the three children of her husband's will, shows a testator working out the practical effect of the Company's ruling on her own family, ensuring the leasehold went where it should now that it counted as movable property rather than land. The convergence of three separate inheritances in Mary's hands, her daughter Elizabeth's rights in the estates of a dead first husband and of her own mother Elizabeth Greentree, surrendered to Mary by Elizabeth and her new husband Powell, shows how claims from several estates could be gathered and redirected through a single will. Rather than let these scattered entitlements rest where they lay, the family passed them to Mary to redistribute among the youngest daughters. The arrangement shows the fluidity with which inheritances could be pooled and reassigned by agreement among kin, a widow serving as the point through which the claims of multiple estates were consolidated and passed on.
69	53	In the name of God Amen I William Purcell late Second Mate of the Ship Royal Duke being in no good State of health but of sound and perfect Mind and Memory thanks to Almighty God and knowing it is appointed for all Men once to die do hereby make and ordain this my last Will and Testament in manner and form as follows that is to say First and principally I give and recommend my Souls into the hands of Almighty God my Creator My Body I commit to the Earth to be buried in a Christian like and decent manner at the discretion of my Executors hereafter named And as to the disposition of my Temporal Affairs wherewith it has pleased God to bless me with I give devise and dispose of the same in manner and form following Imprimis I desire that all my debts that are owing on this Island St Helena and funeral Expences be fully paid and discharged soon after my decease Item I give and bequeath to Lieutenant William Kennedy of this said Island for his care and trouble during my illness the Sum of Fifty pounds current Money of this Island to be paid him here soon after my decease Item All the residue and remaining part of my Estate be it in what kind soever I give and bequeath to my good and loving Father Richard Purcell Esq Justice of Peace in Canturk near Mallow Ireland And in case of his decease I then bequeath the same to my loving Brothers Namely Richard Perceval John James and Goodwin to be equally divided among them And in case	William Purcell, late second mate of the ship Royal Duke, made his will while in poor health but sound in mind. He commended his soul to God and directed that his body be buried in the Christian and decent manner at the discretion of his executors named later. He then disposed of his estate as follows. First, he directed that all his debts owing on the island of St Helena, together with his funeral expenses, be paid soon after his death. He gave Lieutenant William Kennedy of the island the sum of £50 0s 0d in island money, for his care and trouble during his illness, to be paid him soon after his death. He gave all the rest of his estate, of whatever kind, to his father Richard Purcell, justice of the peace at Cantork near Mallow in Ireland. Should his father be dead, he gave the same to his brothers Richard, Perceval, John, James and Goodwin, to be divided equally among them, and should any of them die, to be divided among the survivors. Lastly, he named Stephen Winthrop and Knox, both merchants in London, together with Lieutenant William Kennedy and Lieutenant Onesipherus Beale of St Helena, executors of the will. He desired his executors at the island to remit whatever money they raised from the sale of his goods to his executors in London, by the first opportunity. He made this his will on 12 June 1758. It was signed, sealed and declared as the last will of William Purcell before Benjamin Hooke, third mate of the Royal Duke, William Hendevleath, surgeon, Richard Beale junior and Richard Beale senior. It was proved in consultation on 26 June 1758. **Interpretations** Purcell's arrangement to have his island goods sold and the proceeds remitted to London executors for his Irish family shows the machinery by which a ship's officer's estate travelled from mid-ocean back to his kin. Dying at St Helena with his father a justice of the peace in Ireland, Purcell had his effects turned to cash on the island and sent to merchants in London who

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		of the decease of any of them then to be divided among the Survivors Lastly I nominate constitute and appoint Messrs Stephen Winthrop and Knox both Merchants in London and my good friends Lieutenant William Kennedy and Lieut Onesiphorus Beale of the Island St Helena Executors to this my Will desiring my said Executors at this Island to remit what Money they shall have in their hands from the Sale of my Goods to my above mentioned Executors in London the first opportunity that presents Ratifying and Confirming this and no other to be my last Will and Testament this Twelfth day of June in the Year of our Lord One Thousand Seven hundred and Fifty Eight (Signed) Wm Purcell Signd Sealed and declared to be the last Will and Testament of him the said William Purcell in the presence of us Ben Hooke third Mate of the Royal Duke Wm Hendersleath Surgeon Rich Beale Junr Rich Beale Senr This Will was proved in Consultation 26th June 1758	would forward it home. The scheme shows how the death of a mariner far from home set in motion a chain of remittance through the Company's ports and the merchant houses of London, carrying his estate across the sea to the family he had left. The £50 to Lieutenant Kennedy for his care during the illness records once more how the sick on the island depended on private attendance repaid by legacy. Kennedy had looked after Purcell through his final illness, and the sum was the return for that trouble, set down in the will as the means of discharging a debt of care. The recurrence of such payments across these wills shows how consistently those who fell ill on St Helena relied on the personal kindness of others, squared up at death through a bequest where no other provision for nursing existed. The gift over from father to five named brothers, and then to the survivors among them, shows a testator reaching across the sea to distribute his estate through a chain of Irish kin against the uncertainty of who still lived. Not knowing whether his father survived, Purcell named each brother in turn and provided for the share to fall to those remaining, so the property would find a living relative whatever deaths had occurred at home. The provision reflects the position of a mariner long absent from his family, unable to know their circumstances and so ordering his bequest to pass down a line of relations until it reached those still alive.
70	54	In the Name of God Amen I Matthew Burgen Soldier in the Company commanded by Captain Grant now remaining in sick Quarters upon the Island St Helena being weak in Body but of sound and well disposing mind and memory and being mindfull of his Mortality and desirous to settle his worldly affairs in the best manner he Can he gives devise and bequeaths in Manner and form following (that is to say) First I desire that my Executors hereafter named do distribute the sum of one pound seven Shillings Equally to those Persons properly nominated to fore over me and Carey me to the grave And as for all the rest and Residue and Remainder that I shall die possessed of be it of what Nature or kind soever and where soever I give devise bequeath the same unto my most Esteemed friends James Robinson Matross and John Holloway Soldier to be equally divided between them share and Share alike and I do hereby Nominate and appoint them the said James Robinson and John Holloway to be the Executors of this my Last Will and Testament hereby revoking all former and other wills by me at any time heretofore made In Witness I the said Matthew Burgen hath hereunto set my hand and seal the sixteenth day July 1758 his Matthew † Burgen Mark Signed sealed published and declared by the above named Matthew Burgen for and as his last Will and Testament in the presence of us who have hereunto Subscribed our Names in his presence and at his request John Pritchard William Boddington	Matthew Burgen, soldier in the company commanded by Captain Grant and then lying in the sick quarters on St Helena, made his will while weak in body but sound in mind, mindful of his mortality and wishing to settle his affairs as well as he could. He directed first that his executors named later distribute the sum of £1 7s 0d equally among those properly appointed to see him buried and carry his body to the grave. He gave all the rest and residue of his estate, of whatever kind, to his friends James Robinson, mattross, and John Holloway, soldier, to be divided equally between them, share and share alike. He named James Robinson and John Holloway executors of the will, cancelling every will he had made before. He set his hand and seal to it on 16 July 1758. It was signed, sealed, published and declared as the last will of Matthew Burgen before John Pritchard and William Boddington, and marked by Matthew Burgen. **Interpretations** Burgen's setting aside of £1 7s 0d to be shared among those who carried him to the grave records the small customary payment made to the bearers at a soldier's burial. This modest sum was the fee for those who dug the grave and bore the body, a fixed charge on even the poorest estate to secure a decent interment. The provision shows how the rituals of burial reached down to the common soldier, whose few possessions still had to yield the accustomed payment to the men who buried him. The naming of the company by its captain, the company commanded by Captain Grant, places Burgen within the same military framework seen through these garrison wills, where a soldier's unit was known by its commanding officer. His identity as a soldier was fixed by the company he belonged to and the captain he served under. The detail confirms how the garrison was ordered into companies under named officers, the soldier located within that structure as a matter of routine record.

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71	55	In the name of God Amen I George Snyder Matross Sr in the Artillery Company in the Service of the Honorable the United East India Company of England at their Island St Helena being of a weak Estate in health but of sound and disposing mind Memory and Understand ding do hereby make and publish this my last Will and Testament in manner and form following that is to say First I will and direct that all my Just Debts may be paid and discharged by my Executor herein after named out of what Effects I shall leave at my Decease in as short a time after as he conveniently can Item After such Debts shall be paid as aforesaid I hereby give and bequeath all the Cloathing of what kind soever Money Goods and Effects which I shall be possessed of or intitled to at the time of my Decease in the said Island St Helena unto my friend and Comrade Peter Mitchell also Matross in the said Artillery Company to and for his own use Lastly I do hereby nominate Constitute and appoint the said Peter Mitchell Executor of this my last Will and Testament solely without any other person And I do Hereby revoke and make void any former Wills by me at any time heretofore made and Executed and declare this only to be my last Will and Testament In Witness whereof I the said George Snyder have hereunto set my hand and Seal this Twenty Ninth day of December in the Year of our Lord One thousand Seven hundred and Fifty Eight George Snyder × × × his Marks Signed Sealed published and declard by the said Testator George Snyder as his last Will and Testament in the presence of us who at his request and in his presence have subscribed our names as Witnesses John Langridge F Dunn	George Snyder, mattross in the Artillery Company in the service of the Honourable United East India Company of England at St Helena, made his will while weak in body but sound in mind. He directed first that all his debts be paid by his executor named later, out of whatever effects he left at his death, as soon after his death as convenient. Once his debts were paid, he gave all his clothing of whatever kind, his money, goods and effects, of which he should be possessed at his death on the island of St Helena, to his friend and comrade Peter Mitchell, also a mattross in the Artillery Company, for his own use. Lastly, he named Peter Mitchell sole executor of the will, cancelling every will he had made before. He set his hand and seal to it on 29 December 1758. It was signed, sealed, published and declared as the last will of George Snyder before John Langridge and [...] Dunn, and marked by George Snyder. **Interpretations** Snyder's will follows the settled pattern of the garrison's soldiers, leaving everything to a comrade of the same rank named sole executor. As a mattross with no family on the island, he gave all he had to a fellow mattross in his own company, the man beside him at the guns becoming his heir. The will shows once more how the artillery's common soldiers, lacking kin within reach, made their closest comrades the recipients of their modest estates, the bond of shared service standing in for the ties of blood.
72	56	In the Name of God Amen I Elizabeth Davis Widow throw the abundant Mercys and Goodness of God tho weak in Body yet of sound and perfect understanding and memory do make this my last Will and Testament in manner and form following that is to say Imprimis I most humbly bequeat my Soul to God my maker beseeching his most Gracious acceptancy of the Same thro the Allsufficient merits and mediation of my most blessed redemer Jesus Christ Next I give my Body to the Earth from whence it was taken in full Assurance of his its resurrection from thonce at the last Day And as to my worldly Estate and Effects together with my Black Slave named Molly I do hereby give and bequeath	Elizabeth Davis, widow, made her will while weak in body but sound in mind. She commended her soul to God, trusting in the merits of Christ, and gave her body to the earth in full assurance of its resurrection at the last day. She then disposed of her estate as follows. She gave all her worldly estate and effects, together with her slave named Molly, to her friend Edward Robinson. As to her slave Eleanor, she gave her her freedom after her death. She named her friend Edward Robinson sole executor of the will. She set her hand and seal to it on 28 May 1759. It was signed, sealed and delivered, no stamped paper being available, before Rodes Merchant and Thomas Litchfield, and marked by Elizabeth Davis. **Interpretations** Davis's will draws a sharp line between two slaves who shared her household, giving one away as property and freeing the other outright. Molly passed with the rest of the estate to Edward Robinson, treated as a chattel like any other possession, while Eleanor was

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		to my friend Edward Robinson and as to my black Slave Eleanor I do hereby give her her freedom after my Decease and I do hereby Constitute and appoint my trusty friend Edward Robinson Sole Executor of this my last Will and Testament In Witness whereof I do hereby set my hand and Seal this twenty Eight day of May in the year of Our Lord One thousand seven hundred and fifty nine and in the thirty first Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord George the second of Great Britain France and Ireland King Defender of the Faith &ca Signed Sealed & Delivered her in the presence of Eliz † Davis No Stamp Paper is to be had mark Witness Roder Merchant Thos Litchfield	granted her freedom at Davis's death. The contrast shows the absolute power a slaveholder held over the people she owned, able to hand one on to a friend and release another by the same instrument, the fate of each turning wholly on the owner's disposition. The grant of freedom to Eleanor is a rare instance of manumission among these island wills, which otherwise pass slaves from hand to hand as unremarked property. That Davis chose to free one of her slaves at death, whatever her reasons, stands out against the general pattern in which slaves appear only as assets to be bequeathed or divided. The provision shows that manumission, though uncommon, was within the power of an island slaveholder to grant, a slave's release lying as much in the owner's gift as the transfer of ownership that was the ordinary course.
73	57	In the Name of God Amen I Henry Chapman of the Island St Helena Matross being mindfull of my mortallity and desirous to settle my worldly Affairs in the best manner I can I do give and devise and bequeath unto my most esteemed friend Daniel Fewkes of the said Island Planter all and Singular that I am possessed at the time of my decease whether it be Real or Personal and in what Part of the World soever that I may that I may have Effects and be of what Nature or kind soever I desire the same may be delivered to the said Daniel Fewkes To hold to him his Heirs and Assigns for ever he paying my Just debts and Demands And Nominate and appoint the said Daniel Fewkes my only and whole Executor of this my last Will and Testament In Witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and Seal this 22 Day of July 1759 his Signed Sealed and delivered Henry † Chapman in the presence of us being no Stamps marks upon the Island Saml Alston William Boddington Island St Helena In the Name of God Amen I John Uinger Soldier in the service of the Honorable the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies being Sick and weak in body but of sound and disposing memory & understanding do hereby make and publish this my last Will and Testament in manner and form following that is to say First I hereby will and direct that all my just Debts be first paid and discharged by my Executor hereinafter named out of what Effects I shall leave at my decease Item All the Rest Residue and remainder of my Cloathing Arrears Goods and Effects which I shall leave at my decease I hereby give and bequeath unto my friend and Comrade Silvanus Rolph also Soldier in the said Honorable Company's Service to his own use And I do hereby nominate and constitute and appoint him the said Silvanus Rolph Sole Executor of this my	Henry Chapman of St Helena, planter, made his will while mindful of his mortality and wishing to settle his affairs as well as he could. He gave his friend Daniel Forbes of the island, planter, everything he was possessed of at his death, whether real or personal, of whatever kind, to Forbes and his heirs forever, Forbes paying his debts and demands. He named Daniel Forbes sole executor of the will. He set his hand and seal to it on 22 July 1759. It was signed, sealed and delivered, on stamped paper being available on the island, before Samuel Alston and William Boddington, and marked by Henry Chapman. John Unger, soldier in the service of the Honourable United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies, made his will while sick and weak in body but sound in mind. He directed first that all his debts be paid by his executor named later, out of whatever effects he left at his death. He gave all the rest and residue of his clothing, arrears, goods and effects, which he should leave at his death, to his friend and comrade Silvanus Rolph, also a soldier in the Honourable Company's service, for his own use. He named Silvanus Rolph sole executor of the will, cancelling every will he had made before. He set his hand and seal to it [...] **Interpretations** The note that stamped paper was now available on the island marks a change from the repeated complaints in earlier wills that none could be had. Where soldiers and settlers of the previous decade recorded the want of stamped paper to explain their informal documents, Chapman's will was drawn on the proper stamped form, the supply having reached the island. The detail shows the gradual extension of the apparatus of English legal formality to the remote station, the stamped paper that law required at last kept in stock where before it had been absent.

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		last Will and Testament hereby revoking all former Wills by me at any time heretofore made and Executed And declare this only to be my last Will and testament In Witness whereof I the said John Uinger have hereunto set my hand and Seal	
74	58	Seal this first day of January in the Year of our Lord One thousand seven hundred and Sixty John Uinger Signed Sealed published and declared by the said Testator John Uinger as his last Will and testament in the presence of us who at his request and in his presence have Subscribed our Names as Witnesses W Cobb Wm Brown F Dunn Amen In the Name of God this 27 day of December in the year of our Lord 1759 I Thomas Cotgrave of the Island St Helena Planter being Sick and weak of Body but of Sound mind memory and understanding Do hereby make this my last Will and Testament (that is to say) I recommend my Soul to my Maker my Body I commit to the Earth to be decently buried and my worldly Effects I give devise and dispose of in the manner following Imprimis I Give and Bequeath unto my well beloved Wife my whole Estate during the Time She remains my Widow or either of my Daughters namely Anne or Eleanor should come to Age or Marriage But in case my said Wife should intermarry I then and in such case give unto her only one half of my Real Estate during her natural Life and one Third of my moveables to be entirely at her own disposal Item I Give unto my Daughter Elizabeth as a legacy who is at present in India one hundred Pounds which She is to receive at her Mothers Death Item I Give unto my Daughter Mary who is also in India one hundred pounds to be received also at her mothers Death Item I Give unto my Daughter Anne and and Eleanor upon their arriving to Age or Marriage one hundred Pounds each to be likewise received by them at their Mothers Death Item	John Unger set his hand and seal to his will on 1 January 1760. It was signed, sealed, published and declared as the last will of John Unger before William Cobb, William Brown and [...] Dunn, and signed by John Unger. Thomas Cotgrave of St Helena, planter, made his will on 27 December 1759 while sick and weak in body but sound in mind. He commended his soul to God and directed that his body be buried decently. He then disposed of his worldly effects as follows. First, he gave his wife his whole estate for as long as she remained his widow, or until either of his daughters Anne or Eleanor came of age or married. Should his wife marry again, he gave her instead only half his real estate for her lifetime and a third of his movables, entirely at her disposal. He gave his daughter Elizabeth, then in India, a legacy of £100 0s 0d, to be received at her mother's death. He gave his daughter Mary, also in India, £100 0s 0d, likewise to be received at her mother's death. He gave his daughters Anne and Eleanor, on their coming of age or marriage, £100 0s 0d each, likewise to be received at their mother's death. **Interpretations** Cotgrave's provision turned on his wife's widowhood, giving her the whole estate while she remained unmarried but cutting her to half the real estate and a third of the movables if she took another husband. The full holding was hers to manage for the children's benefit so long as she stayed a widow, but remarriage would have brought a new husband whose claims might threaten the daughters' portions, so the will reduced her share to guard against that. The scheme shows the recurring island device of tying a widow's provision to her marital choices, rewarding her with control if she remained single and withdrawing it if she remarried. The two elder daughters settled in India mark the reach of the family's connections into the wider world of the Company's Eastern establishments. Elizabeth and Mary had gone to India, drawn perhaps by marriage or service in the Company's settlements there, while their younger sisters remained on St Helena. The detail shows how an island family was linked into the broader network of the Company's Asian possessions, its daughters dispersed across the trading world of which St Helena was one waypoint, their legacies to follow them east at their mother's death.
75	59	Item I Give unto my Grandson William Smith who is also in the East Indies fifty Pounds Item At the Decease of my Wife I hereby Direct that all that part of my Land that she had possessed may be Sold at Public Auction in some convenient Time soon after her Death Item My further Will and meaning is that in case my Daughter Elizabeth should come to the Island with her Son William Smith who I expect will soon arrive I hereby further	Thomas Cotgrave gave his grandson William Smith, also in the East Indies, £50 0s 0d. He directed that on his wife's death all the land she had held be sold at public auction at some convenient time soon after. He further directed that, should his daughter Elizabeth come to the island with her son William Smith, whom he expected would soon arrive, they both be maintained out of his estate until either of his daughters Anne or Eleanor came of age or married. At that point the daughters' shares of his estate were to be sold at public auction and divided equally among all his children. Should any child die before that time, he directed that the dead child's share be divided equally

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		derect and order that they be both maintaind out of my Estate in General untill either of my above mentioned Daughters Anne or Aleaner should come to Age or Marriage Then bend in such case their parts of my Estate I hereby Direct to be Sold at Public Auction and an equal Diversion thereof to be made amongst all my Children and if either should Dye before that Time I further direct that the Deceaseds Dividend be equally divided amongst the Survivors as well as that part of my Land at the Death of my Wife which I have bequeathed to her use during the Term of her Natural Life Item I do hereby Give and Bequeath unto my beloved Wife the Sole use of my House during her Life or being intermarried Lastly I hereby Nominate Constitute and appoint my dear beloved Wife Executrix and my Friends Mr George Alexander and Thomas Harper Planter now living in Sandy Bay Executors to this my Will utterly revoking and Annulling all former Wills by me heretofore made Ratifying and Confirming this and no other to be my last Will and Testament (Signed) Thomas Cotgrave Signed and Sealed in the Presence of (Signed) John Bland F Wrangham Junr	among the survivors, along with the land he had left to his wife's use for her lifetime, on her death. He gave his wife the sole use of his house for her lifetime, or until she remarried. Lastly, he named his wife executrix, together with his friends George Alexander and Thomas Harper, planter, then living in Sandy Bay, executors of the will. He cancelled every will he had made before. It was signed and sealed before John Bland and Francis Wrangham junior, and signed by Thomas Cotgrave. **Interpretations** Cotgrave's direction to sell the land at auction on his widow's death, rather than pass it to his children, marks his estate as one converted wholly into money for distribution. Where many island planters kept land in the family by settling it on a son, Cotgrave ordered the ground sold and the proceeds divided equally among all his children, several of whom were scattered in the East. The choice reflects a family dispersed across the Company's world, for whom land on St Helena was better turned to cash that could reach children in India than held as a holding none of them might work. The provision for Elizabeth and her son should they come to the island shows a testator making conditional arrangements for kin whose movements he could not predict. Expecting his daughter and grandson to arrive from the East, Cotgrave directed that they be maintained from his estate if they came, an allowance framed on the uncertainty of their arrival. The clause shows how a family spread across the Company's settlements had to provide for members in transit between them, the will accommodating the possibility of relatives arriving from India to be supported until the estate was divided.
76	60	In the Name of God Amen I John Harper of the Island St Helena being in good Health and of sound & perfect Memory praise be therefore given to Almighty God do make this my last Will and Testament in manner and form as followeth (That whereas I am now intending to take Passage in the good Ship Earl of Holderness for the East Indies and having not held my Dividend of my Southern Estates do give Bequeath & dispose of the same when the same shall become payable to me with my other Brothers) as follows Imprimis I Give to my Brother Gabriel Harper the Sum of Twenty Five Pounds Item I give to my God Daughter Ann (the Daughter of my Brother Thomas Harper) the Sum of Twenty Five Pounds to be Delivered at Age or Marriage But to remain in her Fathers Hands during that time Item I Give to my God Daughter Elizabeth (the Daughter of Orlando Bagley my Brother in Law) the Sum of Twenty Five Pounds to be Delivered at Age or Marriage But to remain in her Fathers Hands during that time Item All the rest and Remainder of my Estate or Share of my Fathers Estate that falleth to me I give to my dear Brother Martin Harper Lastly I Nominate and Appoint my Loving Brother Thomas Harper and	John Harper of St Helena made his will while in good health and sound mind. Since he was about to take passage in the ship Earl of Holderness for the East Indies, and had not yet received his share of his father's southern estate, he gave and disposed of that share, when it should become payable to him along with his brothers, as follows. First, he gave his brother Gabriel Harper the sum of £25 0s 0d. He gave his god-daughter Ann, daughter of his brother Thomas Harper, the sum of £25 0s 0d, to be handed over at her coming of age or marriage, but to remain in her father's hands until then. He gave his god-daughter Elizabeth, daughter of Orlando Bagley his brother-in-law, the sum of £25 0s 0d, to be handed over at her coming of age or marriage, but to remain in her father's hands until then. All the rest of his estate, or share of his father's estate falling to him, he gave to his brother Martin Harper. Lastly, he named his brother Thomas Harper and his uncle Samuel Alexander executors of the will. He cancelled every will he had made before. He made this his will at St Helena on 17 April 1759. It was signed, sealed and declared as the last will of John Harper before Richard Beale junior and John Scott, and signed by John Harper. **Interpretations** Harper made his will in good health precisely because he was about to sail for the East Indies, the voyage itself the occasion for settling his affairs. Unlike the sick and dying whose wills fill these leaves, Harper was sound in body but facing the hazards of a long sea passage, and he disposed in advance of the inheritance he had not yet received. The will shows how the

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		my Uncle Samuel Alexander Executors to this my Will Ratifying and Confirming this and no other to be my last Will and Testament Done at St Helena this Seventeenth Day of April One Thousand Seven Hundred and Fifty Nine (Signed) John Harper Signd Seald and Declard to be the last Will & Testament of him the said John Harper in the presence of Us (Signed) Rich Beale Junr John Scott	dangers of Company voyages prompted even the healthy to set their affairs in order before embarking, the prospect of the sea crossing standing in for the sickbed as the spur to make a will. The share of his father's southern estate, not yet paid and disposed of before it fell due, shows a testator dealing with an inheritance still to come as a present asset. Harper's portion of his father's property remained unpaid, awaiting division among the brothers, yet he bequeathed it in advance to take effect when it should become payable. The arrangement shows how an expected inheritance, though not yet in hand, could be treated as property to be settled by will, the testator directing its course before he had received it against the chance he might not return to claim it.
77	61	Island St Helena In the Name of God Amen I John Bussel of the aforesaid Island Soldier in the Honorable East India Company's Service being Sick and weak in Body but God be praised of sound mind and memory and considering the uncertainty of Life and that of Death Do make and publish this my last Will and Testament in manner and form following that is to say As to that Worldly Estate it hath pleased the Almighty to bless me with I Give and dispose of the same both Real and Personal whatsoever or wheresoever unto my good Freind William Cooksey of the same Place Soldier in the Company Commanded by Captain John Clark to him his Heirs and Assigns for ever And Lastly I do hereby Nominate constitute and appoint the said William Cooksey Sole Executor of this my last Will and Testament hereby revoking and annulling and making void all former and other Wills and Testaments by me at any time heretofore made declaring this to be my only last Will and Testament In Witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and Seal this Seventh day of May In the Year of Our Lord Christ One thousand seven hundred and Sixty (signed) John Bussell Signd Sealed published and declared by the above named John Bussel to be his last Will and Testament in the presence of us who have hereunto Subscribed our names as Witnesses (Signed) Thos Williams Sarjt Jonathan Chandler	John Bussell of St Helena, soldier in the Honourable East India Company's service, made his will while sick and weak in body but sound in mind, mindful of how uncertain life was. He gave all his worldly estate, both real and personal, of whatever kind, to his friend William Cooksey of the same island, soldier in the company commanded by Captain John Clark, to Cooksey and his heirs forever. He named William Cooksey sole executor of the will, cancelling every will he had made before. He set his hand and seal to it on 7 May 1760. It was signed, sealed, published and declared as the last will of John Bussell before Thomas Williams, sergeant, and Jonathan Chandler, and signed by John Bussell. **Interpretations** Bussell's will follows the settled form of the garrison's soldiers, leaving everything to a comrade in his own company named sole executor. As a soldier with no family named on the island, he gave all he had to a fellow soldier in the company commanded by Captain Clark, the man beside him in the ranks becoming his heir. The will shows once more how the common soldiers of the Company, lacking kin within reach, made their comrades the recipients of their estates, the tie of shared service standing in for the bonds of family.
78	62	In the Name of God Amen I William Duffton of the Island St Helena being of a Sick and Weak State in Health but of sound and Disposing Mind Memory and Understanding Do hereby make and publish this my last Will and Testament in manner and form following that is to say First I will and desire that all my Just Debts & Funeral Expences may be paid and Discharged out of my personal Effects and that my Body may be decently buried at the Discretion of my Executor herein after named Item I give and bequeath unto my Slave Wench Anne	William Dutton of St Helena made his will while sick and weak in body but sound in mind. He directed first that all his debts and funeral expenses be paid out of his personal effects, and that his body be buried decently at the discretion of his executor named later. He gave his slave woman Anne all her wearing apparel, a small bed and two pillows, and directed that she have her freedom if the Governor and Council were pleased to allow it. He gave all the rest of his estate and effects, real and personal, on the island, to Catherine Sampell, daughter of Nathan Sampell, gunner's mate, to her and her heirs forever. He named Nathan Sampell sole executor of the will and guardian and trustee of Catherine, cancelling every will he had made before. He set his hand and seal to it on 10 May 1760. It was signed, sealed, published and declared as the last will of

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		all her Wearing Apparell a small Bed and two Pillows I will and desire that She may have her Freedom if the Governor and Council please to dispence therewith Item All and singular the rest residue & remainder of my Estate and Effects whatsoever Real & Personal in the said Island I hereby Give Devise and Bequeath unto Catherine Sampell the Daughter of Nathan Sampell Gunners Mate To hold to her the said Catherine Sampell her Heirs Executors Administrators and Assigns respectively for ever And I do hereby Nominate Constitute and appoint him the said Nathan Sampell Sole Executor of this my last Will and Testament and Guardean and Trustee of the said Catherine And I do hereby Revoke all former Wills by me at any Time heretofore made and Declare this only to be my last Will and Testament In Witness whereof I the said William Doveton have hereunto set my Hand and Seal this tenth Day of May in the Year of our Lord one thousand Seven hundred and Sixty Signd Sealed Published and declared (Signed) by the said William Doveton as his last Wm Duffton Will and Testament in the presence of Us who at his request and in his presence have set our Names as Witnesses (Signed) Robt Ballard Thos Litchfield F Dunn	William Dutton before Robert Ballard, Thomas Litchfield and E. Dunn, and signed by William Dutton. **Interpretations** Dutton's grant of freedom to his slave Anne, made conditional on the Governor and Council's consent, shows that manumission on the island was not the owner's to give unaided but required the sanction of the government. Where Elizabeth Davis had freed her slave outright, Dutton could only direct that Anne be freed if the authorities allowed it, his power over her release qualified by the need for official approval. The condition shows that the freeing of slaves had come under the control of the island's rulers, a slaveholder's wish to manumit subject to a check that the disposal of a slave as property was not. The contrast with Elizabeth Davis's outright grant of freedom two years earlier points to a tightening of control over manumission on the island. Davis had simply freed her slave at death, but Dutton's bequest could take effect only with the Governor and Council's leave, suggesting the government had moved to regulate the release of slaves in the interval. The difference shows the island's authorities asserting oversight of manumission, perhaps to control the growth of a free population of colour, so that what had been within a slaveholder's sole gift now needed the sanction of the state. The parting gift to Anne of her clothes, a bed and pillows, made alongside the uncertain grant of freedom, shows a slaveholder providing the bare means of an independent life against the possibility of her release. Whether or not the Council consented to free her, Anne was to have the few possessions that would let her begin on her own, a small provision beyond the general disposal of the estate. The detail shows a flicker of regard for a slave's future beyond her mere value as property, the owner equipping her, however modestly, for the freedom he hoped she would be granted.
79	63	In the Name of God Amen I Richard Harper Inhabitant on this Island Saint Helena living and Dwelling in a House Situate in James Valley and Adjoyning to the House occupied by the Widow Reynolds thro the abundant goodness of mercy of God tho weak in Body yett of a sound & perfect understanding and memory do to avoid controversies after my decease make this my last Will and Testament in manner following that is to say Imprimis I most humbly bequeath my Soul to God my maker beseeching his most gracious acceptance of the same thro the all sufficient merits and mediation of my most blessed Redeemer Jesus Christ Next I give my Body to the Earth from whence it was taken in full assurance of its Resurection from thence at the last Day as for my funeral I desire it may be decent that at the discretion of my Executors here after Named and as to my Wordly Estate or Effects I do hereby Will and Order that all my just Debts as soon as it possibly can be raised from my said Effects be duely & justly paid and as to my Dwelling House I give and bequeath to my eldest Son Richard Harper He to pay	Richard Harper, living on St Helena in a house in James Valley adjoining the house of the widow Reynolds, made his will while weak in body but sound in mind, to avoid disputes after his death. He commended his soul to God, trusting in the merits of Christ, and gave his body to the earth in full assurance of its resurrection at the last day. He directed that his funeral be decent, at the discretion of his executors named later. He then disposed of his worldly estate as follows. First, he directed that all his debts be paid as soon as the money could be raised from his effects. He gave his dwelling house to his eldest son Richard Harper, Richard to pay out of it half its value to his youngest son James when James reached the age of twenty-one. As to his personal estate, his slaves, household furniture and the rest, he gave a third to his wife Elizabeth Harper and the other two thirds to his two children Richard and James Harper. As to the dwelling house, it was his wish that his wife Elizabeth continue to live in it until his son Richard reached the age of twenty-one, so long as she did not marry. Should she marry, he directed his executors that she neither enjoy nor take any benefit from the house, but that it be let to the best advantage for the support of his two children Richard and James. He named his brother Thomas Harper, Lieutenant Gibson and Henry Harper executors of the will. He set his hand [...] **Interpretations** Harper's provision that his widow lose all benefit of the house if she remarried, the house then to be let for the children's support, shows the recurring island device of tying a widow's occupation of property to her

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		out of the same one half of the amount to my youngest Son James when at the Age of twenty one Years as to all the personal Estate such as Blacks Household Furniture &c I give and bequeath one third to my beloved Wife Elyzabeth Harper the other two thirds to my two beloved Children Richard and James Harper but as to the aforesaid Dwelling House tis my Will and request that my beloved Wife Elyzabeth Harper should continue and live in it till my Son Richard Harper be at the age age of twenty one Years In case She does not Marry but in case She should Marry Bequest of my Executors that she should not Enjoy or reap any benefit from the said House but that it may be Lett to the best advantage for the support of the two within Named Children vzt Richard and James Harper and I do hereby constitute and appoint my beloved Brother Thomas Harper Lieut Gisping & Henry Harper Executors of this my last Will and Testament In Witness whereof I do hereby set my Hand	remaining unmarried. Elizabeth could live in the house while she stayed a widow and her son was under age, but a new marriage would have brought a husband whose presence the testator would not have in the home meant for his children, so remarriage forfeited her place entirely. The clause shows how sharply a testator could condition a widow's provision on her marital choices, the roof over her head held only so long as she did not take another husband. The identification of the house by its position next to the widow Reynolds's dwelling shows once more how island property was located by its neighbours rather than by any formal address. Harper's house was known as the one in James Valley adjoining Reynolds's, a description that fixed it by reference to the holding alongside. The detail confirms how property on St Helena was identified through the familiar pattern of who lived next to whom, the will placing the house by its neighbour as the natural way of saying which house was meant.
80	64	Hand an Seal this twenty Eight Day of April in the Year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and fifty nine and in the Thirty first Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord George the Second King of Great Britain France and Ireland Defender of the Faith (Signed) Signd Sealed & Deliverd Rich Harper in the presence of No Stamp Paper to be had (Signed) Nathan Sampell Daniel Fewkes In the Name of God Amen I Samuel Desfountain of the Island St Helena Planter being of a Weak State of Health but of sound and disposing mind memory and understanding Do hereby make and publish this my last Will and Testament in manner and form following that is to say I will and desire that my Body may be decently buried at the discretion of my Executor herein after named And as to what Effects I shall be possessed of at the time of my decease I give bequeath and dispose of the same as follows that is to say First I will and direct that all my just Debts and funeral Expences shall be paid and discharged out of such Effects as I shall be so possessed of at my decease Item I give and bequeath unto my Brother John Desfountain my sett of Silver Buckles Shoes Knees and Stock Item I give and bequeath unto my Nephew James Desfountain the Sum of twenty Shillings Item All and singular the rest residue and remainder of my Personal Estate my two Slave Blacks Sury & Peg my Yams &	Richard Harper set his hand and seal to his will on 28 April 1759. It was signed, sealed and delivered, no stamped paper being available, before Nathan Sampell and Daniel Forbes, and signed by Richard Harper. Samuel Desfountain of St Helena, planter, made his will while in a weak state of health but sound in mind. He directed that his body be buried decently at the discretion of his executor named later. He then disposed of his estate as follows. First, he directed that all his debts and funeral expenses be paid out of whatever effects he had at his death. He gave his brother John Desfountain his set of silver buckles, shoe, knee and stock. He gave his nephew James Desfountain the sum of £1 0s 0d. He gave all the rest of his personal estate, his two slaves Sury and Peg, his goats and their young in the country, and all his household goods and effects, to Sarah Carpenter and her eight children John, Ripon, Samuel, William, Ruth, Mary, Rebecca and Elizabeth, in equal shares. It was his wish that the residue be kept together for the benefit of Sarah Carpenter and her eight children until they all reached the age of twenty [...] **Interpretations** The whole of Desfountain's estate passing to Sarah Carpenter and her eight children, kept together for their joint benefit, points to a household provided for as a family though the will names no marriage. Desfountain left his slaves, livestock and goods to this woman and her children as a group, to be held in common until the children came of age, exactly as a man might provide for his own wife and offspring. The arrangement suggests a domestic connection of some depth, the testator treating Sarah Carpenter's family as the object of his provision and settling his estate on them as a father would. The set of silver buckles singled out for the brother, apart from the general disposal to Sarah Carpenter's family, marks these as a personal keepsake passing along the male line of the testator's own blood. While the bulk of the estate went to the Carpenter household, the buckles went to John Desfountain as a remembrance between brothers. The distinction shows

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		Suckers in the Country and all my Household Goods and Effects whatsoever I do hereby give and bequeath unto Sarah Carpenter and to her eight Children John Ripon Samuel William Ruth Mary Rebecca and Elyzabeth in equal Shares and proportions but my Will and Mind is that such residue and remainder shall be kept together for the benefit of the said Sarah Carpenter and her said eight Children unhll they shall have all attained the Age of twenty	a testator dividing his property along two channels, the substance of his estate to the family he lived among and a token of silver to his own kin, the buckles carrying the tie of brotherhood where the rest carried the tie of household.
81	65	twenty one Year unless the said Sarah shall at any Time it may be for all their benefits to have any part thereof sold or disposed of Lastly I do hereby Nominate Constitute & appoint my said Brother John Desfountain Sole Executor of this my last Will and Testament hereby revoking all former Wills by me at any time heretofore made In Witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand & Seal this second day of August in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and sixty Signd Sealed published & declard (Signed) by the said Samuel Desfountain Saml Desfountain as his last Will and Testament in the presence of Us who at his request & in his presence have Subscribed our Names as Witnesses (Signd) Willm Moore James Torbett In the Name of God Amen I Edward Archer of the Island St Helena Soldier in the Company commanded by Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick of the same place considering the uncertainty of Life and certainty of Death Do make and ordain this my last Will and Testament in manner and form following My Soul I recommend into the hands of my blessed Redeemer Jesus Christ hoping thro his merits and mediation that I may be made partaker of eternal happiness And as to that Wordly Estate it hath pleased the Almighty to give me I leave and bequeath unto my good friend William Wells of the aforesaid place all my Estate both Real and Personal whatsoever or wheresoever to him his Heirs and Assigns for ever And Lastly I do hereby Nominate Constitute and appoint the aforesaid William Wells Sole Executor of this my last Will and Testament In Witness whereof I have herunto set my hand and seal this twelfth Day of October In the Year of our Lord Christ One thousand seven hundred and sixty (Signd) Edward Archer Signd Sealed published and declard by the Testator as and for his last Will and Testament in presence of Us (Signd) George Finn Thomas Bernard	Samuel Desfountain directed that the residue be held together until Sarah Carpenter's children reached the age of twenty-one, unless Sarah at any time needed part of it for their benefit, in which case she might use or dispose of it. He named his brother John Desfountain sole executor of the will, cancelling every will he had made before. He set his hand and seal to it on 2 August 1760. It was signed, sealed, published and declared as the last will of Samuel Desfountain before William Moore and James Torbet, and signed by Samuel Desfountain. Edward Archer of St Helena, soldier in the company commanded by Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick, made his will while mindful of how uncertain life was. He commended his soul to God, hoping for eternal happiness through the merits of Christ. He gave his friend William Wells of the island all his estate, both real and personal, of whatever kind, to Wells and his heirs forever. He named William Wells sole executor of the will. He set his hand and seal to it on 12 October 1760. It was signed, sealed, published and declared as the last will of Edward Archer before George Finn and Thomas Bernard, and signed by Edward Archer. **Interpretations** The discretion given to Sarah Carpenter to draw on the estate for the children's benefit before they came of age shows a testator trusting the mother to manage the provision he had made for her family. Rather than lock the property away until the children reached majority, Desfountain allowed Sarah to use part of it as their needs required, giving her the flexibility to provide for them through the years of their minority. The arrangement shows the confidence the testator placed in the woman at the head of the household he provided for, leaving her free to spend from the estate for the children's good as she judged fit.

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		Margin Notes: apprehend	
82	66	Island St Helena In the Name of God Amen I William Cross of the aforesaid Island Soldier in the Company commanded by Captain John Clark being sick and weak in Body but God be praised of sound and disposing mind and memory Yet considering the uncertainty of Life and certainty of Death Do make and ordain this my last Will and Testament in manner and form following (viz) My Soul I recommend into the hands of the Almighty God who gave it and my Body to the Earth hoping through the merits and mediation of Jesus Christ my blessed redeemer to be made partaker of Eternal happiness And as to that wordly Estate it hath pleased the Almighty to bless me with I give and dispose of the same both Real and personal whatsoever or wheresoever unto my good friend William Wells of the aforesaid Island Soldier in the aforesaid Company his Heirs and Assigns for ever and lastly I do hereby Nominate Constitute ordain and appoint the said William Wells Sole Executor of this my last will and Testament hereby revoking annulling and making void all former and other Wills and Testaments by me at any time heretofore made and declaring this to be my only last Will and Testament In Witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and affixed my Seal this eighteenth day of October in the Year of our Lord Christ one thousand seven hundred and sixty his Signed Sealed published and declared Willm † Cross by the abovenamed William Cross to be mark his last Will & Testament in the presence of Us who have hereunto subscribed our Names as Witnesses at request of and in presence of the said Testator (Signed) George Hill Wm Weatherby	William Cross of St Helena, soldier in the company commanded by Captain John Clark, made his will while sick and weak in body but sound in mind, mindful of how uncertain life was. He commended his soul to God, hoping for eternal happiness through the merits of Christ. He gave all his worldly estate, both real and personal, of whatever kind, to his friend William Wells of the island, soldier in the same company, and his heirs forever. He named William Wells sole executor of the will, cancelling every will he had made before. He set his hand and seal to it on 18 October 1760. It was signed, sealed, published and declared as the last will of William Cross before George Hill and William Weatherby, and marked by William Cross. **Interpretations** The appearance of William Wells as sole heir and executor here, having taken the same role in Edward Archer's will of six days earlier, shows one soldier serving as the trusted legatee of several comrades in quick succession. Wells received the whole estate of both Archer and Cross, fellow soldiers in the same garrison, within a single week. The pattern suggests a man who stood as the reliable friend to whom others in the ranks turned to settle their affairs, the concentration of these bequests in one hand reflecting the trust a steady comrade could command among soldiers facing death far from home.
83	67	In the name of God Amen I William Kennedy of the Island St Helena in the Service of the Honble United Company trading to the East Indies Captain of the fourth Company being Sick and Weak of body but of sound and perfect mind and Memory thanks to Almighty God do hereby make ordain and Appoint this my last Will and Testament in maner and form as followeth that is to say first and principally I Give and recommend my Soul into the Hands of Almighty God my Creator my body I committ to the Earth to be buried in a Christian like and Decent manner at the Discretion of my Executrix hereafter named and as touching such Worldly goods wherewith it has pleased God to bless me with I Give Devise and dispose of in the manner and form as follows	William Kennedy of St Helena, in the service of the Honourable United Company trading to the East Indies and captain of the Fourth Company, made his will while sick and weak in body but sound in mind. He commended his soul to God and directed that his body be buried in the Christian and decent manner at the discretion of his executrix named later. He then disposed of his worldly goods as follows. First, once his debts and funeral expenses were paid, he gave his wife and their three children, namely Anne, William and Nathaniel, all his estate, of whatever kind, to be divided equally among them. The children's shares were to be handed over at their coming of age or marriage, and should any of them die, that child's share was to be divided among the survivors. He named his wife sole executrix of the will, cancelling every will he had made before. He made this his will on 29 August 1760. It was signed, sealed and declared as the last will of William Kennedy before John Bland, Solomon Maurice and Richard Beale senior, and signed by William Kennedy.

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		Imprimes After my Debts and funeral Expences are fully paid and Satisfied I Give and bequeath Unto my well beloved Wife and our three Children Namely Anny William and Nathaniel all my Estate be it in whatsoever Kind to be Equally divided among them my Childrens parts or Shares to be delivered them at Age or Marriage and in case of the deaths of any my aforesaid Children that their Shares or part to be divided among the Surviours Item I Nominate Constitute and appoint my said beloved Wife whole and Sole Executrix to this my Will Revoking and Disannulling all former Will or Wills by me heretofore made Ratifying and Confirming this my last Will and Testament this Twenty Ninth day of August in the Year of our Lord God One Thousand Seven hundred and Sixty Signd Seald and declared as the last Will & Testament of him the Wm Kennedy said William Kennedy in the presence of Us John Bland Sol Maurice Rich Beale Senior	**Interpretations** Kennedy's rank as captain of the Fourth Company places him among the officers who commanded the garrison's companies, the men under whom the private soldiers of these wills served. Where the common soldiers named their companies by their captains, Kennedy was himself such a captain, standing at the head of one of the numbered companies into which the island's garrison was divided. The detail marks the officer class of the military establishment, Kennedy holding the command that the ordinary soldiers' wills identify only from below. The appearance of William Kennedy here, having received a £50 legacy for nursing William Purcell in 1758 and served as executor to Purcell's will, shows an officer of standing active in the affairs of the island's small community. Kennedy had figured in earlier wills as a trusted figure who cared for the sick and administered estates, and now made his own will as a married man with three children. The recurrence of his name across these documents shows how a settled officer became woven into the legal and personal dealings of the island, serving others' testaments before setting down his own.
84	68	In the Name of God Amen I Rowland Davis Gunners Mate in the Service of the Honorable the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies at their Island St Helena being of a Slender State of Health but of sound and disposing Mind Memory and understanding do hereby make and publish this my last Will and Testament in manner and Form following that is to say First I will and desire that all my just Debts may be paid and discharged by my Executor hereafter named out what Effects I shall be possessed of at any decease Item all the Rest Residue and Remainder of my said Effects of what Nature or kind soever they be or consist of I hereby give and bequeath unto John Sampell Son of Nathan Sampell Gunners Mate in the said Honorable Company's Service to buy him Books And I do hereby Nominate constitute and appoint the said Nathan Sampell Sole Executor of this my last Will and Testament hereby revoking all former Wills be me at any time hereto fore made and executed and declare this only to be my last Will and Testament In Witness whereof I the said Rowland Davis have hereunto sette my Hand and Seal this tenth day of November in the Year of Our Lord one thousand seven hundred and Sixty (Signed) Rowland Davis Signed Sealed published and declard by the said Testator Rowland Davis as his last Will and Testament in the	Rowland Davis, gunner's mate in the service of the Honourable United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies at St Helena, made his will while in a weak state of health but sound in mind. He directed first that all his debts be paid by his executor named later, out of whatever effects he had at his death. He gave all the rest and residue of his effects, of whatever kind, to John Sampell, son of Nathan Sampell, gunner's mate in the Company's service, to buy him books. He named Nathan Sampell sole executor of the will, cancelling every will he had made before. He set his hand and seal to it on 10 November 1760. It was signed, sealed, published and declared as the last will of Rowland Davis before Robert Brown and John Shirley, and signed by Rowland Davis. **Interpretations** Davis's direction that his estate go to buy books for a young boy marks an unusual bequest among these wills, most of which pass money and goods with no thought to their use. Rather than leave his effects to be spent as the recipient chose, Davis earmarked them for the schooling of the son of a fellow gunner's mate, turning his small estate to the boy's education. The provision shows a man without children of his own investing what he left in the learning of a comrade's son, a rare glimpse of concern for a child's advancement through books in a community where wills more often counted only cattle, land and silver. The choice of the son of a fellow gunner's mate as the object of this bequest shows the bonds within a particular grade of the Company's service reaching to the next generation. Davis and Nathan Sampell shared the rank of gunner's mate, and Davis's gift to Sampell's son, with the father as executor, reflects a tie between men of the same station extended to a comrade's child. The detail shows how the fellowship of a shared rank could express itself in provision for a colleague's family, the estate of one gunner's mate turned to the education of another's son.

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		presence of us who at his request and in his presence have subscribed our Names as Witnesses (Signed) Robt Brown his John Shirley † Mark	
85	69	In the Name of God Amen I Onesiphorus Beale of the Island St Helena do hereby make my last Will and Testament in the Manner and Form as followeth that is to say first and principally I give and recommend my Soul into the Hands of Almighty God my Creator My worldly Goods wherewith it hath pleased God to bless me with I give devise and dispose of as follows Imprimis After my Debts are all paid and discharged I give and bequeath the whole of my Estate be it in what kind soever to be Equally divided between my beloved Wife and our Children namely Anthony and Onesiphorus my Sons and Eleanor and Elizabeth our Daughters to be delivered them and each of them as they shall arrive to the Age of twenty one Years or Marriage and in Case of the Death of any my said Children that their part or Share to be divided among the Surviving Children Item I Nominate and Appoint my Good Friend Richard Goodwin and my Brother Richard Beale Executors to this my Will disannulling all former Wills by me made ratifying and confirming this to be my last Will and Testament this fifth Day of July in the Year of our Lord One thousand seven hundred and Sixty (signed) Onesr Beale Signd Sealed and declared to be the last Will of him the said Onesiphorus Beale in the presence of us (signed) Willm Kennedy Gabl Harper	Onesipherus Beale of St Helena made his will. He commended his soul to God and disposed of his worldly goods as follows. First, once his debts were paid, he gave his whole estate, of whatever kind, to be divided equally between his wife and their children, namely his sons Anthony and Onesipherus and his daughters Eleanor and Elizabeth. The children's shares were to be handed over as they each reached the age of twenty-one or married, and should any of them die, that child's share was to be divided among the surviving children. He named his friend Richard Goodwin and his brother Richard Beale executors of the will, cancelling every will he had made before. He made this his will on 5 July 1760. It was signed, sealed and declared as the last will of Onesipherus Beale before William Kennedy and Gabriel Harper, and signed by Onesipherus Beale. **Interpretations** Onesipherus Beale's own will, coming after his repeated appearance as a witness, executor and appointed guardian across these leaves, shows a settled islander who had served in others' testaments before making his own. Beale had witnessed wills, been named executor and even appointed guardian and trustee by William Turner, and now set down his own simple division among his wife and four children. The recurrence of his name shows how a established figure of the island became a fixture in its legal life, trusted in the affairs of others before providing for his own family in the same plain form.
86	69	In the Name of God Amen I Francis Wrangham the elder of the Island St Helena Planter being in perfect Health and of sound & disposing Mind memory & understanding (thanks to Almighty God) butt calling to mind the uncertainty of this Life do hereby make & publish this my last Will & Testament in manner & form following that is to say my Soul I recommend to the mercy of Almighty God my Body I commit to the Earth to be decently Interred & my Worldly Estate & Effects I give devise & dispose of as follows that is to say First I do hereby give & bequeath unto my Grand Sons Gabriel & Charles Stewart the Sum of four hundred & fifty Pounds each in part of which Legacies I hereby Will & direct that they my said Grand Sons shall & do respectively take part of every Specie of my Personal Estate in proportion to the Value given or devised to my other Children And in case either of my	Francis Wrangham the elder, of St Helena, planter, made his will while in perfect health and sound mind, mindful of how uncertain life was. He commended his soul to God and directed that his body be buried decently. He then disposed of his worldly estate and effects as follows. First, he gave his grandsons Gabriel and Charles Stewart the sum of £450 0s 0d each. As part of these legacies he directed that his grandsons take a portion of every kind of his personal estate, in proportion to the value given to his other children. Should either grandson die before him, he directed that the legacy given to the one so dying pass to the surviving grandson. He gave his granddaughter Mary Anne Searle £100 0s 0d, to be paid into the hands of her father John Searle for her use, his executors taking his receipt for the same. His daughter Rebecca had long laboured under an unhappy state of mind that left her incapable of taking any part of his estate into her own hands, upon which she might be properly provided for. To provide for her during her lifetime, he directed that £600 0s 0d be set apart for her maintenance and support. This sum was to be managed by his executors, placed out at interest on good security, and the income applied from time to time to her maintenance and support [...]

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		said Grandsons shall happen to due before me then I hereby order & direct that the respective Legacy so bequeathed by me to him so dying shall go to & be received by the Survivor of them my said Grandsons Item I do hereby give & bequeath unto my Grand Daughter Mary Anne Searle one hundred Pounds to be paid into the hands of her Father Mr John Searle for her use my Executors herein after Named taking his Receipt or discharge for the same Item Whereas my Daughter Rebecca has long laboured under an unhappy Malady which renders her incapable of taking into her hands any part of my Estate or Effects upon which account & that She may be properly provided for during her Life I hereby will order & direct that six hundred Pounds be set apart for her maintenance and support which Sum I hereby direct shall be under the management & direction of my Executors herein after Named to be by them placed out at Interest upon good Security & the Money thereby arising to be by them from time to time applied to & for the maintenance & support of my	**Interpretations** Wrangham's provision for his daughter Rebecca, setting £600 in trust under his executors rather than giving it to her directly, shows how a testator provided for a child unable to manage property herself. Rebecca's affliction of mind meant she could not safely hold money in her own hands, so her father had the sum kept by his executors, invested, and the income spent on her support throughout her life. The arrangement shows the use of a trust to protect a vulnerable heir, the capital held and managed by others while its proceeds maintained a daughter who could not be left to fend for herself, a careful accommodation of family duty to a child's incapacity. The trust for Rebecca kept the capital out of her hands while securing her a lifelong income, a structure devised precisely for a beneficiary who could not manage her own affairs. By directing that the £600 be invested on good security and only the interest applied to her needs, Wrangham ensured both that she would be maintained and that the fund itself would not be lost through her incapacity. The mechanism shows the law's provision for those unable to hold property, the trust separating the enjoyment of an income from the control of the capital so that a vulnerable person could be supported without being exposed to the management she was incapable of. The requirement that Mary Anne Searle's legacy be paid to her father with his receipt taken shows the standard handling of a bequest to a child too young to give a valid discharge. A minor could not lawfully receipt for money, so the sum was paid to her father John Searle, whose acknowledgement protected the executors against any later claim that the legacy had not been duly paid. The provision shows the care with which executors guarded themselves in paying legacies to children, the parent's receipt standing as the record that the money had reached the child's proper hands.
87	70	my said Daughter Rebecca as aforesaid And upon the Decease of my said Daughter Rebecca I hereby give & bequeath the said Sum of six hundred Pounds unto & amongst my Sons Francis & William Wrangham my Son in Law Matthew Curling and my Daughter Margaret Alcock to be equally divided Amongst them Share & share alike And in consideration thereof I expect & recommend to her my said Daughter Margaret Alcock to assist my Executors in the care & to take part of the trouble that will necessarily attend the direction and managements of this provision made for my said Daughter Rebecca Provided always nevertheless that if it shall please God my said Daughter Rebecca should recover her Senses & Marry then & in such case I hereby direct that my said Executors shall & do pay or cause to be paid unto her my said Daughter Rebecca the said principal Sum of six hundred Pounds without any deduction whatsoever Item I do hereby give & bequeath to the following Persons to wit To Charles Hutchinson Esquire Governor & to each of the Gentlemen of the Council the Sum of forty Shillings for Rings And also to my said Sons Francis & William my Daughters Margaret Alcock & Frances Curling my said Son in Law Matthew Curling my Grand children Gabriel Charles Steward David & Ann Alcock Margaret Charles	On his daughter Rebecca's death, Francis Wrangham directed that the £600 0s 0d set apart for her be divided equally among his sons Francis and William Wrangham, his son-in-law Matthew Purling and his daughter Margaret Alcock, share and share alike. In return he expected his daughter Margaret Alcock to assist his executors in the care and management of the provision made for Rebecca. Should it please God that Rebecca recover her senses and marry, he directed that his executors pay her the £600 0s 0d in full, without any deduction. He gave the following legacies for rings. To Charles Hutchinson, esquire, Governor, and to each of the gentlemen of the Council, 40s each. To his sons Francis and William, his daughter Margaret Alcock, his son-in-law Matthew Purling, his grandchildren Gabriel and Charles Stewart, David and Ann Alcock, Margaret, Charles, Caroline and John Purling and Mary Anne Searle, his nephews John Goodwin, John Johnson, Richard Doveton, Jonathan Doveton, Samuel Doveton and Richard Goodwin, together with Captain John Purling, the Reverend William Lee, John Searle and Richard Beale senior, 40s each for rings. He gave all the rest of his estate, real and personal, of whatever kind, to his sons Francis and William [...] **Interpretations** The provision restoring Rebecca's full £600 to her should she recover her senses and marry shows a testator holding open the path to independence for an afflicted daughter against the possibility of her recovery. While her affliction lasted, the money was held in trust and only its income spent on her, but if she regained her health and married she was to receive the whole sum outright. The clause shows a father balancing present protection against future hope, the trust arranged so that it would dissolve into an absolute

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		Caroline & John Curling & Mary Anne Searle my Nephews John Goodwin John Johnson Richard Doveton Jonathan Doveton Samuel Doveton & Richard Goodwin And to Capt John Curling the Reverend Mr William Lee Mr John Searle & Mr Richard Beale Senr each of them forty Shillings for Rings Item All & Singular the rest residue & remainder of my Estate Real & Personal whatsoever & wheresoever & of what Nature & kind soever which I shall be seized or possessed of Interested in or intitled to at the time of my Decease & not before by this my will given or devised I hereby give devise & bequeath unto my said Sons Francis & William my	gift the moment his daughter became capable of managing her own affairs. The wide distribution of 40s rings to the Governor, the Council and a long list of kin and friends records the custom of mourning rings by which a testator of standing bound his circle to his memory. Governor Hutchinson, the councillors, Wrangham's children, grandchildren, nephews and friends were each to receive a ring, a token of remembrance funded from the estate. The bequest shows the social reach of a substantial planter, whose funeral was marked by rings distributed across the island's governing class and his own extended family, the mourning ring serving as the accepted means of tying a wide company to the deceased. The inclusion of the Governor and the whole Council among the recipients of mourning rings shows the standing Wrangham held within the island's society and his connection to its governing body. That he could distribute rings to Governor Hutchinson and every councillor marks him as a man moving in the highest circle of the island, his death an event to be acknowledged by its rulers. The detail shows how a leading planter was bound into the governing establishment of St Helena, the mourning rings expressing a relationship between a substantial settler and the officers who governed the island.
88	71	my said Daughter Margaret Alcock & my Son in Law Matthew Curling to be divided into four equal parts one fourth part of which I hereby give & devise unto my said Son Francis one other fourth part thereof to my said Son William one other fourth part thereof to my said Daughter Margaret Alcock & her two Sons the said David & Edwin Alcock to be divided in such proportions as I shall by this my Will hereafter direct and appoint and the other fourth part thereof to my said Son in Law Matthew Curling & their Heirs respectively To hold to them the said Francis Wrangham William Wrangham Margaret David & Edwin Alcock & Matthew Curling respectively & their respective Heirs & Assigns for ever to be allotted to them in such parts & parcels as I shall herein after appoint & subject to such Limitations & Restrictions as I shall herein by this my will Order & direct that is to say I do hereby give devise & bequeath unto my said Son Francis & his Heirs forty three Acres of Freehold Land which I lately purchased of him & known by the name of Longs & Beales with all the profits hereditaments & appurtenances whatsoever thereunto belonging or in any wise appertaining to be charged to him at Sixteen Pounds per Acre And I hereby Will order & direct that he my said Son Francis shall be accountable for the amount of the said Freehold Land at the rate aforesaid being the Sum of six hundred and Eighty Eight Pounds in his share or dividend of my Estate at my Decease Item I do hereby give Devise & Bequeath unto my said Son	Francis Wrangham gave the rest of his estate to his sons Francis and William, his daughter Margaret Alcock and his son-in-law Matthew Purling, to be divided into four equal parts. One fourth he gave to his son Francis, one fourth to his son William, one fourth to his daughter Margaret Alcock and her two sons David and Edwin Alcock, to be divided among them in such proportions as he should later direct, and the last fourth to his son-in-law Matthew Purling, to Francis, William, Margaret, David, Edwin and Matthew and their heirs forever, in such parts and subject to such conditions as he should set out, as follows. He gave his son Francis forty-three acres of freehold land, which he had lately bought of Francis and known by the name of Long's and Beale's, with all its profits and everything belonging to it, charged to him at £16 0s 0d per acre. He directed that Francis account for the value of that land at that rate, being the sum of £688 0s 0d, in his share of the estate. He gave his son William twenty-two and a half acres of freehold land called Crawford's Bagley's, charged to him at £15 0s 0d per acre. With it went twenty-three acres of freehold land lying about his country dwelling house, charged at £12 0s 0d per acre, twenty acres more of freehold land formerly the lands of Richard Gurling, charged at £10 0s 0d per acre, and twenty-five acres of freehold land known by the name of Bevan's, charged at £13 0s 0d per acre [...] **Interpretations** Wrangham's method of charging each parcel of land to the son who took it at a fixed price per acre, and counting that value against his share, shows a precise accounting device for achieving equality among heirs who received unequal land. Each block was valued at a stated rate, from £10 to £16 an acre according to its worth, and the total set against the taker's fourth of the estate, so that a son receiving more valuable land had that value reckoned into his portion. The system shows a sophisticated approach to equal division, land of differing quality reduced to money values and balanced across the shares so that no heir gained by the particular parcels allotted to him. The differential rates at which the land was charged, ranging from £10 to £16 the acre, record the varying quality and value of ground across the island as assessed by the testator himself. Land about the dwelling house, older Gurling land and the named

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		William & his Heirs twenty two Acres & an half of Freehold Land called Crawfords & Baglys to be charged to him at sixteen Pounds per Acre also twenty three Acres of Freehold Land which lies about my dwelling House in the Country to be charged to him at twelve pounds per Acre also twenty Acres more of Freehold Land formerly the Lands of Richard Gurling to be charged to him at ten Pounds per Acre Also twenty five Acres of Freehold Land called or known by the Name of Bevans to be charged to him at thirteen Pounds	blocks of Long's, Beale's and Bevan's each carried its own price, reflecting differences in fertility, water, situation or improvement. The gradation shows how island land was valued not by a uniform measure but by the particular worth of each parcel, the testator drawing on his own knowledge of his holdings to fix a fair price for each in the reckoning of his estate.
89	72	Pounds per Acre And also twenty eight Acres of Freehold Land called Boyces to be charged to him at twelve Pounds per Acre Item I do hereby give & bequeath unto my said Son William thirty three Acres of Leasehold Land called Trewsdales to be charged to him at seven Pounds per Acre also twelve Acres more of Leasehold Land lying in Sarahs Valley to be charged to him at seven Pounds per Acre Also six Acres more of Leasehold Land adjoyning to the twenty three Acres of Freehold Land above devised to him my said Son William & lying about my said dwelling House in the Country to be charged to him at two pounds per Acre also three Acres more of Lease hold Land adjoyning to the Freehold called Crawfords to be charged to him at seven Pounds per Acre also seven Acres of Leasehold Land adjoyning to the Freehold Land called Boyces to be charged to him at four Pounds per Acre containing in the whole one hundred & eighteen Acres and an half of Freehold & sixty one Acres of Leasehold Land And I do hereby also give devise & bequeath unto him my said Son William and his Heirs my dwelling House & Tenement in James Valley & also the Ground called the old Sessions House together with the back yards adjoyning to each of them And all the outbuildings thereon Erected with the appurtenances to be charged to him at five Hundred & sixty Pounds And also my dwelling House or Tenement in the Country with the outbuildings & appurtenances to be charged to him at sixty Pounds And I do hereby Will order & direct that he my said Son William shall be accountable for the amount of the said Freehold & Leasehold Lands & the said dwelling Houses or tenements so devised & bequeathed to him at the respective rates aforesaid making together the Sum of two thousand four hundred & ninety three Pounds in his Share or dividend of my Estate at my decease Item I do hereby give devise & bequeath unto my said Daughter	Francis Wrangham's gift to his son William also took in twenty-eight acres of freehold land called Boyce's, charged at £12 0s 0d per acre. He gave William thirty-three acres of leasehold land called Lewsdale's, charged at £7 0s 0d per acre. With it went twelve acres more of leasehold land lying in Sarah's Valley, charged at £7 0s 0d per acre, six acres more of leasehold land adjoining the twenty-three acres of freehold land given to William and lying about his country dwelling house, charged at £2 0s 0d per acre, three acres more of leasehold land adjoining the freehold called Crawford's, charged at £7 0s 0d per acre, and seven acres of leasehold land adjoining the freehold land called Boyce's, charged at £4 0s 0d per acre. These came in the whole to one hundred and eighteen and a half acres of freehold and sixty-one acres of leasehold land. He also gave William his dwelling house and tenement in James Valley, together with the ground called the Old Sessions House, with the back yards adjoining each of them and all the outbuildings on them, charged at £560 0s 0d. He also gave him his country dwelling house and tenement, with its outbuildings, charged at £60 0s 0d. He directed that William account for the value of these freehold and leasehold lands and the dwelling houses at the rates set out, coming together to the sum of £2,493 0s 0d, in his share of the estate. He gave his daughter Margaret Alcock, for the uses and on the trusts set out later, ten acres of freehold land [...] **Interpretations** The total charged against William's share, £2,493 in land and houses alone, reveals the scale of Wrangham's estate and marks him among the greatest landholders on these leaves. Where the ordinary island planter held a few rented acres or a modest freehold, Wrangham commanded well over a hundred acres of freehold and sixty of leasehold in this single share, besides town and country houses. The figures show a proprietor of substantial wealth, his holdings so extensive that one son's portion ran to thousands of pounds, placing him in a class far above the soldiers and small planters whose wills fill the rest of the record. The town property called the Old Sessions House shows a building that had once served the island's government passing into private hands. This was evidently a former public building where the island's court or council had met, now held by Wrangham as part of his estate and charged to his son among the rest. The detail records how a structure of former official use had come into private ownership, its name preserving the memory of its earlier public function while it descended as ordinary property through a planter's will. The provision of ten acres to Margaret Alcock on trusts to be set out, rather than outright as to the sons,

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		Margaret Alcock & her Heirs for the uses & upon the Trusts herein after mentioned ten Acres of Freehold Land lying	shows a testator treating a daughter's inheritance differently from his sons'. Where Francis and William took their land absolutely to themselves and their heirs, Margaret's portion was to be held on trust, a structure that commonly protected a married daughter's property from her husband's control. The distinction shows the different footing on which sons and daughters received land, the daughter's share hedged with trusts that guarded it in ways the sons' absolute gifts were not.
90	73	lying in Sandy Bay called Vespeys lower Land to be charged to her at twenty Pounds per Acre also ten Acres of Freehold Land lying in Sandy Bay aforesaid called Vespeys upper Land to be charged to her at sixteen Pounds per Acre And also twenty Acres more of Freehold Land lying in Peak Gute to be charged to her at ten Pounds per Acre Item I do hereby give & Bequeath unto her my said Daughter Margaret Alcock for such uses & upon such Trusts thirty eight Acres of Leasehold Land lying in Peak Gut aforesaid to be charged to her at four Pounds per Acre Also ten Acres of Leasehold Land called the Hangings in Peak Gut aforesaid to be charged to her at eight Pounds per Acre And also eleven Acres more of Leasehold Land in Sandy Bay called Vespeys lower Land to be charged to her at five Pounds per Acre containing in the whole forty Acres of Freehold & fifty nine Acres of Leasehold Land And I do hereby also give devise & bequeath unto my said Daughter Margaret Alcock for the uses & upon the Trusts also hereafter mentioned the dwelling House or Tenement in James Valley late Charles Stewards with the Yard outbuildings and appurtenances thereunto belonging to be charged to her at three hundred Pounds And I do hereby will order & direct that She my said Daughter Margaret Alcock shall be accountable for the Amount of the said Freehold and Leasehold premisses & the said dwelling House or tenement so devised & bequeathed to her at the respective rates aforesaid making together the Sum of one thousand one hundred & forty seven Pounds in her & her said Sons share or dividend of my Estate at my Decease to be enjoyd by them respectively as is next hereafter directed that is to say I hereby will order & direct that the whole Childs part devised to my said Daughter Margaret Alcock as aforesaid consisting of Lands House & personal Estate shall be kept together & be under the management of my said Daughter Margaret Alcock in Trust for the maintenance of herself and	The ten acres of freehold land Francis Wrangham gave his daughter Margaret Alcock lay in Sandy Bay and was called Vesey's lower land, charged to her at £20 0s 0d per acre. With it went ten acres of freehold land in Sandy Bay called Vesey's upper land, charged at £16 0s 0d per acre, and twenty acres more of freehold land in Peak Gut, charged at £10 0s 0d per acre. He gave Margaret Alcock, on the trusts set out later, thirty-eight acres of leasehold land in Peak Gut, charged at £4 0s 0d per acre. With it went ten acres of leasehold land called the Hangings in Peak Gut, charged at £8 0s 0d per acre, and eleven acres more of leasehold land in Sandy Bay called Vesey's lower land, charged at £5 0s 0d per acre. These came in the whole to forty acres of freehold and fifty-nine acres of leasehold land. He also gave Margaret Alcock, on the trusts set out later, the dwelling house and tenement in James Valley late of Charles Steward, with the yard, outbuildings and everything belonging to it, charged at £300 0s 0d. He directed that Margaret account for the value of these freehold and leasehold lands and the dwelling house at the rates set out, coming together to the sum of £1,147 0s 0d, in her and her sons' share of the estate, to be enjoyed by them as next directed. He directed that the whole child's part given to his daughter Margaret Alcock, comprising lands, house and personal estate, be kept together under her management on the trusts, for the maintenance of [...] **Interpretations** The much higher rates charged on Margaret Alcock's Sandy Bay land, at £16 and £20 the acre against the £10 to £16 of the sons' parcels, record the superior value of ground in that favoured district. Sandy Bay land commanded a premium, reflecting better soil, water or situation than the other holdings in the estate, and the testator's careful pricing captures the difference. The gradation shows how sharply the value of island land varied by location, the Sandy Bay acres reckoned at twice the rate of poorer ground elsewhere, so that a smaller acreage there weighed as heavily in the division as a larger elsewhere. The whole of Margaret's child's part, lands, house and personalty alike, being kept together under her own management on trust shows a testator giving a daughter control of her portion while shielding it from her husband. Rather than let the property fall under her husband Alcock's control as coverture would ordinarily require, Wrangham vested the management in Margaret herself on trust for her maintenance. The arrangement shows a father securing to his married daughter a degree of independent control over her inheritance that the common law would have denied her, the trust holding the property for her benefit and her hand rather than her husband's. The James Valley house late of Charles Steward, now settled on Margaret and her Steward grandsons, shows property returning through the family after passing to a granddaughter's line. This house had belonged to Charles Steward, and its descent to Margaret Alcock and her sons, alongside legacies to grandsons named Stewart, traces the movement of property through marriage and inheritance across two families. The detail shows how holdings changed hands within a connected kin group, a house once Steward's

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			descending through Wrangham's daughter to the next generation of both lines.
91	74	and her two Sons David & Edwin until he my said Grandson David shall attain his Age of twenty One Years And upon his attaining his said Age I do hereby further Will & Order & direct that my said Daughter Margaret Alcock shall put him my said Grandson David Alcock into possession of one half of the said Freehold & Leasehold Land so devised to her as aforesaid with the appurtenances & I hereby give and devise the same to him & his Heirs accordingly And that then She my said Daughter Margaret Alcock shall only hold & enjoy the remaining half of the said Freehold & Lease hold Lands & that only for & during the term of her Natural Life And from & after the decease of my said Daughter Margaret Alcock I hereby give devise & bequeath the said remaining half of the said Freehold & Leasehold Land & the said Dwelling House or Tenement & premisses with the appurtenances unto my said Grandson David Alcock & his Heirs he my said Grandson David paying to his Brother the said Edwin Alcock the full half part of the Value of all the said Freehold & Leasehold Lands dwelling House & premisses so before devised to their said Mother in Trust as aforesaid according as the same are respectively estimated in this my Will And I hereby further Will & direct that my said Daughter Margaret shall have at her own disposal the one third part of the personal Estate bequeathed to her in this my will & the other two third I give & bequeath to my said two Grand Sons David & Edwin Alcock to be Delivered to them by their said Mother as they shall severally attain their Age of twenty One Years And in case either of my said Grand Sons David & Edwin Alcock shall happen to Die before they attain the said Age of twenty One years then the part or Share before by me allotted to him so dying shall go to & be possessed by the Survivor of them my said two Grand Sons And in case both my said Grand Sons shall happen to die before they attain such their Age of twenty One Years then I will & direct that both the said Shares so	Francis Wrangham directed that Margaret Alcock hold her portion in trust for herself and her two sons David and Edwin until his grandson David reached the age of twenty-one. On David reaching that age, he directed that Margaret put David into possession of one half of the freehold and leasehold land given to her, and he gave that half to David and his heirs accordingly. Margaret was then to hold and enjoy the remaining half of the land for her lifetime only. On Margaret's death he gave that remaining half, together with the dwelling house and everything belonging to it, to his grandson David and his heirs, David paying his brother Edwin the full half of the value of all the freehold and leasehold lands, dwelling house and premises given to their mother in trust, according to the values set in the will. He further directed that Margaret have at her own disposal a third part of the personal estate given to her, and the other two thirds he gave to his two grandsons David and Edwin Alcock, to be handed over to them by their mother as they each reached the age of twenty-one. Should either grandson die before reaching that age, the share of the one so dying was to pass to the survivor. Should both grandsons die before reaching the age of twenty-one, he directed that both shares [...] **Interpretations** Wrangham's scheme for the Alcock property shows a testator directing land through his daughter to her sons in a carefully staged descent that gave her a life interest while securing the inheritance for the grandsons. Margaret held the whole in trust until David came of age, then surrendered half to him outright and kept the rest for life, that remaining half passing to David on her death subject to his paying Edwin his share of the value. The structure shows an elaborate settlement designed to provide for the daughter during her life while ensuring the land descended intact to her sons, the testator controlling the property's course across two generations through a chain of conditional gifts. The requirement that David pay Edwin half the value of the whole shows the familiar device for keeping land undivided in one heir's hands while giving his co-heir an equal value in money. Rather than split the Alcock land physically between the two brothers, Wrangham settled it on David and charged him to pay Edwin the equivalent of his share, so the holding stayed whole while both brothers took equal value. The mechanism, seen throughout these island wills, shows the consistent preference for concentrating land in a single heir with monetary compensation to the others, applied here through the further layer of a settlement passing through the mother.
92	75	so allotted to them my said Grand Sons David & Edwin Alcock shall revert go to & be possessed by my said Daughter Margaret Alcock & her Heirs if She shall be then living But in case my said Daughter Margaret be not then living I hereby will direct that the parts or Shares so by me allotted to them my said two Grandsons David & Edwin Alcock as aforesaid be	Should both grandsons die before reaching the age of twenty-one, Francis Wrangham directed that both shares allotted to his grandsons David and Edwin Alcock revert to his daughter Margaret Alcock and her heirs, if she were then living. Should Margaret not be living, he directed that the shares be divided into four equal parts, one fourth to his son Francis, one fourth to his son William, one fourth to his son-in-law Matthew Purling, and the last fourth to his two grandsons Gabriel and Charles Steward, to be divided equally between them and to their respective heirs.

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		divided into four equal parts one fourth part thereof to my said Son Francis One other fourth part thereof to my said Son William One other fourth part thereof to my said Son in Law Matthew Curling & the other fourth part thereof to my said two Grand Sons Gabriel & Charles Steward to be equally divided between them & to their & every of their respective Heirs Executors & Administrators Item I do hereby give devise & bequeath unto my said Son in Law Matthew Curling & his Heirs seventeen Acres of Freehold Land called Easthopes to be charged to him at sixteen Pounds per Acre And also three Acres of Leasehold Land Adjoining to the beforementioned freehold Land with the appurtenances to be charged to him at seven Pounds per Acre And I do hereby will order & direct that he my said Son in Law Matthew Curling shall be accountable for the amount of the said Freehold & Leasehold Lands so devised to him at the respective rates aforesaid making together the Sum of two hundred & ninety three Pounds in his share or dividend of my Estate at my decease Item Whereas I have allotted my said Son in Law Matthew Curling only a small quantity of my Lands & have directed my said Son William an over proportion thereof my meaning & intention is & I hereby Order that in case my said Son William cannot compass or keep in his possession the quantity of Land allotted to him as aforesaid that then he my said Son William shall & do give the preferance of purchasing whatever Lands are herein allotted him which he shall Sell or dispose of unto my said Son in Law Matthew Curling upon the same terms & conditions that	He gave his son-in-law Matthew Purling seventeen acres of freehold land called Easthopes, charged at £16 0s 0d per acre. With it went three acres of leasehold land adjoining that freehold, charged at £7 0s 0d per acre. He directed that Purling account for the value of these freehold and leasehold lands at the rates set out, coming together to the sum of £293 0s 0d, in his share of the estate. Since he had allotted his son-in-law Matthew Purling only a small quantity of land and had given his son William more than his proportion, he directed that, should William be unable to keep in his possession the land allotted to him, William have the first choice of buying whatever lands were allotted to him. William was then to sell or dispose of that land to Matthew Purling on the same terms and conditions [...] **Interpretations** Wrangham's arrangement giving William the first refusal of his own allotted lands, to be sold on if he could not keep them, then to Purling, shows a testator anticipating that an heir might be unable to hold all the land charged to him. William had been given more than his proportion, and if he could not manage or afford to keep it, he was to have first claim to buy it, failing which it was to pass to Purling on set terms. The provision shows a testator planning for the practical difficulty that a large land allotment, charged at value against a share, might exceed what the heir could actually take up, building in a mechanism for the land to move to another named party rather than being lost or forced to open sale. The elaborate default provisions, carrying the Alcock grandsons' shares back to their mother and then out to sons, son-in-law and Steward grandsons should both boys die young, show a testator exhausting every contingency to keep his property within a defined family circle. Rather than leave the descent of the property to chance should his young grandsons die, Wrangham traced its course through successive named takers, ensuring it would always fall to a member of his own connection. The care shows the concern of a substantial testator to control the descent of a large estate across every possible turn of mortality, the property bound to his kin through a chain of substitutions reaching far into the future.
93	76	that they are hereby allotted to him my said Son William by this my Will Item If by the foregoing disposition of my Lands & Tenements it shall appear upon stating Accounts from an Inventory of my Estate & Effects that of any of my said Children do overrun or have more than a Childs part by virtue of the above allottments such Child or Children that so overruns his her or their dividends as aforesaid shall & must be accountable for the full and just Sum to those that fall short or are deficient in their dividend as it is my full Intent & meaning that an equal disposition of my Estate & Effects be made according as I have directed in the fifth Paragraph of this my Will Item Whereas I have already advanced & given Sums of money to each of my beforementioned Children which I always intended should be in part of their respective Shares or dividends of my Estate I do therefore hereby accordingly direct that the	Francis Wrangham directed that, should it appear on stating accounts from an inventory of his estate that any of his children had received more than a child's part by virtue of the allotments above, that child account for the full sum to those who fell short in their share. His full intent was that an equal division of his estate be made as directed in the fifth paragraph of the will. Since he had already advanced sums of money to each of his children, which he always intended should be part of their shares, he directed that the sums set against each of their names, being what he had advanced them, be counted as part of his estate and charged to their accounts, and allowed as part of their respective shares. Each of them was to make up what he or she had received in proportion to what had been advanced, as follows. To his son Francis Wrangham, £812 5s 10d. To his son William Wrangham, £740 0s 0d. To his son-in-law Matthew Purling, £144 0s 0d. To his daughter Margaret Alcock, £100 0s 0d. To his daughter Mary Steward, deceased, £27 0s 0d. Total, £1,823 5s 10d. He directed that the sum advanced to his daughter Margaret Alcock be charged to her two sons David and Edwin Alcock, and that the sum advanced to his deceased daughter Mary Steward be charged to the account of her two sons Gabriel and Charles Steward.

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		respective Sums annexed to each of their Names which is what I have advanced them be deemed & taken as part of my Estate & be charged to their respective Accounts & allowed as part of their respective Shares or dividends of my Estate & that each & every of them shall fail & receive else in proportion to what has been so advanced to them respectively viz To my Son Francis Wrangham £812 5 10 To my Son William Wrangham 740 To my Son in Law Matthew Curling 144 To my Daughter Margaret Alcock 100 To my Daughter Mary Steward Dec 27 £1823 5 10 And I hereby will & direct that the Sum so advanced to my said Daughter Margaret Alcock be charged to her two Sons David & Edwin Alcock & that the Sum so advanced to my said Daughter Mary Steward deceased be charged to the Account of her two Sons the said Gabriel & Charles Steward And also that all other Sums which I may hereafter advance to	He further directed that all other sums which he might later advance [...] **Interpretations** Wrangham's treatment of lifetime advances as part of each child's inheritance shows the principle by which a testator ensured true equality across gifts made before and after his death. Money already given to a child during the testator's life was counted into that child's share, so that one who had received much in advance took correspondingly less from the estate, and one who had received little took more. This accounting, bringing prior advances into the reckoning, shows a careful concern that the total each child received, in life and at death together, come out equal, the advances treated as portions paid early rather than gifts over and above the inheritance. The charging of a dead daughter's advance to her surviving sons shows how the accounting followed the property down to the next generation. Mary Steward had received £27 in her lifetime and died before her father, so that sum was set against the shares of her sons Gabriel and Charles, who took her place in the division. The provision shows the consistency with which the testator applied his scheme of equalisation, the advance made to a daughter now dead still counted against the portion passing to her children, so that her line inherited subject to the same reckoning that bound the living. The modest advance to the deceased Mary Steward, only £27 against her siblings' hundreds, hints at a daughter who had received less in her lifetime, perhaps because she died young or married early. The small sum set against her name, beside the £812 advanced to Francis and £740 to William, suggests she had drawn little from her father before her death. The disparity shows how unevenly a parent's lifetime provision might fall across children according to their circumstances and length of life, the equalising accounting at death serving precisely to correct such imbalances by bringing every advance, large or small, into the final division.
94	77	to any of my said Children & which I shall make a debt or charge of upon my Books & which shall appear thereon at the time of my Decease shall be deemed & taken as part of their respective Shares or dividends of my Estate & Effects Item I do hereby give & bequeath unto my said Son William Wrangham my Goat Range in Somstone Valley Also my Goat Range in Sarahs Valley And to my said Daughter Margaret Alcock my Goat Range in Devils Hole to be delivered to each of them respectively at my Decease And I do hereby direct that my said Son William & my said Daughter Margaret Alcock shall & do take the Goats at my Decease which shall be in the several Ranges herein respectively allotted them at Valuation in their & each of their Share or part of my personal Estate And as I have already given my said Son Francis a Goat Range I therefore do not allot him any in this my will Lastly I do hereby Nominate Constitute & appoint my said two Sons Francis & William & my said Son in Law Matthew Curling joint Executors of this my last Will & Testament desiring them to take the charge & trouble thereof & to see the same performed according to the true intent & meaning of this my will And I do hereby revoke & make void all former Will & wills by me at any time heretofore made	Francis Wrangham directed that any further sums he might advance to his children, and charge upon his books before his death, be counted as part of their shares of his estate. He gave his son William his goat range in Lemon Tree Valley, together with his goat range in Sarah's Valley. He gave his daughter Margaret Alcock his goat range in Devil's Hole, to be handed over to each of them at his death. He directed that William and Margaret take the goats in those ranges at valuation as part of their share of his personal estate. Since he had already given his son Francis a goat range, he allotted him none in the will. Lastly, he named his two sons Francis and William, together with his son-in-law Matthew Purling, joint executors of the will, desiring them to see it performed according to its true intent. He cancelled every will he had made before. He set his hand to the first of the six sheets of paper on which the will was written, and his hand and seal to the tenth sheet, on 28 February [...] **Interpretations** The goat ranges given to William and Margaret, and the note that Francis had already received his, show that these grazing rights over the island's uplands ranked among the significant assets of even the greatest estates. Wrangham's holdings ran to thousands of pounds in freehold and leasehold, yet the goat ranges in Lemon Tree Valley, Sarah's Valley and Devil's Hole were still worth naming and dividing among his heirs. The detail confirms how thoroughly the use of St Helena's rocky, unenclosed land had been formalised into heritable rights, valuable enough to figure in the

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		& Executed & do declare this only to be my last will & Testament In Witness whereof I the said Francis Wrangham the elder to this my last Will & Testament containing six Sheets of Paper wrote on one Side to the first five of which Sheets I have set my Hand & to the sixth Sheet my Hand Seal this twenty eighth Day of February in the thirty Second Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord George the Second by the Grace of God of Great Britain France & Ireland King Defender of the Faith & so forth and in the Year of our Lord One	settlement of the largest island fortunes as well as the smallest. The will's length, written on six sheets and signed on each, reflects the complexity of a substantial estate requiring elaborate provision far beyond the simple documents of the island's soldiers and small planters. Where a common soldier's will ran to a few lines leaving all to a comrade, Wrangham's demanded sheet upon sheet of conditional gifts, trusts, valuations and accounting. The physical extent of the document shows the scale of the affairs it settled, the care needed to divide a great estate equally among children and grandchildren producing a will many times the length of those that suffice for men of little property.
95	78	One thousand seven hundred and fifty Nine Signd Seald Published and declard (Signd) by the above mentioned Testator Frans Wrangham Francis Wrangham the Elder as his last Will & Testament in the presence of Us who at his request & in his presence have Subscribed our names as Witnesses (Signed) Onesr Beale Rich Beale Junr F Dunn In the Name of God Amen I Mary Mason widow of the Island St Helena being Sick & weak of Body but of sound & perfect mind & memory (thanks bee to Almighty God) do hereby make an appoint this to be my last Will & Testament that is to say first & principally I give & recommend my Soul into the hands of Almighty God my Creator my Body I commit to the Earth to be buried in a Christian like & decent manner my worldly Goods wherewith it hath pleased God to bless me with I give Devise & Dispose of in manner & form as followeth Imprimis I give to my Welbeloved Son Benjamin Mason all my Thirds of the Estate left me by my late Husband Richard Mason be it in what kind soever upon these conditions that he my said Son to pay or cause to be paid the following Legacies Debts and Funeral Expences Item I give to my Granddaughter Mary Mason the Sum of fifty Pounds to be paid her at the Age of twenty One years or Marriage Item I give to my Grand Son and Daughter Richard & Flora Knipe each of them ten Pounds to be paid them as they shall attain to the Age of twenty One years or marriage & in case of the death of the above Legatees before they arrive to	Francis Wrangham made his will in 1759. It was signed, sealed, published and declared as the last will of Francis Wrangham the elder before Onesipherus Beale, Richard Beale junior and [...] Dunn. Mary Mason, widow of St Helena, made her will while sick and weak in body but sound in mind. She commended her soul to God and directed that her body be buried in the Christian and decent manner. She then disposed of her worldly goods as follows. First, she gave her son Benjamin Mason all her third of the estate left her by her late husband Richard Mason, of whatever kind, on condition that he pay the following legacies, debts and funeral expenses. She gave her granddaughter Mary Mason the sum of £50 0s 0d, to be paid at her coming of age or marriage. She gave her grandson Richard and her granddaughter Flora Knipe £10 0s 0d each, to be paid them at their coming of age or marriage. Should any of these legatees die before reaching [...] **Interpretations** Mary Mason's will completes the disposal begun in her late husband Richard's, showing a widow passing on the third of his estate that his will had left her. Richard Mason had given her a life interest, and she now directed where her third should go after her, chiefly to her son Benjamin subject to legacies for grandchildren. The pairing of the two wills shows how a husband's provision for his widow and a widow's own testament worked together to settle a family's property across both their deaths, the wife disposing of what the husband had left her to complete the descent of the estate. The widow's free disposal of her third by her own will confirms the different legal position of a widow from a wife. Under coverture Mary could not have made a will of property while her husband lived, but as his widow she held the third he left her in her own right and could direct its descent as she chose. The document shows how widowhood restored to a woman the capacity to own and bequeath property, Mary exercising over her portion the testamentary freedom that marriage had suspended, and completing through her own will the settlement her husband's had begun.
96	79	to Age or marriage I then give the Deceaseds Share or part to my Son Benjamin Mason Item I give to my beloved Grand Children Ann Harding John Rob & Mary Knipe to each of them five Pounds to be delivered them as soon as my Son can conveniently pay them after my Decease not exceeding one year	Should any of the legatees die before coming of age or marriage, Mary Mason gave the dead child's share to her son Benjamin Mason. She gave her grandchildren Ann Harding, John Knipe and Mary Knipe £5 0s 0d each, to be handed over as soon as her son could conveniently pay them after her death, not exceeding one year. Lastly, she named her son Benjamin Mason and her friend James Greentree executors of the will, cancelling every will she had made before. She made

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		Lastly I Nominate & Appoint my beloved Son Benjamin Mason & my good friend Mr James Greentree Executors to this my Will Revoking all former Wills be made ratifying & Confirming this & no other to be my last will & Testament this sixth Day of Septembr Domt 1756 Signd Sealed & declared to be (Signd) the last will of her Mary Mason Mary Mason in the presence of Us (Signed) Willm Kennedy Richard Beale In the Name of God Amen the 4 Day of April Anno Domini 1759 I James Hetsfeld being of sound & perfect Mind & Memory and calling to mind as well the uncertainty of this Transitory Life as the danger & hazards of the Seas do make & declair this my last will & Testament in mannor following I commend my Soul to Almighty God & my Body I commit to the Earth or Seas as opportunity shall serve & as touching such Wordly Estate as it hath pleded God to bless me withal I dispose of the same as followeth Iprimis I give & Bequeath to my beloved Friend Stephen Young all my Real & Personal Estate whatsoever He the said Stephen Young paying all my Debts that shall lawfully appear Lastly I Nominate & appoint Messurs Stephen Young & Tho Leech my sole Executors to this my last will & Testament utterly revoking disannuling & makeing void all former wills & Bequeasts by me made & declaring this only to be my last will & Testament In Witness whereof I here set my Hand & Seal the Day & Date above mentioned (Signd) James Hetsfeld Witnesses (Signd) mark Thomas Bratt Jn Bassett	this her will on 6 September 1756. It was signed, sealed and declared as the last will of Mary Mason before William Kennedy and Richard Beale, and signed by Mary Mason. James Hatfield made his will on 4 April 1759 while sound in mind, mindful of how uncertain life was and of the dangers and hazards of the sea. He commended his soul to God and directed that his body be buried in the earth or at sea as opportunity allowed. He gave his friend Stephen Young all his real and personal estate, of whatever kind, Stephen Young paying all his debts that lawfully appeared. He named Stephen Young and Ebenezer Leech sole executors of the will, cancelling every will he had made before. He set his hand and seal to it on the day above, before Thomas Bratt and John Bazett, and marked by James Hatfield. **Interpretations** Hatfield's provision for burial in the earth or at sea as opportunity allowed marks his will as that of a seafaring man facing death on a voyage. Unlike the island's planters, who directed decent burial in the Christian manner on land, Hatfield accepted that he might die at sea and be buried in the water, his instruction bending to the circumstances of a life spent on shipboard. The detail shows how a mariner's will reckoned with the particular manner of a sailor's death and burial, the sea itself the likely grave of a man whose calling kept him on the water. The reference to the dangers and hazards of the sea as the occasion for making the will shows a seaman setting his affairs in order against the perils of his voyage rather than the approach of illness. Where the sick made wills from their beds, Hatfield made his in sound health because the sea crossing ahead carried its own risk of death. The passage shows how the hazards of maritime life prompted sailors to make their wills before embarking, the voyage standing in for the sickbed as the spur to provide against a death that might come suddenly and far from any shore.
97	80	Island of St Helena In the Name of God Amen I Daniel Fewkes of the said Island being Sick and Weak of Body but of perfect Memory and calling to mind the Uncertainty of this Life do make and ordain this my last Will and Testament in manner and form following Iprimis my Soul I recommend to the Almighty God the giver my Body to the Earth to be decently buryed at the discretion of my Executors hereafter Naimd hopeing through the merits and Meditation of Jesus Christ my blessed Redeamer to be saved and made Partaker of Eternal Rest As to the Wordly Estate God hath blessed me with I dispose of in manner and form following Item I give to my beloved Friend John Price my Silver Watch Item I give and bequeath unto Simon Whaley my set of Shoe Buckles Knee Buckles and Stock Buckle	Daniel Forbes of St Helena made his will while sick and weak in body but sound in mind, mindful of how uncertain life was. He commended his soul to God, hoping for salvation through Christ, and directed that his body be buried decently at the discretion of his executors named later. He then disposed of his worldly estate as follows. He gave his friend John Price his silver watch. He gave Simon Whaley his set of shoe buckles, knee buckles and stock buckle. He gave all the rest of his estate, of whatever kind, after his wife's third was taken out, to his two children then living in the country of Nottingham, at Cropwell Bishop, namely Ann Forbes and Margaret Forbes, to be held by them as co-heirs. He desired that as soon as possible after his death an inventory be taken of his effects and they be sold to the best advantage, the money to be remitted to England for the use of his two children Ann and Margaret Forbes, or the survivor of them. Lastly, he named his friends Matthew Bazett junior and Thomas Harper senior sole executors of the will, cancelling every will he had made before. He set his hand and seal to it on 16 October 1761. It was signed,

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		Item All the rest and residue of my Estate be it of whatsoever kind after my Wifes thirds is taken out I give to my two Children living and being in the Country of Notingham Cropwell Bishop Namely Ann Fewkes and Margaret Fewkes to be by them possessed as Coheirs likewise I desire as soon as possible after my Death an Inventory may be taken of my Effects and disposed of to the best advantage and the money remitted to England for the use of my two Children namely Ann Fewkes & Margaret Fewkes or the Surviving Heir or Heirs Lastly I Nominate & Appoint my two beloved Friends Matthew Bazet Junr & Thomas Harper Senr my Sole Executors to this my last Will & Testament utterly revoking and disannulling all former Will or Wills by me made and acknowledging this & no other to be my last Will & Testament In Witness whereof I have here to set my Hand & Seal this 16 Day of October 1761 (Signd) Signd Sealed & delivered in the Daniel Fewkes Presents of Witness his John † Leman mark Stephen Young	sealed and delivered before John Leman and Stephen Young, and signed by Daniel Forbes. **Interpretations** Forbes's direction to sell his estate and remit the money to his two daughters in Nottinghamshire shows again the island serving as a place of temporary earning whose proceeds flowed home to England. His children remained at Cropwell Bishop while he lived and died on St Helena, so he ordered his effects turned to cash and sent to them across the sea. The arrangement shows the recurring pattern among those who came to the island from England, their families left behind and their island property meant to follow them home in the form of remitted money rather than to take root where they had earned it. The precise naming of the children's home at Cropwell Bishop in Nottinghamshire fixes the English origin of a man who died far away on the island. Forbes had come from a particular Nottinghamshire village, and his will names it exactly so that his estate could reach his daughters there. The detail shows the reach of the connections binding St Helena to England, a settler on the mid-ocean island keeping his children and his ties in a named English parish, the will carrying his property back to the precise place from which he had come.
98	81	Island St Helena In the Name of God Amen I William Standley of the aforesaid Island Soldier consider the uncertainty of Life and certainty of Death Do make and Ordain this my last Will and Testament in manner and forme following Imprimis I recommend my Soule into the hands of the Almighty who gave it and my Body to the Earth hoping through the Merits and Mediation of Jesus Christ my blessed Redeemer to be made Partaker of Eternal Happiness And as to this Wordly Estate it hath pleased the Almighty to Bless me with I Give the same both Real and Personal whatsoever or wheresoever unto my good Jonathan Lake of the aforesaid Island to him his Heirs and Assigns for ever Nominating and appointing the aforesaid Jonathan Lake sole Executor of this my last Will & Testament to be void and disannul of all other the former Wills In Witness whereof I have hereunto sett my hand and affix at my Seal this Twenty fifth day of June In the Year of Our Lord Christ One thousand seven hundred and Sixty two Sealed delivered and acknowledged as my last Will and Testament in presence his and my own request and in presence of Willm † Standley each other Mark Signd Peter Lindsay Joseph Cibbs Jonathan Chandler In the name of God Amen I Thomas Harper of the Island St Helena Planter being Sick and Weak but of perfect mind and Memory (thanks to Almighty God) do hereby make and appoint this my last Will and Testament that is to say principally and first of all I Give and Recommend my Soul into the hands of Almighty God my Creator my body I commit to the Earth to be	William Standley of St Helena, soldier, made his will while mindful of how uncertain life was. He commended his soul to God, hoping for eternal happiness through the merits of Christ. He gave all his worldly estate, both real and personal, of whatever kind, to his friend Jonathan Lake of the island, to Lake and his heirs forever. He named Jonathan Lake sole executor of the will and administrator of everything belonging to him. He set his hand and seal to it on 25 June 1762. It was sealed, delivered and acknowledged as his last will before Peter Lindsay, Joseph Gibbs and Jonathan Chandler, and marked by William Standley. Thomas Harper of St Helena, planter, made his will while sick and weak in body but sound in mind. He commended his soul to God and directed that his body be buried in the Christian and decent manner. He then disposed of his worldly goods as follows. First, he directed that his debts and funeral expenses be paid at some convenient time after his death, at the discretion of his executors named later, as they could agree with his creditors [...] **Interpretations** Standley's will follows the settled form of the garrison's soldiers, leaving everything to a friend on the island named sole executor. As a soldier with no family named, he gave all he had to Jonathan Lake, the whole of his estate passing to a single trusted man. The will shows once more the pattern of the island's soldiers, who in the absence of kin within reach made a comrade or friend both heir and executor, the entire estate settled on one person to take and administer.

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		buried in a Christian like and Decent manner my Worldly Goods wherewith it has pleased God to bless me with I Give devise and dispose of in the manner and form as followeth Imprimis I desire my Debts and Funeral expences be fully Discharged in some convenient time after my decease which I leave to the Discretion of my Executors (hereafter mentioned) as they can agree with my Creditors Item	
99	82	Item I leave to my wel beloved Wife my house and all my Lands for the Use & benefit of herself and our Children until my Son now an Infant shall arrive to the Age of Twenty one Years and then to be Divided among them as hereafter mentioned But in case my Wife should marry again before he comes of Age then then I Give her no more than the one third part of my personal Estate exclusive of my Lease hold Lands But if she remains my Widow at the above time of Divesion that then I leave her my Mansion house and the half of my Lands during her Natural life but whenever she Marries then to be dispossessd of the said house and lands Item I give and bequeath to my beloved three Children Named Elizabeth Ann our Daughters and Thomas our Son now an infant an Equal share of my Estate at the time of any Divesion as also at the decease of theve Mother and if either of their parts should exceed theve proper shares that then they shall be Accountable for the same to the others and if either of them should Die before they their proper parts or Shares it shall fall to the Survivors and my desire is that my Son shall be put in possession of my Mansion house and the lands adjoining to it with ten Acres called Griffis or Sicks running to it to be Valued to him in his part Also I give to my Daughter Elizabeth what lands or houses shall fall to me at the Death of my Mother in law my Fathers Widow to be Valued to her as aforesaid in her part or share of my Estate and to my Daughter Ann I give my lands calld Lemmon Valey heady to bee Valued as above directed and if my creditors should require to be paid that then I leave a power to my Executors to Sell and dispose of any my lands as they shall think proper Advantagious to my family Excepting the house and lands bequeathd to my Son Item I Give to my beloved Wife a Black boy calld Frank not to be Valued to her Item I give to Elizabeth Scott the sum of Seven pounds ten Shilling when she Arrives to Twenty one Years or Marriage Item in consideration that my two Daughters are to have no Dividend in my Estate untill their Brother comes of Age I therefore direct my Executors to pay each of them one hundred pounds at Age or Marriage which shall first happen And also I Give my Daughter Elizabeth the sum of Five pounds being a Gift to her from Mr Mary Alexander Also the sum of Twenty five pounds to my Daughter Anne being a Bequest from my Brother	Thomas Harper gave his wife his house and all his lands, for the benefit of herself and their children, until his infant son reached the age of twenty-one, when the property was to be divided among them as set out later. Should his wife marry again before the son came of age, he gave her no more than a third of his personal estate, excluding his leasehold lands. Should she remain his widow at the time of division, he gave her his mansion house and half of his lands for her lifetime, but on her marriage she was to give up the house and lands. He gave his three children Elizabeth, Ann and Thomas an equal share of his estate, both at the time of division and on their mother's death. Should either share exceed its proper proportion, the taker was to account to the others, and should any child die before taking its proper share, that share was to pass to the survivors. He wished his son to be put in possession of his mansion house and the lands adjoining it, together with ten acres called Griffin's or Sixes running to it, valued to him in his part. He gave his daughter Elizabeth whatever lands or houses should fall to him at the death of his mother-in-law, his father's widow, valued to her in her share. He gave his daughter Ann his lands called Lemon Valley, valued as directed. Should his creditors require to be paid, he gave his executors power to sell whatever of his lands they thought most to the family's advantage, except the mansion house and the lands given to his son. He gave his wife a slave boy called Frank, not to be valued to her. He gave Elizabeth Scott the sum of £7 10s 0d, when she reached the age of twenty-one or married. Since his two daughters were to have no share in his estate until their brother came of age, he directed his executors to pay each of them £100 0s 0d at their coming of age or marriage, whichever came first. He also gave his daughter Elizabeth £5 0s 0d, a gift to her from Mary Alexander, and the sum of £25 0s 0d to his daughter Ann, being a bequest from his brother John Harper, not to be counted against their shares. The £100 0s 0d given to each was to be reckoned in their shares of his estate. Lastly, he named his friends Jonathan Doveton, Samuel Alexander, Benjamin Mason and Orlando Bagley junior executors of the will, cancelling every will he had made before. He made this his will on 26 May [...] **Interpretations** Harper's provision cutting his widow's share sharply should she remarry before the division, from the mansion house and half his lands to a mere third of the personalty, shows the by now familiar island device of tying a widow's provision to her staying unmarried. While she remained his widow she held the house and half the land for life, but remarriage would have brought a new husband whose claims the testator would not admit, so it reduced her to a fraction of the movable estate alone. The clause shows how consistently the island's testators conditioned a widow's inheritance on her marital choices, the fuller provision

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		John Harper and not to be reckoned to them but the Hundred pounds given to each is to reckoned to them in their parts or Shares of my Estate Lastly I Nominate and Appoint my good friends Messrs Jonathan Doveton Samuel Alexander Benjamin Mason and Orlando Bagley Junior Executors to this my Will Revoking and Disannulling all former Will or Wills by me made Ratifying and confirming this and no other to be my last Will and Testament this Twenty Sixth day of May and in the Year of	reserved for the widow who did not take another husband. The £100 to each daughter, paid because they were to have no share of the estate until their infant brother came of age, shows a testator bridging the long gap before the main division with cash provision for his daughters. With the estate held together until the son reached twenty-one, the daughters would come of age or marry meanwhile with nothing from it, so their father directed fixed sums to be paid them in the interval, counted against their eventual shares. The arrangement shows the care needed where an estate was tied up for years against an infant's majority, the daughters provided for in money during the wait so they were not left unendowed while the property lay undivided. The bequests to the daughters from Mary Alexander and from the brother John Harper, expressly kept separate from their shares, show legacies from other estates being carried through the testator's will to their intended recipients. Ann's £25 from John Harper and Elizabeth's £5 from Mary Alexander were gifts from third parties that Thomas Harper directed be paid over in addition to what the girls took from him. The provision shows how legacies from various sources could be gathered and passed on through a later will, the testator ensuring that money left to his daughters by others reached them intact and additional to their own inheritance.
100	83	our Lord One Thousand Seven Hundred and Sixty two Signed Sealed and Diliverd (Signed) as the last Will of him the said Thomas Harper Thomas Harper in the presence of Us (Signd) John Bagley Gabriel Alexander Harper Richard Beale Senr Island St Helena In the Name of God Amen I Samuel Knipe of the aforesaid Island Planter being Sick and weak in Body but God be praised of sound & disposing mind memory and understanding and considering the Uncertainty of Life and Certainty of Death Do make and Ordain this my last Will & Testament in manner and form following that is to say My Soul I recommend into the hands of Almighty God who gave it and my Body to the Earth hoping through the Merits and Mediation of Jesus Christ my blessed Redeemer to be made Partaker of Eternal happyness And as to that Worldly Estate it hath pleased the Almighty to bless me with I give and dispose thereof in the following manner viz Item I will and request that my just Debts and Funeral Expences be fully paid and satisfied as soon after my Decease as reasonably may be Item All my Estate both Real & Personal I will and desire may be kept together and intire until my son Samuel arrives to the Age of One and Twenty Years or day of marriage which shall first happen Item I then Give unto my beloved Wife One half of my Freehold & Leasehold Land during the Term of of her Natural Life Item I Give and bequeath unto my eldest Son Samuel when he shall attain his Age of One and Twenty Years or day of marriage the other Moietyor half part of my Freehold & Leasehold Land to him and his Heirs for	Thomas Harper made his will in 1762. It was signed, sealed and delivered as the last will of Thomas Harper before John Bagley, Gabriel Alexander Harper and Richard Beale senior, and signed by Thomas Harper. Samuel Knipe of St Helena, planter, made his will while sick and weak in body but sound in mind, mindful of how uncertain life was. He commended his soul to God, hoping for eternal happiness through the merits of Christ. He then disposed of his worldly estate as follows. First, he directed that his debts and funeral expenses be paid as soon as convenient after his death. He directed that his whole estate, both real and personal, be kept together until his son Samuel reached the age of twenty-one or married, whichever came first. He then gave his wife half of his freehold and leasehold lands for her lifetime. He gave his eldest son Samuel, when he reached the age of twenty-one or married, the other half of his freehold and leasehold land, to Samuel and his heirs forever, Samuel paying an equal share to each of his younger children, namely William, Mary, Ruth, Margaret, Sarah and Elizabeth, as they each reached the age of twenty-one or married. He gave his son William, on his wife's death, the other half of his freehold and leasehold lands given to her, to William and his heirs forever, William paying an equal share to his children Mary, Ruth, Margaret, Sarah and Elizabeth, when they each reached the age of twenty-one or [...] **Interpretations** Knipe's division settling the land on his two sons in turn, each charged to pay the daughters their equal shares, follows the pattern seen throughout these island wills of keeping land in the male line with money compensation to the rest. Samuel took half the land at once and William the other half on their mother's death, each buying out the daughters at valuation, so the holding descended through the sons while the daughters received their value in cash. The arrangement shows once more the settled island preference for concentrating land in sons and turning the daughters' claims into monetary payments, applied

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		Ever his praying an equal Dividend thereof to each of my Younger Children following viz William Mary Ruth Margaret Sarah and Elizabeth when each shall attain their respective Ages of Twenty one Years or day marriage Item I Give and bequeath unto my said Son William at the Decease of my said Wife the other half of my Freehold and Leasehold Lands so before herein given her to be held by him & his Heirs for Ever on his praying an Equal Dividend to my aforesaid Children viz Mary Ruth Margaret Sarah & Elizabeth when each shall attain their Age of One & Twenty Year or Day of	here across two sons who divided the estate between them. The keeping of the whole estate together until the son Samuel came of age shows the recurring device of deferring division to hold a family's property intact through the years of minority. Rather than break up the land while the heir was still a child, Knipe held it whole for the benefit of the family until Samuel reached twenty-one, at which point the settled division would take effect. The provision shows the consistent concern of island testators to preserve an estate undivided until the principal heir was old enough to take his portion, the property held in common in the interval rather than parcelled out among children too young to hold it.
101	84	Marriage Item I hereby Give and bequeath unto my said Wife the one third part of my personal Estate exclusive of the Leasehold Land to be at her own Disposal for Ever Item It is my Will that if either my said sons Die before they attain their respective Ages of One and Twenty Years that then the Survivor so Dying of him shall have the refusal of both my aforesaid Freehold and Leasehold Lands paying an Equal Dividend thereof to each of my Children above mentioned that may survive Item All the rest Residue and Remainder of my personal Estate I hereby Give devise and bequeath the same unto and among all my aforesaid Children to be equally divided between them share and share alike as they shall respectively arrive to the Age of One and Twenty Years or day of Marriage which shall first happen And Lastly I do hereby Nominate and appoint my Brother Isaac Knipe Executor my said beloved Wife Executrix & my said Son Samuel when he shall attain his Age of Nineteen Years likewise Executor of This my last Will and Testament and Guardians of the Bodies and Estates of all my Children hereby Revoking by me at any time heretofore made And declaring this to be my only last Will and Testament to annulling and makeing void all former & other Wills and Testaments In Witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and Seal this Fifth Day of August in the second Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord George the Third by the Grace of God of Great Britain France and Ireland King Defender of the Faith & so forth And in the Year of our Lord Christ One Thousand seven hundred and Sixty two Signed Sealed Published & declared (Signd) by the Testator as and for his last Will & Samuel Knipe Testament at request of and in presence of the said Testator and in presence of each other (Signd) John Desfountain Elisha Isacke Jonathan Chandler	Samuel Knipe gave his wife a third part of his personal estate, excluding the leasehold land, at her own disposal. He directed that, should either son die before reaching the age of twenty-one, the surviving son have the refusal of both the freehold and leasehold lands, paying an equal share to each of his surviving children. He gave all the rest of his personal estate to be divided equally among all his children, share and share alike, as they each reached the age of twenty-one or married, whichever came first. Lastly, he named his brother Isaac Knipe executor, his wife executrix, and his son Samuel likewise executor when he reached the age of nineteen, together with guardians of the persons and estates of all his children. He cancelled every will he had made before. He set his hand and seal to it on 5 August 1762. It was signed, sealed, published and declared as the last will of Samuel Knipe before John Desfountain, Elisha Isaacs and Jonathan Chandler, and signed by Samuel Knipe. **Interpretations** Knipe's appointment of his son Samuel as executor at nineteen, alongside the boy's uncle and mother, shows a father drawing his principal heir into the administration of the estate before he came of full age. By bringing Samuel onto the body of executors at nineteen, two years before his majority and possession of his land, Knipe gave him an early part in managing the property he would inherit. The provision shows the concern to school the main heir in the estate's affairs and to give him a voice in its administration during the years before he took his share, a pattern of involving the coming heir seen in other substantial island wills.
102	85	In the name of God Amen I Mary Goodwin of the Island St Helena Widow being of a Sick and Weak State of health but of sound and disposing Mind Memory and understanding and well knowning the Uncertainty of this life do hereby make and publish this my last Will and	Mary Goodwin, widow of St Helena, made her will while in a sick and weak state of health but sound in mind, mindful of how uncertain life was. She directed that her body be buried decently at the discretion of her executors named later. She then disposed of her effects as follows.

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		Testament in manner and form following that is to say First I will and desire that my Body may be decently Buried at the discretion of my Executors and Executrix herein after named And as to what Effects I shall possessed of at the time of my decease I hereby give bequeath and dispose of the same as follows that is to say I hereby Will and direct that in the first place of my Just Debts and Funeral Expences may be paid and discharged out of my Personal Estate and Effects Item I hereby give and bequeath unto my Niece Margaret Powell the Daughter of James Powell One Small Silver Tankard Marked twenty Six Ounces and twelve Penny Wrights One Silver Tea Pott and one Silver Mug Markd Weight nine ounces and ten Penny Weights for her own use Item all the rest residue and remainder of my Estate and Effects whatsoever and wheresoever I hereby give and bequeath unto my Friends Mr Matthew Perling and Thomas Greetree In Trust nevertheless for the use and benefit of my beloved Daughter Margaret Marriott the Wife of Wm Randolph Randolph Marriott (though under Coverture) that the same may not be in any way Subject to the Controul intermedling Debts or Engagements of her Said husband but that they my Said Trustees or the Survivor of them or the Executors or administrators of such Survivor shall and to permit and suffer her my Said Daughter to receive the same and also suffer her and I hereby direct that she shall have full power and authority (though under Coverture as aforesaid) in her own name to give receipts or other discharges for any Sum or Sums of Mony she shall receive by vertue of this my will my Will and mind being that her Said Husband shall not have any thing to do therewith Also I hereby further Will and direct that my said Trustees or the Survivor of them or the said Executors or Administrators of such Survivors shall and do at any time hereafter permit and Suffer her my Said Daughter to have and I hereby direct that she shall have full power and Authority by her last Will and Testament in Writing or any other Writing under her hand and Seal to be by her duly Executed in the presence of two or more credible Witnesses to dispose of all or any part of the Said Estate and Effects without any Intermedling of	First, she directed that her debts and funeral expenses be paid out of her personal estate and effects. She gave her niece Margaret Powell, daughter of James Powell, one small silver tankard marked twenty-six ounces and twelve pennyweights, one silver teapot and one silver mug marked weight nine ounces and ten pennyweights, for her own use. She gave all the rest of her estate and effects, of whatever kind, to her friends Matthew Purling and Thomas Greentree, in trust for the use and benefit of her daughter Margaret Marriott, wife of Randolph Marriott. Though Margaret was under coverture, the property was not to be subject in any way to the control, debts or engagements of her husband. Her trustees, or the survivor of them, were to permit Margaret to receive the property, and she was to have full power, notwithstanding her coverture, to give receipts in her own name for any money received under the will, her husband to have nothing to do with it. She further directed that her trustees permit Margaret to have full power to dispose of all or any part of the estate by her own will in writing, or any other writing under her hand and seal, duly executed before two or more credible witnesses [...] **Interpretations** Goodwin's elaborate trust for her married daughter Margaret Marriott shows a testator using the device of the separate estate to shield property entirely from a husband's control. Under coverture a wife's property fell to her husband, so Goodwin vested her daughter's inheritance in trustees with express directions that it be free of the husband's debts and engagements and that Margaret alone could receipt for it and dispose of it by her own writing. The arrangement shows the legal mechanism by which a woman's property could be kept from her husband despite marriage, the trust for separate use giving a married daughter powers over her own inheritance that the common law of coverture would otherwise have denied her entirely. The provision empowering Margaret to dispose of the property by her own will, notwithstanding coverture, shows the trust conferring on a married woman a testamentary capacity she did not possess at law. A wife could not ordinarily make a will of property without her husband's concurrence, but the separate estate created by trust allowed Margaret to devise her inheritance by her own hand before witnesses. The clause shows how far the device of the separate use went in restoring to a married woman the ordinary powers of an owner, not only to receive and hold property free of her husband but to direct its descent by her own will as if she were unmarried. The repeated insistence that the husband have nothing to do with the property, stated in several forms, shows a testator determined to leave no opening through which a son-in-law might reach her daughter's inheritance. Goodwin returned again and again to the point, barring the husband's control, his debts, his intermeddling and any claim he might raise, to make the separate estate proof against him. The emphasis shows the concern that lay behind such trusts, the fear that a husband might dissipate or seize a wife's property, met by a settlement drawn tightly enough to hold the inheritance for the daughter alone against every avenue of a husband's interference.
103	86	of her said Husband as I hereby Will order and direct that he shall not have any thing to do therewith but that my said Daughters Receipt shall be a full Discharge for any money she shall receive from any Person or	Mary Goodwin directed that her husband have nothing to do with the property, and that her daughter Margaret's receipt alone be a full discharge for any money she received from anyone to whom she sold or disposed of it. Should Margaret in her lifetime dispose of the property and leave the island or otherwise, she directed that Margaret release her

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		Persons to whom she shall sell or dispose of the same But if my said Daughter shall in her life time dispose of the same Effects and leave the said Island or otherwise then I hereby Will order and direct that she my Said Daughter shall and do release and Discharge my Said Trustees of and from any further trust and indemnify them from and against any Claim or Demand whatsoever in relation thereto Lastly I do hereby Nominate constitute and appoint my said friends Matthew Perling and Thomas Greentree Joint Executors along with my Said Daughter whom I also appoint Executrix of this my Will And do hereby revoke and make Void all former Wills by me at any time heretofore made and Executed and declare this only to be my last Will and Testament In Witness whereof I the said Mary Goodwin have hereunto set my hand and Seal this Sixteenth day of July in the Year of Our Lord One thousand Seven hundred and Sixty Signed Sealed published and declared by the (Signed) said Testatrix Mary Goodwin as her last Will Mary Goodwin and Testament in the presence of us who at her request and in her presence have Subscribed our names as Witnesses Willm Wrangham Robt Barclay F Dunn	trustees from any further trust and indemnify them against any claim relating to it. Lastly, she named her friends Matthew Purling and Thomas Greentree joint executors, together with her daughter Margaret, whom she also named executrix. She cancelled every will she had made before. She set her hand and seal to it on 16 July 1760. It was signed, sealed, published and declared as the last will of Mary Goodwin before William Wrangham, Robert Barclay and [...] Dunn, and signed by Mary Goodwin. **Interpretations** The provision releasing the trustees should Margaret dispose of the property and leave the island shows a testator anticipating that a daughter might quit St Helena for good. Margaret might sell up and depart, whether following her husband's fortunes or otherwise, and in that event the trust was to end and the trustees be discharged and indemnified. The clause shows an awareness of how transient island residence could be, even for a settled family, the settlement drawn to accommodate a beneficiary's possible departure from the island by winding up the trust and freeing those who had held it. The care to indemnify the trustees against future claims shows the caution with which men undertook the burden of a trust and the protection they required for accepting it. Purling and Greentree held Margaret's property as trustees, exposed to possible demands should anything go wrong, so the will provided that on the trust's end they be released and held harmless against any claim. The provision shows the practical concern of those who served as trustees to be protected from liability, the settlement securing their discharge so that the office of trustee did not leave them answerable after their duty was done.
104	87	In the name of God Amen I Thomas Wright of the Parish of Wepson in Derbyshire late Mariner of his Majestys Ship Cumberland but now lying in the Honorable Companys Hospital at the Island St Helena being weak in Body but of sound mind and Memory Doo for Avoiding all Scruples and Controversies that may hereafter Arise in Case of my death make ordain constitute and appoint this my last Will and Testament In manner following Imprimis I give and recommend my soul into the hands of god that gave it and my Body I recommend to the Earth to be buried in decent Burial and as touching all such wordly Estate for with it as pleased god to bless me with I give amise and dispose of the same unto my true and trusty friend William Mears Now Soldiers in the Honorable East Indias Company Service at the Island St Helena whom I constitute make and ordain my sole Executor of this my last Will and Testament to receive all such prize money and Short Allowance money that is or may be due untime Especially wages due from his Majestys ship Cumberland from March the first in the year of Our Lord one thousand seven hundred and fifty seven to the Seventeenth of February In the Year of our Lord one Thousand Seven hundred and Sixty by him freely to be possessed and Enjoyed and I do hereby utterly revoke and disannul all	Thomas Wright of the parish of Wensley in Derbyshire, late mariner of His Majesty's ship Cumberland but then lying in the Company's hospital at St Helena, made his will while weak in body but sound in mind, to avoid disputes after his death. He commended his soul to God and directed that his body be buried decently. He gave all his worldly estate to his friend William Meirs, then a soldier in the Honourable East India Company's service at St Helena, whom he named sole executor of the will, to receive all the prize money and short allowance money that was or might become due to him, especially the wages due from His Majesty's ship Cumberland from 1 March 1757 to 17 February 1760, freely to be possessed and enjoyed by him. He cancelled every will he had made before. He set his hand and seal to it on 15 September 1762. It was signed, sealed, published and declared, no stamped paper being available, as the last will of Thomas Wright before Thomas Bernard, William Beckett and Robert Martin. **Interpretations** Wright's estate consisted chiefly of naval wages, prize money and short allowance money owed him from a King's ship, marking him as a Royal Navy sailor whose assets lay in the pay and prize due from his service. Prize money was the sailor's share of the value of enemy ships captured, and short allowance money was compensation for reduced rations at sea, both owed on top of wages. The will shows the peculiar character of a naval seaman's estate, made up not of goods or land but of the various sums the Crown owed him for his service, all to be collected by his executor after his death. The naming of the exact period of wages owed, from March 1757 to February 1760, shows the precision with which a sailor's claim against the navy had to be stated to be recovered. Naval pay was

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		Other Wills and Executors by me in any way before named Confirming this and no Other to be my last will and Testament In Witness hereunto I set my hand and Seal this fifthteenth day of September In the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and Sixty two And in the Second Year of our Sovereing Lord George the Third King of Great Brittain France and Ireland &c (Signd) Thomas Wright his mark † Signd Sealed published and declared By the Said Thomas Wright as his last will and Testament in the presence of us Subscribers Where no Stamp paper Thomas Bernard is to be had William Beckett Robert Martin & his mark	reckoned by the period served on a named ship, so the will set out the precise dates so that Wright's executor could claim the full sum due from the Cumberland. The detail shows how the collection of a dead sailor's pay depended on documenting his service exactly, the will serving as the instrument by which his executor could establish and recover the wages the Crown still owed for a defined term aboard a named vessel. That a Royal Navy mariner lay dying in the East India Company's hospital shows the Company's establishment on St Helena serving men of the King's service as well as its own. Wright belonged to a naval ship, yet he was cared for in the Company's hospital on the island, which functioned as a place of refuge for sick seamen of both services passing through. The detail shows how St Helena, as a waypoint on the ocean routes, extended its Company-run facilities to naval as well as commercial seafarers, the hospital receiving a King's sailor put ashore sick far from his own ship and service.
105	88	Island St Helena In the Name of God Amen I John Sieck of the said Island being God be praised in good bodily health and of sound and disposing mind memory and understanding but considering the uncertainty of Life and the certainty of death Do make and ordain this my last Will and Testament in manner and form following Imprimis Imprimis My soul I recommend into the Hands of Almighty God who gave it and my Body to the Earth to be decently interrd hoping through the Merits and Mideation of Jesus Christ my blessed Redeemer be made Partaker of Eternal Happiness And as to that wordly Estate it hath pleased God to Bless me with I give and dispose of the same in manner and form following that is to say Item I will and desire that my just Debts and Funeral Expences be fully paid and satisfied immediately or soon after my decease as conveniently may be by my Executor herein after named Item I give devise and bequeath unto Richard Harper Son of Thomas Harper Senr of the aforesaid Island All that my Messuage or dwelling house with the appurtenances lying in St James Valey in the said Island to him and his Heirs for ever Item I give and bequeath unto Ann Harper Daughter of the said Thomas Harper my Black man Slave named Exeter to her and her Heirs forever Item I do hereby Manumit and make free from Slavery my Black man named Emanuel and do Order and direct my Executor immediately or as soon after my Decease as conveniently may be to pay unto him the sum of three pounds in rememborance of his past Service Item all the rest residue and remainder of my Estate both Real and Personal whatsoever and Wheresoever I Give and Devise and bequeath unto my three Neeces Sarah Harper Ann Chamberlain and Elinor Shirtley	John Leech of St Helena made his will while in good bodily health and sound mind, mindful of how uncertain life was. He commended his soul to God, hoping for eternal happiness through the merits of Christ. He then disposed of his worldly estate as follows. First, he directed that his debts and funeral expenses be paid immediately after his death, as conveniently as could be, by his executors named later. He gave Richard Harper, son of Thomas Harper senior of the island, his messuage or dwelling house with everything belonging to it, lying in James Valley, to Richard and his heirs forever. He gave Ann Harper, daughter of Thomas Harper, his slave man named Caesar, to her and her heirs forever. He freed his slave man named Emanuel from slavery, and directed his executors to pay him the sum of £3 0s 0d immediately after his death, as conveniently as could be, in remembrance of his past service. He gave all the rest of his estate, both real and personal, of whatever kind, to his three nieces Sarah Harper, Ann Chamberlain and Elinor Shirley, to them and their heirs forever, to be divided equally among them, share and share alike. Lastly, he named Thomas Harper and Nathan Sampell, both of the island, gentleman, executors of the will, cancelling every will he had made before. He set his hand and seal to it on 19 March 1762. It was signed, sealed, published and declared as the last will of John Leech before Charles Gibbons and Jonathan [...], and marked by John Leech. **Interpretations** Leech's freeing of his slave Emanuel, coupled with a payment of £3 in acknowledgement of his past service, stands among the rare grants of freedom in these island wills. Where the other slaves in the will, Caesar and the rest, passed as property to Leech's kin, Emanuel was released outright and given money besides, marked out for his service. The bequest shows that manumission, though uncommon, remained within a slaveholder's gift, and that a master might reward long service with both freedom and a sum of money, a distinction drawn between the man he freed and the slaves he bequeathed as chattels. The contrast with William Dutton's will of two years earlier, where a slave's freedom was made conditional on the Governor and Council's consent, is striking, for Leech freed Emanuel outright with no mention of official approval. This suggests either that the control over manumission was inconsistently

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		to them their Heirs and Assigns for Ever to be equally divided amongst them share and share alike And Lastly I do hereby nominate and appoint Thomas Harper and Nathan Sampell both Executors of the aforesaid Island Gentleman Executors to this my last Will and Testament And I do hereby revoke annull & make void all former and other Will and Testaments by me at any time heretofore made Declaring this to be only my last Will and Testament In Witness whereof I have hereunto set my Hand and affixed my Seal this Ninetuenth day of March in the Year of our Lord Christ one thousand seven hundred and Sixty two his John † Sieck mark Signed Sealed published and Declared by the Testator as & for his last Will and Testament In presence of us who have hereunto subscribed our Names as Witnesses at request of and in presence of the said Testator and of each other (Signd) Charles Gebbing Jonathan Chandler	applied or that Leech's grant proceeded without the sanction Dutton's had required. The difference shows the uncertainty surrounding the freeing of slaves on the island in these years, some testators seeking or acknowledging official leave while others manumitted directly, the practice not yet settled into a uniform requirement. The £3 given to the freed Emanuel in remembrance of his service shows a master attaching a modest material provision to the grant of freedom, easing the freed man's passage into an independent life. Freedom alone left a former slave with nothing, so Leech added a sum of money to acknowledge Emanuel's service and give him something to begin on. The gesture shows a flicker of regard for the freed man's welfare beyond the bare fact of release, the small legacy marking both gratitude for past service and a recognition that liberty without means was an empty gift.
106	89	Santa Lena à 20 Octobre 1762 Testamento de Giovanni Fretiss di Nazzione Portoghese della Serra nominata Isola de Terseri of Lena al norde il quale trovandosi al servizzio della Onorata Compagnia della Vestengo bolla Nazzaone Brittannica nel Bastimento nominato il Callecota Capitano Giorgo Tomson Cadamalato a bordo dove si al presente Si trova in questo Ospedale de Sta Lena Il medemo Giovano Fretiss Si dichiara dice che morando e non avendo nesuna persona piu prossuma perreditara quel poco che si trova sia in Fatto come anche La pagache Si divara la Compagnia Di London Chiama Il suo erade Manuel Tiose suo patrizzio bolla dichiarazzione de i Sotto Scritti Testimoni Y non sapera il medemo scrivere si forma de sua mano con una Crocie † marca di Gio Fretiss John Artinstall Biagia Bella St Helena October 20 1762 Testament of John Fretiss Belonging to the Island of Terseri in the Kingdom of Portugal to the Northward of the Line having servd the Honorable East India Company of England in the Ship called Calcutta Capt George Thomson Commander But falling Sick on board the said Ship I was sent to the Hospital of St Helenas the said John Fretiss declare and say that if I should Die I had no other nigher person to bequeath my Effects to such as Cloths and Wages due to me from the East India Company at London I called Manuel Tiose my Countryman with a declaration of the same and	John Fretiss, a Portuguese of the island called Terceira, to the north of the Line, made his will at St Helena on 20 October 1762. He had served the Honourable East India Company of England in the ship Calcutta, commanded by Captain George Thomson, but had fallen sick on board and been sent to the hospital at St Helena. He declared that, should he die and have no nearer person to whom to leave his effects, such as his clothes and the wages due to him from the East India Company at London, he named his countryman Manuel Jose to receive them. He left it to Manuel Jose's discretion to disburse some of the money to the clergy to pray for his soul. Being unable to write, he marked his will with a cross, before John Artinstall and Biagia Bolli. **Interpretations** Fretiss's will, recorded first in Portuguese and then in English, shows the island receiving seafarers from beyond the British world into the Company's ships and its hospital. A native of Terceira in the Portuguese Azores, Fretiss had served aboard a Company vessel and fell sick to be landed at St Helena, his will taken down in his own language and then translated. The document shows how the Company's maritime service drew men from across the seafaring nations of Europe, and how the island's institutions accommodated a dying Portuguese sailor, his testament preserved in both tongues so that his wishes could be carried out. The direction leaving money to the clergy to pray for his soul marks Fretiss as a Catholic, his provision reflecting a faith distinct from the Protestant island around him. The bequest for prayers for the dead was a Catholic practice, foreign to the Church of England establishment of St Helena, and its appearance shows a sailor of a different confession dying among Protestants. The detail records the religious diversity that the Company's cosmopolitan crews brought to the island, a Portuguese Catholic's wish for masses for his soul set down in the will alongside the Protestant forms of the island's own testators. The leaving of the estate to a countryman, another man of the Portuguese seafaring world,

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		likewise left it to his discretion to disburst same money to the Clergy to Pray for my soul In the Presence of the Witnesses I being not able to write make my my Mark with a Cross	shows the bonds of shared origin drawing together in a foreign place. Lacking any nearer person, Fretiss turned to Manuel Jose, a fellow Portuguese, to receive his effects and see to the prayers for his soul. The choice shows how men far from home clung to those of their own nation and tongue, the dying sailor entrusting his affairs and his spiritual wishes to a countryman who shared both his language and his faith in a place where both were strange.
107	90	Island St Helena In the Name of God Amen I Martin Harper of the aforesaid Island being in good health of Body and God be praised of sound and Disposing mind memory and understanding Yet considering the uncertainty of Life and Certainty of Death Do make and Ordain this my last Will and Testament in manner and form following Imprimis My Soul I recommend into the Hands of Almighty God who gave it and my Body to the Earth hoping the Merits of Jesus Christ my Blessed redeemer to be made a Portaker of Eternal happyness And as to that worldly Estate it hath pleased God to bless me with I give and Dispose of the same in manner following All my Estate Real and Personal whatsoever and wheresoever I give Desire and Bequeath Unto Richard Harper Son of Thomas Harper of the aforesaid Island to him his heirs and Assigns for ever he being my Godson And lastly I do hereby Nominate and appoint Mr John Bland & the aforesaid Thomas Harper Executors of this my last Will and Testament And Revoking annulling and making void all former and other Wills & Testaments by me at any time heretofore made and declaring this to be my only last Will & Testament In Witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand & affixed my Seal this first day of July In the Year of Our Lord Christ One thousand seven hundred and Sixty two Signed Sealed Published & Declared by the Testator as his last Will and (Signed) Testament in presence of Us who have Martin Harper subscribed our names as Witnesses at the Request of the Testator & in Presents of each other (signed) Stephen Young George Bazett	Martin Harper of St Helena made his will while in good health of body and sound mind, mindful of how uncertain life was. He commended his soul to God, hoping for eternal happiness through the merits of Christ. He gave all his estate, real and personal, of whatever kind, to Richard Harper, son of Thomas Harper of the island, to Richard and his heirs forever, Richard being his godson. Lastly, he named John Bland and Thomas Harper executors of the will, cancelling every will he had made before. He set his hand and seal to it on 1 July 1762. It was signed, sealed, published and declared as the last will of Martin Harper before Stephen Young and George Bazett, and signed by Martin Harper. **Interpretations** Martin Harper's gift of his whole estate to his godson Richard Harper shows the tie of godparentage serving to direct property where no closer heir was named. Rather than leave his estate to be divided among distant kin, Harper settled it entire on the son of Thomas Harper, his godson, a relationship of spiritual rather than blood kinship carrying the inheritance. The will shows how the bond between godfather and godson could stand as the channel for an estate, the godparent's obligation to the child expressed in the gift of all he had. The concentration of bequests on the Harper family across several of these wills, with Richard Harper taking estates from both Martin Harper and John Leech, shows property gathering in the hands of one branch of a connected island family. Richard received the whole of Martin Harper's estate and a dwelling house from Leech, marking him as the beneficiary of more than one testator's regard. The pattern shows how, in the small society of the island, a single well-placed young man might become the heir of several older men, property flowing to him from godfathers and family friends alike as the connections of the island's leading families concentrated their estates.
108	91	In the name of God amen this Twenty third day of April 1763 I John Wattall of this Island St Helena Planter being Sick and weak of Body but of Perfect mind and Memory do make and Ordain this my last Will and Testament and first of all I give and recommend my Soul to Almighty God my Body I commit to the Earth my worldly goods I give and dispose of in the following Manner Imprimis I give to my Beloved Wife one Man Slave Named Frank not to be Valued in her thirds Item I give to my Daughter Elizabeth at Age or Marriage one Boy Named Frank not to be Valued in her part	John Wattall of St Helena, planter, made his will on 23 April 1763 while sick and weak in body but sound in mind. He commended his soul to God and directed that his body be buried. He then disposed of his worldly goods as follows. First, he gave his wife a slave man named Frank, not to be valued in her thirds. He gave his daughter Elizabeth, at her coming of age or marriage, a slave boy named Frank, not to be valued in her part. He gave his daughter Sarah, at her coming of age or marriage, a slave girl named Lucy, not to be valued in her part. He gave his daughter Martha, at her coming of age or marriage, a slave boy named May, not to be valued in her part.

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		Item I give to my Daughter Sarah at age or Marriage one Girl named Lucy not to be Valued in Her part Item I give to my Daughter Martha at age or Marriage one Boye Named May not to be Valued in Her part Item I give to my Son William at age or Marriage one Boy Named George not to be Valued in his part Item I give to my Godson Francis Seale one Cow Calf Item I give to my Daughter Elizabeth the Sum of Five pound not to be Valued in Her part Item I give to my Wifs Sisters Namly Ann Sarah Mary & Elizabeth one Guinea each to buy them a Mourning ring Item I give to my beloved Wife my Mansion House and half my Lands during her Life And at her Death the above Mentioned House and Land I give to my Son William at Age or Marriage Paying his Sisters their Parts at first Valuation Item I give to my Son William the other Half of my Land at Age or Marriage paying his Sisters their parts at Valuation Item I give to my Beloved Wife one third part of all my moveables to dispose of as She shall think proper All the rest and residue of my Moveables to be equally divided Among my Children as they shall come of Age or Marriage Lastly I nominate and appoint my Beloved Wife Executrix and My Friends Mr Samuel Alexander Mr Benjamin Seale and Gabriel Alexander Harper Executor to this my last Will and Testament Revokeing Disannuling all other Will or Wills by me made Ratifying and Confirming this to be my last Will and Testament	He gave his son William, at his coming of age or marriage, a slave boy named George, not to be valued in his part. He gave his godson Francis Seale a cow calf. He gave his daughter Elizabeth the sum of £5 0s 0d, not to be valued in her part. He gave his wife's sisters, namely Ann, Sarah, Mary and Elizabeth, one guinea each to buy them a mourning ring. He gave his wife his mansion house and half his lands for her lifetime, and on her death he gave the house and lands to his son William, at his coming of age or marriage, William paying his sisters their parts at valuation. He gave his son William the other half of his lands, at his coming of age or marriage, William paying his sisters their parts at valuation. He gave his wife a third part of all his movables, at her disposal, and directed that all the rest of his movables be divided equally among his children as they came of age or married. Lastly, he named his wife executrix, together with his friends Samuel Alexander, Benjamin Seale and Gabriel Alexander Harper executors of the will, cancelling every will he had made before [...] **Interpretations** Wattall's distribution of a slave to each of his children, every one expressly excepted from valuation, shows a father giving each child a slave as a personal gift over and above their share of the estate. Where slaves elsewhere were valued and counted into shares, Wattall gave Frank, Lucy, May and George to his children free of the reckoning, so each took a slave in addition to their portion. The arrangement shows human beings distributed as individual gifts to particular children, marked out from the general division, the giving of a slave to each child treated as a personal endowment rather than a charge against inheritance. The settling of the land on the son William, charged to pay his sisters their parts at valuation, follows the familiar island pattern of keeping land in the male line with money compensation to the daughters. William took the whole of the land, half at once and half on his mother's death, and bought out his sisters at an appraised value, so the holding stayed in his hands while the daughters received their value in cash. The provision shows once more the settled preference of the island's planters for concentrating land in a son and turning the daughters' claims into monetary payments rather than dividing the ground among them.
109	92	Testament (Signed) Signd Seald and John Wattall declard in the presence of Us (signed) John Scott George Alexander Island St Helena In the Name of God Amen I Edward Jennings of the aforesaid Island Matross considering the uncertainty of Life and Certainty of Death Do make and Ordain this my last Will and Testament in manner and form following First I recommence my Soul into the Hands of the Almighty God who gave it and my Body to the Earth hoping thro the merits and meditation of Jesus Christ my Blessed to be made partaker of Eternal Happiness And as to that wordly Estate it hath pleased the Almighty to Bless me with I give Devise and bequeath the same on this Island in the following manner To the Revd Mr Lee £1 1 To Adam Watson 3 3	John Wattall's will was signed, sealed and declared before John Scott and George Alexander, and signed by John Wattall. Edward Jennings of St Helena, mattross, made his will while mindful of how uncertain life was. He commended his soul to God, hoping for eternal happiness through the merits of Christ. He then disposed of his estate on the island as follows. To the Reverend Mr Lee, £1 1s 0d. To Adam Watson, £3 3s 0d. To Isaac Newland, 16s. To John Carr, 2 coloured shirts. To George Freeman, 2 white shirts. To John Cunningham, 2 white shirts. To George Walls, 2 white shirts. To Daniel Bug, 2 white shirts. To Thomas Bott, 2 white shirts. To Avery Freeman, 2 white shirts and 1 coloured. To Jonathan Chandler, 2 pairs of spatterdashes and 2 pairs of shoes.

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		To Evan Newland 16 To John Carr Two coloured Shirts To Geo Freiman Two White Shirts To John Cunningham Two White Shirts To George Walls Two White Shirts To Daniel Bug Two White Shirts Thomas Bett Two White Shirts Avery Freiman 2 white Shirts & one coloured Jonathan Chandler 2 pair Spatterdashes & 2 pair Shoes Bryan Lynch 2 pair Spatterdashes & 2 pr Shoes John Cope 4 pair White Stockings John Sieck 2 pair White Stockings & 4 pair of coloured Stockings Richard Broom One Coat and two pair Breeches Joseph Uffin Six Stocks and two Neckcloths Wm Johnson One Coat and one pair Breeches And	To Bryan Lynch, 2 pairs of spatterdashes and 2 pairs of shoes. To John Coke, 4 pairs of white stockings. To John Seek, 2 pairs of white stockings and 4 pairs of coloured stockings. To Richard Broom, 1 coat and 2 pairs of breeches. To Joseph Uffin, 6 stocks and 2 neckcloths. To William Johnson, 1 coat and 1 pair of breeches. **Interpretations** Jennings's will, distributing his clothing item by item among a long list of named men, shows how a soldier's few possessions were parcelled out in small remembrances among his comrades. Lacking any estate beyond his wardrobe and a little money, Jennings gave each of his fellows a shirt, a pair of stockings or a coat, spreading his modest effects across the company. The document shows the material poverty of a common soldier, whose entire bequest consisted of articles of dress divided among many hands, each man taking some small piece of clothing as his share. The detailed enumeration of shirts, stockings, spatterdashes and breeches records the ordinary wardrobe of a garrison soldier, the plain articles that made up his personal property. Spatterdashes were long gaiters worn to protect the legs, and the shirts, stockings and stocks were the common dress of the ranks, each item modest but worth naming and bequeathing. The list shows the small material world of a soldier's possessions, his clothing his chief property, itemised in the will with a care that reflects how little else he had to leave. The gifts of money to a clergyman and two named men, set apart from the clothing left to his comrades, show a soldier distinguishing between debts or obligations settled in cash and remembrances given in kind. The sums to the Reverend Lee, Adam Watson and Isaac Newland may have discharged debts or acknowledged services, while the clothing went to fellow soldiers as tokens. The distinction shows how even a poor man's will could serve two purposes at once, clearing what he owed in money to some while sharing his few goods among the companions of his service.
110	93	And all the rest residue and remainder of my Estate on the aforesaid Island St Helena I do hereby Give Devise and bequeath unto the abovementioned Persons to be equally divided among them share and Share alike And I do hereby constitute and appoint the aforesaid Adam Watson Sole Executor of this my last Will and Testament likewise revoking and by these presents disannulling all former and other Wills and Testaments by me at any time hereto fore made and declaring this to be my only last Will and Testament In Witness whereof I have to this my last Will and Testament signed my hand and affixed my Seal this twenty virth day of July one thousand seven hundred & Sixty three Signed Sealed and acknowledged by the Testator as and for his last Will (Signed) Edward Jennings and Testament in presence of Us (signed) Fisher Gamble Francis Powell In the Name of God Amen The Second day of April in the Year of our Lord 1762	Edward Jennings gave all the rest of his estate on the island to the persons named above, to be divided equally among them, share and share alike. He named Adam Watson sole executor of the will, cancelling every will he had made before. He set his hand and seal to it on 26 July 1763. It was signed, sealed and acknowledged as the last will of Edward Jennings before Fisher Gamble and Francis Powell. John Holloway, soldier, made his will on 2 April 1765 while very sick and weak in body but sound in mind, mindful of his mortality. He commended his soul to God and directed that his body be buried in the Christian manner. He then disposed of his worldly estate as follows. He gave his friend John Leman, sergeant, whom he also named sole executor of the will, all his pay, arrears of pay and everything else belonging to him [...] **Interpretations** Holloway's leaving of all his pay and arrears to a sergeant of his own service shows once more how a soldier's estate consisted chiefly of the wages owed him and passed to a comrade in the ranks. With his property amounting to his accrued pay and a few possessions, Holloway made a fellow soldier both heir and executor, the sergeant to collect the arrears and take what remained. The will shows the familiar pattern of the garrison, the soldier's assets lying in

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		I John Holloway Soldier being very Sick and weak in body but of perfect Mind and Memory thanks be unto god therefore calling to mind the Mortality of My Body and knowing that it is Appointed for all men once to die do make and Ordaine this My last will and Testament that is to say Principally And first of all I give and recommend My Soul into the hands of god that gave it and for My Body I recommend it to Earth to be buried in a Christian like manner and as touching such worldly Estate whwawith it hath pleased god to bless me with in this Life I give devise and despose of the same in the following Manner and form Item I give to my beloved friend John Lemon Serjeant whom I likewise Constitute Make and ordain My only and Sole Executor of this my last will and Testament all my pay arrears of pay and every thing that is my porperly and	unpaid wages and his heir chosen from among the men he served alongside.
111	94	I do hereby utterly disallow revoke and disanaull all former wills and Testaments by me made at any time ratifying and Confirming this and No other to be My last will and Testament In witness where of I have here unto Sett my hond and Seal the day and year Above written Signed Sealed diclared and published in the presence of us who have hereunto (signed) Jno Holloway sett our Names as Witnesses (signed) William Beckett John Cary John Robinson In the Name of God Amen The thirty first day of March in the yeue of our Lord God 1764 I William Dicks Soldier being very sick and weak of Body but of present mine and Memory thanks be to god for the same and calling to mind the Mortality of the Body and that it is appointed for all men once to die and as to what worldly goods and Effects it has pleased God to endow me with I hereby dispose of as follows Item I give and bequeath to James Shield Soldier all my Cloathing as to Linen and wearing aparil and Chest also my Arrears of pay due to me Except my last Cloathing Which I leave to Captain Beale and I do hereby Acknowledge this my last will and Testament and the within mentioned Person shall be the sole Executor of all I possess as Witness my Hand and Seal the befornamed date Siged and Sealed In the presence of us	John Holloway cancelled every will he had made before and confirmed this as his own. He set his hand and seal to it on the day and year above. It was signed, sealed, declared and published before William Beckett, John Cary and John Robinson, and signed by John Holloway. William Dicks, soldier, made his will on 31 March 1764 while very sick and weak in body but sound in mind, mindful of his mortality. He then disposed of his worldly goods as follows. He gave James Shield, soldier, all his clothing of linen and wearing apparel, together with his chest and the arrears of pay due to him, except his last clothing, which he left to Captain Beale. He named James Shield sole executor of the will. He set his hand and seal to it on the date above. It was signed and sealed before John Robinson, Andrew Sullivan and William Watkins, and marked by William Dicks. **Interpretations** Dicks's exception of his last clothing to Captain Beale, apart from the general gift to a fellow soldier, points to the practice by which a soldier's issued clothing reverted to his commanding officer at death. The last clothing was the uniform supplied by the service, which the captain reclaimed rather than let pass to a private legatee, while Dicks's own linen and apparel went to his comrade. The distinction shows how a soldier's possessions were divided between what was truly his own, free to bequeath, and the service clothing that returned to his officer, the will marking off the one from the other.

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		Test (signed) John Robinson (signed) his Andrew Sullivan William † Dicks William Watkins × mark mark	
112	95	The Last Will and Testament of Capt Wm Harrold being of Sound mind and memory revoking all other Wills made I bequeath to my beloved Mother Jane Harrold of Graves and after my Depths are payd the sum of three Hundred Pounds the Lawfull Money of great Britton in case of her Death the said sum to be payd to James Harrold Surgeon my Dearly beloved Brother after that is Disch by my atturney all that I have to my beloved wife Helena Harrold for my more Desive all my goods and shattles Upon the Island St Helena or on Board the Snow Mercury to be Disposed of by Mr Thos Greintree at publick Auction whom I leave as my Atturney as far as relates to ye Island of St Helena or Snow Mercury aforesaid As Witness my hand and Seal this 29 November 1764 Signd Seald and Delivered (signed) as Witness our Hands Wm Harrold houd Under no Stampd paper to be had (signed) Seth Lofthouse George Jack My Box of and papurs I would have sent whome to my Brother James Harrold aforesaid (signed) Wm Harrold	Captain William Harrold made his will while sound in mind, cancelling every will he had made before. He gave his mother Jane Harrold of Graves, once his debts were paid, the sum of £300 0s 0d in lawful money of Great Britain. Should she die, that sum was to be paid to his brother James Harrold, surgeon. After that was discharged by his attorney, he gave everything else to his wife Helena Harrold. He desired that all his goods and chattels on the island of St Helena, or on board the snow Mercury, be disposed of at public auction by Thomas Greentree, whom he named his attorney so far as related to the island of St Helena or the snow Mercury. He set his hand and seal to it on 29 November 1764. It was signed, sealed and delivered, no stamped paper being available, before Seth Lofthouse and George Jack, and signed by William Harrold. His box of papers he desired be sent home to his brother James Harrold. **Interpretations** Harrold's arrangement giving his island goods to be sold at auction and provision made for his mother and brother in England shows a ship's captain settling affairs that spanned the ocean between the island and home. His property lay partly on St Helena and partly aboard his vessel, to be turned to cash by an island attorney, while the bulk of his estate and the care of his mother and brother rested in England. The will shows how a mariner's estate was divided between the place of his death and his distant home, an island agent appointed to wind up what lay on St Helena while the main provision reached across the sea to his family. The vessel named as a snow marks the particular kind of ship Harrold commanded. A snow was a two-masted merchant vessel, square-rigged and among the larger of the smaller trading craft, and the naming of the Mercury identifies the ship whose goods formed part of the captain's estate. The detail records the maritime setting of the will, the captain's property including goods aboard his own command, the snow one of the working vessels that plied the trade routes on which St Helena stood as a station. The instruction to send his box of papers home to his surgeon brother shows a testator concerned to place his personal and business documents in trusted hands after his death. Harrold's papers, whatever they contained of accounts, correspondence or title, were to go to his brother James in England rather than remain on the island. The provision shows the care of a man of affairs to secure his private records, the box of papers directed homeward to family who could deal with whatever business or memory they held, kept out of strange hands on the island where he died.
113	96	In the Name of God Amen I Thomas Hall Captain of the Artillery Upon the Island St Helena being of Sound and Disposing mind and memory do hereby make this my last Will and Testament First and Principally I Comend My soul into the Hands of Almighty God hoping for Remission of All My Sins through the merits of Jesus Christ my Blessed Saviour and Redeemer and my Body to the Earth when it shall Please God to call me. and as for such Worldly Estates and Effects which I shall be Possessed of or Intitled Unto. at	Thomas Hall, a captain of the artillery on the island of St Helena, made his last will while sound in mind and memory. He committed his soul to Almighty God, hoping for the forgiveness of all his sins through the merits of Jesus Christ, his saviour and redeemer, and directed that his body be buried in the earth when God should call him. As for whatever worldly estate and effects he should own or be entitled to at the time of his death, he gave and bequeathed them as follows. He left to his wife Mary Hall all the money, goods and other effects he should own at that time or at any time afterwards. He named and appointed his wife Mary Hall sole executrix of the will, and he revoked and made void all other and former wills he had previously made. He declared this

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		the Time of my Decease I give and Bequeath the same as followeth (that is to say Unto my wife Mary Hall all such Money Goods or other Effects which I shall be Possessed of at This time or at any time hereafter and I do hereby Nominate Constitute and Appoint my above said Wife mary Hall Sole Executrix of this my last Will and Testament and do hereby revoking and making Void all other and former Wills by me heretofore Made and do Declare this to be my Last Will and Testament In Witness whereof I have set hereunto set my hand and Seal this Twelfth Day of December in the Year of our Lord one Thousand Seven Hundred and sixty three and In the fourth Year of the Reign of our Soveraign Lord George the Third by grace of God of great Britain France and Ireland King Defender of the faith Thomas Hall signed sealed Published and Declared by the said Thomas Hall as and for his last Will and Testament in the Presence of Us. who have hereunto Subscribed our Names as Witness in the Presence of the said Testator Witnesses signed Thomas Hall John Howard Peter Fea	to be his last will and testament, and set his hand and seal to it on 12 December 1763, in the fourth year of the reign of King George the Third of Great Britain, France and Ireland, defender of the faith. Thomas Hall signed, sealed, published and declared this as his last will in the presence of the witnesses, who subscribed their names in his presence. The document was signed by Thomas Hall, and witnessed by John Howard and Peter [...]. **Interpretations** An executrix was a woman appointed to carry out the terms of a will, gathering in the estate, settling any debts and distributing what remained. By naming Mary Hall as sole executrix as well as sole beneficiary, Thomas Hall placed the entire administration of his estate in his wife's hands, without the intermediary of a male executor that many testators of the period preferred to appoint alongside or instead of a widow. The claim to be sovereign of France was a hollow formula carried in the English and later British royal style since the fourteenth-century wars with France, long after any real English territory there had been lost. Its appearance in a colonial will made on a remote South Atlantic island shows how far such fixed legal phrasing travelled unchanged from the metropolitan chancery.
114	97	In the Name of God Amen I William More of the Island of St Helena being of sound and Perfect Mind and Memory Prase be therefore given to Almighty God do make and Ordain This present Last Will and Testament. In manner and form following that is to say first and Principally I commend my Soul into the Hands of Almighty God hoping thro the Meritts Death and Passion of our Saviour Jesus Christ to have full and free Pardon and for givness of all my sins and to Inherit everlasting Lasting life. And my Body I commit to the Earth to be Buried at the discretion of my Executors hereafter mentioned And also the disposition of All such Temporal Estates as it hath pleased all Mighty God to bestow upon me. I give and dispose thereof as followeth First I will that my Debts and funeral Charges shall be Paid and Discharged Item I give unto Elizabeth More my well beloved Wife her Heirs Administrators or Assigns All and Singular my Effects Houshold Furniture and every other Moveable to me belonging contained within my House excepting only six Silver Spoons which I give unto my Daughter mary now in England Item I give unto the said Elizabeth my well beloved Wife her heirs &c. all my slaves Males and Females Item I give unto the sd Elizabeth my well beloved wife her Heirs &c. My House and Garden and all its Appurtenances Situated in James's Valley On the said Island of St Helena	William More of the island of St Helena, sound in mind and memory and giving thanks to Almighty God for it, made and ordained his present last will. First and principally he committed his soul into the hands of Almighty God, hoping through the death and passion of his saviour Jesus Christ to receive full and free pardon and forgiveness of all his sins, and to inherit everlasting life. He committed his body to the earth, to be buried at the discretion of his executors named below. As for the disposal of all the worldly estate it had pleased Almighty God to bestow upon him, he gave and disposed of it as follows. First, he directed that his debts and funeral charges be paid and discharged. He gave to Elizabeth More, his wife, and to her heirs, administrators or assigns, all his effects, household furniture and every other movable belonging to him kept within his house, except six silver spoons, which he gave to his daughter Mary, then in England. He gave to his wife Elizabeth, and to her heirs, all his slaves, both male and female. He gave to his wife Elizabeth, and to her heirs, his house and garden and all its appurtenances, situated in James's Valley on the island of St Helena. **Interpretations** Appurtenances were the rights, buildings and lesser structures attached to a property and passing with it, such as outbuildings, wells, yards or rights of way. Naming them in the gift of the house and garden ensured that everything legally bound up with the property passed to Elizabeth More together with the land itself, leaving no ancillary right to be disputed later. The separation of the six silver spoons from the rest of the household movables shows the deliberate reservation of a small but portable item of value for a daughter living at a distance in England. Silver was among the most liquid forms of domestic wealth, easily carried and readily sold or pledged, which made

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			such a bequest a practical way of transferring value across the ocean to an heir the testator could not otherwise easily provide for.
115	98	Reserving always a Moity of the Rents or profits arizing from the sd House Which one half or Moity I give unto my Daughter Mary to be paid to her Annually or as my Executors hereafter named shall think fit All the Rest and Residue of my Estate Goods and Chattles whatsoever I give and bequeath unto the sd Elizabeth my well beloved Wife Executrix of This my Last Will and Testament I hereby also Nominate and appoint my Loveing and Trusty Friends Rodh Merchant and Ben Seale both of This Island Joint Executors along with sd Elizabeth my well beloved Wife to this my last Will and Testament And I Do hereby revoke, annuall and make Void all former wills by me heretofore made In Witness whereof I the sd William Moore to this my last Will and Testamement being contain'd in one Sheet of paper have set my Hand and Seale this Sixth Day of September in the Year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred & Sixty four In Presence of John Seale signed William Moore Philip Mahony In the Name of God Amen I Matthew Wraill of the Island St Helena being weak of Body but of Sound Mind and Memory [blessed be God] do this Seventh Day of June in the fifth Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord George the third and in the Year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and Sixty five make and publish this my Last Will and Testament in Manner and form following [that is to say] Imprimis I recommend my Soul into the Hands of Almighty	William More reserved a half share of the rents or profits arising from the house, and gave that half to his daughter Mary, to be paid to her yearly or as his executors named below should think fit. All the rest and residue of his estate, goods and chattels whatever, he gave and bequeathed to his wife Elizabeth, whom he appointed executrix of his will. He also named and appointed his loving and trusted friends Robert Merchant and Ben Seale, both of the island, joint executors along with his wife Elizabeth. He revoked and made void all former wills he had previously made. In witness of this, William More, his will being contained on one sheet of paper, set his hand and seal to it on 6 September 1764. The document was signed by William More in the presence of John Seale and Philip Mahony. Matthew [Wratill], of the island of St Helena, weak in body but sound in mind and memory and giving thanks to God, made and published his last will on 7 June 1765, in the fifth year of the reign of King George the Third. First, he committed his soul into the hands of Almighty God. **Interpretations** The appointment of two male friends as joint executors alongside the widow qualified the trust placed in Elizabeth More. Where the earlier clauses gave her the estate and named her executrix, this later addition set two men of the island beside her in administering it, a common arrangement that balanced a widow's control against the practical and legal weight that male executors carried in settling debts, collecting rents and defending the estate. Reserving half the rental income of the house for the daughter Mary, rather than a fixed cash legacy, tied her provision to the continuing performance of the property. A share of rents rose and fell with the tenancy and the condition of the house, giving Mary an ongoing stake in the estate that Elizabeth held, rather than a one-time sum settled and closed at probate.
116	99	Almighty God who gave it; And my Body to the Earth from whence it came in Hopes of a Joyful Ressurection, through the Merits of my Saviour Jesus Christ; And as for that Wordly Estate wherewith it has pleased God to Bless me, I dispose thereof as follows. First, I will that my Debts and Funeral Charges shall be paid and discharged. Item, I give unto my Loving Wife, Martha Bazett all and Singular the Estate both Real and personal, whatsoever and wheresoever, whereof I shall die Seized in Possession, Reversion or Remainder for her, her Heirs and Assigns to have and enjoy forever; And I make and Ordain her my said Wife Sole Executrix of this my Will, and my Loving Brother and good Friend Thomas Bazett Overseer thereof, to take Care and see the same performed according to my true Intent and Meaning, Hereby revoking,	Matthew Bazett committed his soul to Almighty God, who gave it, and his body to the earth from which it came, hoping for a joyful resurrection through the merits of his saviour Jesus Christ. As for the worldly estate it had pleased God to bless him with, he disposed of it as follows. First, he directed that his debts and funeral charges be paid and discharged. He gave to his wife Martha Bazett all his estate, both real and personal, wherever it lay and of whatever kind, that he should own in possession, reversion or remainder, to have and enjoy forever, to her and her heirs and assigns. He named his wife executrix of the will, and his brother and good friend Thomas Bazett overseer, to take care and see the will carried out according to his true meaning. He revoked and made void all former wills he had previously made. In witness of this, Matthew Bazett set his hand and seal to his will on the day and year written above. The document was signed, sealed and delivered by Matthew Bazett as his last will in the presence of Philip Mahony and Thomas Harper, who witnessed the signing and sealing.

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		annulling and making Void all former Wills and Testaments by me heretofore made In Witness whereof I the said Matthew Bazett have to This my Last Will and Testament set my Hand and Seal, the Day and Year above written Signed, Sealed and Delivered by the Testator, as and for his last Will and Testament, in the Presence of us, who were present at the signing signed and Sealing thereof Matthew Bazett signed Phill Mahony Thomas Harper In the name of God Amen I Francis Warringham the Younger of the Island St Helena Secretary to the Honorable the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies being in a good and perfect State of health and of sound and disposing Mind Memory and understanding but considering the Uncertainty of this life do hereby make publish and declare this my last Will and Testament in manner and form following that is to say First I hereby Will and desire that all my Just Debts funeral Expences and the several Legacyes and requests by me herein after	Francis Waringham the younger, of the island of St Helena and secretary to the Honourable United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies, being in good and perfect health and of sound and disposing mind, memory and understanding, and considering the uncertainty of this life, made and published his last will as follows. First, he directed that all his just debts, funeral expenses and the several legacies and bequests made by him below [...]. **Interpretations** Reversion and remainder were future interests in property. A reversion was the right of an owner to have land return to him after a lesser interest, such as a lease or life estate, had ended, while a remainder was a future interest granted to a third party to take effect once a prior interest expired. By naming these alongside property held in possession, Matthew Bazett ensured that any right he held to land not yet in his hands, as well as land he actually occupied, passed to his wife and her heirs. The distinction between an executrix and an overseer set two different roles beside each other. The executrix, Martha Bazett, held the legal power and duty to administer the estate, while the overseer, Thomas Bazett, was appointed to supervise and support that administration without displacing her authority, a customary means of placing a trusted male relative in a watching role over a widow's handling of the estate. The office of secretary to the East India Company at St Helena marked Francis Waringham as a senior figure in the island's administration. The Company governed St Helena directly as a chartered commercial body rather than as a crown colony, and its secretary handled the correspondence, records and formal business of the island's government, a post carrying both standing and access to the workings of Company authority.
117	100	after given and bequeathed shall be respectively paid & discharged by my Executors herein after named out of my Personal Estate as soon as conveniently can be after my Decease And the better to enable them so to do I hereby direct and appoint they my said Executors shall and do within Six Months next after my decease sell and dispose of by publick Auction All or any part of my said Personal Estate which shall by them be thought proper to be disposed of for the payment of such Debts Legacys & Expences Item I hereby give and bequeath unto Elizabeth the Daughter of Lieutenant Onesiphorus Beale to whom I am Godfather the Sum of Fifty pounds to be paid to and remain in the hands of the said Lieutenant Onesiphorus Beale for her use untill she the said Elizabeth shall attain the age of twenty one years or be married which shall first happen, and then the same to be paid to her or her husband if married Item I also hereby give and bequeath unto my friend the said Lieutenant Onesiphorus Beale and to my Kinsman Jonathan Boseton the Sum of Ten pounds each for mourning Item After such payments shall be made by my said Executors as	Francis Waringham directed that his debts, legacies and expenses be paid and discharged by his executors out of his personal estate as soon as convenient after his death. To enable them to do so, he directed his executors to sell by public auction, within six months after his death, all or any part of his personal estate they thought proper, for the payment of those debts, legacies and expenses. He gave to Elizabeth, the daughter of Lieutenant Onesiphorus Beale and his own goddaughter, the sum of £50 0s 0d, to be paid to and held by Lieutenant Onesiphorus Beale for her use until she reached the age of twenty-one years or married, whichever came first, and then to be paid to her, or to her husband if she was married. He gave to his friend Lieutenant Onesiphorus Beale, and to his kinsman Jonathan Boston, the sum of £10 0s 0d each for mourning. After those payments were made, he gave all the rest, residue and remainder of his real and personal estate, of whatever kind, that he should own or be entitled to at the time of his death, to his beloved nephew and godson Edwin Alcock, to be paid when Edwin reached the age of twenty-one years. This gift excepted the sum of £260 0s 0d, which he was entitled to out of the estate of the late Richard Goodwin and which he disposed of separately below. Until his nephew Edwin Alcock reached the age of twenty-one, he directed that his executors, whom he also appointed trustees and overseers of the will, should hold and manage all his real estate and [...]. **Interpretations** The device of holding a child's legacy in the hands of a named adult until majority or marriage was a standard safeguard against a minor controlling

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		aforesaid then I do hereby give Devise and bequeath All the rest residue and remainder of my real and personal Estate whatsoever and wheresoever and of what nature or kind soever the same may be or consist of which I shall be possessed of or interested in or intitled to at the time of my Decease [except the Sum of two hundred and Sixty pounds which I am intitled to out of the Estate of the late Richard Goodwin deceased, which I dispose of as herein after by this my Will is directed] unto my beloved Nephew and Godson Edwin Alcock as soon as he shall attain the Age of twenty one years And untill he my said Nephew Edwin Alcock shall attain the said Age I do hereby Will Order and direct that my said Executors, whom I also hereby appoint Trustees and Overseers of this my said Will shall & do from and after my decease Sett and dispose of all & Singular my real Estate and also of my Leasehold	money before reaching an age the testator judged responsible. By placing Elizabeth Beale's £50 0s 0d with her own father until she turned twenty-one or married, Francis Waringham kept the capital intact and under trusted control, while fixing the two life events at which the law and custom treated a woman as ready to receive property in her own right. Mourning legacies were small cash sums left to friends and relatives to cover the cost of mourning clothes, rings or other tokens worn after a death. The £10 0s 0d each given to Onesiphorus Beale and Jonathan Boston followed this custom, marking them as figures close enough to the testator to be drawn formally into the public mourning that followed his death. The separate treatment of the £260 0s 0d owed to Waringham from Richard Goodwin's estate shows the careful handling of a debt not yet collected. Rather than folding an uncertain sum into the general residue, he set it apart as a distinct entitlement to be disposed of under its own terms, reflecting the practical difficulty of bequeathing money still tied up in another deceased person's estate and dependent on that estate being wound up.
118	101	Leasehold Estate Except such part thereof as my said Executors and Trustees shall or may be obliged to sell for payment of my Debts and Legacies as aforesaid for the best yearly Rent that can be got for the same, but not contrary to or in any manner to frustrate or make Void any Lease of the said premisses by me at any time Executed and which shall be then still subsisting Yet nevertheless to inspect into and see that the payments and Covenants in such Lease be duly paid and performed And on Default in such payments or nonperformance of the Covenants in such Lease to take and prosecute all such legal Methods for Ejecting the Lessees therein and to gain possession of the said Demised premisses as I my self might have done if living And they my said Executors and Trustees or the Survivors or Survivor of them or the Executors or Administrs of such Survivor shall and do from and after my decease apply and dispose of all and singular the Rents and produce of the said Real and Leasehold Estates for and towards the Maintenance and Education of the said Edwin Alcock in England in the best manner that they or he can And when my said Nephew and Godson Edwin Alcock shall have attained his said Age of twenty one Years then I do hereby Will Order and direct they my said Executors & Trustees or the Survivors or Survivor of them or the Executors or Administrators of such Survivor shall and do put the said Edwin Alcock into possession of the said real and Leasehold Estates and the remaining part of the said personal Estate if any) To hold the same with the Appurtenances unto and to the only use of him the said Edwin Alcock	Francis Waringham directed that his executors and trustees should manage his leasehold estate, except any part they were obliged to sell for the payment of his debts and legacies, for the best yearly rent that could be obtained. He required them not to frustrate or void any lease of the premises then still running, but to inspect it and see that the payments and covenants in the lease were duly met. On any default in those payments or covenants, he empowered them to take all lawful steps to eject the lessees and recover possession of the premises, as he himself might have done if living. He directed his executors and trustees, and the survivors of them, to apply the rents and produce of his real and leasehold estates towards the maintenance and education of Edwin Alcock in England, in the best manner they could. When his nephew and godson Edwin Alcock reached the age of twenty-one years, he directed his executors and trustees, and the survivors of them, to put Edwin Alcock into possession of the real and leasehold estates and any remaining part of the personal estate. Edwin Alcock was to hold these, with their appurtenances, to his own use, and to his heirs, executors, administrators and assigns forever. He provided nevertheless that during his minority Edwin Alcock should behave well and dutifully towards his parents and masters, as a dutiful child ought. Should Edwin Alcock instead become profligate and undutiful, or should he die before reaching the age of twenty-one years, then in either case he directed that the gift to his nephew Edwin Alcock [...]. **Interpretations** The power granted to the executors to eject a defaulting lessee and recover the property gave them the full standing of the owner in enforcing the terms of a lease. This mattered because a leasehold estate produced income only so long as the tenant paid the rent and kept the covenants, so the trustees needed the legal authority to pursue eviction and take back possession, protecting the value of the estate that funded Edwin Alcock's upbringing. The condition that Edwin Alcock behave well and not become profligate, on pain of losing his inheritance, turned the bequest into an instrument of control over the heir's conduct during his minority.

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		his heirs Executors Administrators and assigns respectively for ever Provided always nevertheless and my Will intent and meaning is that the said Edwin Alcock during his Minority shall and do well and dutifully behave himself towards his Parents and Masters as a dutifull Child ought to do But in case the said Edwin Alcock shall not so behave himself but become profligate and undutifull, or if he shall die before he Attaines the said Age of twenty one Years, then and in either of the said Cases I do hereby Will order and direct that the said Devise to him my said Nephew Edwin Alcock as aforesaid shall	By making the gift conditional on dutiful behaviour, Francis Waringham reached beyond his own death to shape the boy's character and discipline, using the estate as a lever to enforce good conduct at an age when the heir could not yet claim the property outright. Directing that a St Helena estate's income fund the nephew's maintenance and education in England reflected a common colonial practice of sending or keeping children of the Company's servants in Britain for their upbringing. The island offered limited schooling and a small European population, so families with means routinely arranged for children to be raised and educated in England, drawing on colonial property and income to pay for it across the distance.
119	102	shall cease determine and be void to all Intents and purposes as if no such Devise had been by me made And that all my said real and Leasehold Estates and such remaining part of my said personal Estate (if any) shall from thenceforth revert be and remain to & for the only use and behoof of the right heirs of me the said Francis Wrangham for ever and to or for no other use intent or purpose whatsoever Item Whereas I am intitled to the Sum of two hundred and Sixty pounds out of the Estate of the late Richard Goodwin deceased in the right of Margaret my late Wife, his Daughter, which Sum will become payable to me immediately upon the Decease of Mrs Sarah Clark the Wife of Lieutenant John Clark NOW of the great Esteem and Value I have for Simon the son of the late Joseph Whaley deceased my Godson (who is now Apprentice to John Robinson Carpenter) I hereby give and bequeath unto him the said Simon Whaley the Sum of Fifty pounds part of the said two hundred and Sixty pounds when the same shall become Due in order to assist him the said Simon Whaley to carry on his Trade of a Carpenter And I also hereby give and bequeath unto Margaret the Daughter of the late Onesiphorus Gurling deceased to whom I am also Godfather the sum of ten pounds other part of the said two hundred and Sixty pounds also when the same shall become Due And whereas their will then remain out of the said Money due to me from the Estate of the said late Richard Goodwin deceased the Sum of two hundred pounds NOW I do hereby give and bequeath the same as follows that is to say To my two Nephews David Alcock and Edwin Alcock the Sum of One hundred pounds each. the same to be paid them respectively at the Age of twenty one Years And in Case the said Sum of two hundred and Sixty pounds shall become due and payable before either of my said Nephews shall attain the said Age then I do	Francis Waringham directed that, in either of those cases, the gift to his nephew Edwin Alcock should cease and be void, as if he had never made it. All his real and leasehold estates, and any remaining part of his personal estate, should then revert to and remain with his own right heirs forever, and to no other use whatever. He was entitled to the sum of £260 0s 0d out of the estate of the late Richard Goodwin, in right of his late wife Margaret, Goodwin's daughter, which sum would become payable to him immediately upon the death of Sarah Clark, wife of Lieutenant John Clark. Out of the great esteem he held for Simon, the son of the late Joseph Whaley and his godson, then apprenticed to John Robinson, carpenter, he gave to Simon Whaley the sum of £50 0s 0d, part of the £260 0s 0d, when it should become due, to help him carry on his trade as a carpenter. He gave to Margaret, daughter of the late Onesiphorus Gurling and also his goddaughter, the sum of £10 0s 0d, another part of the £260 0s 0d, also when it should become due. As for the £200 0s 0d then remaining out of the money due from Richard Goodwin's estate, he gave it as follows. To his two nephews David Alcock and Edwin Alcock he gave the sum of £100 0s 0d each, to be paid to them at the age of twenty-one years. Should the £260 0s 0d become due and payable before either nephew reached that age, he directed his executors and trustees, and the survivors of them, to call in and receive the money as soon as it became due, and after they [...]. **Interpretations** The entitlement to £260 0s 0d in right of a deceased wife shows how a widower could inherit a claim to money through his late spouse's family. Margaret Waringham, as Richard Goodwin's daughter, held a share in her father's estate, and on her death that right passed to her husband, who could then dispose of it by his own will, carrying the value across two marriages and two deaths before it reached its final recipients. The gift to Simon Whaley expressly to help him carry on his trade as a carpenter tied a legacy directly to the economic advancement of a young tradesman. Setting up in a craft required tools, materials and sometimes the means to complete an apprenticeship or establish a workshop, and a cash sum of £50 0s 0d timed to arrive as he built his trade gave the godson practical support at the point where capital most shaped a craftsman's prospects. The contingency that the £260 0s 0d might fall due before the nephews came of age reveals the careful sequencing of a legacy dependent on another person's death. Because the money became payable only when Sarah Clark died, its timing was wholly

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		hereby Will Order & Direct that my said Executors and Trustees or the Survivors or Survivor of them or the Executors or Administrs of such Survivor shall and do as soon as the said Money becomes due and payable call in and Receive the same And after they have	uncertain, and the will provided for the executors to receive and hold it whenever that happened, ensuring the fund was secured and managed rather than left exposed until the young beneficiaries were old enough to take it.
120	103	have so paid or secured to be paid thereout the said two Legacies of Fifty pounds and ten pounds then I do hereby further Will Order and direct that they my said Executors and Trustees or the Survivors or Survivor of them or the Executors or Administrators of such Survivor shall and do place the said remaining Sum of two hundred pounds out at Interest for the best advantage that can be made thereof And that the Interest arising therefrom together with the said respective Legacies of one hundred pounds each shall be by them paid to the said David and Edwin Alcock respectively as they shall attain the age of Twenty one years the said Interest to be Divided between them equally share and share alike till the Elder of them attain his said Age Item My Will and mind is and I do hereby Order and direct that, in case any of the said Legatees in this my Will named shall in the life time of the said Edwin Alcock happen to die before their his or her Legacys or Legacy become payable that then the respective Legacys or Legacy of them him or her so dying shall revert to and be received by the said Edwin Alcock for his own use But if the said Edwin Alcock shall happen to have become profligate and undutifull, or be dead, then the said several Legacys hereby by me bequeathed to him the said Edwin Alcock and such others as shall so die shall revert back and come to the right heirs of me the said Francis Wrangham Item Whereas my two Slave Women Meg and Sukey are by reason of their age not of much Service So out of compassion to them I hereby Will and Desire that if they be living at my decease they may both have their freedom and not be Sold to any Person if the Governor and Council for the time being please to Dispence therewith But if by reason of any Bye Law made in the said Island the said Governor and Council do not think proper that my said two Slave Women continue free in the said Island then I do hereby Order and direct that my said two Nephews David and Edwin Alcock shall pay the Sum of ten pounds each to the Commander or Commanders of some Ship or Ships to carry my said two	Francis Waringham directed that, once the two legacies of £50 0s 0d and £10 0s 0d had been paid or secured out of the fund, his executors and trustees, and the survivors of them, should place the remaining £200 0s 0d out at interest for the best advantage that could be made of it. He directed that this interest, together with the two legacies of £100 0s 0d each, be paid to David Alcock and Edwin Alcock as they each reached the age of twenty-one years. Until then the interest was to be divided equally between them, share and share alike, until the elder of the two reached that age. He directed that, should any of the beneficiaries named in his will die during Edwin Alcock's lifetime before their legacy became payable, that legacy should revert to and be received by Edwin Alcock for his own use. But should Edwin Alcock himself become profligate and undutiful, or die, then the several legacies given to him, and those of any others who so died, should revert to the right heirs of Francis Waringham. His two slave women Meg and Sukey were, on account of their age, of little service, and out of compassion for them he directed that, if they were living at his death, they should both have their freedom and not be sold to anyone, if the Governor and Council of the time were willing to allow it. Should the Governor and Council, by reason of any bylaw made on the island, not think it proper that his two slave women continue free on the island, then he directed that his two nephews David and Edwin Alcock pay the sum of £10 0s 0d each to the commander of some ship or ships, to carry his two [...]. **Interpretations** Placing the residual £200 0s 0d out at interest turned an idle capital sum into a source of income for the two nephews during their minority. Lending money at interest was the standard means of making a legacy productive while the beneficiaries waited to come of age, so that the fund both preserved its principal and generated a yield that could be split between the boys until the elder reached twenty-one. The provision for Meg and Sukey exposes the legal reality that a slaveholder's wish to free his slaves was subject to the island's governing authority. Francis Waringham could direct their freedom only conditionally, because the Governor and Council held power to regulate manumission by bylaw, and any local rule against freed slaves remaining on St Helena could override a testator's compassion, leaving removal from the island as the fallback. The alternative of paying ship commanders to carry the two women away reveals how manumission could be entangled with forced removal from the colony. Where an island administration refused to let freed slaves stay, freedom came at the price of transportation elsewhere, so the will set aside money to buy their passage off St Helena rather than let the bar on their remaining defeat the grant of liberty altogether. **Speculations** Francis Waringham chose to make the freedom of Meg and Sukey conditional and to fund their removal, rather than simply granting their liberty

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			outright as his compassion first prompted. The passage shows the default course, an unqualified grant of freedom, being passed over because he anticipated that a bylaw of the Governor and Council might forbid freed slaves from remaining on the island. Rather than leave the bequest to fail against such a rule, he built in the fallback of paid passage on an outgoing ship, bending his own wish to the known limits of Company authority so that some form of release would take effect whichever way the Council ruled.
121	104	two Slaves off the Island to such place or places as they shall respectively direct they not being capable of service here Lastly I do hereby nominate Constitute and appoint my said friend Lieutent Onesiphorus Beale and my Kinsman Jonathan Doveton said Joint Executors and also Trustees and Overseers of this my last Will and Testament desiring they will see the same duly performed And I do hereby revoke and make Void all former and other Will and Wills by me at any time heretofore made and Executed and declare this only to be my last Will and Testament In Witness whereof I the said Francis Wrangham the Younger to this my said last Will and Testament containing five Sides of Paper to the first four of which have set my hand and to the fifth my hand and Seal this Twenty first Day of November in the Year of our Lord One thousand Seven hundred and Fifty Eight Signed Sealed published and Declared by the said Testator Francis Wrangham the Younger as his last Will and Testament Sig in the presence of us who at his request and F Wrangham in his presence have subscribed our names as Witnesses signed John Robinson Samuel Austin E Dunn Be it known to all Men by these Presents that Whereas I Francis Wrangham of the Island St Helena have made and declared my Last Will and Testament in Writing bearing date the twenty first day of November in the Year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and fifty eight, I the said Francis Wrangham do by this Present Codicil confirm and ratify my said last Will and Testament in every part thereof, saving only	Francis Waringham directed that his two nephews pay for the passage of the two slaves off the island to whatever place or places the nephews should direct, since the women were no longer capable of service there. Lastly, he named and appointed his friend Lieutenant Onesiphorus Beale and his kinsman Jonathan Boston joint executors, and also trustees and overseers of his will, desiring that they see it duly carried out. He revoked and made void all former and other wills he had at any time previously made, and declared this alone to be his last will. In witness of this, Francis Waringham the younger, his will containing five sides of paper, set his hand to the first four and his hand and seal to the fifth, on 21 November 1758. The will was signed, sealed, published and declared by Francis Waringham the younger as his last will in the presence of the witnesses, who at his request and in his presence subscribed their names. The document was signed by Francis Waringham, and witnessed by John Robinson, Samuel Austin and E. Dunn. Francis Waringham of the island of St Helena, having made and declared his last will in writing dated 21 November 1758, by this present codicil confirmed and ratified that will in every part, saving only [...]. **Interpretations** A codicil was a supplementary document that altered or added to an existing will without replacing it, taking effect as part of the original testament. By confirming the will of 21 November 1758 in every part except what the codicil went on to change, Francis Waringham kept the whole structure of his earlier dispositions intact while adjusting particular provisions, avoiding the need to redraft and re-execute the entire will. The careful recital that the will covered five sides of paper, with the testator signing the first four and signing and sealing the fifth, was a safeguard against later substitution or forgery of pages. Marking every sheet of a multi-page will was a recognised precaution that bound the document together as a single instrument and made it difficult for any leaf to be removed or replaced after execution.
122	105	only in a Bequest of fifty Pounds by me left in my said Will and Testament to Elizabeth the Daughter of the late Onesiphorus Beale deceased, which Said Bequest of fifty Pounds I from certain Reasons me thereunto Moving do by this my Present Codicil retrench and reduce to the Sum of twenty five Pounds to be paid at the Time as mentioned in my sd Will and Testament Item I do hereby retrench and reduce a Bequest of fifty Pounds by me left to	Francis Waringham changed only the legacy of £50 0s 0d he had left in his will to Elizabeth, daughter of the late Onesiphorus Beale. For certain reasons moving him to it, he cut and reduced that bequest to £25 0s 0d, to be paid at the time named in his will. He cut and reduced the legacy of £50 0s 0d he had left to Simon, son of Joseph Whaley and his godson, then apprenticed to John Robinson, to £10 0s 0d. He gave to his brother-in-law Matthew Purling the sum of £2 0s 0d to buy him a mourning ring. He gave to his sister Frances the sum of £2 0s 0d. He

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		Simon the Son of Joseph Whaley my Godson then Apprentice to John Robinson to the Sum of ten Pounds I give and bequeath to my well beloved Brother in Law Matthew Purling the sum of two Pounds to buy him a Mourning Ring I give to my well beloved Sister Frances the sum of two Pounds I give to my Sister Margaret the Sum of two Pounds Item I give to My Nephew Imbriel Steward the Sum of two Pounds and I give to my Nephew Charles Steward the Sum of two Pounds Item I give to my Sister in Law Elizabeth Wife of my Brother William Wrangham the Sum of two Pounds and the like Sum of two Pounds I give to my Niece Emiley Daughter of my sd Brother William Wrangham Item I give and bequeath unto my Nieces Margaret & Caroline Daughters of my sd Brother in Law Matthew Purling the sum of four Pounds to be divided among them for the Purchase of Mourning Rings Likewise I give the Sum of two pounds a piece to each of my Nephews Charles John and George sons of my said Brother in Law Matthew Purling for the like occasion Item I further bequeath unto my Nephew David Alcock the Sum of twenty five Pounds and also give unto my Friend Lieutenant Thomas Lambert the Sum of two Pounds to buy him a Mourning Ring Item I give my Well beloved Brother William Wrangham hereafter mentioned the Sum of twelve pounds As my trusty and well beloved Friend Onesiphorus Beale whom I have appointed and ordained Joint Executor to my last Will and Testament is since dead I hereby declare Nominate constitute and appoint in the Room of the said Onesiphorus Beale deceased, My well beloved Brother William Wrangham Joint Executor to my Kinsman Jonathan Doveton as Trustee and Overseer of my said	gave to his sister Margaret the sum of £2 0s 0d. He gave to his nephew Ambrose Steward the sum of £2 0s 0d, and to his nephew Charles Steward the sum of £2 0s 0d. He gave to his sister-in-law Elizabeth, wife of his brother William Waringham, the sum of £2 0s 0d, and the like sum of £2 0s 0d to his niece Emily, daughter of his brother William Waringham. He gave to his nieces Margaret and Caroline, daughters of his brother-in-law Matthew Purling, the sum of £4 0s 0d, to be divided between them for the purchase of mourning rings. He gave the sum of £2 0s 0d each to his nephews Charles, John and George, sons of his brother-in-law Matthew Purling, for the like occasion. He further gave to his nephew David Alcock the sum of £25 0s 0d, and gave to his friend Lieutenant Thomas Lambert the sum of £2 0s 0d to buy him a mourning ring. He gave to his beloved brother William Waringham, named below, the sum of £12 0s 0d. His trusted and beloved friend Onesiphorus Beale, whom he had appointed joint executor of his will, had since died, so he declared and appointed in Beale's place his beloved brother William Waringham as joint executor with his kinsman Jonathan Boston, as trustee and overseer of his [...]. **Interpretations** The reduction of the two largest child legacies, from £50 0s 0d to £25 0s 0d for Elizabeth Beale and from £50 0s 0d to £10 0s 0d for Simon Whaley, freed up capital that the codicil then spread across a wide circle of siblings, in-laws, nephews and nieces in small mourning gifts. This redistribution shows a testator revisiting his estate to broaden the number of relatives formally remembered, trading two substantial provisions for many modest tokens that bound a larger family group into his death. The replacement of the deceased executor Onesiphorus Beale with the testator's brother reflects the practical necessity of keeping a full slate of executors as circumstances changed. An executor named in a will was of no use if he predeceased the testator, so the codicil served to substitute a living and trusted relative, ensuring the administration of the estate would not be left short-handed when the will took effect. The clustering of £2 0s 0d gifts explicitly for mourning rings illustrates the eighteenth-century custom of memorial jewellery. Mourning rings were commissioned after a death and worn by relatives and close friends in remembrance, often engraved with the deceased's name and dates, and a small fixed legacy was the usual means by which a testator paid for these tokens to be made and distributed among those he wished to be remembered by.
123	106	said Last Will & Testament to act Jointly with the said Jonathan in the full and Perfect Execution thereof, And my Will and meaning is, that this Codicil be, and be adjudged to be Part & Parcel of my said last Will & Testament And that all Things herein Contained be faithfully performed and as fully and Amply in every Respect as if the same were so Set down in my said last Will and Testament, In Witness whereof I the said Francis Wrangham to this my Codicil have Set my hand & Seal this eleventh Day of December in the Year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred & Sixty four In presence of signed Jno Pritchard F Wrangham Phillp Mahony	Francis Waringham directed that his brother William act jointly with Jonathan Boston in the full execution of the will. He declared that this codicil should be taken as part of his last will, and that everything in it be as faithfully carried out as if set down in the will itself. In witness of this, Francis Waringham set his hand and seal to the codicil on 11 December 1764. The document was signed by Francis Waringham in the presence of John Pritchard and Philip Mahony. Thomas Mudge, a soldier in the service of the Honourable United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies, sound in mind and memory but weak in body, made and ordained his last will. First, he committed his soul to Almighty God, who gave it, and directed that his body be decently buried at the discretion of his commanders. As for his worldly effects, he gave and bequeathed them to his beloved cousin Thomas Waringham, giving him full power to receive all debts due to him

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		In the Name of God Amen I Thomas Mudge Soldier in the Service of the Honourable the United Company of Merchants of England Trading to the East Indies being of sound Mind and memory blessed be God tho weak of Body, do make Ordain this my last Will and Testament, in Manner and Form following viz. In the first Place I recommend my Soul unto Almighty God that gave it, and my Body to be decently Buried at the direction of my Commanders As touching my worldly affects I will and bequeath them unto my true & well beloved Cousin Thomas Wrangham my sole Executor giving him full Power to receive all Debts as may be Due unto me at the time of my Decease, And I do hereby revoke and disanul all former Wills by me at any time or times heretofore made, Confirming and Ratifying this to be my last Will & Testament. Signed Sealed and delivered in the Presence of us who have hereunto set our Hands as Witnesses this Tenth day of February in the Year of our Lord one thousand seven Hundred sixty six and in the Sixth Year of the Reign of his Majesty King George the Third Witnesses Thos Mudge Mark John Goudy Thos Yates In	at the time of his death. He revoked and made void all former wills he had at any time previously made, and confirmed this to be his last will. It was signed, sealed and delivered in the presence of the witnesses, who set their hands as witnesses, on 10 February 1767, in the sixth year of the reign of King George the Third. The document was signed with the mark of Thomas Mudge, and witnessed by John Goudy and Thomas Yates. **Interpretations** Naming a single cousin as the recipient of all worldly effects and granting him express power to collect debts due to the testator made that cousin the effective heir and administrator combined. A soldier of modest means, without wife or child named, could dispose of his estate in a single stroke by vesting everything in one trusted relative, who then stood to gather in whatever was owed and take the residue for himself. The signing of the will by a mark rather than a signature indicates that Thomas Mudge could not write, which was common among ordinary soldiers of the period. A mark, witnessed and attested, carried the same legal force as a signature, allowing the illiterate to make a valid will provided the document was properly witnessed by those who could attest that it reflected his wishes.
124	107	In the Name of God Amen I Aerron Asdon Soldier in the Seventy Ninth Regt of Foot Commd by Brigadear Genl Draper and Capt Wms Rufsel Comp Being Very Weak of Body But of Perfect Mind and Memory and Knowing that it is appointed for All men Once to Die Do make and Ordain this my Last Will and Testament in manner and Form following viz In the first Place I recommend my Soul Unto Almighty God Who Gave it hoping for mercy through the Merits of Jesus Christ his Son our Lord and Redeemer and my Body to the Earth to be Buried at the Discretion of those appointed for that purpose As touching my Worldly Effects I will and bequeath them As following Item I give and Bequeath to my Dear Beloved Wife Anna Asdon the full Sum of Sixty Pound of Good and Lawfull money of England With all my Pay Arrears of Pay and Prize money Due to or for me Vizt I Likewise Give and Bequeath unto my trusty & well beloved Friend George Johnson Whome I appoint my Sole Administerator the just and full Sum of Six Pound Starling of Good and Lawfull money of England Vizt out of the aforesaid Sixty Pound I Likewise Bequeath to my Dearly Beloved Wife Anna Asdon living in Acton Parish in the County Cumberland four Silke Handkerchiefs one Pr of silver Shoe Buckles With the Sum Above mentiond Whom I appoint my Sole Executer hereby Revoking All former Wills and Legacys made by or for me Signed Sealed & delivered in the Presence of Us Who have hereunto	Aaron Asdon, a soldier in the seventy-ninth regiment of foot commanded by Brigadier General Draper, and last in Captain Rufus's company, being very weak in body but of perfect mind and memory and knowing that all men must die, made and ordained his last will. First, he committed his soul to Almighty God, who gave it, hoping for mercy through the merits of Jesus Christ his son, his lord and redeemer, and directed that his body be buried in the earth at the discretion of those appointed for that purpose. As for his worldly effects, he gave and bequeathed them as follows. He gave to his dear beloved wife Anna Asdon the full sum of £60 0s 0d of good and lawful money of England, along with all his pay, arrears of pay and prize money due to him. He gave to his trusted and beloved friend George Johnson, whom he appointed sole administrator, the sum of £6 0s 0d of good and lawful money of England, out of the £60 0s 0d. He also gave to his dearly beloved wife Anna Asdon, living in Acton parish in the county of Cumberland, four silk handkerchiefs and a pair of silver shoe buckles, with the sum mentioned above. He appointed her sole executrix, revoking all former wills and legacies he had made. The will was signed, sealed and delivered in the presence of the witnesses, who subscribed their names, on 16 February 1766, in the sixth year of the reign of King George the Third. The document was signed with the mark of Aaron Asdon, and witnessed by George Swann and Andrew Rutherford, who made his mark. **Interpretations** Prize money was a soldier's or sailor's share of the value of enemy property, ships or goods captured during service, distributed among the men according to rank. For a common soldier serving abroad with the Company's forces, arrears of pay and any prize money represented a significant part of his estate, often more than he held in ready cash, which is why

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		Subscrib'd our Names as Witnesses this Sixteenth Day of February In the Year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and Sixty Six And in the Sixth Year of the reign of his Majesty King George the Third Witness George Swan Aerron Asdon his Mark Andrew Rutherfoord his Mark October	the will bundled these entitlements together and assigned them to his wife. The appointment of a friend as sole administrator with a fixed £6 0s 0d fee, alongside the wife as sole executrix, set a paid local agent beside the distant widow. Anna Asdon lived in Cumberland, far from St Helena where her husband died, so a trusted man on the spot was needed to gather in the pay, arrears and prize money and see the estate settled, his £6 0s 0d marking payment for that practical service across the distance. The gift of four silk handkerchiefs and silver shoe buckles shows the small portable valuables that made up a soldier's personal property. Silk and worked silver were costly relative to a soldier's means and easily carried home, so such items were named specifically in the will as tangible keepsakes of value to be conveyed to the widow alongside the money.
125	108	Octobr 21st 1765 I Evan Knowles Taylor & private Centinel in the Company commanded by Capt Nagell belonging to the Honorable Company of Merchants trading to the East Indies in the Garrison of St Helena being of sound Mind but weak in Body make this my Last Will and Testament imprimis I commit my Body to be buried at the discretion of my Commander & my Soul to the Almighty hoping to receive it with mercy at the day of Judgement as to my Worldly effects I give and dispose of to my trusty & well beloved Friend William Pinchin Cordwaine in the aforesaid Company, Sighn'd in the Presence of Witness my Hand Witness Evan Knowles Rodericc Stringer Richd Blatford In the Name of God Amen I John Simmons being of sound mind and Memory (Blessed be God) tho, Weak of Body do make this my last Will and Testament in manner and form following viz. In the First I recommend my Soul unto Almighty God who gave it hoping for mercy through the Merits of Jesus Christ his only Son my Redeemer and my Body to the Earth, to be Buried at the discretion of those appointed for that purpose. As touching my Worldly Effects I will and bequeath them unto my trusty & well beloved Friend Willm Paxton whom I appoint my Sole Executor, hereby revoking all former Wills and Legacy's made by, or for me, Signed Sealed & Deliver'd in the presence of the who have hereunto Subscribed our Names as Witnesses this Twenty third Day of October in the Year of our Lord one Thousand seven Hundred and sixty five and in the fifth Year of the Reign of his Majesty King George the Third Signed John Simmons Witness Thos Yates Thos Peare In	Dated 21 October 1765. Evan Knowles, tailor and private sentinel in the company commanded by Captain Nagell, belonging to the Honourable Company of Merchants trading to the East Indies, in the garrison of St Helena, being sound in mind but weak in body, made his last will. First, he directed that his body be buried at the discretion of his commander, and committed his soul to Almighty God, hoping to receive it with mercy at the day of judgement. As for his worldly effects, he gave and disposed of them to his trusted and beloved friend William Pinchin, cordwainer in the same company. The will was signed in the presence of Roger Stringer and Richard Blatford, with Evan Knowles as a witness named alongside. John Simmons, sound in mind and memory but weak in body, made his last will. First, he committed his soul to Almighty God, who gave it, hoping for mercy through the merits of Jesus Christ his only son and redeemer, and directed that his body be buried in the earth at the discretion of those appointed for that purpose. As for his worldly effects, he gave and bequeathed them to his trusted and beloved friend William Paxton, whom he appointed sole executor, revoking all former wills and legacies he had made. It was signed, sealed and delivered in the presence of the witnesses, who subscribed their names, on 23 October 1765, in the fifth year of the reign of King George the Third. The document was signed by John Simmons, and witnessed by Thomas Yates and Thomas Peace. **Interpretations** A cordwainer was a shoemaker who worked in new leather, distinct from a cobbler who repaired old footwear, and the trade name marks Pinchin as a skilled craftsman serving within the garrison company. The presence of a tailor and a cordwainer among the private soldiers shows how the Company's garrison drew on men who carried civilian trades into military service, supplying the practical crafts of clothing and footwear that a remote island station needed. A sentinel was a private soldier standing guard duty, and the term fixes Evan Knowles at the lowest rank of the garrison. That a man of this rank left his whole estate to a fellow tradesman in the same company, rather than to family, reflects the close bonds formed among ordinary soldiers serving far from home, where a comrade on the island often stood closer than distant kin.
126	109	In the Name of God Amen I Thomas Greentree of the Island of St Helena Gentleman, being in a good	Thomas Greentree of the island of St Helena, gentleman, being in good health and of sound mind, memory and understanding, made and published his

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		State of Health, and of sound Mind, Memory and understanding, blessed be God do hereby make and publish this my last Will and Testament, in manner following (that is to say) I will and desire that my Body may be Decently buried at the discretion of my Executrix and Executors herein after named And as for and concerning my Estate and Effects both real and Personal, which I shall be Seized, possessed of, Interested in or Intitled to at the time of my Death, I give, Divise and Dispose of the same as follows Imprimis, I hereby Will, Order and Direct that all my Just Debts and funeral Expences be paid and discharged by my Executrix and Executors herein after named out of my personal Estate, as soon as conveniently can be after my Decease Item I give unto my well beloved Wife Elizabeth Greentree, one Third part of all my Moveables, such as, Household Goods, Plate, Money, Slaves Yams, Cattle, Horses, Sheep, Goats, Hogs, Poultry &ca for ever Item I give unto my Wife, the said Elizabeth, over and above her said Third of my Moveables, one Woman Slave, called, Lucy, also James and Margaret Son and Daughter of the said Lucy, Also one Mahogony Chest with Drawers, one Rose wood hand Scrutoir, one Silver Stand with Cruits, one Milk Pot, twelve Silver Tea Spoons, Tongs and Strainer, and one Feather bed with such Furniture thereto as she shall Chuse; As also, one Mahogony Bureau, her own Property, the sd Bureau being purchased by her of Mr Geo Gabriel Powell, and which is, in no Manner, to interfere with, or be included in my Estate: My Will and Mind is, and I hereby further direct, in case my Men Slaves namely, Richard and Jack shall not fall unto the sd Thirds of my Wife the sd Elizabeth, that then she may have and be intitled to them or to any other of my Slaves either Male or female of what Age soever at Valuation, and that she shall have twelve Silver handle knives and forks, twelve Silver Spoons and a Marrow Spoon in a Shagreen Case by paying for the same at a Just Valuation My Will and mind is, and I hereby will and direct that my Wife the said Elizabeth shall have and enjoy, during the Term of her natural Life, fifteen Acres of Freehold Land known by the name of Addisses, together with the Houses Standing	last will as follows. He directed that his body be decently buried at the discretion of his executrix and executors named below. As for his estate and effects, both real and personal, that he should own or be entitled to at the time of his death, he gave and disposed of them as follows. First, he directed that all his just debts and funeral expenses be paid and discharged by his executrix and executors named below, out of his personal estate, as soon as convenient after his death. He gave to his beloved wife Elizabeth Greentree one third part of all his movables, such as household goods, plate, money, slaves, yams, cattle, horses, sheep, goats, hogs, poultry and tea, forever. He gave to his wife Elizabeth, over and above that third of his movables, one woman slave called Lucy, also James and Margaret, son and daughter of Lucy. He also gave her one mahogany chest with drawers, one rosewood hand scrutoire, one silver stand with cruets, one milk pot, twelve silver teaspoons, tongs and strainer, and one feather bed with such furniture as she should choose. He also gave her one mahogany bureau, already her own property, the bureau having been bought by her from George Gabriel Powell, and which was in no way to be interfered with or included in his estate. He further directed that, should his men slaves Richard and Jack not fall within his wife Elizabeth's third, then she might have and be entitled to them, or to any other of his slaves, male or female and of whatever age, at valuation. He directed that she should have twelve silver-handled knives and twelve silver forks, twelve silver spoons and a marrow spoon in a shagreen case, by paying for them at a just valuation. He directed that his wife Elizabeth should have and enjoy, during her natural life, fifteen acres of freehold land known by the name of Addisses, together with the houses standing [...]. **Interpretations** A scrutoire, or escritoire, was a writing cabinet fitted with a fall-front and interior drawers and compartments for papers, and the rosewood example named here was a costly item of imported furniture. Along with the mahogany chest and bureau, these pieces marked the household of a man styled gentleman, since fine hardwood furniture had to be shipped to St Helena and signalled wealth and status well above that of the ordinary soldier or planter. Shagreen was a tough, granular leather made from the skin of a shark or ray, often dyed green and used to case valuable cutlery, instruments and small luxury objects. The marrow spoon in its shagreen case was a specialised utensil for extracting marrow from bones, a refined table implement whose presence, cased in costly leather, again marks the gentility of the Greentree household. The direction that certain slaves be transferred to the widow at valuation, rather than given outright, shows how human beings were treated as appraised assets within the mechanics of the estate. Because the wife's share was fixed as a third of the movables, slaves who fell outside that portion could still pass to her, but only if she paid their assessed value into the estate, so that the arithmetic of the will overrode any distinction between people and property. The careful exclusion of the mahogany bureau, already bought by the wife from George Gabriel Powell, protected her separately owned property from being drawn into the estate and divided. A married woman's acquisitions could easily be absorbed into a husband's estate at his death, so the express recital that this piece was her own, bought with her own means, served to keep it clear of the executors' reach and secure to her.

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127	110	Standing thereon; Also, three Acres of Land lying and situate behind the sd Houses, being part of twelve Acres which my late father hired of the Honble Company on Lives; Also one Acre of Land lying in a Hollow adjoining to my Brother Jams Greentree's Land known by the name of the Wood or bean grovee, which said one Acre was demised to me in a Lease of thirty three Acres and a half of Land on Lives, Also, nine Acres and a half of Freehold Land purchased of Joseph Powell, Also, ten Acres and a half of Freehold Land which belonged to my Brother, the late Richard Greentree, who dying intestate, the same devolved to me by Right of Inheritance; Also, two Acres of freehold Land which I purchased of William Cole; Also thirty two Acres and a half of Leasehold Land adjoining to the sd two Acres last mentioned, under Lemon Valley Head, Also, eight Acres of Leasehold Land, known by the name of Dry gull, which sd Acres were by me purchased of my said Brother the late Richd Greentree, and the purchase Money paid by me to the late Francis Wrangham to be applyed in Discharge of a Bond transferd to Capt Gabriel Steward, Also, twelve Acres and a half of Leasehold Land which I purchased of Joseph Bates known by the name of seven Acres Steephill under Cole's Rock, Also, three Acres of Leasehold Land situate in Sandy Bay Valley, with the House standing thereon; Also, Eighteen Acres of Freehold Land lying under the high Peak, and purchased by me of Joseph Powell, Also, my Dwelling house situate in James's Valley, all and singular the sd Lands and Houses to hold to her during her natural Life, as afores, without Incumberance or becoming any way Subject to the payment of any Part of the Legacies herein after mentioned, she making no spoil, Waste or destruction thereon; And in Case sd the sd Elizabeth my Wife shall marry again, then and in such Case my Will and mind is that she shall only enjoy and possess the one Half or a Moity of my sd Dwelling House in the sd Valley during the term of her natural Life as aforesaid I further give unto my sd Wife my Goat Range in Lemon Valley, and my Will is that she shall have her three fourt in full of the Goats on the sd Range, my Will and mind is that, from and after the Decease of my Wife the sd Elizabeth, all and singular the afores, freehold and Leasehold Lands and the Houses thereon standing together, with the Goats Range so bequeathed to her during her Life, shall revert and remain to my Heirs herein after mentioned, in Manner as shall be herein after directed And my Will and mind is, if she my sd Wife, shall continue and die my Widow, that then she shall be at full Liberty, and have absolute Power, before her decease, by her last Will and Testament made in writing, and by her duly executed in presence of three or more credible Witnesses, to devise and dispose of the sum	Thomas Greentree gave to his wife, along with the fifteen acres already named, three acres of land lying behind those houses, part of twelve acres which his late father had hired from the Honourable Company on lives. He also gave her one acre lying in a hollow adjoining his brother James Greentree's land, known by the name of the Wood or Bean Ground, that acre having been leased to him within a lease of thirty-three and a half acres held on lives. He also gave nine and a half acres of freehold land bought from Joseph Powell, and ten and a half acres of freehold land which had belonged to his brother the late Richard Greentree, who dying intestate, that land passed to him by right of inheritance. He also gave two acres of freehold land bought from William Cole, and thirty-two and a half acres of leasehold land adjoining those two acres, under Lemon Valley Head. He also gave eight acres of leasehold land known by the name of Dry Gut, bought from his brother the late Richard Greentree, the purchase money paid by him to the late Francis Waringham to discharge a bond transferred to Captain Gabriel Steward. He also gave twelve and a half acres of leasehold land bought from Joseph Yates, known by the name of Seven Acres, at Steephill under Cole's Rock. He also gave three acres of leasehold land at Sandy Bay Valley, with the house standing on it, and eighteen acres of freehold land lying under the High Peak, bought by him from Joseph Powell. He also gave his dwelling house in James's Valley. Elizabeth was to hold all these lands and houses during her natural life, free of encumbrance, without becoming subject to the payment of any of the legacies named below, and committing no waste or destruction. Should his wife Elizabeth marry again, then he directed that she should only enjoy one half of his dwelling house in the valley during her natural life. He further gave to his wife his goat range in Lemon Valley, and directed that she should have her third part in full of the goats on the range. He directed that, after the death of his wife Elizabeth, all the freehold and leasehold lands and the houses standing on them, together with the goat range given to her for life, should revert to and remain with his heirs named below. Should his wife continue his widow and die as such, then she should be at full liberty, and have absolute power before her death, by her last will made in writing and duly executed in the presence of three or more credible witnesses, to dispose of the sum of £400 0s 0d, to be paid by his executors to the heirs of his wife [...]. **Interpretations** Holding land on lives was a form of tenure in which a lease ran not for a fixed term of years but for the lifetimes of named persons, ending when the last of them died. Much of the Greentree estate was held this way from the Company, so the security of the family's land depended on the survival of the lives named in each lease, a precarious arrangement that mixed freehold property the family owned outright with leasehold that would eventually fall back to the Company. The reduction of the widow's interest in the dwelling house from the whole to a half share should she remarry was a common device to discourage a widow's second marriage or to protect the family's property from passing under a new husband's control. By tying full enjoyment of the house to her remaining unmarried, Thomas Greentree used the estate to shape his wife's future choices and to guard the inheritance of his own heirs against a stranger entering the family. The power granted to Elizabeth to dispose of £400 0s 0d by her own will, but only if she remained his widow until death, made her testamentary

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		of four hundred pounds to be paid by my Executors to the Heirs of her my sd Wife, as as	freedom conditional on her not remarrying. This linked a substantial sum to her continued widowhood, giving her real power over the money as a reward for staying unmarried while withdrawing that power if she took another husband, a further instance of the will reaching beyond the grave to govern her conduct. The intestacy of the brother Richard Greentree, whose land passed to Thomas by right of inheritance, shows how property moved within a family when a man died without a will. Because Richard left no will, the law directed his freehold to his heir, consolidating that land in Thomas's hands, which the will now folded into the larger estate settled on the widow and the heirs to come.
128	111	as she shall direct out of the Reversion of her Lands, Houses and Goat Range to her bequeathed for and during the Term of her Life as afores Item, from and after the decease of the sd Elizabeth, my Wife, I hereby give, devise and bequeath all the fifteen Acres of Land, known by the name of Addisses aforesaid, with the Houses standing thereon, also the four Acres of Leasehold Land behind the sd, Houses and in the Hollow as aforesaid to the use and Behoof of my Brother James Greentree, his Heirs or Assigns for ever; I also give unto my Brother, the sd James Greentree one Seal set in Gold Item, I give unto my Niece Mary Griffith, the Sum of two hundred pounds, to be paid and remain to her, her Heirs or Assigns for ever by my Executrix and Executors herein after mentioned in a convenient time after my decease, Item, I give unto my Niece Helena Smith Wife of Moses Smith the Sum of one hundred pounds, and in Case of her the sd Helena's Death before she receives the sd Legacy, then I will and order that the same do remain and revert to my Heirs herein after named Item I give unto my Nieces, Mary, Jane and Elizabeth Twaites, the Sum of one hundred pounds each, as also the sum of one hundred pounds to my Nephew John Twaites, making in all the Sum of four hundred pounds, each and every of the above Legacies to remain to them respectively their Heirs or Assigns for ever, and to be paid by my Executrix or Executors herein afternamed at a convenient time after my decease, And as I purchased two Goat Ranges at public Auction, one whereof belonged to Mr Lacy, and was Sold to me by the Worshipful Governor & Council then being, and the other to Mr Henry Simons, and sold to me by his Executors, the two Said Ranges lying and Situate from Lot to Sandy bay Water, red hill and Gabriels gut, I hereby give one of the sd, Ranges to my niece Mary Twaites, and the other Goat Range I give unto my Niece the sd, Elizth Twaites, Item, I give unto my Nieces Ann Burdell, the Wife of John Burdell, and Temperance Twaites the Sum of thirty Pounds each, to buy them Rings	Thomas Greentree directed that the £400 0s 0d be paid out of the rents of his lands, houses and goat range, bequeathed to his wife for her life. After the death of his wife Elizabeth, he gave all fifteen acres of land known as Addisses, with the houses standing on them, and also the four acres of leasehold land behind those houses and in the hollow, to his brother James Greentree and his heirs or assigns forever. He also gave to his brother James Greentree his seal set in gold. He gave to his niece Mary Griffiths the sum of £100 0s 0d, to be paid to her and her heirs or assigns forever by his executrix and executors within a convenient time after his death. He gave to his niece Helena Smith, wife of Moses Smith, the sum of £100 0s 0d, and directed that should Helena die before receiving the legacy, it should revert to his heirs named below. He gave to his nieces Mary, Jane and Elizabeth Twaites the sum of £100 0s 0d each, and to his nephew John Twaites the sum of £100 0s 0d, making in all £400 0s 0d. Each of these legacies was to remain to them and their heirs or assigns forever, and to be paid by his executrix and executors within a convenient time after his death. He had bought two goat ranges at public auction, one which had belonged to Mr Sacy and was sold to him by the Governor and Council of the time, and the other which had belonged to Mr Henry Simmons and was sold to him by Simmons's executors, the two ranges lying from Lot to Sandy Bay Water, Red Hill and Gabriel's Gut. He gave one of the ranges to his niece Mary Twaites, and the other goat range to his niece Elizabeth Twaites. He gave to his nieces Ann Burdell, wife of John Burdell, and Temperance Twaites the sum of £30 0s 0d each, to buy them rings. He gave to his niece Elizabeth Warnell, daughter of the late John Warnell, the sum of £100 0s 0d, to be paid to her and her heirs or assigns forever within a convenient time after his death. He gave to his niece Sarah Dellfountain the sum of £50 0s 0d, to be paid to her within a convenient time after his death at the discretion of his executrix and executors named below, and directed that this legacy of £50 0s 0d remain entirely to Sarah's use, and at her own disposal, without [...]. **Interpretations** The gift of a gold-set seal to the brother James marks the personal significance of a seal as an instrument of identity and authority. A seal engraved with a device or initials was used to authenticate documents and letters, and passing it to a brother, rather than reducing it to its bullion value in the general estate, treated it as a family heirloom carrying the testator's personal mark down to his kin. The provision that Helena Smith's legacy revert to the heirs should she die before receiving it addressed the timing gap between a will taking effect

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		Item, I give unto my Niece Elizabeth Worrell, Daughter of the late John Worrall, the Sum of one hundred pounds to be paid and remain to her, her Heirs or Assigns for ever, at a convenient Time after my Decease, Item, I hereby give unto my Niece Sarah De Fountain the Sum of fifty pounds to be paid to her at a convenient time after my Decease, at the discretion of my Executrix and Executors herein after mentioned; And that the sd Legacy of fifty Pounds do remain interely to her the sd Sarah's use and Behoof, and at her own Disposal, without the	and legacies actually being paid. Because payment fell due only within a convenient time after death, a beneficiary might die in the interval, and the will specified where the money should go in that event rather than leaving it to fall into dispute or lapse uncertainly. The two goat ranges, each bought at public auction from a previous owner's estate and each given to a different niece, show the working of a pastoral economy on the island's open hill country. Goat ranges were defined tracts over which a holder could graze goats, bought and sold as valuable rural assets, and their acquisition from the estates of Sacy and Simmons illustrates how such grazing rights changed hands through auction as holders died and their property was dispersed.
129	112	the Controul or Intermedling of her Husband. Item, I do hereby give unto my Niece Elizabeth Buell the Sum of one hundred pounds, to remain to her, her Heirs or Assigns for ever, and to be paid in a convenient time after my decease. Item, I do hereby give unto my Niece Margaret Mowald the Sum of one hundred and fifty pounds to be and remain interly at her own disposal, without the Controul, or, being any way Subject to the Intermedling Debts or Engagements of her Husband. But in Case of the death of the sd Margaret before she receives the above Legacy, then I will and Order the same to be paid unto, and equally divided between, all the Children of the sd Margaret Mowald. Item, I hereby give unto my Niece, Helena Harold, the sum of fifty Pounds, and in Case of her Death before she receives the sd Legacy, then I will and Order the same to be paid to, and remain amongst the Children of my Niece, the sd Margaret Mowald, to be divided among them in equal Shares. Item, I give unto my Niece Margaret Gurling, daughter of Rich, Gurling deceased, the sum of forty Pounds, Item, I hereby give unto John Goodwin the Son of Richard Goodwin deceased, the Sum of fifty Pounds to be paid and remain to him, his Heirs or Assigns forever, Item, I give unto John Charles and Elizabeth Goodwin the Children of Mr Richard Goodwin, the sum of one hundred pounds to be equally divided among them, or the surviving of them, share and share alike. Item, I give unto Mr Jonathan Doveton the sum of ten pounds, or a Piece of Plate of equal Value, Item, I give unto Messieurs Orlando Bagley senr James Powell and Matthew Bazell forty shillings each to buy them Rings, Item, I give unto each and every of my Executors herein after named the sum of ten pounds, Item, I give unto Suckey, a free black Woman, the Sum of five pounds, Item, I hereby give unto the honest	Thomas Greentree directed that this legacy remain entirely to his niece's use, free of the control or interference of her husband. He gave to his niece Elizabeth Buell the sum of £100 0s 0d, to remain to her and her heirs or assigns forever, to be paid within a convenient time after his death. He gave to his niece Margaret Mowald the sum of £150 0s 0d, to be entirely at her own disposal, free of the control of her husband and not subject in any way to his debts or engagements. Should Margaret die before receiving the legacy, he directed that it be paid to and equally divided between all the children of Margaret Mowald. He gave to his niece Helena Harold the sum of £50 0s 0d, and directed that should she die before receiving it, the sum be paid to and remain among the children of his niece Margaret Mowald, divided among them in equal shares. He gave to his niece Margaret Gurling, daughter of the late Richard Gurling, the sum of £40 0s 0d. He gave to John Goodwin, son of the late Richard Goodwin, the sum of £50 0s 0d, to remain to him and his heirs or assigns forever. He gave to John, Charles and Elizabeth Goodwin, the children of Mr Richard Goodwin, the sum of £100 0s 0d, to be equally divided among them or the survivors of them, share and share alike. He gave to Mr Jonathan Boston the sum of £10 0s 0d, or a piece of plate of equal value. He gave to Orlando Bagley senior, James Powell and Matthew Bazett the sum of forty shillings each to buy them rings. He gave to each of his executors named below the sum of £10 0s 0d. He gave to Sukey, a black woman, the sum of £5 0s 0d. He gave to the honest and industrious poor of the island, or to such of them as should be judged the worthiest and best entitled to charity, the sum of £25 0s 0d, to be divided among them as his executrix and executors should think fit. He directed that his executrix and executors named below, or the survivors of them, should at his death receive and take into their hands all the rest and residue of his estate, both real and personal, not yet disposed of. His man slave, named below, together with twenty acres of freehold land bought from Sam Boston [...]. **Interpretations** The repeated stipulation that legacies to married nieces be free of their husbands' control or debts worked around the common law rule that a wife's personal property vested in her husband on marriage. By directing that these sums remain at the woman's own disposal and beyond her husband's creditors, the testator sought to create something like a separate estate for each niece, shielding the money from a husband's mismanagement or insolvency in an age when a married woman had no independent legal ownership.

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		and Industrious Poor of this Island, or to such of them as shall be deemed and judged to be the worthiest of and best intitled to Charity, the Sum of twenty five pounds to be divided amongst them, as my sd Executrix and Executors shall think fit Item, I hereby Order, Will and direct that my Executrix and Executors herein, after named, or the Survivor or Survivors of them, shall and do at my decease, receive and take into their Hands all the Rest and Residue of my Estate both real and personal whatsoever and whensoever not yet disposed of (My Man Slave Cannot excepted) that is to say, twenty Acres of Freehold Land, purchased of Sam Doveton together	The charitable gift of £25 0s 0d to the honest and industrious poor, filtered through the executors' judgement of who was worthiest, reflects the era's moral distinction between the deserving and undeserving poor. Relief was directed not to all in need but to those judged industrious and honest, embedding a test of character into the charity and giving the executors discretionary power to reward conduct the testator approved. The small legacy of £5 0s 0d to Sukey, a black woman named alongside the free beneficiaries rather than among the enslaved property, suggests she may have been a freed or free black woman connected to the household. Her separate treatment from the man slave who passed with the residue marks a distinction in status, hinting at the presence of free people of colour within the island's population who could receive legacies in their own right. Setting aside forty shillings apiece to buy mourning rings for three named men, while granting larger cash gifts elsewhere, again shows memorial jewellery serving as the customary token for friends of standing. The fixed ring legacy marked these men as figures the testator wished to be remembered by, distinct from the kin who received substantial sums or land.
130	113	together with twelve Acres of Leasehold Land adjoining to the sd Freehold, purchased of Jonathan Doveton and of his Bror the sd Samuel; Also twenty one Acres and a half of Freehold Land situate and lying lying about the high Peak, wt freehold Land I purchased of Jno Goodwin deceased, together with my Goat Range in Stanley Valley and that lying about Castlerock and Lot; Also, the two thirds of my Moveables, such as, houshold goods, Plate, Money, Slaves, Cattle, Horses, Sheep, Goats, Hogs, Poultry &c and Sell the same to the best Advantage, excepting out of the sd, two thirds, the Legacies Left by me to my Wife the sd Elizabeth, over and above her Said thirds, as also, all my Wearing Apparel, the disposal whereof I reserve for other purposes: As also, from and after the decease of my sd Wife the Reversion of such freehold and Leasehold Lands, as are by me to her bequeathed for and during the Term of her natural Life and no Longer, with my sd, Dwelling house in James's Valley afores, and the Money Arising from the Sale thereof, to apply and dispose of as follows, That is to say, I hereby Will Order and direct that after all my Just Debts, funeral Expences and Legacies are fully paid, the remaining part of my Estate of what kind soever not by me herein disposed of, shall be equally divided amongst My Nephews and Nieces, the Children of my Brother the sd James Greentree, who shall be then living, share and Share alike, to be paid to them by my Executrix or Executors herein after named, as he, she Or they shall attain to the Age of twenty One Years, or at the time of his, her or their Marriage,	Thomas Greentree directed that the residue include twelve acres of leasehold land adjoining that freehold, bought from Jonathan Boston and his brother Samuel. It also included twenty-one and a half acres of freehold land lying about the High Peak, together with freehold land he had bought from John Goodwin, deceased, in Stanley Valley, and his goat range lying about Castle Rock and Lot. It further included the two thirds of his movables, such as household goods, plate, money, slaves, cattle, horses, sheep, goats, hogs, poultry and the like. He directed that his executors sell all this to the best advantage, excepting out of the two thirds the legacies he had left to his wife Elizabeth over and above her third, and also all his wearing apparel, the disposal of which he reserved for other purposes. After the death of his wife Elizabeth, the reversion of the freehold and leasehold lands given to her for life, together with his dwelling house in James's Valley, and the money arising from their sale, were to be applied as follows. He directed that, after all his just debts, funeral expenses and legacies were fully paid, the remaining part of his estate, of whatever kind and not disposed of, be equally divided among his nephews and nieces, the children of his brother James Greentree, then living, share and share alike. This was to be paid to them by his executrix or executors as each reached the age of twenty-one years, or at the time of their marriage, or sooner if the executrix or executors judged it necessary for the good and welfare of the nephews and nieces. He gave his executrix and executors full power to pay into the hands of his brother James Greentree, and of Richard Goodwin, or their respective executors, the parts, shares or legacies of their children, they giving sufficient security for the same. He directed that, after his death, his black servant Connor should serve his wife Elizabeth as a servant during her life, and if Connor faithfully served her during that time, then after her death he gave Connor his freedom and the sum of £10 0s 0d to go off the island, if he chose. **Interpretations** The reservation of the testator's wearing apparel for other purposes, set apart from the general sale of his movables, points to clothing serving as a customary form of bequest to servants, dependants or the poor. Garments held real value in this period

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		or sooner, if my Executrix or Executors shall judge it necessary for the good and Welfare of my sd, Nephews and Nieces, the Children of my Bror the sd James Greentree; And I also hereby give unto my Executrix and other Executors herein after Named full Power to Pay into the Hands of my Bror the said Jams Greentree and the sd Richard Goodwin or their respective Executors, the Parts, Shares or Legacies, of their Children respectively, they giving sufficient Security for the same, Item, I hereby Will, Order and direct that, from and after my Decease, My Black Servant the sd Connor, shall serve my sd Wife, as a servant during her Life, and if he the sd Connor do faithfully serve her during the sd, Term then and after her decease I give unto the sd Connor his freedom, and the sum of ten pounds to go off the sd, Island, if he Chuses Lastly	and were often distributed separately from the rest of an estate, so their exclusion from the auctioned residue reserved them for gifts the will handled outside the main division of property. The conditional freedom granted to Connor, dependent on his faithful service to the widow throughout her life, made his liberty a reward earned over years rather than a gift given freely at the testator's death. This tied the slave's release to prolonged good conduct and continued labour, extracting a lifetime of service from him first, and again coupled emancipation with the sum needed to leave the island, reflecting the same constraint on freed slaves remaining that shaped other St Helena wills. The direction that children's legacies be paid to their fathers on sufficient security placed the parent as trustee of a child's inheritance, guarded by the requirement of a bond. This allowed the money to pass into a father's hands for management during a child's minority while protecting the child's interest through the security given, balancing paternal control against the safeguarding of the legacy until the child came of age. The staggered vesting of the residue at twenty-one or marriage, with discretion to pay sooner for a beneficiary's welfare, gave the executors flexible judgement over young heirs rather than a rigid rule. This let them release funds early where a nephew or niece genuinely needed support, treating the fixed age as a default that could yield to real circumstances at the executors' discretion.
131	114	Lastly, I hereby Nominate Constitute and appoint my well beloved Wife the sd Elizabeth Greentree Executrix and my friends & Acquaintance Matthew Purling Esqr Messieurs Richard Bagley, Will: Wrangham, Richard Goodwin, Henry Bazell and my Brother the sd Jams Greentree Executors jointly with my Wife of this my Last Will and Testament; hereby revoking and making Void all former Wills by me heretofore made and executed; And do declare this and no other to be my last Will & Testament In Witness whereof, I the sd Thomas Greentree have, to this my last Will and Testament containing seven Sides of Paper, put my hand to Six thereof, and my hand and Seal to the seventh, this Sixteenth Day of September, in the Sixth Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord the King, and in the Year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and Sixty Six Signed, sealed, published and declared by the sd Testator Tho Greentree; as his last Will signed and Testament, in the presence of us who at his Tho Greentree Request and in his presence, have subscribed our names as Witnesses signed The Words [in Stanley Valley and that Sam Desfountain that] were interlined in the sixth Page Geo Bazell and between the eighteenth and Phillp Mahony Nineteenth Line of the sd, Page, before the Execution of this my last Will, as can be attested by the Witnesses thereto	Lastly, Thomas Greentree named and appointed his wife Elizabeth Greentree executrix, and his friends and acquaintances Matthew Purling, Richard Bagley, William Waringham, Richard Goodwin, Henry Bazett and his brother James Greentree executors jointly with his wife. He revoked and made void all former wills he had previously made, and declared this alone to be his last will. In witness of this, Thomas Greentree, his will containing seven sides of paper, set his hand to six of them and his hand and seal to the seventh, on 16 September 1766, in the sixth year of the reign of the King. The will was signed, sealed, published and declared by Thomas Greentree as his last will in the presence of the witnesses, who at his request and in his presence subscribed their names. The document was signed by Thomas Greentree, and witnessed by Samuel Desfountain, George Bazett and Philip Mahony. The words in Stanley Valley and that, interlined on the sixth page between the eighteenth and nineteenth lines of that page, were inserted before the execution of the will, as the witnesses could attest. James Corbett of the island of St Helena, cooper, being weak in body but sound in mind and memory, made and published his last will on 29 May 1765, in the fifth year of the reign of King George the Third. First [...]. **Interpretations** The formal recital of the interlined words in Stanley Valley and that, noting exactly where they were inserted and that this was done before execution, guarded against the suspicion that a will had been altered after signing. Any addition made between the lines of a will raised the question of when and by whom it was inserted, so the testator and witnesses attested the interlineation in the body of the document, preserving its validity against later challenge. A cooper was a skilled maker of barrels, casks and other wooden vessels bound with hoops, a trade essential to a port and garrison where goods, water

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		Island St Helena In the Name of God Amen I James Corbett of the said Island Cooper, being weak in Body, but of sound Mind and Memory [blessed be God] do this twenty Ninth Day of May in the fifth Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord George the Third, and in the Year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and sixty five make and publish this my last Will and Testament in Manner following (that is to say) Imprimis	and provisions were stored and shipped in such containers. The presence of a cooper among the island's tradesmen reflects the practical crafts a remote victualling station required to receive, store and forward the supplies that passed through it.
132	115	Imprimis, I commend my Soul into the Hands of Almighty God who gave it me; and my body to the Earth from whence it came, in hopes of a Joyful Resurrection, through the merits of my Saviour Jesus Christ; and as for that Worldly Estate wherewith it has pleased God to bless me I dispose thereof as follows: First, I will and desire that all my Just Debts and funeral Expences be fully paid and Satisfied immediately or as soon after my Decease, as conveniently may be: Item, I give to my Loving Wife Margaret Torbett her Right and Property as to Dower, which is a third part of the Estate both real and personal which I shall die possessed of, together with the free Use of my Dwelling House and the appurtenances thereunto belonging, to hold to her during her Natural Life, she making no spoil, Waste or Destruction thereupon and from and after her decease, then the same to revert and remain to my Children hereafter Mentioned, to be equally divided amongst them, Item I give and bequeath unto my Eldest Son William the Sum of one shilling and no more, to be paid unto him after my Decease when called for, Item, All the rest, Residue and Remainder of my Estate both real and personal whatsoever and whensoever I give devise and bequeath unto my three other Sons, Namely, Joshua, John, and Richard and to my Daughter Mary, to them, their Heirs and Assigns for ever equally to be divided amongst them, Share and Share alike; And as my Loving Wife the said Margaret is now to appearance, in a Pregnant State, My Will and Meaning is, that such Issue, whether Male or Female, as shall in reasonable Time come from her Body so as to be reputed Mine shall be intitled to a Dividend of my said Estate, and have and enjoy an equal Share thereof with my other Children above Mentioned, Lastly, I bequeath unto my Said Daughter Mary, a Girl Slave, Named Betty; And I make and ordain My Loving Wife the said Margaret Sole Executrix of this my Will and my Loving and Trusty Friends, John Seale and John Wodrall Overseers thereof, to take Care and see this same performed according to my true Intent and Meaning; And I do hereby revoke, annul and make Void all former Wills and Testaments by me heretofore made, Declaring this to be my last Will and Testament, In	James Corbett committed his soul into the hands of Almighty God, who gave it, and his body to the earth from which it came, hoping for a joyful resurrection through the merits of his saviour Jesus Christ. As for the worldly estate it had pleased God to bless him with, he disposed of it as follows. First, he directed that all his just debts and funeral expenses be fully paid and satisfied immediately, or as soon after his death as convenient. He gave to his loving wife Margaret Corbett her right and property as to dower, being a third part of his estate, both real and personal, that he should own at his death, together with the free use of his dwelling house and its appurtenances, to hold during her natural life, she committing no waste or destruction. After her death, that portion was to revert to and remain with his children named below, to be equally divided among them. He gave to his eldest son William the sum of one shilling and no more, to be paid to him after his death when called for. He gave all the rest, residue and remainder of his estate, both real and personal, to his three other sons, namely Joshua, John and Richard, and to his daughter Mary, and to their heirs and assigns forever, to be equally divided among them, share and share alike. His wife Margaret was then apparently pregnant, so he directed that any child, male or female, born to her within a reasonable time and reckoned his, should be entitled to a share of his estate, and enjoy an equal share with his other children named above. Lastly, he gave to his daughter Mary a girl slave named Betty. He named and appointed his wife Margaret sole executrix of the will, and his trusted friends John Seale and John Wodrall overseers, to see it carried out according to his true meaning. He revoked and made void all former wills he had previously made, and declared this to be his last will. In witness of this, James Corbett to his last will [...]. **Interpretations** Dower was the widow's common law entitlement to a life interest in a portion of her deceased husband's estate, customarily a third, which the law secured to her regardless of the will's other terms. By framing Margaret Corbett's provision expressly as her right and property as to dower, the testator confirmed the share the law already guaranteed her, giving her a protected life interest that the residuary gifts to the children could not defeat. The nominal legacy of one shilling to the eldest son William was a deliberate device to disinherit him of any substantial share while forestalling a claim that he had been forgotten or overlooked. Leaving a token sum showed the omission was intentional, since a child entirely unmentioned might argue the testator had simply failed to remember him, whereas a named gift of a shilling put the exclusion beyond dispute. The provision for an unborn child, entitling any issue born to the pregnant widow to an equal share, addressed the legal need to account for a posthumous child. A child conceived but not yet born at the

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		Witness whereof, I the said James Torbett to this my last Will and Testament have	testator's death could not be named, so the will made express room for such issue to inherit alongside the living children, ensuring the estate's division would adjust to include a child who arrived after the will was made.
133	116	have Set my Hand, and Seal, the Day and Year above Mentioned Signed, Sealed Published and Declared by the Testator as and for signed his last Will and Testament, in the James Torbett Presence of us whose names are hereunder Written, who did each of Us Subscribe our Names as Witnesses, at his Request, and in his Presence signed Phillp Mahony George Bird In the Name of God Amen this 25th Day of June 1766 I Sarah Funge of the Island St Helena Widdow being of perfect mind & memory Do make this my last Will and Testament, First I recommend my Soul to my maker my body I commit to the Earth to be buried in a Decent Christian manner, my worldly Effects I give bequeath and dispose in the manner and form following Imprimis I give to my Daughter Elizabeth as a Legacy A Woman Slave Named Hannah Item I give to my Daughter Sarah the refusal of my Dwelling House and Land, paying her Sister Mary half the Valuation thereof the rest and residue of my Effects be it of what kind soever I give to be equally Divided between my two Daughters namely Sarah and Mary Share and Share alike Lastly I nominate constitute and appoint my Daughters Sarah Funge and Mary Funge Executrixes to this my last Will and Testament utterly revoking and disannulling all former Will or Wills by me heretofore made declaring this to be my last Will and Testament In Witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and Seale Signed Sealed published and declared signed in the presence of Sarah Funge signed John Scott Jn Hotgrave	James Corbett set his hand and seal to his will on the day and year mentioned above. The will was signed, sealed, published and declared by James Corbett as his last will in the presence of the witnesses, whose names were written below, who each subscribed their names as witnesses at his request and in his presence. The document was signed by James Corbett, and witnessed by Philip Mahony and George Bird. Sarah Funge of the island of St Helena, widow, being of perfect mind and memory, made her last will on 25 June 1766. First, she committed her soul to her maker, and directed that her body be buried in a decent Christian manner. As for her worldly effects, she gave and disposed of them as follows. First, she gave to her daughter Elizabeth, as a legacy, a woman slave named Hannah. She gave to her daughter Sarah the first refusal of her dwelling house and land, on paying her sister Mary half the valuation of it. All the rest and residue of her effects, of whatever kind, she directed to be equally divided between her two daughters, namely Sarah and Mary, share and share alike. Lastly, she named and appointed her daughters Sarah Funge and Mary Funge executrices of her will. She revoked and made void all former wills she had previously made, and declared this to be her last will. In witness of this, she set her hand and seal. The will was signed, sealed, published and declared in the presence of the witnesses. The document was signed by Sarah Funge, and witnessed by John Scott and John Colgrave. **Interpretations** The device of granting one daughter first refusal of the dwelling house and land, conditional on paying the other half its appraised value, was a means of keeping the family property intact while treating both daughters equally. Rather than splitting the house physically or forcing a sale to a stranger, the will let Sarah take the whole property by buying out Mary's interest at valuation, a practical solution that balanced one heir's occupation against the other's fair share. The appointment of two daughters as joint executrices, with no male executor or overseer named, marks this as a will made by a widow disposing chiefly among women. Where many contemporary wills set a trusted man beside a female executrix, Sarah Funge placed the administration of her modest estate wholly in her daughters' hands, reflecting a small household of women managing their own affairs on the island.
134	117	Island St Helena 12 Apl 1767 In the Name of God Amen I Isaac Buck Matross being very sick & weak in Body, but of Perfect Mind Memory, Thanks be given unto God. Therefore calling unto Mind the Mortality of my Body and knowing that it appointed for all men once to die do make and ordain this my last Will and testament; That is to say, principally and first of all I give and recommend my Soul unto the Hands of Almighty God that gave it and my body to be buried at the Discretion of my Officer, nothing doubting but at the General Resurrection I shall	Dated on the island of St Helena, 12 April 1767. Isaac Buck, matross, being very sick and weak in body but of perfect mind and memory and giving thanks to God, and calling to mind the mortality of his body and knowing that all men must die, made and ordained his last will. First, he committed his soul into the hands of Almighty God, who gave it, and directed that his body be buried at the discretion of his officer, not doubting that at the general resurrection he should receive it again by the mighty power of God. As for the worldly goods it had pleased God to bless him with, he gave and disposed of them as follows. Secondly, he gave to his trusted and beloved friend John Carfoot all his wearing apparel, arrears of pay and everything else belonging to him at the time of his death, and named him sole executor of his will.

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		receive the same again by the mighty Power of God. And as touching such wordly goods wherewith it hath pleased God to bless me in this life I give demise and dispose of the same in the following Manner and Form Secondly I give and Bequeath to my trusty and Well beloved Friend John Carfoot all my wearing Apparel, Arrears of Pay and every thing else that may to me belong at the time of my decease, making him sole Executor of this my last Will and Testament And I do hereby utterly disallow revoke and disannul all and every other former Testaments Wills Legacies and bequests and Executors by me in any ways before named Willed & bequeathed, ratifying and confirming this and no other to be my last Will & Testament In Witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and Seal the day and Year above written Signed, sealed & delivered by the said Isaac Buck as his last will and Testament in Presence of us the Subscribers signed Isaac Buck his Mark Thos Yates Willm Napleford	He revoked and made void all former wills, legacies and bequests he had previously made, and confirmed this alone to be his last will. In witness of this, he set his hand and seal on the day and year written above. The will was signed, sealed and declared by Isaac Buck as his last will in the presence of the witnesses. The document was signed with the mark of Isaac Buck, and witnessed by Thomas Yates and William Napleford. **Interpretations** A matross was a soldier in an artillery train ranking below a gunner, who assisted in loading, firing and hauling the guns and served as a labourer to the ordnance. The term places Isaac Buck among the lowest ranks of the garrison's artillery, and his estate of little more than clothing and unpaid wages reflects the slender means of such a man serving on the island. The whole estate reduced to wearing apparel and arrears of pay, left to a single friend made sole executor, shows the pattern common among the garrison's poorer soldiers. With no land, no household and no family named, a matross could settle his affairs by vesting his few possessions and the wages still owed him in one trusted comrade, who would collect the pay and take what little remained.
135	118	In the Name of God Amen I Eustace White of the Island St Helena, Gunner being Weak of Body but of sound Mind and Memory (blessed be God) do make and publish this my last Will and Testament in Manner & form following (that is to say) I give & recommend my soul into the Hands of Almighty God who gave it and my Body to the Earth in hopes of a Joyful Resurrection through the Merits of my Saviour Jesus Christ, And as touching my Wordly Effects wherewith it hath pleased God to Bless me with in this Life I dispose thereof as follows: Imprimis I hereby Order and direct that all my just Debts and Funeral Expences be paid and discharged at a Convenient time after my decease by my Executor herein after named First I give & bequeath unto the Poor Wm Dewsnop the Sum of One Pound one Shilling requesting my Corpse may be carried to the Church Secondly I give unto the Clerk of the Parish the Sum of ten Shilling & sixpence for his Attendance at my Funeral Thirdly I give unto Wm Oldfeld all my Wearing Apparrell made of Nankeen also two White Waistcoats and sax Chequer Shirts Lastly I hereby make Constitute Ordain and Appoint my good Friend Wm Jenkins Sole Executor of this my last Will & Testament revoking disannulling and making Void all former Wills by or for me heretofore made And in Consideration of trust reposed in him my said Executor, Also the pains he may be at in the Execution of this my last Will and Testament, I hereby give unto him the said Wm Jenkins all the Overplus of whatever I shall	Eustace White of the island of St Helena, gunner, being weak in body but of sound mind and memory, made and published his last will. First, he committed his soul into the hands of Almighty God, who gave it, and his body to the earth, hoping for a joyful resurrection through the merits of his saviour Jesus Christ. As for the worldly effects it had pleased God to bless him with, he disposed of them as follows. First, he directed that all his just debts and funeral expenses be paid and discharged within a convenient time after his death by his executor named below. First, he gave to the Reverend Mr Desmoineaux the sum of £1 1s 0d, requesting that his corpse be carried to the church. Secondly, he gave to the clerk of the parish the sum of ten shillings and sixpence for his attendance at the funeral. Thirdly, he gave to Mr Holdfield all his wearing apparel made of nankeen, also two white waistcoats and six chequered shirts. Lastly, he named and appointed his good friend Mr Jenkins sole executor of his will, revoking and making void all former wills he had previously made. In consideration of the trust placed in his executor, and the pains he might take in carrying out the will, he gave to Mr Jenkins all the residue of whatever he should own at his death. In witness of this, Eustace White set his hand and seal on 8 July 1767, in the seventh year of the reign of King George the Third of Great Britain, France and Ireland, defender of the faith. The will was signed, sealed, published and declared by Eustace White as his last will in the presence of the witnesses, who at his request and in his presence subscribed their names. The document was signed with the mark of Eustace White, and witnessed by George Snow and John Woods. **Interpretations** Nankeen was a durable yellowish cotton cloth originally imported from Nanking in China, prized for clothing in warm climates and reaching St Helena through the East India trade that passed the island. The naming of nankeen garments, white waistcoats

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		die possessed of. In Witness whereof I the said Eustace White have set my hand & Seal this Eighth day of July, in the seventh Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord George the third of Great Britain France and Ireland King Defender of the faith &c and in the Year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred & sixty seven Signed sealed Publish'd and declared by the said Eustace White as and for his last Will and Eustace White his Mark Testament in the presence of Us who hath at his request & in his Presency subscribed our names as Witness signed George Bird John Woods	and chequered shirts as specific bequests shows the value attached to ready-made clothing, which was costly enough among ordinary soldiers to be listed and left to a named recipient rather than lumped into the general estate. The specific sums set aside for the minister to bring the corpse to church and for the parish clerk's attendance secured a proper Christian burial with the offices of the church. These were payments for religious service rather than gifts to individuals, reflecting the importance a dying soldier placed on being buried with due rite, and the customary fees that the clergy and clerk received for conducting a funeral. The residue given to the executor expressly in consideration of his trouble in administering the estate treated the residuary gift as recompense for the work of executorship. Winding up even a small estate involved paying debts, arranging the funeral and settling accounts, and rewarding the executor with whatever remained was a common way to compensate a friend for undertaking that burden.
136	119	In the Name of God Amen I Elizabeth Greentree of the Island of St Helena Widow being weak of Body, but of sound memory and Understanding, Blessed be God, Do this twenty sixth day of April in the ninth Year of the Reign of George the third and in the Year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and sixty nine make and publish this my last Will and Testament in manner and Form following that is to say First, I give and bequeath unto my Nephew Richd Goodwin the Sum of one Hundred pounds Item, I give and bequeath unto my Nephew John Goodwin the like Sum of one Hundred pounds Item, I give and bequeath unto my Niece Margaret Mawill the Sum of fifty Pounds Item, I give and bequeath unto Richard, Charles, and Elizabeth Goodwin the Children of my Nephew, the Said Richd Goodwin the Sum of fifty pounds each: And my meaning is, and I hereby Order and direct that the above Legacies or sums of money by me bequeathed to the Said Richd, Charles, and Elizabeth Goodwin, be paid unto the Said Richard Goodwin as in Trust for his Said Children, untill they each or every of them shall attain the full and Perfect Age of twenty one Years, or to the time of his, her or their Marriage, the Said Richard Goodwin giving Sufficient Security for the payment of the same to my Executors herein after mentioned And to the Intent that all the Above respective Legacies amounting in the whole to the Sum of four Hundred pounds may in no respect interfere with my own Estate my Will and meaning is that the same be paid to the Legatees already mentioned respectively out of the Estate which, after my Decease, is to remain and revert to and with the Heirs of my Husband, the late Thomas Greentree, Deceas'd by Virtue of a Power to me given, and Pursuant to the meaning of the last Will and Testament of him my said Husband Deceased, to Dispose by Will out	Elizabeth Greentree of the island of St Helena, widow, being weak in body but of sound memory and understanding, made and published her last will on 26 April 1769, in the ninth year of the reign of King George the Third. First, she gave to her nephew Richard Goodwin the sum of £100 0s 0d. She gave to her nephew John Goodwin the like sum of £100 0s 0d. She gave to her niece Margaret Maenot the sum of £50 0s 0d. She gave to Richard, Charles and Elizabeth Goodwin, the children of her nephew Richard Goodwin, the sum of £50 0s 0d each. She directed that these legacies be paid to Richard Goodwin, in trust for his children, until they each reached the full age of twenty-one years, or the time of his, her or their marriage, Richard Goodwin giving sufficient security for the payment of the same to her executors named below. So that these legacies, amounting in all to £400 0s 0d, should in no way interfere with her own estate, she directed that they be paid out of the estate which, after her death, was to revert to and remain with the heirs of her late husband Thomas Greentree. She disposed of this £400 0s 0d out of that estate by virtue of a power given to her, and in accordance with the meaning of the will of her late husband. She gave to Miss Mary Griffith the sum of £30 0s 0d. She gave to Miss Mary Twaite and to Miss Jane Twaite the sum of £30 0s 0d each. She gave to her goddaughter Elizabeth Twaite the sum of £40 0s 0d. She gave to John Twaite the sum of £30 0s 0d [...]. **Interpretations** Elizabeth Greentree here exercised the power of appointment over £400 0s 0d that her late husband's will had reserved to her, conditional on her remaining his widow until death. The earlier will granted her authority to dispose of that sum by her own testament, and her will now put that power into effect, directing the money to named kin, which shows how a testamentary power let a widow control a defined portion of her husband's estate as if it were her own to give. The direction that the children's legacies be held in trust by their father until they came of age or married, on his giving security, placed the parent as guardian of the fund under a legal safeguard. The bond required of Richard Goodwin protected the

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		of such Estate of the Sum of four hundred pounds exclusively Item, I give and bequeath unto Miss Mary Griffith the Sum of thirty pounds Item, I give and bequeath unto Miss Mary Twaits unto Miss Jane Twaite the Sum of thirty pounds Each Item, I give and bequeath unto my God Daughter Elizabeth Twaite the Sum of forty pounds Item, I give and bequeath unto John Twaits the Sum of thirty Pounds Item	children's money against a father's misuse while allowing him to manage it during their minority, balancing paternal control against the security of the inheritance. The care taken to pay the £400 0s 0d out of the husband's estate rather than her own kept Elizabeth Greentree's personal property clear of these legacies. Because she was disposing of money under a delegated power over her husband's estate, she directed those sums to fall on that estate alone, preserving the distinction between the property she gave in her own right and the fund she merely directed under his will.
137	120	Item, I give and bequeath unto Mrs Elizabeth Powell the Sum of twenty Pounds and unto Mr James Powell, Husband of the Said Elizabeth the Sum of ten Pounds Item, I give and bequeath unto Richard, Charles and Elizabeth Goodwin Children of my Nephew the said Richard Goodwin the Sum of thirty pounds each and my meaning is that the three last mentioned Legacies or Sums of money be paid unto the Hands of the Said Richard Goodwin, he giving Security for the Same to my Executors herein after mentioned which money or Sums of money I direct to be paid to them or each of them respectively at the time of his, her or their Attaining the full Age of twenty One Years or Marriage Item, I give and bequeath unto John Skottowe Esqr Governor of this Island and to his Wife Mrs Mary Skottowe the Sum of ten pounds each to buy Rings Item, I give and bequeath unto Matthew Purling Esqr whom I have requested to be one of the Executors of this my last Will and Testament the Sum of ten Pounds Item, I further give unto my Nephew the said Richard Goodwin my Goat Range lying and Situate in Peak Gut together with my Goats thereon, also one Silver Bowl, one large Silver Salver and six Silver Salts Item, I give unto my Nephew the said John Goodwin my other Goat Range in Lemon Valley together with all my Goats thereunto belonging, also one Silver Coffee Pot Item, I give unto Lieut James Greentree one Silver Mug, and unto Thomas Greentree his Brother one Boy Slave named Joshua Item, I give unto Conner my Man Slave whom my late Husband the said Thomas Greentree deceas'd hath by his last Will and Testament, Given His Free- dom to at my decease, five Pounds. And I give to my Woman Slave Lucy her Freedom immediately upon my decease Item, I give unto my Woman Slave Margaret Daughter of the said Lucy her Freedom to Commence from the day of my decease and I also bequeath unto her the said Margaret the Sum of fifty pounds which Legacy or Sum of fifty pounds I direct to by Lodged in the Hands of my Nephew the said Richard Goodwin as long as she the said Margaret shall remain on this Island, he paying to her or to her Assigns thereout and Interest at the rate of four Pounds per Cent Per Annum. But in case that she the said Margaret shall at any time hereafter leave the Island, then and in such Case,	Elizabeth Greentree gave to Mrs Elizabeth Powell the sum of £20 0s 0d, and to Mr James Powell, husband of Elizabeth, the sum of £10 0s 0d. She gave to Richard, Charles and Elizabeth Goodwin, children of her nephew Richard Goodwin, the sum of £30 0s 0d each. She directed that these three legacies be paid into the hands of Richard Goodwin, he giving security for the same to her executors named below, and that the money be paid to each child at the time of reaching the full age of twenty-one years or on marriage. She gave to John Skottowe, Governor of the island, and to his wife Mrs Mary Skottowe, the sum of £10 0s 0d each to buy rings. She gave to Matthew Purling, whom she had requested to be one of the executors of her will, the sum of £10 0s 0d. She gave to her nephew Richard Goodwin her goat range at Peak Gut, together with her goats on it, also one silver bowl, one large silver salver and six silver salts. She gave to her nephew John Goodwin her other goat range in Lemon Valley, together with all her goats belonging to it, also one silver coffee pot. She gave to Lieutenant James Greentree one silver mug, and to his brother Thomas Greentree one boy slave named Joshua. She gave to Connor, her man slave whom her late husband Thomas Greentree had freed by his last will, the sum of £5 0s 0d at her death. She gave to her woman slave Lucy her freedom immediately upon her death. She gave to her woman slave Margaret, daughter of Lucy, her freedom from the day of her death, and gave to Margaret the sum of £50 0s 0d. She directed that this legacy be lodged in the hands of her nephew Richard Goodwin, for as long as Margaret should remain on the island, he paying her, or to her assigns, the interest at the rate of £4 0s 0d for every £100 0s 0d per year. Should Margaret at any time leave the island, she directed that her nephew Richard Goodwin pay her the full £50 0s 0d. Should Margaret die on the island, she directed that the legacy of £50 0s 0d revert to and remain with her nephew Richard Goodwin, his heirs or assigns. In consideration of the honesty and fidelity of all her slaves [...]. **Interpretations** The grant of freedom to Lucy immediately at death, while her daughter Margaret's freedom came coupled with a £50 0s 0d legacy held in trust, shows the testatrix arranging manumission on different terms for mother and daughter. Margaret's money was made to depend on whether she stayed on the island, yielding only interest while she remained but the whole sum if she left, an arrangement that gave a freed woman an incentive and the means to depart, again reflecting the pressure on freed slaves to leave St Helena. The interest paid at £4 0s 0d per £100 0s 0d marks the customary five per cent return, here set at four per cent, on money held in trust, and shows how

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		I direct that my Nephew the said Richard Goodwin do pay unto her the full Sum of fifty pounds as above mentioned: And in Case of her Death upon this Island then I Order that the said Legacy of fifty Pounds By me bequeathed to her the said Margaret Do remain and revert to and with my Nephew the said Richd Goodwin his Heirs or Assigns. And in Consideration of the Honesty and Fidelity of all my Slaves in	a legacy could be kept as productive capital rather than paid out at once. By lodging Margaret's £50 0s 0d with a trusted nephew who paid her the yearly interest, the will gave her a steady income while she stayed, while the principal reverted to the family should she die on the island, tying the capital's fate to her movements and survival. The reversion of Margaret's legacy to the nephew should she die on the island reveals how even a gift made to a freed slave was hedged to keep the capital within the family. The money left her use during life on the island but returned to the Goodwin line on her death there, so the bequest functioned less as an outright gift than as a life interest contingent on her remaining, with the family retaining the ultimate claim. The clustering of silver plate, a bowl, salver, salts, coffee pot and mug, distributed by name among nephews and a lieutenant, shows silver serving as both valuable and heritable household wealth. Wrought silver held its bullion value while carrying prestige as tableware, so a widow of means dispersed these pieces individually to particular kin rather than selling them into the general estate, passing status objects down through the family.
138	121	in General. I hereby order and direct that none of them, neither Man, Women Boy or Girl be put up at auction or Sale or Sold in any public Manner, leaving to them and every one of them the Choice of Masters or Mistresses, who are to buy them or any of them at the Valuation of two men indifferantly chosen by my Executors herein after named And lastly as to all the Rest, Residue and Remainder of my Estate and Effects of what nature and Quality soever and wheresoever I give and bequeath the Same unto my Nephews the said Richard and John Goodwin to be Equally Divided between them Share and Share alike Be it remembred and I hereby Order and direct that for the better Security and entire Indemnity of my Executors herein after mentioned, the Legacy of fifty pounds by me bequeathed in this my last Will and Testament to my Niece the said Magaret Marriot, which is to be paid to her out of the Estate that, after my Decease is to revert to the Heirs of my said Husband the late Thomas Greentree Deceased as by me above divided is to be paid to her independant of and to be in no manner Subject to the Controul of her Husband: and my meaning is, and I hereby further Order and direct that on payment of the Said Legacy or Sum of fifty pounds to her the said Margaret Marriot her Receipt for the same to my Executors or Assigns shall be to them a Sufficient Release or Discharge of the said Legacy or Sum of fifty pounds I hereby nominate, constitute and Appoint Matthew Purling Esquire with my Nephews the said Richard and John Goodwin Executors of this my last Will and Testament to see and take Care that the same be performed according to my true Intent and meaning. And I hereby revoke and annull all former Wills by me heretofore made, declaring this to be my last Will and Testament In Witness whereof, I the said Elizabeth have to this my last Will and	Elizabeth Greentree directed that none of her slaves, man, woman, boy or girl, be put up at auction or sold in any public manner. She left to each of them the choice of masters or mistresses, who were to buy them at a valuation set by two men chosen impartially by her executors named below. Lastly, as to all the rest, residue and remainder of her estate and effects, of whatever kind, she gave them to her nephews Richard and John Goodwin, to be equally divided between them, share and share alike. For the better security and full indemnity of her executors, she directed that the legacy of £50 0s 0d she had left to her niece Margaret Marriot, payable out of the estate that after her death was to revert to the heirs of her late husband Thomas Greentree, be paid to Margaret for her own use, in no way subject to the control of her husband. She further directed that, on payment of the £50 0s 0d to Margaret Marriot, Margaret's receipt should be a sufficient discharge to the executors or their assigns for that legacy. She named and appointed Matthew Purling, together with her nephews Richard and John Goodwin, executors of her will, to see it carried out according to her true meaning. She revoked and made void all former wills she had previously made, and declared this to be her last will. In witness of this, Elizabeth Greentree, her will contained on six sides of paper, set her hand and seal on the day written above. The will was signed, sealed, published and declared by Elizabeth Greentree as her last will in the presence of the witnesses, who subscribed their names in her presence. The document was signed by Elizabeth Greentree, and witnessed by Henry Bazett, John Howard and Philip Mahony. **Interpretations** The direction that no slave be sold at public auction, but instead be allowed to choose a master or mistress and be transferred at an impartial valuation, gave the enslaved a measure of choice unusual in the disposal of human property. Framed as a reward for their honesty and fidelity, it let them influence who would own them next and spared them the public auction block, though it stopped well short of freedom and still treated them as assets to be valued and sold within the family's circle. The requirement that a valuation be made by two men indifferently chosen by the executors imported a

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		Testament contained in six Sides of Paper set my Hand and Seal the Day above written Signed, sealed published and Declared by the above named Elizabeth Greentree, to be Elizabeth Greentree her last Will and Testament in the presence of us who have hereunto Subscribed our names as Witnesses in the Presence of the Testatrix Henry Bazett Jn Howard Phillp Mahony	recognised method of fair appraisal into the transfer of the slaves. Independent valuation by neutral appraisers protected both the estate and the buyer from a price set by interest, and its use here shows the machinery of impartial assessment applied to human beings exactly as it was to land, plate or livestock. The insistence, repeated from the husband's will and the earlier legacies, that Margaret Marriot's £50 0s 0d be free of her husband's control secured the money to the married niece against the common law vesting of a wife's property in her husband. The provision that her own receipt alone would discharge the executors reinforced this, giving her personal legal capacity to receive and acquit the legacy without her husband's intervention.
139	122	In the name of God Amen I Richard Beale Senior of the Island of Helena being of sound mind and memory and knowing the Uncertanty of this transitory life do here make my last Will & Testament and first I give and recommend my soul into the Hands of Almighty God my Creator hoping for pardon of all my sins through the merits & mediation of my blessed Redeemer Jesus Christ. My Body to the Earth to be buried at the discretion of my Executors hereafter named, my Worldly Goods I give and dispose of in manner and form as followeth viz Imprimis To my well beloved Wife I bequeath Ten Acres of Freehold Lands called Stewards being the lower part of Twenty acres and is the Land she had in Possession before Marriage, to be entirely at her disposal, with my Library of Books as also one fourth of my Personal Estate at her disposal, to be delivered after my Debts are discharged and after this, the following Legacies to be delivered before any division is made in my Estate Item To my Grand Children being the Children of my deceased son Onesiphorus Beale I bequeath two thirds of a fourth part of my Estate, having advanced them already some share, but not to be Valued what has been already given them Item If my daughter Eleanor the Wife of Mr Matthew Bazett should not be alive at my decease I then bequeath two thirds of one fourth of my Estate in the same manner as I have done to my son Onesiphorus's Children they having somthing Advanced and not to be Valued and both to be delivered to their friends at the time a division is made as hereafter mentioned Item At the Marriage of my Daughter Margaret to Mr Samuel Bazett I gave I gave him a Writing intituling him to a Childs part of my Estate that should be surviving at my decease, I hereby confirm the same that he be an Equal sharer with my other three Children (Viz) my son Richard, Daughters Eleanor and Martha the whole remainder to be divided into four Equal parts and shared among them, And as I always intended the land called Vepays and the plantation called Goodwin's for	Richard Beale senior of the island of St Helena, being of sound mind and memory and knowing the uncertainty of this transitory life, made his last will. First, he committed his soul into the hands of Almighty God his creator, hoping for pardon of all his sins through the merits and mediation of his blessed redeemer Jesus Christ. He directed that his body be buried in the earth at the discretion of his executors named below, and disposed of his worldly goods as follows. First, he gave to his beloved wife ten acres of freehold land called Stewards, being the lower part of twenty acres and the land he had held in possession before marriage, to be entirely at her disposal, along with his library of books, also one fourth of his personal estate at her disposal, to be delivered after his debts were discharged, and after the following legacies had been delivered, before any division was made of his estate. He gave to his grandchildren, the children of his deceased son Onesiphorus Beale, two thirds of a fourth part of his estate, having already advanced them some share, but directed that what had already been given them not be counted against this. Should his daughter Eleanor, wife of Mr Matthew Bazett, not be alive at his death, he gave two thirds of one fourth of his estate to her children, in the same manner as to his son Onesiphorus's children, and directed that any advancement already made to them not be counted, both shares to be delivered to their guardians at the time a division was made, as set out below. On the marriage of his daughter Margaret to Mr Samuel Bazett, he had given him a writing intending him a child's part of his estate, should he be living at his death. He confirmed that Samuel Bazett should have an equal share with his other three children, namely his son Richard and his daughters Eleanor and Martha, the whole remainder to be divided into four equal parts and shared among them. He had always intended the land called Vepseys and the plantation called Goodwin's for his daughter Martha, and gave it to her, to be valued as part of her fourth share. Because his wife would otherwise be left without a plantation, he directed that his wife should have the use of half the plantation during her natural life, that half to return to his daughter Martha at his wife's death, his wife making their daughter some reasonable amends or valuation at her death. **Interpretations** The advancement of portions to children during a parent's lifetime, expressly not to be brought into account against their legacies, addressed the doctrine of advancement by which lifetime gifts were normally set off against a child's share. By directing that earlier gifts to his grandchildren not be deducted, Richard Beale overrode the default rule that would have reduced their inheritance, ensuring the grandchildren

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		my daughter Martha I hereby bequeath it to her to be Valued to her in her fourth part, but as my wife would be destitute of a Plantation I direct that she shall have the half of the said plantation during her natural life and then to return to my said daughter, She (My Wife) at her decease making our daughter some reasonable amends or Valuation at her Decease	took their full appointed portion on top of what they had already received. The reference to a writing made on Margaret's marriage to Samuel Bazett, intending him a child's part, points to a marriage settlement promising the son-in-law a share of the estate. Such settlements were made to secure a match and fix the property expectations of the couple, and the will honoured that earlier promise by confirming Samuel Bazett as an equal sharer alongside the testator's own children. The arrangement giving the widow a life interest in half the plantation, with the whole reverting to the daughter Martha on the widow's death, balanced the competing claims of wife and child to the same land. Because the plantation was promised to Martha but the widow needed a means of support, the will split its use for the widow's life and its ownership to Martha, with compensation to Martha for the delay, a practical division of a single valuable holding between two dependants.
140	123	Decease for the use of the said half or to pay our daughter thirty shillings a Year for the use as they shall agree to their Satisfaction I also give my Wife the half of my dwelling Houses both in the Country and James's Valley during her natural life and as to the other division of my Land and Houses I give to my son Richard my dwelling House in James's Valley also the dwelling House in the Country at his mothers decease Also Twelve Acres of Freehold Land which I bought of Rich Swallow on which the Country House stands, but all to be valued to him in his part by two indifferint men, he paying the over plus, if any to the others, And if I can conveniently be I desire that James Doveton part may be paid them in mony which I leave to them as they can best agree, this being the part given to my daughter Margaret, and as she dies the Wife of Capt Thomas Kirkpatrick, she has already received by being the Widow of Sam Doveton Lastly I nominate and appoint my son Richard with my son in Law Mr Matthew Bazett Executors, and my Wife Executrix to this my Will, revoking and disannuling all former Will or Wills by me made Ratifieing and confirming this to be my last Will and Testament with this restriction that whatsoever Codicil or Codicils by me made hereafter shall be taken and turned as part of this Will, As Witness my hand & Seal this seventeenth day of December in the Year of our Lord one Thousand seven hundred and fifty four signed Rich Beale Signed and Sealed in the presence of Us Thomas Bazett Sam Alexander John Scott I hereby direct that this Codicil may be taken as part of my within last Will and Testament, that is to say, I give and bequeath to my beloved Wife, a set of twelve silver Tea spoons and Tongs one silver Bowl marked	Richard Beale directed that his wife, at her death, either give the daughter the use of the half plantation or pay her thirty shillings a year for its use, as they should agree between them. He gave his wife the use of half his dwelling houses, both in the country and in James's Valley, during her natural life. As for the rest of his lands and houses, he gave to his son Richard his dwelling house in James's Valley, and also the dwelling house in the country at his mother's death. He also gave Richard twelve acres of freehold land bought from Richard Swallow, on which the country house stood, all to be valued to him as part of his share by two indifferent men, he paying the surplus, if any, to the others. If it could conveniently be done, he wished that Jane Boston's part be paid to them in money, which he left to them to agree as they thought best, this being the part given to his daughter Margaret. Margaret had died as the wife of Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick, having already received her share as the widow of Sam Boston. Lastly, he named and appointed his son Richard, together with his son-in-law Mr Matthew Bazett, executors, and his wife executrix of his will. He revoked and made void all former wills he had previously made, and confirmed this to be his last will, directing that any codicil he might later make be taken as part of it. In witness of this, he set his hand and seal on 17 December 1764. The document was signed by Richard Beale in the presence of Thomas Bazett, Sam Alexander and John Scott. Richard Beale directed that this codicil be taken as part of his will. He gave to his beloved wife a set of twelve silver teaspoons and tongs, one silver bowl marked RD, and his watch, to be at her disposal. In witness of this, he set his hand on 14 October 1767. The document was signed by Richard Beale, and declared to be part of his last will in the presence of James Greentree and James Greentree junior. **Interpretations** The alternative offered to the widow, either to grant her daughter the use of the half plantation or to pay a fixed thirty shillings a year in its place, gave flexibility in settling the competing interests in the land after the widow's own death. This let the arrangement adjust to circumstances, substituting a small money rent for the physical use of the land where that suited the parties better, a practical way of resolving the overlap between the widow's life interest and the daughter's ownership. The provision that the land bought from Richard Swallow be valued to the son as part of his share, he paying any surplus to the others, used valuation and equalisation to divide the estate fairly among the children. Where a specific parcel given to one child

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		R B and my Watch, to be at her disposal as witness my hand this fourteenth day of October one Thousand seven Hundred and sixty seven signed Signed and declared to be part of her Richard Richard Beale Beale's last Will & Testament in this presence of Us James Greentree James Greentree Junr	exceeded his due portion, the excess was made payable in money to the rest, so that gifts of particular land could be reconciled with an equal division of the whole estate. The codicil's gift of a silver bowl marked RD shows engraved silver descending as a personal and identifiable family heirloom. The initials, presumably the testator's own, marked the piece as bound to the family, and reserving it and the watch for the widow treated these named objects as keepsakes carrying personal association beyond their bullion value.
141	124	In the Name of God Amen I William Holbrook of the Island of St Helena being of sound and perfect mind & Memory praise be therefore given to Almighty God do make and ordain this my last Will & Testament in manner and form following (that is to say) First and principally I commend my Soul into the hands of almighty God, Hoping through the Merits death & Passion of our Saviour Jesus Christ to have full & free pardon and forgiveness of all my Sins & to inherit everlasting life, And my Body I commit to the Earth to be decently buried, at the discretion of my Executors hereafter mentioned, And also the disposition of all such Temporal Estate, as it hath pleased Almighty God to Bless me with. I give and dispose thereof as follows viz First I will that all my Debts and funeral Charges shall be paid & discharged Item I desire that the overplus of what kind soever it may or shall be, may be disposed of to the best advantage, and remitted by the first opportunity unto my beloved Daughter, Martha the wife of William Hyde (by trade) Ropemaker living in the back lane near the sign of the boat proud in Back lane near St George's in the East London Lastly I constitute and appoint my trusty and well beloved friend Mr John Price Publican of this Island sole Executor of and to this my last Will & Testament for Witness whereof I the said William Holbrook to this my last Will & Testament being contained in one shet of Paper, have set my hand & seal, this twenty fifth day of August, and in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred & sixty Nine signed William Holbrook In presence of us signed Thos Annis Charles Gisseng In the Name of God Amen I Orlando Bagley of the Island of St Helena Gentleman, being of sound Mind and Memory, blessed be God Do this ten th day of November in the Year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and sixty nine, make and publish this my last Will and Testament in Manner and form following (that is to say) First	William Holbrook of the island of St Helena, being of sound and perfect mind and memory and giving thanks to Almighty God, made and ordained his last will. First and principally, he committed his soul into the hands of Almighty God, hoping through the merits, death and passion of his saviour Jesus Christ to have full and free pardon and forgiveness of all his sins, and to inherit everlasting life. He committed his body to the earth, to be decently buried at the discretion of his executor named below. As for the worldly estate it had pleased Almighty God to bless him with, he gave and disposed of it as follows. First, he directed that all his debts and funeral charges be paid and discharged. He directed that the surplus, of whatever kind, be disposed of to the best advantage and remitted by the first opportunity to his beloved daughter Martha, wife of William Hyde, ropemaker by trade, living in Back Lane near the sign of the Goat's Head in Back Lane near St George's in the east of London. Lastly, he named and appointed his trusted and beloved friend Mr John P豚 Price, publican of the island, sole executor of his will. In witness of this, William Holbrook, his will contained on one half sheet of paper, set his hand and seal on 25 August 1769. The document was signed by William Holbrook, and witnessed by Thomas Innis and Charles Gissing. Orlando Bagley of the island of St Helena, gentleman, being of sound mind and memory and giving thanks to God, made and published his last will on the tenth day of November 1769. First [...]. **Interpretations** The instruction to convert the whole estate to cash and remit it by the first available ship to a daughter married and settled in London shows the practical challenge of transferring a colonial estate across the ocean to an heir at home. Because Martha Hyde lived in England, her father's property on St Helena was of no direct use to her in kind, so the will directed its sale and the remittance of the proceeds, turning land and goods into money that could cross the sea to reach her. The precise location of the daughter's home, given down to the sign of the Goat's Head in Back Lane near St George's in the east of London, served to identify the beneficiary and enable the executor to find her and send the money. In an age without reliable addresses, naming a trade sign and parish was the customary means of pinpointing a person's dwelling, here ensuring the remittance could actually be delivered to the right recipient across the distance. The description of the son-in-law as a ropemaker locates Martha's household among the maritime trades of London's dockland east of the Tower. Ropemaking was an essential craft serving the shipping on which both London and St Helena depended, and the detail situates the family within the working world of the port through which the East India trade and the island's own supply lines ran.
142	125	First, I give unto my Loving Wife, Martha Bagley a third Part	Orlando Bagley gave to his loving wife Martha Bagley a third part of all his personal estate forever,

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		of all my personal Estate except my Lease Land for ever. And I give unto her the said Martha a fourth part of all my Land both Free and Leasehold for the Term of her natural Life provided she do remain so long my Widow, also my Dwelling House, but in case she the said Martha Shall Marry again then I will and direct that from the Time of her so Marrying to the Time of her Death she shall have the Use only of half my sd Dwelling house and no more than one third part of my Land called Gurlings to hold to her the sd Martha untill my Youngest Child do attain the Age of twenty one Years, and I give her the Use of sd of my Land called Haspers except the Plantation thereunto belonging, I further give unto my Wife the sd Martha a girl slave named Doll Item I give unto my Son John Bagley my Land in Peak gut the Plantation there to now belonging excepted (which Land was by me Purchased of Messrs James Greentree and David Alcock) he paying therefore the Sum of seven hundred pounds, and my meaning is that he the said John Bagley shall be put in Possession of that Part of the sd Lands purchased of the sd David Alcock in six Years ensuing the date hereof and as to the other part of the sd Lands namely that purchased of the sd James Greentree I leave it to the Discretion and good Management of my Executors herein after mentioned to give him the possession thereof when to them it shall seem least hurt full and most conducive to the Interest and Welfare of my Younger Children Item I give unto my Son Marten Bagley my Dwelling House and the Lands and Plantation thereunto belonging commonly kneewn by the Name of Haspers Living, also my Land called Lemon Valley Head, but my meaning is that in Case he the sd Marten should at any time hereafter mean to dispose of the sd House Lands and Livings or of any part thereof then and in such case the preference In and to the sd Lands and House to be given to my son the sd John Bagley Remainder to my son Richard Bagley and so down to the Youngest of my Sons both which Piece or Parcels of Land together with the Plantation and my Dwelling House thereon I give to the sd Marten at Valuation Item I give unto my Son the sd Richard Bagley my Land called Gurlings also my Plantation in Peak Gut at Valuation the Possession whereof is to be given him by my Executors when to them it shall appear fit and not hurtful to the Welfare of my other Children But is case the sd Richard should on the Death or refusal of my Son the sd Marten, or on the Refusal of my Son the sd John Bagley become intitled to and possessed of my sd Dwelling House and the Lands and Plantation thereto belonging	except his leased land. He also gave Martha a fourth part of all his land, both freehold and leasehold, for the term of her natural life, provided she remained his widow, along with his dwelling house. Should Martha marry again, he directed that from the time of her remarriage to her death she should have the use only of half his dwelling house and no more, together with one third part of his land called Gurlings, to hold until his youngest child reached the age of twenty-one years. He gave Martha the use of his land called Harpers for life, except the plantation belonging to it. He further gave to his wife Martha a girl slave named Doll. He gave to his son John Bagley his land at Peak Gut, and the plantation now belonging to it, except the land he had bought from Messrs James Greentree and David Alcock, John paying for it the sum of £700 0s 0d. He directed that John Bagley be put in possession of that part of the land bought from David Alcock within six years after the date of the will. As for the other part, namely the land bought from James Greentree, he left it to the discretion and good management of his executors named below to give John possession of it when they judged it most beneficial to the interest and welfare of his younger children. He gave to his son Martin Bagley his dwelling house and the lands and plantation belonging to it, commonly known by the name of Harper's Living, also his land called Lemon Valley Head. Should Martin at any time later mean to dispose of that house, lands and living, or any part of it, he directed that the first refusal be given to his son John Bagley, and so down to the youngest of his sons, both which pieces or parcels of land, together with the plantation and dwelling house on it, he gave to Martin at valuation. He gave to his son Richard Bagley his land called Gurlings, also his plantation at Peak Gut, at valuation, possession to be given him by his executors when they judged it fit and not hurtful to the welfare of his other children. Should Richard, on the death or refusal of his son Martin, or on the refusal of his son John Bagley, become entitled to and possessed of his dwelling house and the lands and plantation belonging to it [...]. **Interpretations** The scheme of first refusal running down through the sons in order of seniority sought to keep the family lands within the family should any son wish to sell. By requiring a son who meant to dispose of his inheritance to offer it first to his brothers before any outsider, Orlando Bagley bound the estate together across a generation, using the pre-emption right to guard against the land passing to strangers while still allowing a son to realise its value within the family. The staggered timing of possession, with some parcels handed over on a fixed six-year term and others left to the executors' judgement of when it best served the younger children, gave the executors managerial control over the estate's transfer. This let them balance one son's entitlement against the welfare of the whole family, releasing land when the estate could bear it rather than at once, treating the inheritance as a fund to be administered over time. The reduction of the widow's interest in the dwelling house from the whole to a half share on remarriage, matched by a curtailed interest in the land called Gurlings, again used the estate to bear on a widow's choice to remarry. Tying full enjoyment of the house to her continued widowhood protected the children's inheritance from passing under a new husband's control and gave Martha a material reason to remain unmarried.

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		and	The requirement that John pay £700 0s 0d for land already devised to him shows the device of charging a specific gift with a money payment to equalise the estate. Rather than giving the most valuable parcels outright, the will made a son pay a substantial sum into the estate for them, so that the fund available to the other children was replenished and the division among them kept fair.
143	126	my Godson William Young and unto my God daughter Elizth Alexander a Heifer each I hereby Order and direct that all that Part of my Estate either real or Personal of what kind or nature soever not yet by me herein disposed of shall be impartially Valued and equally divided in even Proportion between all my Children or the Survivors of them share and share alike in Manner as by me herein directed. And my meaning is that he they or each of them be paid and do receive his, her, or their Share or Shares respectively when and as soon as it will be deemed convenient so to do all which I recommend to the discretion and good Management of my Executors for the General Good of the Whole and without detriment to either of my Children And be it hereby remembered that I have already paid unto my Son the said John Bagley the Sum of one hundred Pounds in part of his Share or Dividend which Sum of one hundred pounds is to be considered as such by my Executors. And that I have also paid unto my Son in Law Simon Whaley the Sum of one hundred and sixty six pounds ten Shillings and no pence which Sum is likewise to be considered as a Part of the Share or Dividend ariseing and becoming due to him out of my Estate in right of his Wife, my Daughter Margaret And my meaning is and I hereby direct that my Executors herein after mentioned shall pay unto my Son in Law the sd Simon Whaley from time to time or at any time such Sum or Sums of Money as may appear to them to be of Service and wanting to him in discharge or Clearance of any Debts, Bargains or Contract out of this part and towards the Payment thereof, so as no damage detriment Hurt Injury or disadvantage may accrue from such disbursment or disbursments to any of my other Children Lastly I hereby Nominate Constitute and appoint my Loving Brother Richard Bagley my Good Friends Messrs Will: Wrangham and Benji Mason and my Son John Bagley to be Executors of this my last Will and Testament contained in seven sides of paper In Witness whereof I the sd Orlando Bagley have to this my last Will and Testament set my hand and Seal the Day and Year above written signed Orlando Bagley Signed sealed and delivered by the	Orlando Bagley gave to his godson William Young and to his goddaughter Elizabeth Alexander a heifer each. He directed that all that part of his estate, whether real or personal and of whatever kind, not already disposed of, be impartially valued and equally divided in even proportion among all his children, or the survivors of them, share and share alike, in the manner he had directed. He wished each of them to be paid and to receive their share as soon as convenient, all of which he left to the discretion and good management of his executors for the general good of the whole and without detriment to any of his children. He recorded that he had already paid to his son John Bagley the sum of £100 0s 0d in part of his share, which was to be counted as such by his executors. He had also paid to his son-in-law Simon Whaley the sum of £160 10s 6d, which was likewise to be counted as part of the share arising and becoming due to him out of the estate, in right of his wife Margaret, the testator's daughter. He directed that his executors pay to his son-in-law Simon Whaley, from time to time, such sums of money as should appear to them to be of service to him in the discharge or clearance of any debts, bargains or contracts, out of his part and towards the payment of it, so that no damage, detriment, hurt, injury or disadvantage should come to his other children from such disbursements. Lastly, he named and appointed his loving brother Richard Bagley, his good friends William Waringham and Benjamin Mason, and his son John Bagley executors of his will, contained on seven sides of paper. In witness of this, Orlando Bagley set his hand and seal on the day and year written above. The document was signed, sealed and delivered by Orlando Bagley as his last will, read to him in the presence of the witnesses. The document was signed by Orlando Bagley, and witnessed by Edward Bagley, Philip Mahony and Samuel Knipe. **Interpretations** The direction that lifetime payments to a son and a son-in-law be counted against their shares applied the doctrine of advancement to keep the eventual division equal. Where the earlier will over grandchildren had disapplied that rule, here the testator enforced it, recording the £100 0s 0d to John and the £160 10s 6d to Simon Whaley as sums to be set off, so that each took only the balance of his portion and the children shared the estate evenly. The £160 10s 6d already paid to Simon Whaley in right of his wife Margaret shows how a son-in-law drew on the estate through his marriage to the testator's daughter. A married woman's share passed under her husband's control, so payments made to Simon Whaley counted against Margaret's portion, and the will treated the couple as a single claimant whose advances reduced what remained due to them. The safeguard that disbursements to help Simon Whaley clear his debts must not prejudice the other children protected the estate as a whole from one heir's liabilities. By authorising the executors to pay Whaley's debts only out of his own portion and only so far as it did no harm to the rest, the will contained

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		Testator, as and for his last Will and Testament in the Presence of Us signed Edward Bagley Phill Mahony Samuel Knipe	the risk that a son-in-law's financial troubles might erode the shares of the other children.
144	127	my Godson William Young and unto my God daughter Elizth Alexander a Heifer each I hereby Order and direct that all that Part of my Estate either real or Personal of what kind or nature soever not yet by me herein disposed of shall be impartially Valued and equally divided in even Proportion between all my Children or the Survivors of them share and share alike in Manner as by me herein directed. And my meaning is that he they or each of them be paid and do receive his, her, or their Share or Shares respectively when and as soon as it will be deemed convenient so to do all which I recommend to the discretion and good Management of my Executors for the General Good of the Whole and without detriment to either of my Children And be it hereby remembered that I have already paid unto my Son the said John Bagley the Sum of one hundred Pounds in part of his Share or Dividend which Sum of one hundred pounds is to be considered as such by my Executors. And that I have also paid unto my Son in Law Simon Whaley the Sum of one hundred and six pounds ten Shillings and six pence which Sum is likewise to be considered as a Part of the Share or Dividend ariseing and becoming due to him out of my Estate in right of his Wife, my Daughter Margaret And my meaning is and I hereby direct that my Executors herein after mentioned shall pay unto my Son in Law the sd Simon Whaley from time to time or at any time such Sum or Sums of Money as may appear to them to be of Service and wanting to him in discharge or Clearance of any Debts, Bargains or Contract out of this part and towards the Payment thereof, so as no damage detriment Hurt Injury or disadvantage may accrue from such disbursment or disbursments to any of my other Children Lastly I hereby Nominate Constitute and appoint my Loving Brother Richard Bagley my Good Friends Messrs Will: Wrangham and Benji Mason and my Son John Bagley to be Executors of this my last will and Testament contained in seven sides of paper In Witness whereof I the sd Orlando Bagley have to this my last Will and Testament set my hand and Seal the Day and Year above written signed Orlando Bagley Signed sealed and delivered by the Testator, as and for his last Will and Testament in the Presence of Us	Orlando Bagley gave to his godson William Young and to his goddaughter Elizabeth Alexander a heifer each. He directed that all that part of his estate, whether real or personal and of whatever kind, not already disposed of, be impartially valued and equally divided in even proportion among all his children, or the survivors of them, share and share alike, in the manner he had directed. He wished each of them to be paid and to receive their share as soon as convenient, all of which he left to the discretion and good management of his executors for the general good of the whole and without detriment to any of his children. He recorded that he had already paid to his son John Bagley the sum of £100 0s 0d in part of his share, which was to be counted as such by his executors. He had also paid to his son-in-law Simon Whaley the sum of £160 10s 6d, which was likewise to be counted as part of the share arising and becoming due to him out of the estate, in right of his wife Margaret, the testator's daughter. He directed that his executors pay to his son-in-law Simon Whaley, from time to time, such sums of money as should appear to them to be of service to him in the discharge or clearance of any debts, bargains or contracts, out of his part and towards the payment of it, so that no damage, detriment, hurt, injury or disadvantage should come to his other children from such disbursements. Lastly, he named and appointed his loving brother Richard Bagley, his good friends William Waringham and Benjamin Mason, and his son John Bagley executors of his will, contained on seven sides of paper. In witness of this, Orlando Bagley set his hand and seal on the day and year written above. The document was signed, sealed and delivered by Orlando Bagley as his last will, read to him in the presence of the witnesses. The document was signed by Orlando Bagley, and witnessed by Edward Bagley, Philip Mahony and Samuel Knipe.

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		signed Edward Bagley Phill Mahony Samuel Knipe	
145	128	In the Name of God Amen I John Desfountain of the Island of St Helena Planter, being now in perfect Health and of sound Mind, Memory, & Understanding and considering the Uncertanty of Life and Certainty of death, do make and ordain this my last Will and Testament, in manner and form following (that is to say) my Soul I recommend unto the Hands of Almighty God, and my Body to the Earth to be buried in a decent Manr and my worldly Estate I dispose of as follows Vizt Imprimis I will that my Just debts and funeral Charges shall be paid & discharged Item I give to my beloved Wife Sarah Desfountain one third part of my Free Land and one third part of my Leasehold Land, and likewise one third part of my Dwelling House during her natural Life Item I will and bequeath unto my Son James Desfountain the other two thirds of my Free Land and the other two thirds of my Leasehold Land and likewise the other two thirds of my Dwelling House, when he Arrives to the Age of twenty one Years, he paying to each of my daughters Mary and Elizabeth Desfountain an equal share or dividend at Valuation, when they arrive to the Age of twenty one Years or Marriage Item I likewise at the decease of my beloved Wife bequeath the other third part of my Free Land, and the other third part of my Leasehold Land, and likewise the other third part of my Dwelling house to my Son James Desfountain he paying to each of my Daughters the sd Mary and Elizabeth Desfountain an equal Share or Dividend in Manner as above mentioned Item I give and bequeath unto my beloved Wife one Man Slave named Jack and one Woman Slave named Mary, formerly Mr James Reder's to be at her own disposal, Likewise a Boy Slave named George to be and remain with her as a Servant, during her natural Life, and after her decease to have his freedom Item I give and bequeath unto my Son Jams Desfountain one Boy Slave named Neptune, one Boy Slave named Hercules, one Woman Slave named Pegg, and one Girl Slave named Nanny, not be Valued to him Item I give and bequeath unto my Daughter Mary Desfountain one Boy Slave named Harry, one Boy Slave named Samson, one Woman Slave named Pegg, and one Girl Slave named Rose, not to be Valued to her Item I give and bequeath unto my Daughter Elizabeth Desfountain one Boy Slave named Tom Tongue, one Boy Slave named Phillip, one Woman Slave named Mercy, and one Woman Slave named Hagar not to be Valued to her	John Desfountain of the island of St Helena, planter, being in perfect health and of sound mind, memory and understanding, and considering the uncertainty of life and the certainty of death, made and ordained his last will. He committed his soul into the hands of Almighty God, and directed that his body be buried in the earth in a decent manner. As for his worldly estate, he disposed of it as follows. First, he directed that his just debts and funeral charges be paid and discharged. He gave to his beloved wife Sarah Desfountain one third part of his freehold land, one third part of his leasehold land, and one third part of his dwelling house during her natural life. He gave to his son James Desfountain the other two thirds of his freehold land, the other two thirds of his leasehold land, and the other two thirds of his dwelling house, when he reached the age of twenty-one years, he paying to each of his daughters Mary and Elizabeth Desfountain an equal share or dividend at valuation, when they reached the age of twenty-one years or married. At the death of his beloved wife, he gave the remaining third part of his freehold land, the remaining third part of his leasehold land, and the remaining third part of his dwelling house to his son James Desfountain, he paying to each of his daughters Mary and Elizabeth Desfountain an equal share or dividend in the manner mentioned above. He gave to his beloved wife one man slave named Jack, and one woman slave named Mary, formerly Mr James Reder's, to be at her own disposal. He also gave her a boy slave named George, to remain with her as a servant during her natural life, and after her death to have his freedom. He gave to his son James Desfountain one boy slave named Stephen, one boy slave named Hercules, one woman slave named Pegg, and one girl slave named Nanny, not to be valued to him. He gave to his daughter Mary Desfountain one boy slave named Harvey, one boy slave named Samson, one woman slave named Pegg, and one girl slave named Peile, not to be valued to her. He gave to his daughter Elizabeth Desfountain one boy slave named Tom Tongue, one boy slave named Phillip, one woman slave named Mercy, and one woman slave named Hagar, not to be valued to her. Should his son James, and his daughters Mary and Elizabeth Desfountain, or any of them, die before reaching the age of twenty-one years or [...]. **Interpretations** The division of every category of property into thirds, with the widow taking a life interest in one third of the freehold, leasehold and house and the son the remainder, followed the customary pattern of provision that mirrored the widow's dower right. By carving the same one third fraction out of each kind of holding, the will gave Sarah Desfountain a defined life estate across the whole property while keeping the bulk and the reversion in the male heir. The direction that the son pay his sisters an equal share at valuation, while the land itself passed to him, used equalisation to favour the male heir with the real property while compensating the daughters in money. This kept the family land whole in the son's hands, as was the common preference, but charged him with buying out his sisters' equivalent value, so that the daughters received cash portions rather than parcels of the estate.

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		Item If my Son James, my Daughters, Mary and Elizabeth Desfountain or either of them should die before they Arrive to the Age of twenty one Years or Marriage	The distribution of named slaves among the wife and each child, expressly not to be valued against their shares, treated the enslaved as personal gifts separate from the equalised division of land. Because these slaves were given outside the valuation, each recipient took them over and above their portion of the estate, and the careful listing of individuals by name marks the extent to which a planter's wealth on St Helena was held in human beings allotted like any other chattel. The single grant of freedom to the boy George after the widow's death, set against the many other slaves passed on as outright property, shows manumission used sparingly and deferred. George's liberty came only after years of service to the widow throughout her life, so his release was made to follow a lifetime of labour rather than to take effect at the testator's death.
146	129	Marriage the Survivors to enjoy the others Legacy Item I give and bequeath unto my beloved Wife, the one third of my Personal Estate not already disposed of, to be at her own disposal for ever Item I give and bequeath unto my Son James, My daughters, Mary and Elizabeth Desfountain the other two thirds of my Personal Estate to be equally divided between them, as they shall arrive at the Age of twenty Years or Marriage Item I will and direct that my beloved Sister Rebeca Desfountain have her Maintenance in my Estate such as Meat, Drink, Washing, and Lodging while she remains single, and not to be charged to her Lastly I do hereby Nominate and appoint, my beloved Wife Executrix, and my Friends Lieut Samuel Desfountain and Mr Orlando Bagley Jun Together with my Son James Desfountain (when he Arrives to the Age of Nineteen) to be Executors to this my last Will and Testament, hereby revoking and making Void all former Wills by me heretofore made, Confirming this and no other to be my last Will and Testament, In Witness whereof I have set my Hand and Seal this twenty fifth day of October in the Year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and sixty Eight signed Signed Signed and declared by John Desfountain the Testator as his last Will and Testament at the request of and in presence of the sd Testator and in presence of each other signed Phill Mahony John Worrall In the Name of God Amen I Isaac Ruffe of the Island St Helena being weak and infirm of Body, but of sound mind memory and Understanding, do make and publish this my last Will and Testament, first, I recommend my Soul to my Maker, my Body I commit to the Earth, to be Decently Buried at the discretion of my Executor herea fter mentioned my worldly Effects I devise and bequeath in the manner and form following Imprimis I give to my Son Samuel as a Legacy one Man Slave named Tokwork and one Girl Slave named Doll Item I give to my Son Richard as a Legacy one Man Slave named Tom	John Desfountain directed that, should any of his children die before reaching that age or marriage, the survivors should enjoy the deceased's legacy. He gave to his beloved wife the one third of his personal estate not already disposed of, to be at her own disposal forever. He gave to his son James, and his daughters Mary and Elizabeth Desfountain, the other two thirds of his personal estate, to be equally divided between them as they reached the age of twenty-one years or married. He directed that his beloved sister Rebecca Desfountain have her maintenance out of his estate, such as meat, drink, washing and lodging, while she remained single, and that this not be charged to her. Lastly, he named and appointed his beloved wife executrix, and his friends Lieutenant Samuel Desfountain and Mr Orlando Bagley, together with his son James Desfountain when he reached the age of nineteen years, executors of his will. He revoked and made void all former wills he had previously made, and confirmed this alone to be his last will. In witness of this, he set his hand and seal on 25 October 1768. The will was signed, sealed and declared by John Desfountain as his last will, at his request and in his presence and in the presence of each other. The document was signed by John Desfountain, and witnessed by Philip Mahony and John Worrall. Isaac Muffe of the island of St Helena, being weak in body but of sound mind and understanding, made and published his last will. First, he committed his soul to his maker, and directed that his body be decently buried at the discretion of his executor named below. As for his worldly effects, he gave and bequeathed them as follows. First, he gave to his son Samuel, as a legacy, one man slave named Cesar and one girl slave named Doll. He gave to his son Richard, as a legacy, one man slave named Tom and one boy slave named Bully. He gave to his daughter Mary, as a legacy, one girl slave named Christian and one other girl slave named Fanny [...]. **Interpretations** The maintenance secured to the unmarried sister out of the estate, covering food, drink, washing and lodging so long as she stayed single, created a charge on the property to support a dependent female relative. This was a common means of providing for an unmarried sister or daughter who had no husband to keep her, binding the estate and its holder to her upkeep while her single state continued, and quietly ending that support should she marry and gain a husband's provision.

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		and one Boy Slave named Bully Item I give to my Daughter Mary as a Legacy one Girl Slave named Christian and one other Girl Slave named Fanny	The appointment of the son James as an executor on reaching nineteen, below the usual age of twenty-one, shows a testator judging his heir ready for responsibility somewhat early. Fixing a specific younger age at which the son would join the executors suggests confidence in his capacity, while the interim reliance on the widow and two friends ensured the estate was administered until the boy came to that age. The cross-provision that a deceased child's legacy pass to the surviving children guarded against a share lapsing should a young heir die before coming of age. Because the legacies vested only at twenty-one or marriage, a child might die in the interval, and directing the survivors to take the lapsed share kept the property within the immediate family rather than letting it fall away or pass elsewhere.
147	130	Item I give to my Daughter Kitty as a Legacy one Woman Slave named Franca and also two Girl Slaves one named Peth and the other named Nandy Item I give to my Daughter Flora as a Legacy one Woman Slave named Peg and one Girl Slave named Betty Item I order and direct, that all the Legacies be seperately Valued, and every one of my Children have an equal part therein Item I give unto my Sons Samuel and Richard the refusal of all my Lands both Free hold and Lease hold with the Houses thereon with the Yams also at Valuation to be equally divided between them, paying the rest of my Children an equal part or Dividend not to be distressed paying my three Daughters as soon as it shall suit their conveniency Item the rest and residue of my Estate be it of what kind soever after my Debts and funeral Expences are paid I give to be equally divided amongst all my Children being first Sold at public Auction and the Money arising from the said Auction to be equally divided amongst all my Children, Namely Samuel Richard Mary Kitty and Flora Lastly I nominate Constitute and appoint Lieu Thomas Bazell and my Sons Samuel and Richard Knipe Executors to this my last Will and Testament utterly revoking and disanulling all former Wills herefore made by me ratifyeing and confirming this my last Will and Testament. In Witness I have hereunto put my hand and Seal this third day of May, in the Year of our Lord one Thousand seven hundred and seventy signed Isaac Knipe Signed Sealed published by the sd Testator Isaac Knipe to be his last Will and Testament, in the presence of us signed John Scott Jn Colgrave In the Name of God Amen I Mary Brantham of the Island of St Helena Widow being weak in Body but of sound mind Memory, and Understanding, Praise be therefore given to Almighty God do make and ordain this my present last Will and Testament in Manner and form following (that is to say) first and principally I recommend my	Isaac Muffe gave to his daughter Kitty, as a legacy, one woman slave named Frances, and also two girl slaves, one named Pett and the other named Nancy. He gave to his daughter Flora, as a legacy, one woman slave named Pegg and one girl slave named Betty. He directed that all the legacies be separately valued, and every one of his children have an equal part in them. He gave to his sons Samuel and Richard the first refusal of all his lands, both freehold and leasehold, with the houses on them and the yams also, at valuation, to be equally divided between them, they paying to the rest of his children an equal part or dividend. His three daughters were not to be pressed, but paid as soon as it should suit the sons' convenience. He gave the rest and residue of his estate, of whatever kind, after his debts and funeral expenses were paid, to be equally divided among all his children, being first sold at public auction, the money arising from that auction to be equally divided among all his children, namely Samuel, Richard, Mary, Kitty and Flora. Lastly, he named and appointed Lieutenant Thomas Bazett, and his sons Samuel and Richard Knipe, executors of his will. He revoked and made void all former wills he had previously made, and confirmed this to be his last will. In witness of this, he set his hand and seal on 3 May 1770. The will was signed, sealed and published by Isaac Knipe as his last will in the presence of the witnesses. The document was signed by Isaac Knipe, and witnessed by John Scott and John Colgrave. Mary Branham of the island of St Helena, widow, being weak in body but of sound mind, memory and understanding, and giving thanks to Almighty God, made and ordained her present last will. First and principally, she committed her soul into the hands of Almighty God, and directed that her body be decently buried at the discretion of her executors named below. **Interpretations** The direction that the daughters not be pressed for their money, but paid only as it suited the sons' convenience, softened the equalisation charge in the sons' favour by giving them time to raise the payments. Where the sons took the family lands at valuation and owed their sisters equivalent shares, this let them defer those payments to their own convenience, easing the burden of buying out the daughters while leaving the women to wait for their portions. The combination of a valuation route for the land, given first to the sons, with a public auction of the residue reflects two different aims within one

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		Soul into the hands of Almighty God, and my Body I commit to the Earth to be decently buried at the discretion of my Executors herein after mentioned	estate. The lands were kept whole and passed to the male heirs at an appraised price to preserve the family holding, while the remaining goods were turned into cash at open sale to be split evenly, using the market to divide what could not be conveniently held in common. The distribution of named slaves as separately valued legacies, with each child to have an equal part, again treated the enslaved as appraised assets folded into the arithmetic of an equal division. By valuing the slaves and counting them toward each child's share, the will ensured that a child who received more valuable slaves took correspondingly less of the rest, applying the machinery of valuation to human beings exactly as to land or goods.
148	131	mentioned. And as to all such temporal Estate as it hath pleased God to bestow upon me, I give and dispose thereof as follows First I will that all my just Debts and funeral Charges shall be paid at a convenient time after my decease according to the discretion of my Executors after mentioned Item My Will is and I hereby direct that all my Estate both real and personal which I shall die possessed of shall be impartially valued and equally divided between all my Children namely John and Thomas Burnham, Sarah Whitchurch, Martha Jacks, Margaret Goudy and Mary Burnham, Share and Share, and in case of the Death or Deaths of him, her any or either of them Remainder to the survivors in equal and even proportions. And I give unto my Daughter the said Sarah Whitchurch over and above her dividend or equal share with each of my other Children the sum of twenty Pounds Item I give unto my Grand Children, namely, Joseph Ranton, Mary Jacks, Margaret Jacks, Sarah Burnham, Mary Goudy, Mary Burnham and William Burnham ten pounds each to be paid to them and each of them when he she or they shall be of full Age or Marriage or sooner if my Executors herein after mentioned shall judge it to be to his her or their Advantage. And I further give unto each and every of my sd Grand Children a Silver Tea Spoon Item My Will and meaning is that all my Estate of what kind soever shall be Sold, excepting thereunto my Dwelling House in James Valley the good and proper disposal whereof I leave to the discretion of my Executors herein after named Lastly I do hereby Nominate and appoint my beloved Son in Law John Whitchurch, and my good friends, Messrs Thomas Leech, and Rlisha Isacke Executors of this my last Will and Testament hereby revoking and making void all former Wills by me heretofore made declaring this to be my last Will and Testament In Witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and Seal this fourth day of May in the Year of our Lord one	Mary Branham disposed of the worldly estate it had pleased God to bestow upon her as follows. First, she directed that all her just debts and funeral charges be paid within a convenient time after her death, at the discretion of her executors named below. She directed that all her estate, both real and personal, that she should own at her death, be impartially valued and equally divided between all her children, namely John and Thomas Branham, Sarah Whitchurch, Martha Jacks, Margaret Goudy and Mary Branham, share and share alike. Should any of them die, she directed that the deceased's portion remain to the survivors in equal and even proportions. She gave to her daughter Sarah Whitchurch, over and above her equal share with the other children, the sum of £20 0s 0d. She gave to her grandchildren, namely Joseph Ranton, Mary Jacks, Margaret Jacks, Sarah Branham, Mary Goudy, Mary Branham and William Branham, the sum of £10 0s 0d each, to be paid to them when they reached full age or married, or sooner if her executors named below judged it to their advantage. She further gave to each of her grandchildren a silver teaspoon. She directed that all her estate, of whatever kind, be sold, excepting her dwelling house in James's Valley, the disposal of which she left to the discretion of her executors named below. Lastly, she named and appointed her beloved son-in-law John Whitchurch, and her good friends Mr Thomas Leech and Elisha Isaake, executors of her will. She revoked and made void all former wills she had previously made, and declared this to be her last will. In witness of this, she set her hand and seal on 4 May 1771, in the eleventh year of the reign of King George the Third of Great Britain, France and Ireland. The will was signed, sealed, declared and published in the presence of the witnesses, at her request and as witnesses to her last will. The document was signed with the mark of Mary Branham, and witnessed by John Pritchard, James Pugh and Philip Mahony. **Interpretations** The additional £20 0s 0d given to the daughter Sarah Whitchurch over and above her equal share singled her out for extra provision beyond the even division among the children. Such a supplementary legacy usually reflected a particular need, a past service, or a wish to redress some imbalance in what a child had otherwise received, marking Sarah out for favour while the estate was otherwise shared equally. The uniform gift of a silver teaspoon to each grandchild, alongside the £10 0s 0d legacies, shows a small item of silver serving as a personal keepsake distributed evenly among the younger generation. Modest but enduring, such tokens carried both a little value and a sentimental weight, giving each

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		thousand seven hundred and seventy one and in the eleventh Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord George the third of Great Britain, France, and Ireland King &ca the Mark of Mary Burnham Signed sealed declared and published in the presence of Us who at the desire of the Testatrix are Witness to her last Will and Testament signed Jn Pritchard, James Pruss, Phill Mahoney	grandchild a tangible remembrance of the grandmother distinct from the cash left to them. The reservation of the dwelling house in James's Valley from the general sale, its disposal left to the executors' discretion, gave the executors flexibility over the family's principal asset. Rather than fixing its fate in advance, the will trusted them to decide whether to sell, retain or otherwise deal with the house as best suited the beneficiaries, treating it differently from the movable goods that were simply sold and divided.
149	132	Island St Helena June 11th 1771 In the Name of God I William Birch Soldier being in a week and low condition, tho of sound mind and memory do ordain this my last Will and Testament in manner & form following Vizt I recomend my Soul to Almighty God, hoping for a blessing ressuection touching my Worldly Goods I give & bequeath unto William Brooks Soldier all my Money Goods and wearing Appeal and all other Effects belonging to me at the time of my Death which I appoint the said William Brooks my sole Excecter of this my last Will & Testament revoking all other Wills by me formly made In Witness whereof I hereunto set my hand & Seal this Eleventh day of June and in the Year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and seventy one and in the tenth Year of the Reign of His Majesty King George the third signed William Birch his Mark Signed sealed & delivered in Prence of Us whose names are hereto subscribe signed Jno Ham Andrew Sedrick his Mark In the Name of God Amen I Joseph Chamberlane of the Island of St Helena, being weak in Body, but of sound mind & memory, blessed be God Do make & publish this my last Will & Testament in manner and form following (that is to say) First I give unto my beloved Wife Ann Chamberlane one third part of all my	Dated on the island of St Helena, 11 June 1771. William Birch, soldier, being in a weak and low condition but of sound mind and memory, made his last will. He committed his soul to Almighty God, hoping for a blessed resurrection. As for his worldly goods, he gave to William Brooks, soldier, all his money, goods, wearing apparel and all other effects belonging to him at the time of his death. He appointed William Brooks sole executor of his will, revoking all former wills he had previously made. In witness of this, he set his hand and seal on 11 June 1771, in the tenth year of the reign of King George the Third. The document was signed, sealed and delivered in the presence of the witnesses, whose names were subscribed below. The document was signed with the mark of William Birch, and witnessed by John Ham and Andrew Tedrick, who made his mark. Joseph Chamberlain of the island of St Helena, being weak in body but of sound mind and memory and giving thanks to God, made and published his last will. First, he gave to his beloved wife Ann Chamberlain one third part of all his [...]. **Interpretations** The whole estate reduced to money, goods and wearing apparel, left to a single fellow soldier made sole executor, follows the familiar pattern of the garrison's ordinary men. With no land, no household and no kin named, William Birch settled everything on a comrade who would gather in his effects and take what remained, the close ties of soldiers serving far from home again standing in for family. The signing of both the testator's and one witness's names by mark rather than signature indicates that neither William Birch nor Andrew Tedrick could write, which was common among common soldiers. A witnessed mark carried the same legal weight as a signature, allowing men who could not write to make and attest a valid will, provided the document was properly witnessed by others present.
150	133	my Estate, of what kind, or nature soever Item, I give unto my two Sons, William and Joseph Chamberlane all the Residue, or Remainder of my Estate consisting of the two other parts, to be equally divided between them, share, and share alike, And in case of the Death of any or either of them before he shall have Attained the possession of his share or Dividend, remainder to the Survivor and in case of the Death of both my Sons the sd William and Joseph Chamberlane before they shall have Attained the possession of their respective Shares, remainder to my Wife the sd Ann Chamberlain I hereby Order and direct that neither of my Sons the sd	Joseph Chamberlain, along with the one third given to his wife, gave to his two sons William and Joseph Chamberlain all the residue or remainder of his estate, consisting of the two other parts, to be equally divided between them, share and share alike. Should either of them die before taking possession of his share, he directed that it remain to the survivor. Should both his sons William and Joseph Chamberlain die before taking possession of their shares, he directed that they remain to his wife Ann Chamberlain. He directed that neither of his sons William and Joseph Chamberlain enjoy or take possession of his share until reaching the full age of twenty-one years, or sooner if his executors named below judged it fit and beneficial to their interest and welfare. Lastly, he named and appointed his beloved wife Ann Chamberlain executrix, and his good friend and brother-in-law John Skottley, lieutenant of artillery,

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		William and Joseph Chamberlain shall enjoy or get possession of his or their respective share or Dividend until he or they do attain the full and perfect Age of twenty one Years, or sooner, if to my Executors herein after mentioned it shall seem fit or conducive to his or their Interest and welfare Lastly I hereby Nominate and appoint my beloved Wife the said Ann Chamberlane Executrix and my Good friend and Brother in Law John Shortley Lieutnant of Artillery Executor of this my last Will and Testament hereby revoking all former Wills by me made In witness whereof I have hereunto Set my Hand and Seal the first day of June in the tenth Year of his Majesty's Reign and in the Year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred & twenty signed the Mark of Jn Chamberlane Signed sealed and declared by the abovementioned Jo Chamberlane as his last Will & Testament in presence of Us signed Phill Mahoney H Jones Jeremiah Smith	executor of his will. He revoked all former wills he had previously made. In witness of this, he set his hand and seal on 1 June 1720, in the tenth year of the reign of the King. The will was signed, sealed and declared by Joseph Chamberlain as his last will in the presence of the witnesses. The document was signed with the mark of Joseph Chamberlain, and witnessed by Philip Mahony, H. Jones and Jeremiah Smith. **Interpretations** The chain of survivorship, passing a deceased son's share first to the surviving brother and then, if both died young, to the widow, kept the estate within the immediate family through successive contingencies. Because the sons' shares vested only at twenty-one, the will provided for each possible failure of the line, ensuring the property would not lapse but settle finally on the mother should neither son live to inherit. The signing of the will by mark shows that Joseph Chamberlain could not write, common among ordinary men of the island. The witnessed mark carried full legal force, allowing him to make a valid will disposing of a modest estate in thirds between wife and sons, provided the document was duly attested by those present.
151	134	Island St Helena In the Name of God Amen I William Seale Junr being weak in body, tho in perfect mind and memory calling to mind the mortallity of my Body do make this my last Will and Testament in manner and form following that is to say principally and first of all I give and recommend my Soul unto God that gave it me in hopes of a joyful ressurection thro the merits of Jesus Christ my Saviour and redeemer; and my Body to be decently intered in its Mother Earth, at the discretion of my Executrix herein after named, being fully ashured I shall receive the same by the meghty power of God, and as touching my worldly Estate wherewith it hath pleased God to Bless me with in this Life, I give, demise and bequeath as follows, that is to say Unto my Dear & well beloved Mother Mary Seale, I give and bequeath all my Lands, Cattle, House, Sheep, & Hogs, to to by her possessed during the term of her natural Life, and after her decease that my well beloved Brother George Seale do have and hold the aforesaid House and Land he & his Heirs forever, & my Will further is that the Cattle, Sheep Hogs & Poultry, after the decease of my Mother Mary Seale aforesaid be equally divided between my Brother aforesaid and my well beloved Niece Mary Yates. And as touching some Money due to me at the Death of my father, being my share of my late Brother John Seale's Estate at Bengal I give & bequeath unto my Brother George Seale, and Mary Yates they paying first unto my Neice Caroline Paddon of living the Sum of twenty pounds that	William Seale junior, being weak in body but of perfect mind and memory and calling to mind the mortality of his body, made his last will. First and principally, he committed his soul to God, who gave it, hoping for a joyful resurrection through the merits of Jesus Christ his saviour and redeemer, and directed that his body be decently buried in the earth at the discretion of his executrix named below, being fully assured he should receive it again by the mighty power of God. As for the worldly estate it had pleased God to bless him with, he gave and disposed of it as follows. He gave to his dear and beloved mother Mary Seale all his lands, cattle, house, sheep and hogs, to be held by her during her natural life. After her death, he gave the house and land to his beloved brother George Seale and his heirs forever. He further directed that the cattle, sheep, hogs and poultry, after his mother Mary Seale's death, be equally divided between his brother George Seale and his beloved niece Mary Yates. As for the money due to him at the death of his mother, being his share of his late mother Ann Seale's estate at Bengal, he gave it to his brother George Seale and his niece Mary Yates, they first paying to his niece Caroline Paddon the sum of £20 0s 0d, that is to say £10 0s 0d each, the remaining part to be equally divided between his brother George Seale and his niece Mary Yates. He declared this alone to be his last will. In witness of this, he set his hand and seal on 11 August 1771, in the eleventh year of the reign of King George the Third of Great Britain, France and Ireland, defender of the faith. The will was signed, sealed, published and declared as his last will in the presence of the witnesses, who subscribed their names as witnesses. The document was signed with the mark of William Seale, and witnessed by Henry Easthorne and James Easthorne. **Interpretations** The reference to money due from a late mother's estate at Bengal reveals the reach of the East India

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		is to say ten pounds each, the remaining part to be equally divided between my Brother George Seale & my Neice Mary Yates And I do hereby declare this & no other to be my last Will and Testament in Witness whereof I have hereunto set my Hand & Seal this Eleventh day of August in the Year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and seventy one & in the eleventh Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord George, by the Grace of God of Great Britain France & Ireland King defender of the Faith and so forth signed William Seale his Mark Signed Sealed Published and declared to be his last Will & Testament in the presence of Us who have hereunto subscribed our Names as Witnesses signed Henry Easthope James Easthope	Company's world into a St Helena family's affairs. A share of an estate settled in Bengal, thousands of miles away in the Company's Indian territories, formed part of this islander's property, showing how the lives and inheritances of the Company's people stretched across the whole span of its trading empire from India to the South Atlantic. The apparent naming of two different mothers, a living mother Mary Seale and a late mother Ann Seale whose estate lay at Bengal, suggests a stepmother or a family reconstituted across the Company's stations. The testator held a share in the Bengal estate of one woman while leaving his island property to another he called mother, hinting at the complex family arrangements that arose as the Company's servants married, died and left property in far-flung places. The layered provision, giving the mother a life interest in the whole and then splitting the livestock between a brother and a niece while the land passed to the brother alone, distinguished heritable real property from divisible movable stock. The house and land went to the male heir to keep the holding intact, while the cattle, sheep and hogs, being movable and divisible, were shared between two relatives, reflecting the different treatment of land and chattels in passing on an estate.
152	135	In the Name of God Amen I Mary Harper of the Island of St Helena Widow being weak of Body, but of sound memory and Understanding, do make and publish this my last Will and Testament in manner and form following viz First I give unto my God Daughter Charlotte Price my Dwelling House in this Valley to be and remain to her and her Heirs for ever. And my meaning is that in case of her Death before she be of full Age or Married, then the said House to be given to and equally divided between John Legg and James Price and I further give unto my God Daughter the said Charlotte Price my Woman Slave named Pegg Item, I give unto the said James Price the Son of John Price the Sum of ten pounds Item, I give unto the said John Legg the Sum of five pounds Item, I give unto Thomas Leech the Son of Lieut Leech the Sum of five pounds Item, I give unto Sarah Pledger the Daughter of Benjamin Pledger the Sum of ten pounds, to be put out at Interest or otherwise disposed of to the best Advantage of her the said Sarah till her full Age or Marriage and I further direct that the said Sum of ten pounds by me so bequeathed to the said Sarah Pledger shall not at any time be or become subject to the controul or intermeddling of the Benjamen Pledger her Father Item, I give unto Henry and James Easthope the Sum of five pounds each Item, I give unto Mary Payne the Daughter of Thomas Payne the Sum of five pounds And my further Will and meaning is that all the Estate I shall die possessed of (except my Dwelling House and Woman Slave	Mary Harper of the island of St Helena, widow, being weak in body but of sound memory and understanding, made and published her last will. First, she gave to her goddaughter Charlotte Price her dwelling house in the valley, to remain to her and her heirs forever. Should Charlotte die before reaching full age or marriage, she directed that the house be given to and equally divided between John Legg and James Price. She further gave to her goddaughter Charlotte Price her woman slave named Pegg. She gave to James Price, son of John Price, the sum of £10 0s 0d. She gave to John Legg the sum of £5 0s 0d. She gave to Thomas Leech, son of Lieutenant Leech, the sum of £5 0s 0d. She gave to Sarah Pledger, daughter of Benjamin Pledger, the sum of £10 0s 0d, to be put out at interest or otherwise disposed of to the best advantage until Sarah reached full age or marriage. She directed that this £10 0s 0d not at any time be subject to the control or interference of Benjamin Pledger, Sarah's father. She gave to Henry and James Easthope the sum of £5 0s 0d each. She gave to Mary Payne, daughter of Thomas Payne, the sum of £5 0s 0d. She directed that all the estate she should own at her death, except her dwelling house and her woman slave named Pegg, be sold at public auction. After her just debts and funeral expenses were fully discharged, she directed that the several money legacies be paid to the respective legatees within a proper and convenient time after her death, by her executors named below, out of the rest or residue of her estate. Should there be a surplus, she directed that it be proportionably divided among her several legatees. Lastly, she named and appointed Mr John Robinson and John Price executors of her will, revoking [...]. **Interpretations** The provision that Sarah Pledger's £10 0s 0d be kept from the control of her father Benjamin Pledger applied to a father the same guard more often used against a husband. By directing that the money be put out at interest and held free of the father's interference until Sarah came of age or married, the testatrix protected the child's legacy from a parent she

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		named Pegg, Whereof I have otherwise disposed) shall be Sold at Public Auction: and that after my just Debts be thereout fully discharged together with my Funeral expences the sd several Legacys or Sums of Money by me herein bequeathed shall be paid to the sd respective Legatees, at a proper and convenient time after my Decease by my Executors herein after mentioned out of the rest or residue of my Estate and in case of an overplus, the same to be proportianably divided between my sd several Legatees respectively Lastly I hereby Nominate and appoint Messrs John Robinson and John Price Executors of this my last Will and Testament revoking	evidently did not trust to manage it in the child's interest. The gift over of the dwelling house, passing to two named men should the goddaughter die before coming of age or marrying, provided for the failure of the principal bequest. Because Charlotte Price might die young before her interest became absolute, the will named substitute takers, ensuring the house would pass within the testatrix's chosen circle rather than fall into uncertainty should the young beneficiary not live to inherit fully. The direction to put a child's legacy out at interest turned a modest sum into productive capital held for the child's benefit until majority. Lending the money at interest preserved the principal while it grew, a standard means of safeguarding and increasing a young beneficiary's portion during the years before she was old enough to receive it.
153	136	revoking and making Void all former Wills by me heretofore made ratifying and confirming this to be my last Will and Testament In Witness whereof I have hereunto set my Hand & Seal this seventeenth day of October, one thousand seven hundred & seventy one signed Signed, sealed and published Mary Harper in the presence of signed Phill Mahony James Pritchard In the Name of God Amen I Mary Seale of the Island St Helena Widow being sick and weak of Body but of perfect mind and memory Thanks be given unto God, Therefore calling unto mind the mortality of my Body and knowing that it is appointed for all Persons once to die do make and ordain this my last Will and Testament this third day of March One thousand seven hundred and seventy two. That is to say principally and First of all, I give and recommend my soul into the hands of Almighty God that gave it; and my Body I recommend to the Earth to be buried in a decent and Christian like manner at the Discretion of my Executors, nothing doubting but at the general resurrection I shall receive the Same again by the mighty Power of God. And as touching such worldly Effects wherewith it has pleased God to bless me with in this Life, I give, demise & dispose of the same in the manner and form following First, I give and bequeath unto my Son George Seale two Men Slaves One named Mountain the other Peter, Also One Black boy named Jack which said Boy is to live as a Servant to my Son the said George Seale till the death of the above George Seale and then the said Boy Jack to have his free Liberty and not to be sold as a Slave	Mary Harper revoked and made void all former wills she had previously made, and confirmed this to be her last will. In witness of this, she set her hand and seal on 17 October 1771. The document was signed, sealed and published in the presence of the witnesses. The document was signed by Mary Harper, and witnessed by Philip Mahony and James Pritchard. Mary Seale of the island of St Helena, widow, being sick and weak in body but of perfect mind and memory and giving thanks to God, and calling to mind the mortality of her body and knowing that all persons must die, made and ordained her last will on 3 March 1772. First and principally, she committed her soul into the hands of Almighty God, who gave it, and directed that her body be buried in a decent and Christian manner at the discretion of her executors, not doubting that at the general resurrection she should receive it again by the mighty power of God. As for the worldly effects it had pleased God to bless her with, she gave and disposed of them as follows. First, she gave to her son George Seale two man slaves, one named Mountain and the other Peter. She also gave him a black boy named Jack, who was to live as a servant to her son George Seale until his death, and then Jack was to have his free liberty and not be sold as a slave. She gave to her grandson William Paddon the [...]. **Interpretations** The deferred freedom granted to the boy Jack, taking effect only on the death of the son George Seale to whom he was given as a servant, again tied manumission to a lifetime of prior service. Jack passed first as property to serve the son throughout his life, and only afterwards gained his liberty, so his freedom was made to follow years of labour rather than to take effect at the testatrix's death, a pattern common in the island's wills. The distinction between the two men given outright as slaves and the boy promised eventual freedom shows a slaveholder treating the enslaved differently within a single bequest. Mountain and Peter passed as unconditional property while Jack was singled out for release after service, marking the arbitrary power a testator held to grant or withhold freedom among those she owned.

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		Item, I give unto my Grand Son William Paddon the sum	
154	137	of Ten Pounds as a Legacy to be paid to him when he is in need of it and in distress for it Item, I give unto my grand Daughter Mary Yates the Sum of Ten Pounds as a Legacy for her sole use and behoof to be paid to her alone and when she is really in distress for it Item I give and bequeath unto my Grand Daughter Francis Bland (now in England) the sum of Ten Pounds as a Legacy which mony is to be remitted to her as soon as possible after my decease, and in case the said Francis Bland should not be living at the time of my decease then the said Legacy to be given to her Sister Susanna Bland who is now in England Item I furthermore give and Bequeath unto my Son the beforementioned George Seale all my Personal Estate together with all and every of my moveable Effects household goods &c and I hereby further Order that my dwelling House situate in James's Valley be Sold at Publick Auction to pay the above Legacy's and to defray my Funeral Expences and to pay my debts. And the same be immediately paid after my decease by my Executors I hereby further Authorize, constitute and appoint my Son George Seale and my Brother in Law Benjamin Seale to be my sole Executors of this my last Will and Testament and I do hereby utterly disallow, revoke and disannul all and every other former Will or Wills by me heretofore made, ratifying and conforming this to be my last Will & Testament In Witness whereof I have hereunto Set my Hand and Seale the day and Year above written signed Signed Sealed and declared to be Mary Seale her Mark the last Will and Testament of Mary Seale there being no Stamp to be had in the Presence of Us signed James Pritchard John Tansfell John Terry In	Mary Seale gave to her grandson William Paddon the sum of £10 0s 0d as a legacy, to be paid to him when he was in need of it and in distress. She gave to her granddaughter Mary Yates the sum of £10 0s 0d, for her sole use, to be paid to her alone when she was really in distress for it. She gave to her granddaughter Frances Bland, then in England, the sum of £10 0s 0d as a legacy, the money to be remitted to her as soon as possible after her death. Should Frances Bland not be living at the time of her death, she directed that the legacy be given to her sister Susanna Bland, then in England. She gave to her son George Seale all her personal estate, together with all her movable effects, household goods and the like. She directed that her dwelling house in James's Valley be sold at public auction to pay the above legacies, to defray her funeral expenses and to pay her debts, the sale to be made immediately after her death by her executors. She named and appointed her son George Seale and her brother-in-law Benjamin Seale sole executors of her will. She revoked and made void all former wills she had previously made, and confirmed this to be her last will. In witness of this, she set her hand and seal on the day and year written above. The document was signed, sealed and declared as the last will of Mary Seale, there being no stamp to be had, in the presence of the witnesses. The document was signed with the mark of Mary Seale, and witnessed by James Pritchard, John Tunstall and John Torry. **Interpretations** The condition attached to the grandchildren's legacies, payable only when each was genuinely in need or distress, tied the gift to future hardship rather than granting it outright. This turned the bequests into a reserve against misfortune, held back until real need arose, so that the money served as a safety net for the grandchildren should they fall on hard times rather than a sum simply handed over on the testatrix's death. The recital that the will was signed without a stamp because none was to be had records the reach of stamp duty to St Helena and the practical difficulty of complying with it. Wills and legal documents were meant to be written on stamped paper on which duty had been paid, but the island's remoteness could leave the required stamps unavailable, so the witnesses noted the omission to explain and excuse the want of the proper stamp. The provision for a granddaughter in England, with a substitute gift to her sister should she have died before the testatrix, again shows a St Helena family with members settled at home in Britain. The legacy was to be remitted across the ocean, and the alternative bequest guarded against the money being wasted should news of a distant death not yet have reached the island when the will took effect.
155	138	In the Name of God Amen The Fifteenth day of July One Thousand seven hundred and Seventy two. I Joshua Worrall of the Island St Helena being very Sick and Weak in Body but of Perfect mind and memory thanks be given unto God, Therefore calling unto mind the Mortality of my Body, and knowing that it is appointed for all Men once to die, do make and ordain this my last Will and Testament, That is to say First and principally, I give and	Dated 15 July 1772. Joshua Worrall of the island of St Helena, being very sick and weak in body but of perfect mind and memory and giving thanks to God, and calling to mind the mortality of his body and knowing that all men must die, made and ordained his last will. First and principally, he committed his soul into the hands of Almighty God, who gave it, and directed that his body be decently buried at the discretion of his executors, not doubting that at the general resurrection he should receive it again by the mighty power of God. As for the worldly estate it had pleased God to bless him with, he gave and disposed of it as follows.

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		recommend my soul unto the Hands of Almighty God that gave it And my Body I recommend to the Earth to be decently buried at the discretion of my Executors, nothing doubting but at the general resurrection I shall receive the same again by the mighty Power of God, And as touching my Worldly Estate wherewith it hath pleased God to bless me with in this Life, I give, demise, and dispose of the same in the manner and form following First I give and bequeath unto my God Son Joseph Hayes Son of Will Hayes Senior five Sheep Item I give and bequeath unto my God Son Francis Hayes Son of William Hayes Junior five Sheep Item I give and bequeath unto my God daughter Mary Seale, Daughter of John Seale the remaining part of my Estate &c of what kindsoever that I was possessed of during my Life And Lastly I hereby Authorize, Constitute and appoint Mr Brdtanicus Wright and Mr James Desfountain to be my whole and sole Executors of this my Will and Testament, hereby utterly Disallowing revoking and disannulling all and every other former Will or Wills by me heretofore made, ratifying and confirming this and no other to be my last Will and Testament In Witness whereof I have hereunto Set my Hand and Seale this day and Year abovewritten signed Signed Sealed and declared Joshua Worrall by the said Joshua Worrall as his last Will and Testament (where no Stamp is to be had) signed In presence of us Wm Jenkin John Terry	First, he gave to his godson Joseph Hayes, son of William Hayes senior, five sheep. He gave to his godson Francis Hayes, son of William Hayes junior, five sheep. He gave to his goddaughter Mary Seale, daughter of John Seale, the remaining part of his estate, of whatever kind, that he owned during his life. Lastly, he named and appointed Mr Britanicus Wright and Mr James Desfountain his whole and sole executors of his will. He revoked and made void all former wills he had previously made, and confirmed this alone to be his last will. In witness of this, he set his hand and seal on the day and year written above. The will was signed, sealed and declared by Joshua Worrall as his last will, where no stamp was to be had, in the presence of the witnesses. The document was signed by Joshua Worrall, and witnessed by William Jenkin and John Torry. **Interpretations** The recital that the will was made where no stamp was to be had again records the difficulty of meeting stamp duty requirements on the remote island. The proper stamped paper being unavailable, the witnesses noted the want of it to explain the omission and preserve the document's validity, a recurring practical problem for those making wills far from the sources of official supply. The disposal of the whole residue to a goddaughter, with only small gifts of sheep to two godsons, shows a testator without close family of his own directing his property to the children of friends. Godchildren often stood in for absent kin in such wills, and the choice to leave the bulk to one goddaughter while remembering the godsons with livestock reflects the bonds of spiritual kinship serving where blood relations were wanting.
156	139	In the Name of God Amen This 12th day of June in the Year of Our Lord 1772 I Ruth Cotgrave Widow being Sick and Weak of Body, but of Sound Mind and Memory, Do hereby make this my last Will and Testament, That is to say, I recommend my Soul to my maker, My Body I commit to the Earth to be decently buryed and my Worldly Effects I give and dispose in the manner following Imprimis I give and Bequeath unto my Daughter Anne the Sum of one hundred pounds, Also a man Slave Named George and a Boy named Jack, as a Legacy Item I give my Daughter Elizabeth the Refusial of a Woman Named Flat, paying to my Son James and Daughter Anne the Sum of Five Pounds Each After my Debts are paid Namely Fifty Pounds due to the Estate of Thomas Cotgrave deceased, and all other Debts I Order and direct the rest and residue of my Substance to be Equally Divided amongst all my Children Namely	Dated 12 June 1772. Ruth Colgrave, widow, being sick and weak in body but of sound mind and memory, made her last will. She committed her soul to her maker, and directed that her body be decently buried in the earth. As for her worldly effects, she gave and disposed of them as follows. First, she gave to her daughter Anne the sum of £100 0s 0d, also a man slave named George and a boy named Jack, as a legacy. She gave to her daughter Elizabeth the first refusal of a woman named Pat, Elizabeth paying to her son James and her daughter Anne the sum of £5 0s 0d each. After her debts were paid, namely £50 0s 0d due to the estate of Thomas Colgrave, deceased, and all her other debts, she directed that the rest and residue of her substance be equally divided among all her children, namely James, Elizabeth, Anne and Eleanor. She further directed that her daughter Elizabeth's share of her substance, at Elizabeth's death, be equally divided between her grandsons George and Aaron Lambe. Lastly, she named and appointed her friends Mr Orlando Bagley and Isaac Doveton executors of her will. She revoked and made void all former wills she had previously made, and confirmed this alone to be her last will. The document was signed and sealed in the presence of the witnesses. The document was

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		James, Elizabeth, Anne and Eleanor, I further Order and direct that my Daughter Elizabeths part or share of my Substance at her Death be Equally Divided between my Grand Sons George and Aaron Lambe Lastly I hereby Nominate and appoint my Friends Messrs Orlando Bagley and Isaac Doveton my Executors to this my Will, Utterly revoking all other Wills by me heretofore made Ratifying and confirming this And no other to be my last Will and Testament signed Signed and sealed Ruth Cotgrave in the presence of signed D Alexander John Alexander Junr	signed by Ruth Colgrave, and witnessed by George Alexander and John Alexander junior. **Interpretations** The settlement of the daughter Elizabeth's share on her own children after her death, rather than giving it to her absolutely, created a life interest with a fixed remainder to the grandsons. This kept the property moving down the intended line, letting Elizabeth enjoy her portion during her life while ensuring it passed to her sons George and Aaron Lambe afterwards, so the testatrix controlled the descent of the share beyond her daughter's own lifetime. The device of granting Elizabeth first refusal of the woman Pat, conditional on paying £5 0s 0d each to her siblings, let one child take a particular slave while compensating the others in money. This treated the enslaved woman as an asset to be allotted within the family at a set price, balancing Elizabeth's wish to have her against the equal claims of the other children through a cash payment into their hands. The debt of £50 0s 0d owed to the estate of the deceased Thomas Colgrave, likely a late husband or relative, shows obligations carrying over between the estates of connected family members. The will directed this debt be settled before the residue was divided, reflecting how unpaid sums between kin had to be cleared as the estates were wound up, one estate's claim falling due against another's assets.
157	140	In the Name of God Amen I John Pritchard of the Island St Helena Surgeon's Mate in the Service of the Honble United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies being in good health of Perfect Mind, memory and Understanding but well knowing the uncertainty of this Life do make and ordain this my last Will and Testament That is to say first and principally, I recommend my Soul unto the Hands of Almighty God, my Creator, and my Body to the Earth to be decently buried at the discretion of my Executrix hereafter named, As touching such Worldly Estate wherewith it has pleased God to bless me in this Life I give, devise and dispose thereof in manner and form following, Imprimies, I will and direct that all my just Debts and funeral Expences be fully paid and discharged Item I give and bequeath to Sarah my beloved Wife all my Estates both real and Personal, which I shall die Possessed of upon the said Island, Constituting and appointing her sole Executrix of this my last Will and Testament, revoking all other Will or Wills by me made, Ratifying and confirming this and no other to be my last Will and Testament In Witness whereof I have hereunto set my Hand and Seale this 13 day of February in the Year of our Lord 1769 signed Signed Sealed & declared Jno Pritchard by the said John Pritchard as his last Will & Testament in presence of Us signed Tho Bazett	John Pritchard of the island of St Helena, surgeon's mate in the service of the Honourable United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies, being in good health and of perfect mind, memory and understanding, but well knowing the uncertainty of this life, made and ordained his last will. First and principally, he committed his soul into the hands of Almighty God his creator, and directed that his body be decently buried at the discretion of his executrix named below. As for the worldly estate it had pleased God to bless him with, he gave and disposed of it as follows. First, he directed that all his just debts and funeral expenses be fully paid and discharged. He gave to Sarah, his beloved wife, all his estates, both real and personal, that he should own upon the island. He named and appointed her sole executrix of his will, revoking all former wills he had previously made, and confirming this alone to be his last will. In witness of this, he set his hand and seal on 13 February 1769. The will was signed, sealed and declared by John Pritchard as his last will in the presence of the witnesses. The document was signed by John Pritchard, and witnessed by Thomas Bazett, Henry Bazett and Richard Bagley. James Powell of the island of St Helena, gentleman, being weak in body but of perfect mind and memory, made and published his last will. First, he gave to his beloved wife Elizabeth Powell the house he then lived in, situated in James's Valley and adjoining Mr James Greentree's, to remain hers during her natural life, and after her death [...]. **Interpretations** The office of surgeon's mate marked John Pritchard as an assistant to the Company's surgeon, providing medical care to the garrison and the Company's people on the island. Such medical men were essential to a remote station where disease and injury could not wait for help from home, and the post placed him among the skilled servants on whom the Company relied to keep its establishment in health. The simple grant of the entire estate to the wife as sole executrix and beneficiary, without children or other kin named, reflects a straightforward provision

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		Henry Bazett Ruth Bagley In the Name of God Amen I James Powell of the Island St Helena Gentleman, being weak in Body, but of perfect Mind and Memory, do make and Pub- lish this my last Will and Testament in manner and form following (that is to say) First, I give unto my well beloved Wife Elizabeth Powell the House I now Dwell in situate in James Valley and adjoining to Mr Jams Greentree's to be and remain hers during her Natural Life, and after her decease, signed James Powell	by a married man of some standing. Vesting everything in his wife gave her both the property and the administration of it, a common and uncomplicated arrangement where a husband trusted his widow to take the whole and settle his affairs.
158	141	the said House to be disposed of as shall be herein after directed, I also give unto her my sd Wife a Woman Slave named Sophia and a female Child named Maria, also a Woman Slave named Patt and a Boy named Dick, Also a Woman Slave named Phillis and a Young Female Child named Lucinda, Also a Man Slave named Dona a Man Slave named Webb, a Man Slave named Frank, a Man Slave named James, a Man slave named Pompey, a Man slave named Toney and a Man Slave named August for ever I also give unto her my Said Wife a Man Slave named Watson to be hers during her natural Life, and at her decease to be and become the Property of my Daughter Margaret Powell, I also give unto my Wife the said Elizabeth Powell a Woman Slave named Sarah for ever, I also give unto my Wife the sd Elizabeth one compleat Bed and the Furniture thereunto belonging, meaning that she shall have the First choice out of all my Beds, also a Chest of Drawers and Clothes-Press lately purchased by me of Mr Baldwin, also my Mahogany Dressing Table and my Mahogany Chest with Drawers, Also my Large Chamber Elbow-Chair covered with green Cloth, also my Mahogany night Table, and one of my Mahogany Dining Tables such as she shall chuse or pitch upon, Also my large easy Chair covered with green which stands in the Parlour, also my Mahogany writing Table with a Drawer now Standing in the sd Parlour, Also a small rose wood Scrutore for ever: And I further give unto my Wife the sd Elizabeth Powell my Silver Coffee Pot with the Stand thereunto Belonging, also all her wearing apparel of every kind including her Gold repeating Watch and some Pieces of Silk and mesolin which she now has, but are not yet made into Apparel for ever, And I Also give her my sd Wife three Silver Salvers with a Coat of	James Powell directed that the house be disposed of as set out below. He gave to his wife a woman slave named Sophia and a female child named Maria, also a woman slave named Patt and a boy named Dick, also a woman slave named Phillis and a young female child named Lucinda, also a man slave named Dona, a man slave named Webb, a man slave named Frank, a man slave named James, a man slave named Pompey, a man slave named Toney and a man slave named August, forever. He also gave to his wife a man slave named Watson, to be hers during her natural life, and at her death to become the property of his daughter Margaret Powell. He also gave to his wife Elizabeth Powell a woman slave named Sarah forever. He gave to his wife Elizabeth one complete bed and its furniture, meaning that she should have the first choice out of all his beds, also a chest of drawers and clothes-press lately bought by him from Mr Baldwin, also his mahogany dressing table and his mahogany chest with drawers, also his large chamber elbow chair covered with green cloth, also his mahogany night table, and one of his mahogany dining tables, whichever she should choose to fix upon. He also gave her his large easy chair covered with green which stood in the parlour, also his mahogany writing table with a drawer then standing in the parlour, also a small rosewood scrutoire, forever. He gave to his wife Elizabeth Powell his silver coffee pot with its stand, also all her wearing apparel of every kind, including her gold repeating watch and some pieces of silk and muslin which she then had but were not yet made into apparel, forever. He gave to his wife three silver salvers with a coat of arms engraved on each, to remain hers during her natural life, and at her death he gave the three salvers to his daughter Margaret Powell. He also gave to his wife two silver sauce boats, to remain hers during her natural life, and at her death the two silver sauce boats he gave to his son Richard Alexander Powell. He also gave to his wife one pair of tall silver candlesticks for shades during her life, and at her death [...]. **Interpretations** The sheer number of slaves given to the wife, more than fifteen named individuals passing to her in a single bequest, marks the Powell household as one of the largest slaveholders among the island's wills seen here. This concentration of human property in one gentleman's estate shows how far the ownership of people underpinned the wealth and domestic establishment of St Helena's leading families, with a whole labour force treated as movable goods to be handed on. The distinction between slaves given to the wife outright and the man Watson given only for her life

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		Arms engraved on Each of them to be and remain hers during her natural Life, and at her decease I give the said three Silver Salvers to my Daughter the said Margaret Powell, I also give unto her my sd Wife two Silver Sauce Boats to be and remain hers during her natural Life and at her decease, the sd two Silver Sauce Boats I give to my Son Richd Alexander Powell, I also give unto unto her my said Wife one Pair of short Silver Candlesticks for Shades during her Life and at her Death signed James Powell	before passing to the daughter shows the same property split into present and future interests. Watson served the widow during her life and then became the daughter's, so a single enslaved man was made the subject of a life interest and a remainder exactly as a piece of land or plate might be, dividing his ownership across two generations. The engraving of a coat of arms on the silver salvers, given for life to the widow and then to the daughter, marks this armorial plate as heritable family property carrying the family's identity. Such engraved silver was both valuable and emblematic of gentility and lineage, so its descent through the widow to the daughter preserved objects bearing the family arms within the line rather than dispersing them. The detailed reservation of fine mahogany and rosewood furniture, named piece by piece with first choice of beds, reflects the value of imported hardwood furnishings in a household of standing. Every such item had to be shipped to the island at considerable cost, so the careful listing of dressing tables, chests, chairs and writing tables marks these as significant assets worth specifying individually rather than leaving to a general gift.
159	142	I give the said short Pair of Candlesticks to my God Son Charles Stewart, I further give unto her my sd Wife one half of all my Household Linen such as Table Cloths, Napkins, Towells, Sheets and Pillow cases Also two Pairs of Plated Candlesticks Item, I give unto my Brother George Gabriel Powell now residing either in England or South Carolinas the Sum of fifty Pounds, which Legacy, I bequeath him on Acct of his very Brotherly Affection and Solicitous Care in rendering me every Office of friendship which opportunity put in his Power Item I give unto my daughter Elizabeth Bagley my largest and best fluted Silver Salver and the Sum of fifty pounds in Cash as a Legacy Item I give unto my Son the said Richd Alexander Powell one Man Slave named Mungo, one Man slave named Tom, one Boy Slave named Charles and one Boy Slave named Benjamin for ever, I also give unto my Son the said Richard Alexander Powell my House in the sd Valley adjoining to the Dwelling House of Lieut Thos Bazett with half of the Yard thereto belonging, I mean the upper half reserving the Lower half of the said Yard and the Passage leading thereinto as a part of and belonging unto my said Dwelling House and for its use, And my meaning is that my Son the sd Richard Aly Powell shall have the sd House and the sd upper part of the Yard at Valuation, And in Order to Obviate and ambiguous meaning or Interpretation about the Word Valuation in respect to the above House, I hereby declare and my meaning is, and it is to be so understood that my son the sd Richard shall have the sd House, he paying therefore what it shall be justly appraised or Valued at after my decease I further give unto	James Powell gave the pair of candlesticks to his godson Charles Stewart. He further gave to his wife one half of all his household linen, such as tablecloths, napkins, towels, sheets and pillowcases, also two pairs of plated candlesticks. He gave to his brother George Gabriel Powell, then residing either in England or in South Carolina, the sum of £50 0s 0d, which legacy he left him out of his very brotherly affection and solicitous care in rendering him every office of friendship that opportunity put in his power. He gave to his daughter Elizabeth Bagley his largest fluted silver salver and the sum of £50 0s 0d in cash as a legacy. He gave to his son Richard Alexander Powell one man slave named Mungo, one man slave named Tom, one boy slave named Charles and one boy slave named Benjamin, forever. He also gave his son Richard Alexander Powell his house in the valley adjoining the dwelling house of Lieutenant Thomas Bazett, with half of the yard belonging to it, meaning the upper half, reserving the lower half of the yard and the passage leading to it as part of and belonging to his own dwelling house and for its use. He directed that his son Richard Alexander Powell have the house and the upper part of the yard at valuation. To prevent any obscure or ambiguous meaning about the word valuation in respect of the house, he declared that his son Richard should have the house on paying for it what it should be justly appraised or valued at after his death. He further gave his son Richard Alexander Powell his mahogany bureau with the bookcase standing on it, also the mahogany bureau then in his room, also a complete bed and furniture, whichever he should choose among the remainder of his beds after his wife Elizabeth and his daughter Margaret Powell had taken their choice, at the rate of one complete bed and furniture to each of them. He also gave his son Richard his silver-hilted sword and his fowling piece. He gave to his good friend and near relation Mr Benjamin Mason, to his son-in-law Orlando Bagley, and to his son Richard Powell, all his wearing apparel, to be equally divided between them, share and share alike. **Interpretations** The legacy to the brother in England or South Carolina, its destination left open between two continents, shows a family whose members had scattered across the Atlantic world in the Company's

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		my Son the sd Richd Alexr Powell my Mahogany Bureau, with the Book case thereon standing, also the Mahogany Bearcau now in his room, also a compleat Bed and furniture, such as he shall chuse among the remainder of my Beds after my Wife the sd Elizabeth and my Daughter the sd Margaret Powell have taken their choise at the Use of one compleat Bed and furniture to each of them And I also give unto my Son the sd Richard my Silver hilted Sword and my Fowling Pieces Item I give unto my Good friends and near relation Mr Benjamin Mason unto my Son in Law Orlo Bagley And to my Son the sd Richd Powell all my wearing apparel to be equally divided between them share and share alike signed James Powell	and the wider colonial orbit. The uncertainty over whether George Gabriel Powell was in England or the American colonies reflects the mobility of such families, whose kin might be settled anywhere from Britain to Carolina to the South Atlantic as trade and opportunity drew them. The care taken to define valuation precisely, declaring that the son must pay the appraised value of the house given to him, again used equalisation to pass real property to an heir while replenishing the estate. By insisting the house be taken at a just appraisal, the will ensured that the value the son received was paid back into the estate for division, keeping the settlement fair among the children while the property itself stayed in his hands. The division of the house's yard, giving the son the upper half while reserving the lower half and passage for the testator's own dwelling, shows the close subdivision of urban property in the confined space of James's Valley. Sharing a single yard between two adjoining houses, with rights of passage carefully reserved, reflects the pressure on building land in the island's small settled valley, where properties adjoined closely and access had to be precisely apportioned. The silver-hilted sword and fowling piece given to the son mark the personal accoutrements of a gentleman passing to the male heir. Such items carried both value and status, emblems of a man's standing and pursuits, and their descent to the son treated them as fitting heirlooms of gentility to be kept in the male line.
160	143	Item I give my Cape Horse to my Wife the sd, Elizabeth Powell and should the Horse so long Exist at her decease, I give him to my Daughter the sd Mary Powell Item I give unto my Daughter the sd Margt Powell one Man Slave Named George, one Slave named Cato, one Boy Slave named Jack and One Girl slave named Fanny; And I also give unto my Daughter the sd Margaret my Clothes Press made of India Wood and my Mahogany Bureau, also one compleat Bed and Furniture, she the sd, Margaret to have the second choice of my Beds, And I further give unto her my Gold Watch, And as to my Dwelling house which I have given to my Wife the sd Elizabeth Powell to have and to Possess the same during the term of her Natural Life I hereby direct and my meaning is that at the decease of her my sd Wife the sd, Dwelling House shall then be and remain with my Daughter the said Margaret Powell, she paying therefore the Sum of one hundred pounds, which Sum is to be paid to the Executors or any other Person properly Authorized by my Wife the sd, Elizabeth by Will or otherwise as the said Sum is to be applied solely to such use and purpose as she shall think fit to apply it, to Item, I give unto Dan Corneille Esqr Lieut, Governor of this Island five Guineas for a mourning Ring Item I give unto Mr Phill Mahony ten Guineas to buy him a mourning Ring	James Powell gave his Cape horse to his wife Elizabeth Powell, and should the horse still be living at her death, he gave it to his daughter Mary Powell. He gave to his daughter Margaret Powell one man slave named George, one slave named Cato, one boy slave named Jack and one girl slave named Fanny. He also gave his daughter Margaret his clothes-press made of India wood and his mahogany bureau, also one complete bed and furniture, Margaret to have the second choice of his beds. He further gave her his gold watch. As for his dwelling house, which he had given to his wife Elizabeth Powell to hold during her natural life, he directed that at her death the house pass to and remain with his daughter Margaret Powell, she paying for it the sum of £100 0s 0d. This sum was to be paid to the executors, or to any other person properly authorised by his wife Elizabeth by will or otherwise, the sum to be applied solely to such use and purpose as she should think fit. He gave to Daniel Corneille, lieutenant governor of the island, five guineas for a mourning ring. He gave to Mr Philip Mahony ten guineas to buy him a mourning ring. He gave to his executrix and executors named below ten guineas each to buy them mourning rings. He gave to his godson Charles Stewart the sum of £25 0s 0d, to be paid to him within a proper and convenient time after his death, also his set of gold waistcoat buttons, eighteen in number, and silver chain. As for the residue or remainder of his estate not already disposed of, he directed that his wife Elizabeth Powell have her third or one third part of it. He directed that the other two thirds be equally divided between his son Richard and his daughter Margaret Powell, share and share alike. Because of the uncertainty of his son John Powell's life or death, having had no word from him for several years, he provided that should John be living and afterwards come to the island [...]. **Interpretations**

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		Item I give unto my Executrix and Executors herein after named ten Guineas each to buy them mourning Rings Item I give unto my Godson the sd Charles Stewart the sum of twenty five Pounds to be paid unto him at a proper and convenient time after my decease, also my set of Gold Waistcoat Buttons being eighteen in Number and silver Chain And as to the Residue or Remainder of my Estate not herein already disposed of, My Will and meaning is, and I hereby Order and direct that my Wife the sd Elizabeth Powell shall have her thirds or One third part thereout; and I mean that the two other Parts shall be equally divided between my Son the sd Richard and my daughter the sd Margaret Powell share and share alike, And from the uncertainty of my Son John Powell's Life or Death as I have not for several Years heard from him, Yet in case he be now alive and that he shall presumatly come to this Island And there signed James Powell	The Cape horse, named specifically and given first to the widow then to a daughter should it outlive her, marks the animal as a valued import brought from the Cape of Good Hope. Horses had to be shipped to St Helena and were costly possessions, so this one was treated as a distinct asset worth naming and passing on, its provenance from the Cape reflecting the shipping links between the island and southern Africa. The provision for the long-absent son John, unheard from for years yet allowed for should he return, shows a testator balancing the likelihood of a son's death against the possibility of his survival. Rather than assuming John dead or cutting him off, the will kept a place open for him should he reappear, reflecting the real uncertainty of news in an age when a man gone to sea or abroad might vanish for years and yet return. The use of guineas for the mourning-ring legacies to the lieutenant governor and others, alongside sums in pounds elsewhere, reflects the guinea's currency as the customary coin for gifts and genteel payments. Valued slightly above the pound, the guinea carried a certain social cachet, and its use for these memorial tokens marked them as gifts among people of standing. The gold waistcoat buttons, eighteen in number, and silver chain given to the godson show items of costly personal adornment treated as specific bequests. Such worked gold and silver dress accessories were both valuable and personal, and singling them out for a godson passed a tangible and prized keepsake distinct from the cash legacy that accompanied it.
161	144	prove he is my Son I mean that then he shall have an equal share with my Son the sd Richard and my Daughter the sd Margaret Powell out of the said Residue of my Estate and no more Lastly I hereby constitute Nominate and appoint my well beloved Wife the sd Elizabeth Powell Executrix, my good Frelends Messrs Henry Bazett, Benjamin Mason and Richard Bagley and my Son Richd Powell Executors of this my last Will and Testament, hereby revoking and making Void all Wills by me heretofore made declaring this to be my last Will and Testament contained in two Sheets of Paper. In Witness whereof I have hereunto set my Hand and Seal the thirteenth day of July in the Twelfth Year of his Majesty's Reign, and in the Year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and seventy two signed James Powell P.S. I hereby further give unto my Wife the sd Elizth Powell a Boy Slave named Frank, and a silver Cross for Sulled to be hers for ever And I give unto my Daughter the sd Margaret Powell a Woman Slave named Jenny to be hers for ever It is to be understood that the above Postscript is a part of my Will as the Legacy's therein specified were omitted thro mistake in the Body of the sd Will signed the day and Year above written signed	James Powell provided that, should his son John prove he was indeed his son, he should have an equal share with his son Richard and his daughter Margaret Powell out of the residue of his estate, and no more. Lastly, he named and appointed his beloved wife Elizabeth Powell executrix, and his good friends Mr Henry Bazett, Benjamin Mason and Richard Bagley, and his son Richard Powell, executors of his will. He revoked and made void all former wills he had previously made, and declared this to be his last will, contained on two sheets of paper. In witness of this, he set his hand and seal on 13 July 1772, in the twelfth year of the reign of the King. He further gave to his wife Elizabeth Powell a boy slave named Frank, and a silver cross for Isuldo, to be hers forever. He gave to his daughter Margaret Powell a woman slave named Jenny, to be hers forever. This postscript was to be understood as part of his will, the legacies in it having been omitted by mistake from the body of the will, signed on the day and year written above. The document was signed by James Powell. The will was signed, sealed and published in the presence of the witnesses. The document was signed by James Powell, and witnessed by Richard Goodwin, John Goodwin and Thomas Bazett. **Interpretations** The condition placed on the absent son John, that he take an equal share only on proving he was indeed the testator's son, guarded the estate against a false claimant while keeping the door open for a genuine return. Requiring proof of identity before admitting John to a share reflects the practical risk that a long-lost heir, unheard from for years, might be impersonated, so the will demanded he establish his claim before the property was opened to him. The postscript adding legacies said to have been omitted by mistake from the body of the will shows how a testator could correct an oversight by a further attested addition. Rather than redrafting the whole

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		James Powell Signed, sealed and published in the Presence of us signed Richd Goodwin John Goodwin Tho Bazett	document, the omitted gifts were set down in a signed and witnessed postscript declared to form part of the will, a practical remedy for an error discovered after the main text was written.
162	145	In the Name of God Amen I Roderick Merchant of the Island of St Helena Inn keeper being Weak in Body, but of sound mind and memory (blessed be God) Do make and ordain this my present last Will and Testament in manner and form following (that is to say) I commend my soul to Almighty God, and my Body I commit to the Earth to be decently Buryied, And as to such temporal Estate as I shall die possessed of, I give and dispose thereof as followeth Imprimis I will that all my just Debts and funeral Charges, shall be paid and Discharged Item I give unto my Daughter Margaret Merchant one Girl Slave named Sarah, ten pounds in money, and one gold ring Item I give unto my daughter Elizabeth Merchant one Woman Slave named Lucy, ten pounds in Money and a Gold Ring Item I give unto my Daughter Ann Merchant one Girl Slave named Polly, ten pounds in Cash and a Gold Ring, And in case my beloved Wife Martha Merchant, be now pregnant and shall bring forth a Live Child, if a Male I give him a Man Slave named Portsmouth twenty pounds in money and One gold Ring, And if a Female, I give unto her twenty pounds in Cash And one Gold Ring Item I give unto Robert, George, and John Leech a Gold Ring each Item I give unto Richard and James Harper a gold Ring each And as to the Rest, Residue, and Remainder of my Estate of what kind soever and wheresoever now belonging to me, or which may hereafter belong to me, I give and bequeath the same unto my beloved Wife the sd Martha Merchant Lastly I hereby Nominate, constitute, and appoint my well beloved Wife the sd Martha Merchant sole Executrix of this my last Will and Testament hereby revoking all Wills by me heretofore made, In Witness whereof I have hereunto set my Hand and Seal the Nineteenth day of October in the Year of Our Lord one thousand seven hundred and seventy signed Rodk Merchant Signed Sealed and declared by the Testator as his last Will and Testament in presence of Us signed Phill Mahony William Hayes	Roderick Merchant of the island of St Helena, innkeeper, being weak in body but of sound mind and memory and giving thanks to God, made and ordained his present last will. He committed his soul to Almighty God, and directed that his body be decently buried in the earth. As for the worldly estate he should own at his death, he gave and disposed of it as follows. First, he directed that all his just debts and funeral charges be paid and discharged. He gave to his daughter Margaret Merchant one girl slave named Sarah, £10 0s 0d in money and one gold ring. He gave to his daughter Elizabeth Merchant one woman slave named Lucy, £10 0s 0d in money and a gold ring. He gave to his daughter Ann Merchant one girl slave named Polly, £10 0s 0d in cash and a gold ring. Should his beloved wife Martha Merchant be pregnant and bring forth a living child, then if a boy he gave him a man slave named Portsmouth, £20 0s 0d in money and one gold ring, and if a girl he gave her £20 0s 0d in cash and one gold ring. He gave to Robert, George and John Leech a gold ring each. He gave to Richard and James Harper a gold ring each. As for the rest, residue and remainder of his estate, of whatever kind and wherever, then belonging to him or which might afterwards belong to him, he gave it to his beloved wife Martha Merchant. Lastly, he named and appointed his beloved wife Martha Merchant sole executrix of his will, revoking all former wills he had previously made. In witness of this, he set his hand and seal on 19 October 1770. The document was signed, sealed and declared by the testator as his last will in the presence of the witnesses. The document was signed by Roderick Merchant, and witnessed by Philip Mahony and William Hayes. **Interpretations** The trade of innkeeper marks Roderick Merchant as a keeper of one of the island's houses of lodging and drink, serving the ships' crews, soldiers and travellers who passed through the port. Such establishments were important to a victualling station where vessels called for water and provisions, and the innkeeper's estate, holding several slaves and cash portions for his daughters, shows the trade could support a family of modest substance. The provision for an unborn child, differentiating the gift according to whether the pregnant widow bore a son or a daughter, addressed the legal need to account for a posthumous child while reflecting the greater provision often made for a male heir. The son, if born, would receive a slave as well as money, while a daughter received money alone, marking the distinction commonly drawn between the sexes in the size and kind of a child's portion. The distribution of gold rings to daughters, to the Leech brothers and to the Harpers alongside the money legacies shows rings serving here as tokens given more widely than the customary mourning ring. Whether as keepsakes or memorial gifts, the gold rings marked a circle of children and friends the

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			testator wished to remember, a modest but personal bequest accompanying the larger gifts of slaves and cash.
163	146	In the Name of God Amen I Martha Beale of the Island of St Helena Widow, being of Sound and perfect Mind and Memory, Praise be therefore given to Almighty God do make and ordain this my present last Will and Testament in manner following (that is to say) First and principally, I commend my Soul into the Hands of Almighty God, hoping thro the Merits (Death and Passion) of my Saviour Jesus Christ to have full and free Pardon and forgiveness of all my Sins, and to inherit everlasting Life, And my Body I commit to the Earth, to be Decently buried at the discretion of my Executor herein after named: And as to all such temporal Estate as it hath pleased God to bestow upon me. I give and dispose thereof as followeth First I will that all my just Debts and funeral Charges be paid and discharged Item I give unto my Grand Daughter Elizth Kirkpatrick six silver Table Spoons marked R B M Item I give unto my Grand daughter Eleanor Beale one Silver Soop Spoon Item I give unto my Grand Daughter Ann Bazett twelve silver Tea Spoons a Pair of Silver Tongs and Strainer Item I give unto my Grand Son Richard Doveton the Son of Mr Isaac Doveton one Silver Mug, And I further give unto each of the above mentioned Legatees my sd Grand Children who are likewise my God Children such Sum or Sum of Money as together with the Legacy by me already given to each of them respectively shall amount to the Sum and Value of twenty five pounds, and my Will and meaning herein is that the sd Legacys shall be Estimated according to the Valuation thereof made after the decease of my Husband the late Richd Beale, and that according to such Estimate the sd respective Legacies may be ascertained at twenty five pounds to each of them as beforementioned: And I further Direct that the above mentioned Legacies or that part thereof which is to be paid in Cash shall be paid to each of them respectively at a proper reasonable and sufficient Time after my decease by my Executor herein after mentioned Item I give unto Emilia Bagley Daughter of the late Orlando Bagley and God Daughter of my Son the late Anthony Beale deceased one Heifer or four Pounds in lieu thereof Item I give unto my Brother in Law Mr Sam Alexander and unto My Sister Mary the Wife of the sd Samuel a Guinea each to buy morning Rings As I have given my Word to my Son in Law Matthew Bazett Esqr that, at my decease, he may (if he shall so choose it) have my Boy Slave named	Martha Beale of the island of St Helena, widow, being of sound and perfect mind and memory and giving thanks to Almighty God, made and ordained her present last will. First and principally, she committed her soul into the hands of Almighty God, hoping through the merits, death and passion of her saviour Jesus Christ to have full and free pardon and forgiveness of all her sins, and to inherit everlasting life. She committed her body to the earth, to be decently buried at the discretion of her executor named below. As for the worldly estate it had pleased God to bestow upon her, she gave and disposed of it as follows. First, she directed that all her just debts and funeral charges be paid and discharged. She gave to her granddaughter Elizabeth Kirkpatrick six silver tablespoons marked RBM. She gave to her granddaughter Eleanor Beale one silver soup spoon. She gave to her granddaughter Ann Bazett twelve silver teaspoons, a pair of silver tongs and a strainer. She gave to her grandson Richard Doveton, son of Mr Isaac Doveton, one silver mug. She further gave each of the above legatees, her grandchildren who were likewise her godchildren, such sums of money as, together with the legacy already given to each, should amount to £25 0s 0d. She directed that these legacies be estimated according to the valuation made after the death of her husband the late Richard Beale, and that by such estimate the respective legacies be ascertained at £25 0s 0d to each of them. She further directed that these legacies, or the part to be paid in cash, be paid to each of them within a proper, reasonable and sufficient time after her death by her executor named below. She gave to Emilia Bagley, daughter of the late Orlando Bagley and goddaughter of her late son Anthony Beale, deceased, £4 0s 0d in place of any such legacy. She gave to her brother-in-law Mr Samuel Alexander, and to her sister Mary, wife of Samuel, a guinea each to buy mourning rings. Because she had given her word to her son-in-law Matthew Bazett, she provided that at her death he might, if he chose, have her boy slave named Stephen for the sum of £27 0s 0d, being the price he was bought [...]. **Interpretations** The scheme of topping up each grandchild's legacy in money so that the value of the plate already given plus the cash reached a level £25 0s 0d shows a testatrix equalising unequal gifts through cash adjustment. Because the pieces of silver differed in value, she directed money be added to each so that every grandchild received the same total, using the earlier appraisal of her husband's estate to fix what each item was worth and calculate the balance due. The silver tablespoons marked RBM, carrying the initials presumably of the testatrix and her late husband Richard Beale, again show engraved plate descending as identifiable family heirlooms. The marked silver bound the pieces to the family, and their distribution among named granddaughters passed objects bearing the family's initials down through the female line. The option given to the son-in-law Matthew Bazett to buy the boy Stephen at the price he had cost, honouring a promise made in the testatrix's lifetime, shows a prior undertaking about an enslaved person carried into the will. Rather than simply giving or withholding the boy, she recorded her word to let

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		Stephen for the Sum of twenty seven pounds being the Price he was bought	Bazett purchase him at his original price, treating both the promise and the slave as matters to be settled through the will at a fixed valuation.
164	147	at, I therefore hereby direct that the sd Matthw Bazett shall have the sd Boy Slave he paying to my Son Richard Beale the above Sum of twenty Seven Pounds for the sd Boy Slave But in case of his refusal the sd Boy Slave named Stephen I give unto my Son the sd Richd Beale Item I give my Woman Slave named Sue to Mr Isaac Doveton, Should sd the sd Sue choose to live with him he paying for her to my Son the sd Richd Beale according to the Valuation made after my late Husbands decease, otherwise she to be and remain the Property of my Son the sd Richd Beale Lastly All the Rest and Residue of my Estate both real and Personal of what kind soever or wheresoever, I do give, devise, and bequeath unto my Son the sd Richd Beale full and Sole Executor of this my last Will and Testament, And I do hereby revoke and make void all former Wills by me heretofore made, declaring this to be my last Will and Testament In Witness whereof I have hereunto set my Hand and Seal the fifth Day of August in the Year of Our Lord one thousand seven hundred and twenty two, and in the twelfth Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord George the Third of Great Britain, France and Ireland King signed Martha Beale Signed, Sealed, published and declared by the above named Martha Beale to be her last Will and Testament in the presence of Us signed Solr St Maurice B Jullson Phill Mahony Island St Helena In the Name of God Amen I Elizabeth Desfountain being Weak in Body but of Perfect Mind and Memory, calling to remembrance the Mortality of my Body do make and ordain this my last Will and Testament in the Manner and Form following (that is to say) principally I give and recommend my Soul unto the Hands of God that gave it and my Body to its Mother Earth to be decently Buried	Martha Beale directed that Matthew Bazett have the boy slave, he paying to her son Richard Beale the sum of £27 0s 0d for the boy slave. Should Bazett refuse, she gave the boy slave named Stephen to her son Richard Beale. She gave her woman slave named Sue to Mr Isaac Doveton. Should Sue choose to live with him, he was to pay for her to her son Richard Beale according to the valuation made after her late husband's death, otherwise she was to remain the property of her son Richard Beale. Lastly, she gave all the rest and residue of her estate, both real and personal, of whatever kind, to her son Richard Beale, whom she named full and sole executor of her will. She revoked and made void all former wills she had previously made, and declared this to be her last will. In witness of this, she set her hand and seal on 5 August 1772, in the twelfth year of the reign of King George the Third of Great Britain, France and Ireland. The will was signed, sealed, published and declared by Martha Beale as her last will in the presence of the witnesses. The document was signed by Martha Beale, and witnessed by Solomon St Maurice, B. Illson and Philip Mahony. Elizabeth Desfountain, being weak in body but of perfect mind and memory, and calling to remembrance the mortality of her body, made and ordained her last will. First and principally, she committed her soul into the hands of God, who gave it, and directed that her body be decently buried in its mother earth [...]. **Interpretations** The condition attached to the woman Sue, that she might choose to live with Isaac Doveton on his paying her appraised value, gave the enslaved woman an unusual measure of say in her placement. Should she prefer him, he could buy her at valuation, but otherwise she reverted to the son, so her own choice partly shaped the transaction while she remained, in law, property to be valued and transferred either way. The repeated reliance on the valuation made after the late Richard Beale's death, used to fix the price of both Stephen and Sue, shows a single estate appraisal serving as the settled measure of value across the linked wills of husband and widow. Rather than reappraising, the widow's will drew on the figures already established at her husband's death, treating that valuation as the fixed reference for the worth of the enslaved people passing under her own testament.
165	148	Buried at the discretion of my Executor herein after named, knowing I shall receive the same again by the Mighty Power of God and as touching my Worldly Estate I give and Bequeath as follows Vizt First I give and bequeath unto my Son Charles Desfountain my Dwelling House and Furniture he permitting my two Daughters Ruth Desfountain	Elizabeth Desfountain directed that her body be buried at the discretion of her executor named below, knowing she should receive it again by the mighty power of God. As for her worldly estate, she gave and disposed of it as follows. First, she gave to her son Charles Desfountain her dwelling house and furniture, he permitting her two daughters Ruth Desfountain and Sarah Lake to dwell in it during their lives. She further gave Charles

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		and Sarah Lake to dwell therein during their lives, I also further give unto the said Charles Desfountain three of my Servants named Pompey and Beck and George Secondly I give and bequeath unto my Grand Daughter Elizth Bazett one Woman Servant named Nanny Thirdly I give and bequeath unto my Grand Daughter Elizabeth Lake one Woman Servant named Peg Fourthly I give unto my Children John Desfountain, Mary Bazett, Ruth Desfountain and Sarah Lake the Sum of four Pounds that is to each of them twenty Shillings to be paid as soon as possible after my Decease Fifthly I give unto my Servant Billey, his freedom after the Death of my Son Charles he Billey serving my Son Charles during his Life Sixthly I give and bequeath unto my Grand daughter Molly Bazett the Child my Servant Nanny is now Big with Lastly I do hereby nominate constitute and appoint my Well Beloved Sons John Desfountain, Charles Desfountain and John Bazett to be Executors of this my last Will and Testament And I do hereby revoke disannull every and all former Will or Wills by me, for me or in my Name heretofore made, Ratifyeing and confirming this and no other to be my last Will and Testament in Witness whereof I have hereunto Set my Hand & Seale this 24 day of February in the thirteenth Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord George the third by the Grace of God of Great Britain, France, and Ireland King Defender of the Faith and so forth and in the Year of our Lord one thousand seven Hundred and Seventy three signed Elizabeth Desfountain her Mark Signed Sealed published and declared in the presence of us who have at her request Subscribed our Names as Witnesses signed John Shortly Lachlin Leheer Thomas Yates In	Desfountain three of her slaves named Pompey, Beck and George. She gave to her granddaughter Eliza Bazett one woman slave named Nanny. She gave to her granddaughter Elizabeth Lake one woman slave named Peg. She gave to her children John Desfountain, Mary Bazett, Ruth Desfountain and Sarah Lake the sum of £4 0s 0d, that is to say twenty shillings to each of them, to be paid as soon as possible after her death. She gave to her slave Billey his freedom after the death of her son Charles, Billey serving her son Charles during his life. She gave to her granddaughter Molly Bazett the girl slave Nanny, then big with child. Lastly, she named and appointed her beloved sons John Desfountain and Charles Desfountain, and John Bazett, executors of her will. She revoked and made void all former wills she had previously made, and confirmed this alone to be her last will. In witness of this, she set her hand and seal on 24 February 1773, in the thirteenth year of the reign of King George the Third of Great Britain, France and Ireland, defender of the faith. The will was signed, sealed, published and declared in the presence of the witnesses, who at her request subscribed their names as witnesses. The document was signed with the mark of Elizabeth Desfountain, and witnessed by John Mierly, Lachlin Leheer and Thomas Yates. **Interpretations** The gift of the dwelling house to the son on condition he let his two sisters live in it for their lives created a charge on the property in favour of the unmarried or dependent daughters. The son took the house but could not exclude his sisters, so the will secured the women a home for life while vesting ownership in the male heir, a common way of providing shelter for daughters without giving them the property outright. The apparent gift of the woman Nanny to a granddaughter, when a slave of that name was earlier named as remaining with the son, together with the separate gift of a girl slave also called Nanny then pregnant, points to two different enslaved people sharing the name. The will distinguishes them by their circumstances, one an adult woman and one a girl big with child, showing how common names among the enslaved could require such details to tell individuals apart. The deferred freedom granted to Billey, taking effect only after the son Charles's death and after Billey had served him throughout his life, again tied manumission to a full term of prior service. Billey passed first as a servant to the son and gained his liberty only afterwards, so his freedom was made to follow years of labour rather than to take effect at the testatrix's death.
166	149	In the name of God Amen I James Greentree of the Island St Helena Gentleman being of sound mind an Memory (blesed be God) Do this third Day of November in the tenth Year of the Reign of George the third, ans in the Year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and Sixty nine make and publish this my last will and Testament in Manner and form following (that is to say) First, I give unto my loving Wife Margaret Greentree a third Part of all my moveable Estate such as Cash, Horses, Cattle Hogs Sheep Poultry, Slaves, Plate, household furniture Yams	James Greentree of the island of St Helena, gentleman, being of sound mind and memory and giving thanks to God, made and published his last will on 3 November 1769, in the tenth year of the reign of King George the Third. First, he gave to his loving wife Margaret Greentree a third part of all his movable estate, such as cash, horses, cattle, hogs, sheep, poultry, slaves, plate, household furniture, yams and the like, to have to her forever. Over and above that third, he gave her his gold watch, a silver milk pot, a silver teapot, a silver stand with cruets and a silver coffee pot as extra legacies, also her choice of any of his woman slaves, her choice being limited to one of them. He also gave his wife Margaret Greentree the house he then lived in in James's Valley, to be hers during her natural life, provided she remained a widow, but

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		&c to have to her for ever, And over and above her said thirds, I give her my Gold watch, a Silver Milk pot, a Silver Tea pot a Silver Stand with Crewets and a Silver Coffee Pott no Legacies also her Choice of any Woman Slaves meaning always that her Choice be limited to one of them I also give unto my Wife the said Margaret Greentree the House I now Inhabit in James Valley to be hers during her natural life provided she remain so long a Widow, but In Case of her marrying again I give her only half the said house: I also give her my Goat range in Sandy Bay during her Life or Widowhood also my House in Sandy Bay afforesaid called Adifses together with fifteen Acres of Free Land thereunto belonging also four Acres of Lease Land adjoing to the said Freehold also eight Acres of Leaseland called Dry Gut, also ten Acres and a half of Lease land Part whereof goes by the Name of Steep Hill, the other Part adjoins thereto also thirty two Acres and a half of Lease land called the Plain Land Cahoons, and two Acres of Freeland bounding thereon to have and to hold the said devised Parcels of Land to her the sd Margaret Greentree during her Life, I further give unto my Wife the sd Margaret Greentree ten Acres and a half of purchased Land called Richard Greentree during her Life, and after her death I give the same to my Son Thomas Greentree, he paying therefore as much as it hath cost me I further give unto her the sd Margret Nine Acres and a half of free Land adjoining to my Lands called Colies over the main ridge to have and to hold to her till my son Nathan Greentree shall attain the full and Perfect Age of twenty five over Marying them I give the sd Nine Acres and a half of free Land to him the sd Nathan also two of three acres more Life of Lease Land under the Waterfalls at Valuation Item I give unto my Son James Greentree twenty Acres of free Land Primmen	should she marry again he gave her only half the house. He also gave her his goat range in Sandy Bay during her widowhood, also his house in Sandy Bay commonly called Addises, together with fifteen acres of freehold land belonging to it, also four acres of leasehold land adjoining that freehold, also eight acres of leasehold land called Dry Gut, also ten and a half acres of leasehold land known by the name of Steep Hill, the other part of which adjoined it, also thirty-two and a half acres of leasehold land called the Plain, and Cabbons, and two acres of freehold land bounding on it, to hold these parcels of land during her life. He further gave his wife Margaret Greentree ten and a half acres of land bought from Richard Greentree during her life, and after her death he gave it to his son Thomas Greentree, he paying for it as much as it had cost. He further gave her nine and a half acres of freehold land adjoining his land called Cabbons, to hold until his son Nathaniel Greentree reached the full age of twenty-one years, when he gave those nine and a half acres of freehold land to his son Nathaniel. He also gave Nathaniel his leasehold land under the Waterfalls, at valuation. He gave to his son James Greentree twenty acres of freehold land [...]. **Interpretations** The complex web of freehold and leasehold parcels, each named and its acreage and origin recited, shows the fragmented and mixed nature of landholding on the island. A single gentleman's estate was built up from many small pieces bought from different people and held on different tenures, some owned outright and some leased, so the will had to enumerate each parcel by name, size and the terms on which it was held to pass it on clearly. The reduction of the widow's interest in the house from the whole to a half share on remarriage, tied to her remaining a widow, again used the estate to bear on her future choices. Full enjoyment of the house depended on her not remarrying, protecting the children's inheritance from passing under a new husband's control and giving Margaret Greentree a material reason to stay unmarried. The provision that the son Thomas pay for the land bought from Richard Greentree as much as it had cost, and that Nathaniel take his leasehold at valuation, applied equalisation so that particular parcels passed to particular sons while their value was accounted for. This let the testator direct specific lands to chosen heirs without unbalancing the estate, each son paying in for what he received so the division among the children stayed fair.
167	150	Lemmon Valley together with my House thereon also eighteen Acres of Leaf Land adjoining to the said Free hold also twenty six Acres of Lease Land call'd Tomsons Hill at Valuation And I give unto the sd James Greentree twenty one Acres and a half of free Land, adjoining to the high Peak for which twenty one Acres and a half he the sd James shall pay as much as the Same hath cost me at the time I Purchased it I also give unto my Son the sd James my former	James Greentree gave to his son James twenty acres of freehold land in Lemon Valley, together with his house on it, also eighteen acres of leasehold land adjoining that freehold, also twenty-six acres of leasehold land called Tomsons Hill, at valuation. He also gave his son James twenty-one and a half acres of freehold land adjoining the High Peak, for which twenty-one and a half acres James should pay as much as it had cost him at the time he bought it. He also gave his son James his former dwelling house in James's Valley, at valuation, and gave him a boy slave named Highgate as a legacy. He gave to his son Nathaniel Greentree ten acres of freehold land called Coles, with the house on it, also eighteen acres of leasehold land known by the

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		Dwelling House in James's Valley at Valuation and I give him a Boy slave named Highgate as a Legacy Item, I give unto my Son the sd Nathin Greentree ten Acres of free Land call'd Colies withiny House thereon also eighteen Acres of Cabbage tree Land known by the Name of Colies also Thirty seven Acres of Lease land also lying between the two last mentioned Parcels of Land at Valuation, And I further Give unto the sd Nathin nine Acres of free land adjoining to the said Colie, he paying therefore as much as it hath Cost me And I give him a Boy slave named Stephen as a Legacy Item, I give unto my Son the said Thomas Greentree a Boy slave named Atti Item, I give unto my Daughter Bridget Greentree a Girl Slave named Molly Item, I give unto my Daughter Charlotte Greentree a Girl Slave named Fanny My Will and Meaning is and I order and Direct that my Sons the sd James and Nathin Greentree shall be put in possession of the different Parcels of Land and Houses which to them are hereby respectively devised, when hey or they, shall attain the full Age of twenty one Years, or at the time of his or their Marriage, And I hereby also order and direct that the Land by me herein devised to my Wife the sd Marg Greentree for the Sum of her Life shall after her Decease revert is my Son the said Thomas Greentree, for him to have and to hold the Same at Valuation, except such Part or Parcel thereof as has been by me purchased, which he the sd Thomas is to pay for at the same rate, I further give him, the sd Thomas, my Goat Range in Lemon Valley, and at the decease of my Wife the sd Marg or at her Marriage I give unto my Son the sd Nathin my Goat Range in Sandy bay Item, I give unto each of my Daughters Elizabeth Kent, and Margaret Skottow twenty five Pounds; And as I have already paid their Portions at the Rate of four Hundred Pounds to each of them, I hereby exclude them or any of them from any further share of Claim or Pretence, to any more of the Substance I shall die possessed of I hereby order and direct that my Piece of Ground situate at the	name of Coles Live, also thirty-seven acres of leasehold land lying between the two last-named parcels, at valuation. He further gave Nathaniel nine acres of freehold land adjoining Coles, he paying for it as much as it had cost, and gave him a boy slave named Stephen as a legacy. He gave to his son Thomas Greentree a boy slave named Otto. He gave to his daughter Bridget Greentree a girl slave named Molly. He gave to his daughter Charlotte Greentree a girl slave named Fanny. He directed that his sons James and Nathaniel Greentree be put in possession of the different parcels of land and houses devised to them when they reached the full age of twenty-one years, or at the time of their marriage. He directed that the land devised to his wife Margaret Greentree for her life should, after her death, revert to his son Thomas Greentree, for him to hold at valuation, except any part of it that he had bought, which Thomas was to pay for at the same rate. He further gave Thomas his goat range in Lemon Valley. At the death of his wife Margaret, or at her remarriage, he gave to his son Nathaniel his goat range in Sandy Bay. He gave to each of his daughters Elizabeth, Clent and Margaret Skottowe the sum of £25 0s 0d. Because he had already paid their portions at the rate of £400 0s 0d to each of them, he excluded them, or any of them, from any further share or claim to any more of his substance. He directed that his piece of ground situated [...]. **Interpretations** The exclusion of three married daughters from any further share, on the ground that each had already received a portion of £400 0s 0d, shows the doctrine of advancement applied to close off further claims. Having provided for these daughters on their marriages, the testator recorded those large portions and barred any additional demand, so that the remaining estate could pass to the sons and younger children without the married daughters reopening a claim. The size of the daughters' marriage portions, £400 0s 0d each, against the modest additional £25 0s 0d legacy, marks the substantial provision made for daughters on marriage among the island's landed families. Such a portion was a significant transfer of wealth timed to the marriage, and its recital in the will shows how the bulk of a daughter's inheritance was commonly settled at that point rather than at the father's death. The consistent charging of specific parcels to the sons at valuation or at cost, parcel by parcel, shows equalisation worked in fine detail across a large and fragmented estate. Each son took named lands but paid in their appraised or original value, so that despite the unequal distribution of particular holdings the overall value each child received could be reconciled and kept fair.
168	151	the foot of Ider hill, and lying between the Houses of Robert Ballard and James Pritchard shall after my decease belong to whomsoever of my Children shall possess my Dwelling house in James's Valley and be anexed thereto, at a Just Valluation, And my Will and Meaning	James Greentree directed that his piece of ground at the foot of Ladder Hill, lying between the houses of Robert Ballard and James Pritchard, should after his death belong to whichever of his children possessed his dwelling house in James's Valley, and be annexed to it at a just valuation. He directed that, at the death of his wife Margaret, his dwelling house in James's Valley revert to his sons Nathaniel and Thomas Greentree, and on their refusal to his

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		is that, at the Decease of my Wife the sd Marg my dwelling house in James's Valley shall revert to my sons the said Nathin and Thomas Greentree, and in Case of their refusal thereof remainder to my Daughters, and that whosoever of them my sd Children will possess and enjoy the sd Dwelling House shall pay therefore the Sum of eight hundred Pounds And I further order and direct that my Son the sd Thomas and my Daughters the sd Bridget & Charlotte Greentree, shall be each and every of them maintained by my Wife the sd Marg during her Life out of the Rents and Profits of the Lands by me to her the sd Marg hereby devised and bequeathed: And I earnestly recommend to my Executrix and Executors herein after mentioned that they do to the utmost of their Power see that this my last Will and Testament be in every part thereof duly executed and performed, and that every Attention be had in equally and impartially dividing between my Children the sd James, Nathin Thomas, Bridget and Charlotte Greentree the Estate by me to them hereby respectively divised share and share like according to my true Intent and Meaning Lastly, I make, constitute and ordain my Loving Wife the sd Margaret Greentree Executrix, my good friends Messieurs Benjamin Mason, and John Goodwin, and my Sons James and Nathin Greentree, the latter at the Age of eighteen Years Executors of this my last Will and Testament contained in Six sides of Paper In Witness whereof, I the sd James Greentree have to this my last Will and Testament, Set my Hand and Seal the day and year above written signed Signed sealed & declared by the James Greentree Testator, as and for his last Will and Testament in the Presence of Us signed Jn Howard Thos Bazett Phill Mahony Be it known to all Persons by these Presents	daughters. He directed that whichever of his children took and enjoyed the dwelling house should pay for it the sum of £800 0s 0d. He further directed that his son Thomas and his daughters Bridget and Charlotte Greentree each be maintained by his wife Margaret during her life, out of the rents and profits of the lands he had given her. He earnestly recommended to his executrix and executors that they do their utmost to see his will duly carried out, and that every attention be paid to dividing the estate equally and impartially between his children James, Nathaniel, Thomas, Bridget and Charlotte Greentree, share and share alike, according to his true meaning. Lastly, he named and appointed his loving wife Margaret Greentree executrix, his good friends Messrs Benjamin Mason and John Goodwin, and his sons James and Nathaniel Greentree, the latter at the age of eighteen years, executors of his will, contained on six sides of paper. In witness of this, James Greentree set his hand and seal on the day and year written above. The will was signed, sealed and declared by the testator as his last will in the presence of the witnesses. The document was signed by James Greentree, and witnessed by John Howard, Thomas Bazett and Philip Mahony. **Interpretations** The maintenance charged on the widow to support the son Thomas and the daughters Bridget and Charlotte out of the rents of her lands bound the estate to keep the younger children during her life. The lands given to Margaret Greentree carried the obligation of maintaining these children, so her life interest was not free but burdened with their upkeep, ensuring they were provided for from the estate's income until they came of age or married. The appointment of the son Nathaniel as an executor on reaching eighteen, below the usual age of twenty-one, shows a testator judging his heir ready for responsibility somewhat early. Fixing that younger age suggests confidence in the son's capacity, while the reliance on the widow and family friends ensured the estate was administered until the son came to it. The device of annexing the piece of ground at Ladder Hill to whichever child took the main dwelling house, at valuation, kept a useful adjoining plot tied to the principal property. Rather than letting the ground pass separately, the will bound it to the house so the two would descend together, the child taking both paying the appraised value into the estate to keep the division fair.
169	152	Presents that Whereas I James Greentree of the Island of St Helena have made and declared my last Will and Testament in Writing, bearing date the third day of November in the Year of our Lord my thousand seven hundred and sixty nine, I the said James Greentree do by this present Codicil confirm and ratify my last Will and Testament in every part thereof excepting that Part wherein I appointed and Ordained Mr Benjamin Mason and Mr Jn Goodwin two of my Executors	James Greentree of the island of St Helena, having made and declared his last will in writing dated 3 November 1769, by this present codicil confirmed and ratified that will in every part, except the part in which he had appointed Mr Benjamin Mason and Mr Sir Goodwin two of his executors. He annulled that appointment, and by this codicil discharged Benjamin Mason and Sir Goodwin from that role, appointing in their place John Skottowe, governor of the island, Mr Jonathan Doveton and Mr Thomas Bazett joint executors, along with his loving wife Margaret Greentree and his sons James and Nathaniel Greentree. Since his will made no mention of the different legacies bequeathed by his late brother Thomas

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		which Appointment I hereby Annul and these presents do exonerate the sd Benji Mason and the sd Jn Goodwin of that Charge, constituting appointing and ordaining in their Stead and place John Skottow Esqr Governor of this Island, Mr Jonathan Doveton, and Mr Thomas Bazett Joint Executors along with my loving Wife Marg Greentree and my Sons James and Nathin Greentree to my last Will and Testament And as in my last Will and Testament no mention hath be made of the different Legacies respectively bequeathed by my late Brother Thomas Greentree deceasd to my Children for the Sake Understanding my Meaning in that respect, I hereby Order and Direct that each and every of the Legatees do receive and be paid his or their respective Legacies out of my Estate already disposed off to them in such Just and even proportions as that they shall all and each of them enjoy an equal share And My Will and Meaning is, and I hereby order and direct that the said Tenements and Legacies by me devised and bequeathed to my Wife the sd Marg Greentree be and become subject to the payment of one third Part of the sd Legacies and no more And my Meaning is that this Codicil or Schedule be, and be adjudged to be part and parcel of my last Will and Testament; And that all Thinge herein contained and mentioned be faithfully and truly performed and as fully and amply in every respect as if the same were so declared and set down in my last Will and Testament In Witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and Seal the tenth day of April, in the thirteenth Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord the King and in the Year of our Lord one thousand seven Hundred and seventy three signed James Greentree Signed sealed and declared by the Testator as and for a part of his last Will and Testament in presence of Us signed Benji Mason Phill Mahony N.B.	Greentree to his children, he directed, to make his meaning clear, that each of those legatees receive and be paid their respective legacies out of his estate already disposed of to them, in such just and even proportions that they should all enjoy an equal share. He directed that the lands, tenements and legacies devised to his wife Margaret Greentree be subject to the payment of one third part of the legacies and no more. He directed that this codicil be taken as part of his last will, and that everything in it be as faithfully carried out as if set down in the will itself. In witness of this, he set his hand and seal on 10 April 1773, in the thirteenth year of the reign of the King. The document was signed, sealed and declared by the testator as part of his last will in the presence of the witnesses. The document was signed by James Greentree, and witnessed by Benjamin Mason and Philip Mahony. **Interpretations** The replacement of two executors, one of them the same Benjamin Mason who then witnessed the codicil, shows a testator adjusting his choice of administrators while the discharged man remained on friendly terms. That Mason attested the very document removing him from the office suggests the change reflected practical considerations rather than any breach, the appointment of the governor and others perhaps bringing greater weight to the administration of a substantial estate. The direction charging only one third of the legacies on the widow's lands limited the burden falling on her life interest to a defined share. By fixing the proportion of the legacies payable out of the property given to Margaret Greentree, the codicil protected her from bearing the whole weight of the legacies, apportioning the charge across the estate so that her provision was not swallowed by the demands upon it. The clarification of the legacies left by the testator's late brother to his children, omitted from the original will, shows a codicil used to remedy a gap discovered after the will was made. Rather than leave the brother's legacies uncertain, the testator directed that they be paid in equal proportions, correcting the oversight through the codicil so the children's entitlements under their uncle's gifts were secured.
170	153	N.B. As in my last Will and Testament I have not disposed of my Plantation called Colies Bd it therefore known to all persons by these presents and my Will and Meaning is that the sd Plantation together with the profits therefrom arising shall be and remain to and for the use and Behoof of my Family and at the decease of my Wife Marg Greentree the same to revert to my Son Nathin Greentree I also give half my Plantation in Lemon Valley unto my Wife the sd Marg Remainder of the sd Half Plantation to my Son James Greentree	James Greentree noted that, since his will had not disposed of his plantation called Coles, he directed that the plantation, together with the profits arising from it, be and remain for the use of his family, and at the death of his wife Margaret Greentree revert to his son Nathaniel Greentree. He also gave half his plantation in Lemon Valley to his wife Margaret, and the remainder of that half plantation to his son James Greentree. He further gave to his wife Margaret Greentree his man slave named Jack. In witness of this, he set his hand and seal on the day and year written above. The document was signed and sealed in the presence of the witnesses. The document was signed by James

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		I further give unto my Wife the sd Marg Greentree my Man slave named Jack, In Witness wereof I have hereunto put my Hand and Seal the day and Year above written signed Signed Sealed in presence of us Jams Greentree signed Benji Mason Phill Mahony In the Name of God, Amen I Jane Willson of the Island of St Helena being weak in Body, but of sound and perfect Mind and Memory, blessed be Almighty God for the same, do make and publish this my last Will and Testament in Manner and form following (that is to say) First, I give and bequeath unto my God mother Elizabeth Kennedy the sum of twenty Pounds Item, I give unto my Cousin Robert Lack the Sum of twenty Pounds Item, I give unto Nathaniel Kennedy the Sum of twenty Pounds Item, I give unto Anna Merchant Daughter of the late Mr Rodk Merchant the Sum of twenty pounds Item, I give unto Matthew Ssacke Son of Wm Gabriel Ssacke of Lemon Valley the sum of eight pounds Item, I give unto Mrs Margt Young Widow a Bureau, as a Legacy And lastly, As to all the Rest, Residue and Remainder of any Estate of what kind or nature whatever, I give and bequeath the same to my God mother the sd Elizth Kennedy whom I hereby appoint sole Executrix of this my last Will and Testament, hereby making all former Wills by me made, In Witness whereof I have hereunto set my Hand and Seal, this nineteenth day of April, in the thirteenth year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord the King, and in the Year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and seventy three signed Signed Sealed and declared in the presence of Jane Willson Us who have hereunto subscribed our Names as Witnesses in the presence of the Testatrix signed John Wichband Richard Watson	Greentree, and witnessed by Benjamin Mason and Philip Mahony. Jane Willson of the island of St Helena, being weak in body but of sound and perfect mind and memory and giving thanks to Almighty God, made and published her last will. First, she gave to her godmother Elizabeth Kennedy the sum of £20 0s 0d. She gave to her cousin Robert Lack the sum of £20 0s 0d. She gave to Nathaniel Kennedy the sum of £20 0s 0d. She gave to Anna Merchant, daughter of the late Mr Roderick Merchant, the sum of £20 0s 0d. She gave to Matthew Ishacke, son of Mr Gabriel Ishacke of Lemon Valley, the sum of £8 0s 0d. She gave to Mrs Margaret Young, widow, a bureau as a legacy. Lastly, as to all the rest, residue and remainder of her estate, of whatever kind, she gave it to her godmother Elizabeth Kennedy, whom she named sole executrix of her will. She revoked and made void all former wills she had previously made. In witness of this, she set her hand and seal on 19 April 1773, in the thirteenth year of the reign of the King. The will was signed, sealed and declared in the presence of the witnesses, who subscribed their names as witnesses in the presence of the testatrix. The document was signed by Jane Willson, and witnessed by John Wizzard and Richard [...]. **Interpretations** The disposal of a plantation omitted from the original will through a further note shows a testator catching and remedying a gap in his dispositions. Because Coles had been left unmentioned, its fate was uncertain until this addition directed its use to the family and its ultimate descent to a son, correcting the oversight so no part of the estate fell outside the will's provision. The pattern of Jane Willson's will, leaving cash gifts to a godmother, cousins and the children of friends and naming the godmother as residuary heir, marks a testatrix without close family of her own directing her estate to a wider circle of kin and connections. Godparents and godchildren feature prominently, spiritual kinship standing in for the closer blood ties that were evidently wanting.
171	154	In the Name of God Amen I Martha Merchant of the Island of St Helena Widow, being weak in body, but of sound and perfect Mind and Memory (blessed be God therefore) do make and publish this my last Will and Testament in Manner and form following (that is to say) First, I give and bequeath unto Margaret Merchant sd Daughter of the late Rodk Merchant the sum of twenty Pounds Item, I give unto Elizabeth Merchant Daughter of the said Rodk Merchant deceased the sum of Forty Pounds Item, I give unto my Sister Margaret Young the Sum of ten Pounds Item, I give unto my Brother Nathaniel Kennedy a Gold Ring as a Token	Martha Merchant of the island of St Helena, widow, being weak in body but of sound and perfect mind and memory and giving thanks to God, made and published her last will. First, she gave to Margaret Merchant, daughter of the late Roderick Merchant, the sum of £20 0s 0d. She gave to Elizabeth Merchant, daughter of the late Roderick Merchant, deceased, the sum of £40 0s 0d. She gave to her sister Margaret Young the sum of £10 0s 0d. She gave to her brother Nathaniel Kennedy a gold ring as a token. As for the rest, residue and remainder of all her estate, of whatever kind, not already disposed of, she gave it to her daughter Ann Merchant. Mr Roderick Merchant of Kelso in North Britain, father of her husband the late Roderick Merchant, was, as she believed, still living and well. From his friendly and fatherly correspondence of late

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		And as to the rest Residue and Remainder of all my Estate of what kind soever not herein before disposed of, I give and bequeath the same unto my Daughter Ann Merchant And as Mr Roerick Merchant of Kelsoe in North Britain Father of my Husband the said late Roderick Merchant is as I believe yet living and Well, And as by his Friendly, Paternal correspondence of late Years, I have reason to believe he will leave or has already left some Bequest or Legacy to and for the use of my said Husband or to his Children, In such case, I will that the same if any be equally Divided between the sd Margaret Elizabeth and Ann Merchant or the Survivor or Survivors of them, any or either of them share and Share alike The Governor and other Gentlemen of Council having been pleased in their Goodness to appropriate one half of the Profits arising from the Licence for keeping a Punch House to the maintenance of the different Orphans thereon dependant, I have that confidence in their wonted clemency as to undertake most humbly to supplicate their Worships for a continuance of their charity and benevolence to the sd Orphans Lastly, I hereby Nominate Constitute and appoint my good and trusty Friends Messrs John Whitchurch and George Bird Executors of this my last Will and Testament hereby revoking and making Void all former Wills by me heretofore made declaring & publishing this to be my last Will & Testament In Witness whereof I have hereunto set my	years, she had reason to believe he would leave, or had already left, some bequest or legacy to and for the use of her husband or his children. Should that be so, she directed that any such sum be equally divided between Margaret, Elizabeth and Ann Merchant, or the survivors of them, share and share alike. The Governor and other gentlemen of Council had been pleased in their goodness to appropriate one half of the profits arising from the licence for keeping a punch house to the maintenance of the different orphans dependent on it. She placed confidence in their continued clemency, and most humbly begged their lordships to continue that charity and benevolence to the orphans. Lastly, she named and appointed her good and trusted friends Mr John Whitchurch and George Bird executors of her will. She revoked and made void all former wills she had previously made, and declared this to be her last will. In witness of this, she set her hand [...]. **Interpretations** The expectation of a legacy from a grandfather at Kelso in North Britain, with directions to divide any such sum among the children, shows a St Helena family maintaining ties and inheritance prospects with kin in Scotland. The father-in-law's correspondence and anticipated bequest reflect how the island's families kept links across the whole span of Britain, with property and expectations reaching from the Scottish borders to the South Atlantic. The half share of the profits from the punch house licence, appropriated by the Governor and Council to maintain dependent orphans, reveals a local mechanism of poor relief funded from the regulation of the drink trade. Licensing a punch house raised revenue that the island's government directed to charitable support, so the vice of drink was made to pay for the care of orphaned children, a small welfare arrangement peculiar to the island's own administration. The widow's petition to the Council to continue that charity to the orphans shows the dependence of the vulnerable on the discretionary benevolence of the island's rulers. Because such relief rested not on any right but on the Council's continuing goodwill, the widow could only beg its continuance, marking how the fate of dependent children hung on the pleasure of those who governed the island. **Speculations** Martha Merchant chose to record in her will the anticipated legacy from her husband's father at Kelso and to direct in advance how any such sum should be split, rather than leaving that uncertain future gift to fall where it might. The obvious course was to say nothing of a bequest that had not yet come and might never arrive, since a will disposes of what one owns, not what one hopes to receive. She passed over that course because the grandfather's friendly correspondence had given her real reason to expect something, and by naming the three children as equal sharers of whatever came she sought to govern the descent of money not yet in the family's hands, guarding against dispute over an inheritance that might arrive only after her own death.
172	155	my Hands and Seal the twenty second of August In the thirteenth Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord the King, And in the Year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and seventy three signed Signed sealed and Delivered Martha Merchant by the above named Martha Merchant to be her last Will and	Martha Merchant set her hand and seal to her will on 22 August 1773, in the thirteenth year of the reign of the King. The document was signed, sealed and delivered by Martha Merchant as her last will in the presence of the witnesses. The document was signed by Martha Merchant, and witnessed by James Parfitt and James Pritchard. Martha Merchant, having by her last will dated 22 August in the present year given to her daughter Ann Merchant all the rest and residue of her estate

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		Testament in the presence of Us signed Jas Parfett James Pritchard Whereas I Martha Merchant of the Island of St Helena Widow have, by my last Will and Testament dated the twenty second day of August last in the present Year given and bequeath unto my Daughter Ann Merchant all the rest and Residue of my Estate not otherwise disposed of. And I do by this my Writing (which I declare to be a Codicil to my said Will and direct to be taken as part thereof) confirm and Ratifie unto my Daughter the said Ann Merchant the rest and residue of my Estate, But in case she the said Ann Merchant should die before she attain the Age of twenty one Years or Marriage then and in such Case I hereby will and direct that out of the said rest and remainder thirty Pounds be paied unto my Sister Margaret Young and twenty Pounds to be paid to Margaret Merchant, and all the Rest, Residue and surplusage to be and be paid unto Elizabeth Merchant, And I do hereby Ratify and Confirm my said Will and all the sd Bequest, and other Matters therein contained, In Witness whereof I have to this my Codicil set my Hand and Seal the fourth day of December in the fourteenth Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord the King and in the Year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and seventy three signed the Mark of Martha Merchant Signed sealed and declared by the above Named Martha Merchant to be her Codicil, and part of her last Will and Testament in the presence of us signed	not otherwise disposed of, made a further writing by way of codicil, to be taken as part of her will. She confirmed and ratified the gift of the rest and residue of her estate to her daughter Ann Merchant. Should Ann Merchant die before reaching the age of twenty-one years or marriage, she directed that, in that case, out of the rest and remainder £30 0s 0d be paid to her sister Margaret Young, £20 0s 0d be paid to Margaret Merchant, and all the rest, residue and surplus be paid to Elizabeth Merchant. She ratified and confirmed her will and every other matter in it. In witness of this, she set her hand and seal to the codicil on 14 December 1773, in the fourteenth year of the reign of the King. The document was signed, sealed and declared by Martha Merchant as a codicil and part of her last will in the presence of the witnesses. The document was signed with the mark of Martha Merchant [...]. **Interpretations** The codicil's provision for the death of the residuary heir before coming of age redirected the estate among the wider family should the main gift fail. Because Ann Merchant's interest would become absolute only at twenty-one or marriage, the testatrix guarded against her dying young by naming substitute takers, so that the property would pass to named relatives rather than fall into uncertainty should the principal beneficiary not live to inherit. The signing of the codicil by mark, where the will itself bore a signature, may indicate the testatrix's failing condition as death approached. A woman who could sign her will in August might, by December, be too weak to do more than make her mark, the difference hinting at declining health in the months between the two documents, though a mark carried the same legal force either way.
173	156	In the Name of God Amen I William Caldwell of the Island of St Helena Gentleman Lieutenant of Foot in his Majesty's Service also Lieutenant in the Service of the Honble the East India Company being weak of Body but of sound Mind and Memory, Do this twenty fifth Day of August in the fourteenth Year of his Majesty's Reign, and the Year of Our Lord one thousand seven hundred and seventy four, make and publish this my last Will and Testament in manner and form following (that is to say) Imprimies I give unto my Son William and my Daughter Ann Caldwell all such Rents Monies and other Effects which are owing to, and become payable to me when my Son William Caldwell shall attain the full Age of twenty one Years, by Virtue of my	William Caldwell of the island of St Helena, gentleman, lieutenant of foot in the King's service and also lieutenant in the service of the Honourable East India Company, being weak in body but of sound mind and memory, made and published his last will on 25 August 1774, in the fourteenth year of the reign of the King. First, he gave to his son William and his daughter Ann Caldwell all the rents, monies and other effects owing to him, and which should become payable to him when his son William Caldwell reached the full age of twenty-one years, by virtue of his late father's will, out of certain tenements and houses situated in the town of Birmingham in Warwickshire in England. These were to be divided equally between them when they reached the age of twenty-one years or married, or sooner at the discretion of his executrix and executor named below. As for the estate he should own on the island, he gave it to his beloved wife Elizabeth Caldwell, in trust for his two children William and Ann, in full confidence of her good management of it towards defraying the charges of maintaining and bringing up his two children. Should either child die, he directed

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		late Father's Will out of certain Tenements and Houses situated in the Town of Bimingham in Warwickshire in England to be Divided equally between them when they or any of them shall attain the Age of twenty one Years or Marriage, or sooner according to the Discretion of my Executrix and Executor herein after Mentioned Item, As to whatsoever Estate I shall Die possessed of on this Island, I give and bequeath the same to my beloved Wife Elizabeth Caldwell in trust for my two Children above by mentioned namely William and Ann on full Confidence of her good Management of the same towards Defraying the Charges of Maintaining and bringing up, my two said Children, and in case of the Death of any or either, remainder to the survivor and in case of the Death of both Remainder of the whole to my Wife the said Elizabeth Caldwell And Lastly, I make Constitute and appoint my beloved Wife the said Elizabeth Caldwell Executrix and my Friend Charles Ross Steward Executor of this my last Will and Testament revoking and annulling all Wills by me heretofore made Declaring this to be my last Will and Testament	that the deceased's portion remain to the survivor, and should both children die, the whole remainder to his wife Elizabeth Caldwell. Lastly, he named and appointed his beloved wife Elizabeth Caldwell executrix, and his friend Charles Ross Steward executor of his will. He revoked and made void all former wills he had previously made, and declared this to be his last will [...]. **Interpretations** The inheritance owing to the children from their late grandfather's property in Birmingham shows a St Helena family holding valuable real estate in the English Midlands. Houses and tenements in a growing manufacturing town formed part of the children's expectations, and the will reached across the ocean to secure their share of that English property, reflecting how the island's people retained substantial interests at home. The double commission held by William Caldwell, a lieutenant both in the King's regular foot and in the East India Company's service, illustrates the overlap between crown and Company forces on the island. St Helena was garrisoned by Company troops but might also host regular regiments, and an officer could hold rank in both, marking the mixed military establishment that defended the Company's possession. The grant of the island estate to the wife in trust for the children, in confidence of her management for their maintenance, made the widow both provider and trustee for the family. Rather than dividing the property outright, the will relied on her to administer it for the children's upbringing, giving her control coupled with the responsibility of raising them from the estate's resources.
174	157	Testament In Witness whereof I have hereunto set my Hand and Seale the Day and Year above written signed Signed sealed and Wm Caldwell declared by the sd Willm Caldwell as his last Will and Testament in the Presence of Us whose Names have hereunder written as Witnesses at his request signed Phillp Mahony Willm Roberts In the Name of God Amen I Richard Bagley of the Island of Helena Planter, being of sound and disposing mind memory and understanding Do hereby make Publish and Declare this my Will and Testament in Manner and form following, That is to say First I recommend my Soul into the Hands of Almighty God, my Creator and my Body to the Earth to be decently Buryed, And as touching what Effects it has pleased God to bless and entrust me with, I give bequeath, and dispose of in Manner and form following Imprimis, I will and Direct That my Dwelling House in the Country with all the Lands Plantations, Herbs, Stocks of Black Cattle, Hogs Goats & Sheep, which I shall Die possessed of except Such as I shall hereafter particularly dispose of shall be	William Caldwell set his hand and seal to his will on the day and year written above. The document was signed, sealed and declared by William Caldwell as his last will in the presence of the witnesses, whose names were written below and who subscribed at his request. The document was signed by William Caldwell, and witnessed by Philip Mahony and William Roberts. Richard Bagley of the island of St Helena, planter, being of sound and disposing mind, memory and understanding, made, published and declared his last will. First, he committed his soul into the hands of Almighty God his creator, and directed that his body be decently buried. As for the effects it had pleased God to bless and entrust him with, he gave and disposed of them as follows. First, he directed that his dwelling house in the country, with all the lands, plantations, herbs, stocks of black cattle, hogs, goats and sheep that he should own, except any he should later particularly dispose of, be kept together and remain for the use and maintenance of his beloved wife during the time she should continue his widow. Should she marry again, he gave her only the use of his dwelling house in the country, together with the lands adjoining, being twenty-five acres of freehold, and [...]. **Interpretations** The reduction of the widow's interest from the whole country estate to the house and twenty-five acres alone on remarriage again used the estate to bear on her future choices. So long as she remained a widow she had the use and maintenance of the entire holding with its livestock, but a second marriage would cut her down to the house and adjoining land, protecting the bulk of the estate for the heirs from passing under a new husband's control.

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		kept together and remain for the use and Maintenance of my Well beloved Wife, for and during the time She shall continue my Widow, But in case She shd Marry again, I then give only give her the use of my Dwelling House in the Country with the Lands Adjoining being twenty five Acres of Free and ninetee	The direction that the country house, lands, plantations and stock be kept together for the widow's use and maintenance treated the working farm as a single going concern rather than a set of divisible assets. Because a plantation with its cattle, hogs, goats and sheep produced a livelihood only if held and worked as a whole, the will kept it entire during the widow's tenure so it could sustain her, rather than breaking it up piecemeal.
175	158	ninety and three Quarters of an Acre of Lease Land, with two Acres of Plantation Ground known by the Name of Blue Hill with the Same thereon, also my dwelling House at the Fort now Let St Stewart) with all the furniture I shall Die possessd of except such as I shall particularly direct for my Brother Edward for and during her Natural Life, I also give and bequeath her one Boy named James, One Women named Abigail, and the Sum of five Hundred Pound to be intirely at her disposal Item To my Brother Edward I give and bequeath one Boy named Michael, Ten Cows, Ten Ewe Sheep the Choice of one of my Horse, one Feather Bed and furniture Compleat, one Bureau and the Sum of One hundred Pound, I farther Direct that the Cows here bequeathed him shall Graze on my Lands, for his use until the Death of Mrs Bagley, likewise should he well continue to live with his father during her Life, without expence to him, I also give him wearing Apparel Item I will and bequeath unto my Sister Mary Fowler the Sum of forty Pounds P Annum during her Natural Life to be paid her by Quarterly payment, out of the Profits of my Estate, and after the Death of my Wife, I direct that such part of my Estate, as my Executor shall judge proper shall be appropriated for that purpose so long as she shall live Item To my father in law Martha Bagley, I give the Sum of Fifty Pounds Item To my Nephew Orlando Bagley Senr I give the Sum of One hundred and fifty Pounds Item To my Nephew John Bagley Senr I give the sum of Fifty Pounds Item To my Neices Margaret the Wife of George Alexander, Ann the Wife of Elisha Ssacke, Sarah the Wife of Gabriel Harper, & Mary the Wife of Thomas Townsend, I give the sum of Fifty Pound each Item To my Nephews John Worrall and my Neices Eleanor the Wife of John Desfountain, Elizabeth the Wife of John Seale Penelope the Wife of Wm Hayes junr and Mary the Wife of Wm	Richard Bagley gave to his wife, along with the country house and adjoining land, ninety-three and three quarter acres of leasehold land, with two acres of plantation ground known by the name of Blue Hill, also his dwelling house at the fort then let to Mr Stewart, together with all the furniture he should own except any he should particularly direct otherwise for his brother Edward, to hold during her natural life. He also gave her a boy named James, one woman named Abigail, and the sum of £500 0s 0d, to be entirely at her disposal. He gave to his brother Edward a boy named Michael, ten cows, ten ewe sheep, the choice of one of his horses, one feather bed and complete furniture, one bureau, and the sum of £100 0s 0d. He directed that the ten cows bequeathed to Edward graze on his lands, for his use, until the death of Mrs Bagley, provided Edward continued to live with his sister during her life without expense to him. He also gave Edward his wearing apparel. He gave to his sister Margaret Fowler the sum of £40 0s 0d a year during her natural life, to be paid to her by quarterly payments out of the profits of his estate. After the death of his wife, he directed that such part of his estate as his executor should judge proper be set apart for that purpose for as long as she should live. He gave to his sister-in-law Martha Bagley the sum of £50 0s 0d. He gave to his nephew Orlando Bagley junior the sum of £150 0s 0d. He gave to his nephew John Bagley junior the sum of £50 0s 0d. He gave to his nieces Margaret, wife of George Alexander, Ann, wife of Elisha Ishacke, Sarah, wife of Gabriel Harper, and Mary, wife of Thomas Townsend, the sum of £50 0s 0d each. He gave to his nephew John Wood, and his nieces Eleanor, wife of John Desfountain, Elizabeth, wife of John Seale, Penelope, wife of William Hayes junior, and Mary, wife of William Hayes junior, the sum of £50 0s 0d each. He gave to his godsons Richard Bruce, Richard Talbot, Thomas Harper and Robert Lack the sum of ten guineas each [...]. **Interpretations** The annuity of £40 0s 0d a year charged on the estate for the sister Margaret Fowler, secured after the widow's death by setting aside part of the property, created a continuing income for a dependent female relative. Rather than a lump sum, the annuity gave her a steady livelihood for life, and the direction to appropriate part of the estate to fund it bound the property to her support so long as she lived, a durable provision for an unmarried or widowed sister. The condition attached to Edward's cattle, that they graze on the estate only while he continued to live with his sister without expense to her, tied a gift of livestock to his providing companionship and support to the widow. This linked the brother's benefit to his remaining in the household, using the bequest to secure the widow a resident relative while

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		Hayes junr I give the sum of Fifty pounds each Item To my Godsons Richard Brooke, Richard Talbot Thomas Harper and Robert Lack I give the Sum of Ten Guineas ea, I give also	giving Edward the use of the estate's grazing in return. The large annuities and legacies spread across a wide circle of siblings, nephews, nieces and godchildren, together with £500 0s 0d and slaves to the widow, mark Richard Bagley as a planter of considerable substance. The breadth of his giving, reaching cousins and godchildren by name with fifty-pound legacies, shows how a prosperous islander distributed wealth through an extensive network of kin and connection built up across the small society of the island.
176	159	also unto Mary the Wife of Lt Thomas Bazett the Sum of Ten Guineas Item To my Executor hereafter named I give the sum of Fifteen Pounds each And to the poor of the Island, I bequeath the sum of Fifty Pounds to be divided among them at the Discretion of my Executors All the aforesaid Legacies I direct shall be paid out of the Cash I may Possd leave and Debts which may be due to me at my decease as soon as Convenience will admit After the decease of my beloved Wife, I give unto my Brother Edward the use of my Dwelling House with twenty five Acres of free, and ninety and three Quarters one Acre of Lease Land adjoining thereto also my Plantation at Blue Hill, for and during his Natural Life, and no longer, I also direct that my two Men Slaves Named Andrew, also my Men Slaves, Peter Jacob, George & Marlbo, and one Woman Slave named Mary shall serve him his Life time and then to revert to my Heirs, and further during his Life he shall have my Goat Range & Goats at High Hill, and at his decease I bequeath the said Range and Goats to my Nephew Orlando Bagley Junr not to be Valued to him, I farther give him my Brother Edward, at the Decease of my Wife, Cushions Twelve Mahogany Chairs One dining Table and Twelve Silver Table Spoons for wear After the decease of my Brother Edward I give the Refusal of my House and Land bequeathed for Life to my Nephew Orlando Baglees Junr at Valuation, and in case of his Death before Age or Marriage, the refusal of the same to my Nephew Benjamin Bagley at Valuation Item After the Death of my Wife, I give the Refusal of Twenty six Acres of Free Land, which I bought of Rebecca Doveton, to my Nephew Jno Bagley Junr, I also give him the sum of One hundred Pounds as a legacy, and my Will and intention is that the said Legacy shall be subject to the Yearly Intrest of five Pounds a Year, which I shall hereafter dispose of Item To my Nephew Richard Bagley I give the Refusal of my House,	Richard Bagley gave to Mary, wife of Lieutenant Thomas Bazett, the sum of ten guineas. He gave to his executors named below the sum of £15 0s 0d each. He gave to the poor of the island the sum of £50 0s 0d, to be divided among them at the discretion of his executors. He directed that all these legacies be paid out of the cash he should leave and the debts due to him at his death, as soon as convenient. After the death of his wife, he gave to his brother Edward the use of his dwelling house, with twenty-five acres of freehold and ninety-three and three quarter acres of leasehold land adjoining it, also his plantation at Blue Hill, to hold during his natural life and no longer. He directed that his two men slaves named Andrew, also his men slaves Taylor, Jacob and George and Mattos, and one woman slave named Mary, serve Edward during his life and then revert to his heirs. He further directed that during his life Edward have his goat range and goats at High Hill, and at his death he bequeathed the range and goats to his nephew Orlando Bagley junior, not to be valued to him. He further gave his brother Edward, at the death of his wife, twelve mahogany chairs, one dining table and twelve silver tablespoons, forever. After Edward's death, he gave the first refusal of the house and lands bequeathed to him for life to his nephew Orlando Bagley junior, at valuation, and should Orlando die before coming of age or marriage, the first refusal of the same to his nephew Benjamin Bagley, at valuation. After the death of his wife, he gave the first refusal of twenty-six acres of freehold land bought from Rebecca Doveton to his nephew John Bagley junior. He also gave John the sum of £100 0s 0d as a legacy, and directed that this legacy carry yearly interest of £5 0s 0d a year, which he would dispose of below. He gave to his nephew Richard Bagley the first refusal of his house, land and plantation lying in Sandy Bay, also his two pastures known by the names of Frances and Bagleys, containing thirty-four acres of freehold land. He also gave him the first refusal of his house in James's Valley then in the possession of Robert Leech, at valuation. He directed also that Richard have his goat range in [...]. **Interpretations** The legacy of £50 0s 0d to the poor of the island, distributed at the executors' discretion, marks the customary charitable provision by a substantial testator toward the needy of the community. Such a gift discharged a recognised social duty of the propertied, and leaving the distribution to the executors' judgement gave them the task of directing the relief to those they thought most deserving. The layered life interests and reversions across house, lands, slaves, goat ranges and furniture, first to the widow, then to the brother for life, then to nephews at valuation, show a testator marshalling a large estate through successive holders. Each asset was made to pass through a chain of interests, giving present enjoyment to one dependant and ultimate

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		Land, and Plantation lying in Sandy Bay, likewise my two Pastures known by the Names of Franceris, & Baglys Containing Thirty four Acres of Free Land, I also give him the Refusal of my House in James Valley now in the Possession of Robert Leech at Valuation, I direct, also he shall have my Goat Range in Sandy Bellies	ownership to another, so that the property supported several people in turn while finally settling where the testator intended. The system of first refusal at valuation, running from nephew to nephew, kept the family lands within the family while charging each taker with their appraised value. This let the estate pass to chosen heirs in order while replenishing the fund for division, and the fallback to a second nephew should the first die young guarded against a gift failing for want of a taker.
177	160	Valley, he paying for the Goats at Valuation, I also give unto him my Nephew Richard at the Decease of my Wife the sum of Three Hundred Pounds as a legacy subject to the payment of five Pound P Annum which I shall hereafter dispose of, And in case my said Nephew Richard, should Die before Age or Marriage, I then give the refusal of such Lands as I have allotted him to my Neice Jane the Wife of Robt Lack at Valuation Item To my Nephew Thos Bagley I give the Refusal of my House & Lands lying in Thompsons Wood, being Ten Acres of free, and eighty five Acres of Lease, Also Thirty Acres of Lease Land lying in Swans Valley at Valuation, likewise my Goat Range in Thompson Wood, the Goats at Valuation, And in Case of his Death before age or Marriage, The Refusal of such Allotment of Lands I give to my Nephew Martin Bagley Item To my Niece Jane Leech I give the Refusal, after my Wife's Death of my Dwelling House in James Valley, which Lieut Steward now lives in at Valuation, And direct she shall Continue in the House she now lives in without paying Rent for the same untel she gets Possession of the House allotted her Item To my Niece Emelia the Wife of Samuel Knipe I give the Refusal of my Land, called Lemon Valley Head Containing Twenty one Acres of free and Nine an a half of Lease at Valuation After the Death of Mrs Bagley I give the Refusal of Ten Acres of Free Land Called Ashes to Capt Bazett which is now in his Possession, he paying Twenty Pounds P Acre for the same to my Heirs hereafter Named My Man slave Benjamin having Proved a faithful Servant, I make him free at Mrs Bagley's Death, and give him the sum of Ten Pounds, I likewise make free a Slave Woman Named Ruth, who I direct shall be maintained during her Life by my Brother Edward out of that Part of my Estate allotted him, I also make free two Slave Girls, Namely Christian and Sukey, who I also direct after the Death of Mrs Bagley shall live with, and be maintained by my Brother Edward, from that part of my Lands allotted him, until they arrive to the Age of Eighteen Years, And	Richard Bagley gave to his nephew Richard, along with the Sandy Bay property, his goat range, he paying for the goats at valuation. He also gave his nephew Richard, at the death of his wife, the sum of £300 0s 0d as a legacy, subject to the payment of £5 0s 0d a year which he would dispose of below. Should his nephew Richard die before coming of age or marriage, he gave the first refusal of the lands he had allotted him to his niece Jane, for the life of Robert Lack, at valuation. He gave to his nephew Thomas Bagley the first refusal of his house and lands lying in Thompsons Wood, being ten acres of freehold and fifty-five acres of leasehold, also thirty acres of leasehold land lying in Swans Valley, at valuation, and likewise his goat range in Thompsons Wood, the goats at valuation. Should Thomas die before coming of age or marriage, he gave the first refusal of that allotment of lands to his nephew Martin Bagley. He gave to his niece Jane Leech the first refusal, after his wife's death, of his dwelling house in James's Valley in which Lieutenant Stewart then lived, at valuation. He directed that she continue in the house she then lived in without paying rent until she got possession of the house allotted her. He gave to his niece Cornelia, wife of Samuel Knipe, the first refusal of his land called Lemon Valley Head, containing twenty-one acres of freehold and nine and a half acres of leasehold, at valuation. After the death of Mrs Bagley, he gave the first refusal of ten acres of freehold land called Harpers to Captain Bazett, then in his possession, he paying £20 0s 0d an acre for it, to his heirs named below. His man slave Benjamin, having proved a faithful servant, he made free at Mrs Bagley's death, and gave him the sum of £10 0s 0d. He likewise made free a slave woman named Ruth, whom he directed be maintained during her life by his brother Edward out of that part of his estate allotted to him. He also made free two slave girls, namely Christian and Sukey, whom he directed, after the death of Mrs Bagley, should live with and be maintained by his brother Edward, out of that part of his lands allotted him, until they reached the age of eighteen years. He further directed that his nephew John Bagley junior pay to the slave girl Christian, from the death of Mrs Bagley, the sum of £5 0s 0d a year during her life, being the interest of a legacy [...]. **Interpretations** The freedom granted to the man Benjamin expressly for having proved a faithful servant, coupled with a cash gift, shows manumission held out as a reward for good and loyal service. Deferred until the widow's death, Benjamin's liberty followed a lifetime of service, and the accompanying £10 0s 0d marked the release as a recognition of fidelity, the pattern of coupling freedom with money recurring through the island's wills. The provision that freed women and girls be maintained by the brother out of the estate allotted him, and that a freed girl receive an annuity, shows freedom accompanied by continuing support rather than left bare. Because a freed slave without means

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		I farther Direct, that my Nephew John Bagley Junr shall pay unto the said Girl Christian from the Death of Mrs Bagley the sum of five Pounds a Year, during her Life being the Interest of a Legacy of	might face destitution, the will charged relatives and the estate with their upkeep, and settled an income on one of them, so that liberty came with the means to live rather than mere release from bondage. The maintenance of the freed girls until the age of eighteen, tied to the brother's allotted lands, treated their upbringing as a charge on the estate much like that of the family's own younger children. Fixing an age to which they were to be kept and supported gave the freed girls a settled provision through their minority, binding the property to their care until they were old enough to fend for themselves.
178	161	of One hundred Pounds bequeathed him, I also direct at the Death of my Wife, the sum of Five Pounds a Year, shall be paid to the aforementioned Girl Suky, By my Nephew Richard Bagley out of a Legacy of Three hundred Pounds, bequeathed him, during her Natural Life, And in case of the Death of my Nephew Richard before Age or Marriage, I direct the Legacy of three hundred Pound bequeathed him, shall revert to my Heirs, nevertheless subject to the sum of five Pounds a Year for the use of the aforementioned Girl Suky Item To my Neice Margaret the Wife of Simon Whaley I give the sum of fifty Pounds, at Mrs Bagleys Death I will order and Direct, That after the Death of my beloved Wife, an Inventory shall be taken, of all my Housey & Lands, And that the Valuation of the House Lands, Plantation and Blacks which I have allotted my Brother Edward for Life shall be set aside before the Division shall be made for my Heirs, and they shall but be intitled to their Share or Intrest on that Part allotted him, untill his Death, I farther direct, That my Personal Estate of every kind, shall be Sold at Publick Auction, except such Goat Ranges & Goats as I have particularly mentioned, And the Price of such Publick Sale shall determine their Value for an equal Division to my Heirs, hereafter named, I farther direct that the Houses and Lands allotted my Nephews Richard and Thomas shall also be let at Auction, and the Produce thereof equally divided as my Younger Heirs, Arrive at Age or Marriage, In Respect to the Annuity bequeathd my Sister Marg Fowler, I mean that after my Wife's Death there shall be an equal Abatement on the dividends, or Shares of each of my Heirs for the Payment of it, otherwise such part of my Estate set aside before a Division shall be made) for that purpose as my Executors shall judge proper I hereby Nominate Constitute & Appoint my Nephews John Bagley Junr, Martin Richard, Thomas, Orlando & Benjamin, also my Neices, Jane Cornelea Elizabeth and Ann, Sons & Daughters of my Deceased Brother Orlando Bagley, Heirs to all I shall Die possessed after the aforesaid Legacies are discharged, share and share alike And	Richard Bagley directed that the £5 0s 0d a year owed to the freed girl Christian, being the interest of a legacy of £100 0s 0d bequeathed to his nephew Richard, be paid to her during her life. He further directed that, at the death of his wife, the sum of £5 0s 0d a year be paid to the freed girl Sukey by his nephew Richard Bagley, out of a legacy of £300 0s 0d bequeathed to him, during Sukey's natural life. Should his nephew Richard die before coming of age or marriage, he directed that the £300 0s 0d legacy revert to his heirs, still subject to the £5 0s 0d a year for the use of the girl Sukey. He gave to his niece Margaret, wife of Simon Whaley, the sum of £50 0s 0d, at Mrs Bagley's death. He directed that, after the death of his wife, an inventory be taken of all his houses and lands, and that the valuation of the house, lands, plantations and slaves he had allotted to his brother Edward for life be set apart before the division was made for his heirs. His heirs were not to be entitled to their share or interest in the part allotted to Edward until Edward's death. He further directed that his personal estate of every kind be sold at public auction, except any goat ranges and goats he had particularly mentioned, the price at that public sale to determine their value for an equal division among his heirs named below. He further directed that the houses and lands allotted to his nephews Richard and Thomas also be let at auction, and the produce equally divided among his younger heirs, as they reached full age or marriage. As for the annuity bequeathed to his sister Margaret Fowler, he directed that after his wife's death there be an equal abatement in the dividends or shares of each of his heirs for its payment, or otherwise such part of his estate be set apart before a division was made, as his executors should judge proper. He named and appointed his nephews John Bagley junior, Martin, Richard, Thomas, Orlando and Benjamin, also his nieces Jane, Cornelia, Elizabeth and Ann, sons and daughters of his deceased brother Orlando Bagley, his heirs to all he should own after the legacies were discharged, share and share alike, according to the valuation of his houses and lands. These were to be taken at the death of his wife, the shares or dividends of his heirs then to be determined, except that, in respect of the house, land and slaves allotted to his brother Edward, they should have no further concern or entitlement, unless by the death of any of his younger heirs before coming of age or marriage, in which case he gave them an equal share of the dividend of such heir [...]. **Interpretations** The charging of freed slave women's annuities on legacies given to a nephew, drawn from the interest of defined sums, shows manumission funded by tying a freed person's income to the estate's capital held by another. Christian and Sukey each received a yearly sum representing the interest on a legacy, so their support was met not from a fund of their own but from the return on money left to a nephew,

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		according to the Valluation of my Houses and Lands, which shall be taken at the Decease of my Wife, the Shares or Dividends of each of my Heirs as shall then be of age or Marriage shall be determined after which (except in Respect to the House Land & Blacks allotted my Brother Edward) they shall be no farther Concernd or intitled, unless by the Death of any of my Younger Heirs before Age or Marriage is in which case I give them an equal share, of the Dividend of such Heir so	binding the heir to pay the freed women out of what he received. The comprehensive scheme of appraisal, public auction and equal division among the many children of a deceased brother shows a childless testator settling his whole estate on his nephews and nieces as a single class. By valuing the land, selling the personal estate and dividing the proceeds share and share alike, the will treated the brother's children as his own heirs, distributing a large and complex estate evenly among them once the many legacies were met. The setting apart of the value of the brother Edward's life interest before any division, so the heirs took no share of it until his death, kept the ultimate reversion intact for them while securing Edward's enjoyment for life. This separated present possession from future entitlement across a large estate, ensuring the heirs' shares were calculated to include the reversion of Edward's portion only when it fell in, rather than disturbing his life interest.
179	162	so dyeing as he or she was intitled to, according to the Division made at my Wife's Death, meaning from that period that the profits, which may arise from the letting of my Lands, shall be solely for the advantage of any young or Heirs as they arrive off to Age or Marriage, And I further direct in Case the Lands allotted to my Younger Nephews should over run their Shares or dividends they shall not be distressed by my other Heirs or obliged to sell such Lands But pay at the Rate of five P Cent P Annum, for such over plus untill they arrive to age or marriage, I farther direct as soon as my Executors, shall have disposed of my Personal Estate, divided to be sold they shall put my Brother Edward, My Nephews John Bagley, and my Neices Jane and Emilia in Possession of such Houses and Lands allotted them Charging them therewith according to Valuation as their Shares or Dividends Lastly, I Nominate Constitute and appoint my Beloved Wife Executor, Jointly with my Good friends Messrs Willm Wrangham Henry Bazett Benjamin Mason, Robert Leech, and my Nephew John Bagley Junr Executors to this my last Will and Testament & revoking all other Wills by me heretofore made, declaring this to be my last Will and Testament Contained in two sheets and a Half of Paper In Witness whereof I have hereunto set my Hand & seal in the Island of St Helena this thirty first Day of August in the fourteenth Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord George the Third, by the Grace of God of Great Britain France and Ireland King, defender of the faith and so forth, and in the Year of our Lord, One Thousand seven Hundred and seventy four signed Rich Bagley Signed Sealed Published and declared by the Testator as and for his last Will and Testament in the Presence of us who at his request	Richard Bagley provided that a deceased heir's share pass according to the division made at his wife's death. From that time, he directed that the profits arising from the letting of his lands be solely for the advantage of any young heirs as they reached full age or marriage. Should the lands allotted to his younger nephews exceed their shares or dividends, he directed that his other heirs not press or oblige them to sell, but pay at the rate of £5 0s 0d a year for such surplus until they reached full age or marriage. He further directed that, as soon as his executors had sold and divided his personal estate, they put his brother Edward, his nephews John Bagley and Jane, and his niece Emilia, into possession of the houses and lands allotted to them, charging them with their value according to valuation as their shares or dividends. Lastly, he named and appointed his beloved wife executrix, jointly with his good friends Messrs William Waringham, Henry Bazett, Benjamin Mason and Robert Leech, and his nephew John Bagley, executors of his will. He revoked and made void all former wills he had previously made, and declared this to be his last will, contained on two sheets and a half of paper. In witness of this, he set his hand and seal on the island of St Helena, on 31 August 1774, in the fourteenth year of the reign of King George the Third of Great Britain, France and Ireland, defender of the faith. The will was signed, sealed, published and declared by the testator as his last will in the presence of the witnesses, who at his request subscribed their names as witnesses. The document was signed by Richard Bagley, and witnessed by John Alexander, Benjamin Mason and Jonathan Doveton. **Interpretations** The safeguard forbidding the older heirs from forcing the younger ones to sell land that exceeded their shares, allowing a yearly payment instead until they came of age, protected the young heirs' holdings from being broken up under pressure. Rather than compelling a sale to balance the shares, the will let the surplus be paid off over time at a fixed annual rate, keeping the land intact in the young heirs' hands while still accounting for its excess value. The direction that the profits of the let lands go solely to the young heirs as they came of age tied the estate's income to the maintenance and eventual provision of the minor beneficiaries. By reserving the rents for the young until they reached the qualifying age, the will used the estate's earnings to support and build up the portions of those not yet able to take their shares outright.

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		have hereunto set our Hands as Witnesses signed Jno Alexander Benji Mason Jno Doveton	
180	163	In the Name of God Amen I Edmund Riley late of Bengal and now of the Island of St Helena Gentleman being weak in Body but of sound Mind Memory and Understanding (blessed be god) Do this twenty fifth Day of October in the fifteenth Year of his Majesty's Reign and in the Year of our Lord one Thousand seven hundred and twenty four, make and publish this my last Will and Testament in Manner following that is to say, Imprimis, I will that all my just Debts on the said Island and funeral Charges shall be paid by my Executor herein after mentioned Item I give unto my good friend Lieutenant Thomas Latham of the said Island of Saint Helena, in Consideration of his tender and Humane Care of me during my abode at his House, all the Estate I shall die possessed of on the said Island which Estate consists of all my wearing Apparel a Mare Bridle Saddle and all and singular my other Effects and Moveables of what kind soever to be and remain his for ever, And I make constitute and appoint the said Lieutenant Thomas Latham sole Executor of this my last Will and Testament, revoking and making Void all Wills by me heretofore made declaring this to be my last will and Testament In Witness whereof I the said Edmund Riley have hereunto set my Hand and Seal the Day and Year above written signed Edmund Riley Signed Sealed published and Declared by the Testator as and for his last Will and Testament in the Presence of signed Robartes Carr Solr St Maurice	In the Name of God Amen I Edmund Riley late of Bengal and now of the Island of St Helena Gentleman being weak in Body but of sound Mind Memory and Understanding (blessed be god) Do this twenty fifth Day of October in the fifteenth Year of his Majesty's Reign and in the Year of our Lord one Thousand seven hundred and twenty four, make and publish this my last Will and Testament in Manner following that is to say, Imprimis, I will that all my just Debts on the said Island and funeral Charges shall be paid by my Executor herein after mentioned Item I give unto my good friend Lieutenant Thomas Latham of the said Island of Saint Helena, in Consideration of his tender and Humane Care of me during my abode at his House, all the Estate I shall die possessed of on the said Island which Estate consists of all my wearing Apparel a Mare Bridle Saddle and all and singular my other Effects and Moveables of what kind soever to be and remain his for ever, And I make constitute and appoint the said Lieutenant Thomas Latham sole Executor of this my last Will and Testament, revoking and making Void all Wills by me heretofore made declaring this to be my last will and Testament In Witness whereof I the said Edmund Riley have hereunto set my Hand and Seal the Day and Year above written signed Edmund Riley Signed Sealed published and Declared by the Testator as and for his last Will and Testament in the Presence of signed Robartes Carr Solr St Maurice
181	164	I William Harrison Supracargo in the Honble English East India Company's Service being perfectly well both in Body and mind do hereby make my last Will & Testament First hea to my dear Honored Mothere I give and bequeath the Sum of five thousand pounds To the Child of which Maria da Rozario at Macao is now pregnant three thousand pounds after my good Fathers Death which God forbid and I desire that the Child if it lives to the age of two or three Years may be sent to England and there Educated In case the Legacy	William Harrison, supercargo in the Honourable English East India Company's service, being perfectly well in body and mind, made his last will. First, he gave to his dear and honoured mother the sum of £5,000 0s 0d. He gave to the child of which Maria da Rozario at Macao was then pregnant the sum of £3,000 0s 0d, after his good mother's death, which God forbid. He directed that the child, if it lived to the age of two or three years, be sent to England and there educated. Should the legacy of £500 0s 0d left to Maria da Rozario by John Bradby Blake, deceased, be withheld by the Portuguese, he directed that his executor pay her yearly £50 0s 0d out of the interest arising from the child's fortune, for her use and maintenance during her natural life.

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		of five hundred pounds left to Maria da Rozario by John Bradby Blake Esq deceased is withheld by the Relations I do well and Order that my Executor pay her annually fifty pounds out of the Interest arising from the Child's Fortune for her use and Maintenance during her natural Life, To my two Sisters Elizabeth King and Mary Tarbell three thousand pounds each, to my only Brother Samuel Harrison all the Residue of my Fortune to dispose of as he pleases subject however to the payment of five hundred pounds to Mr Henry Maundy of London for the trouble he has had in my Concerns I also give to my Worthy Executor in China Mr William Henry Pigott one hundred pounds To my good Friend Mr Thomas Fitzhugh my best Diamond Ring and to my three God Children one hundred pounds each I have no other Will but this in Witness whereof I have hereunto set my Hand this twenty seventh day of november 1774 signed W Harrison In the Name of God Amen I Jane Bagley of the Island St Helena Widow being of Sound and Disposing Mind and Memory and Understanding Do hereby make Publish and Declare this my last Will and Testament in manner and form following Whereas by the last Will and Testament of my beloved Husband, he bequeathed me the Sum of five hundred pounds as a Legacy, intirely at my own Disposal, also a Legacy of fifteen pounds as Executrix to his Will and Testament, Which Legacies with the Interest that may be due to me therein, I esteem as my Estate, and dispose of in the following Manner Item To my Frend the Revd Mr Willm Lee I give the sum of one hundred and fifty pounds	He gave to his two sisters Elizabeth King and Mary Turbill the sum of £3,000 0s 0d each. He gave to his only brother Samuel Harrison all the residue of his fortune, to dispose of as he pleased, subject however to the payment of £500 0s 0d to Mr Henry Maundy of London for the trouble he had had in his affairs. He gave to his worthy executor in China, Mr William Henry Pigott, the sum of £100 0s 0d. He gave to his good friend Mr Thomas Fitzhugh his best diamond ring, and to his three godchildren the sum of £100 0s 0d each. He declared he had no other will but this. In witness of this, he set his hand on 27 November 1774. The document was signed by William Harrison. Jane Bagley of the island of St Helena, widow, being of sound and disposing mind, memory and understanding, made, published and declared her last will. By the last will of her beloved husband, he had bequeathed her the sum of £500 0s 0d as a legacy, entirely at her own disposal, also a legacy of £15 0s 0d as executrix to his will. These legacies, with the interest that might be due to her from them, she treated as her estate and disposed of as follows. First, she gave to her friend the Reverend Mr William Lee the sum of £150 0s 0d [...]. **Interpretations** The office of supercargo marked William Harrison as the officer aboard an East India Company ship responsible for its commercial business, managing the cargo, sales and purchases on the voyage. Such men handled great sums and could grow rich on the China and India trade, and the vast scale of Harrison's estate, running to many thousands of pounds, reflects the wealth a successful supercargo might amass in the Company's eastern commerce. The provision for a child not yet born to Maria da Rozario at Macao, with directions to bring it to England and to secure the mother an income should a Portuguese legacy be withheld, reveals the personal entanglements of Company men in the ports of the East. The care taken for both the unborn child and its mother at Macao, a Portuguese settlement, shows a dying trader providing across empires and oceans for a family formed far from home. The withholding of a legacy by the Portuguese authorities, against which the will made alternative provision, shows the practical difficulty of recovering property across the jurisdictions of rival European powers in the East. A sum left by one Englishman to a woman at Macao might be blocked by the Portuguese who governed there, so Harrison built in a substitute income drawn from his own fortune to guard against that loss. **Speculations** William Harrison chose to route the mother's provision through the interest on the unborn child's £3,000 0s 0d legacy, but only as a fallback should the Portuguese withhold the £500 0s 0d left to her by John Bradby Blake, rather than settling a sum on her outright. The obvious course for a dying man of great wealth wishing to provide for the mother of his child was simply to leave her a legacy of her own. He passed over that course because a gift held at Macao stood exposed to seizure or refusal by the Portuguese authorities, as the withholding of Blake's earlier bequest evidently threatened. By tying her maintenance to the interest on the child's fortune, controlled by his own executor rather than by any foreign power, he sought to secure her an income that lay beyond the reach of the jurisdiction that might otherwise have defeated it.

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182	165	Item To my Brother in law Edward Bagley, and my Sister in law Martha Bagley, I give the Sum of Ten pounds each Item To Orlando Bagley, Jane Leech, Margaret Whaley and the Revd Mr Richartos Carr, I give the Sum of Ten pounds each, also to my Friend Captain Henry Bazett I give the Sum of ten pounds for a Ring Item To Martin Bagley Senr I give the Sum of fifteen pounds, and to Elisabeth the Daughter of John Bagley I give the Sum of five pounds Item To Hanah the Wife John Goodwin I give the Sum of thirty Pounds, To John Alexander I give the Sum of five pounds for a Ring Item To the Poor of this Island I give the Sum of thirty Pounds to be divided at the discretion of my Executors, To Doctor Sloord I give two Guineas for a Ring Item To my Slave Woman Abigail, and James her Son, I bequeath the Sum of one hundred pounds which I direct shall be put at Interest, which Annual Interest shall be Divided between them until James shall arrive to the Age of eighteen Years, when the said Legacy of one hundred pounds shall be equally divided between them, And do hereby Declare them both Free at my Decease Item To my Servants Benjamin and Jane, I give the Sum of ten pounds each, And to my Servants namely Andrew, Yon, Mary, Poll, Patt and Ruth also Sam Son of the said Ruth I give the Sum of five pounds each, my Wearing Apparel I give to be Divided between my Maid Servants After the aforesaid Legacys are fully paid out of what my Deceased Husband has empowered me to Dispose of by his Will, the overplus or remainder, I give to be equally Divided between my Executors hereafter Named Lastly I Nominate, Constitute and appoint my Friends Messrs William Wrangham, Henry Bazett, Benjamin Mason Senr and Robt Leech Executors to this my last Will and Testament, In Witness whereof I have hereunto Set my Hand and Seale this twenty eight Day of April 1775 signed Signed Sealed and declared by Jane Bagley the Testatrix, as her last Will and Testament in the Presence of signed Robt Gurling Jn Doveton	Jane Bagley gave to her brother-in-law Edward Bagley and her sister-in-law Martha Bagley the sum of £10 0s 0d each. She gave to Orlando Bagley, Jane Leech, Margaret Whaley and the Reverend Mr Richard Carr the sum of £10 0s 0d each. She also gave to her friend Captain Henry Bazett the sum of ten guineas for a ring. She gave to Martin Bagley senior the sum of £15 0s 0d, and to Elizabeth, daughter of John Bagley, the sum of £5 0s 0d. She gave to Sarah, wife of John Goodwin, the sum of £30 0s 0d. She gave to John Alexander the sum of five guineas for a ring. She gave to the poor of the island the sum of £30 0s 0d, to be divided at the discretion of her executors. She gave to Doctor Stroud two guineas for a ring. She gave to her slave woman Abigail and James her son the sum of £100 0s 0d, which she directed be put out at interest, the yearly interest to be divided between them until James reached the age of eighteen years, when the £100 0s 0d legacy was to be equally divided between them. She declared them both free at her death. She gave to her slaves Benjamin and Jane the sum of £10 0s 0d each, and to her slaves named Andrew, Yon, Mary, Toll, Patt and Ruth, also Sam son of Ruth, the sum of £5 0s 0d each. She gave her wearing apparel to be divided between her women slaves. After these legacies were fully paid out of what her deceased husband had empowered her to dispose of by his will, she gave the surplus, or remainder, to be equally divided between her executors named below. Lastly, she named and appointed her friends Messrs William Waringham, Henry Bazett, Benjamin Mason senior and Robert Leech executors of her will. In witness of this, she set her hand and seal on 28 April 1775. The document was signed, sealed and declared by the testatrix as her last will in the presence of the witnesses. The document was signed by Jane Bagley, and witnessed by Robert Gurling and Jonathan Doveton. **Interpretations** The freedom granted to the slave woman Abigail and her son James, coupled with a £100 0s 0d legacy held at interest and divided when the boy came of age, gave the freed pair both liberty and the capital to sustain it. By putting the sum out at interest and splitting the yield until James reached eighteen, the will provided the freed mother and son an income during his minority and then the principal itself, so their release came with real means rather than bare freedom. The bequest of the testatrix's wearing apparel to be divided among her women slaves shows clothing serving as a customary gift to enslaved household servants. Garments held real value and were a practical benefit to those who received them, and distributing her clothes among the women marked a recognised form of provision for the slaves closest to her in the household. The dependence of Jane Bagley's entire will on the power her late husband had given her to dispose of a defined fund shows a widow exercising a testamentary authority delegated by her husband. Her gifts were made not from property of her own but from the sum he had empowered her to distribute, so her will operated within the bounds of that delegated power, disposing of his money as he had authorised her to do.

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183	166	In the Name of God Amen I William Hayes Senior of the Island of St Helena Planter being sick and weak in body but of sound and disposing mind and memory thanks be to Almighty God for it do make this my last Will and Testament in manner and form following that is to say I recommend my soul into the Hands of Almighty God hoping for salvation, and my body I commit to the Earth to be decently intured at the discretion of my Executors hereafter named, And as touching such worldly Estate as it has pleased God to bless me withal I give and dispose of the same in manner and form following after all my just Debts and funeral Expences are fully paid and satisfied Imprimis, I give and bequeath unto my Wife Penelope her Dower and thirds of my whole Estate which by Law she is intitled unto at my Death I may die possessed of, I also give her one Cow named Peggy Item I give and bequeath unto my said Wife Penelope, one moity or half part of all my Lands for and during the term of her natural Life or Widhood and on the termination of either, the Lands to return again and be disposed of as hereafter mentioned Item In Consideration of my Son John being already in possession of a good Trade and able to provide for himself I give and bequeath the sum of Fifty pounds of current money of the sd Island aforesaid to be paid him as soon after my Death as possible Item I give and bequeath unto my Daughter Dorithy the sum of Four hundred Pounds of like current Money to be put out at Interest on the most adeantageous for her support during the Nonage of my Son Robert hereafter mentioned and then to be at her own free use and disposal Item It is my express desire and the meaning and intention of this my Will is that on the Death or Marriage aiew of my said Wife Penelope, the whole Estate both real and Personal after the above Legacies are discharged be sold to the best adeantage, and the Monies ari005 therefrom to be put out at Interest on good and sufficient security for the benifit and support of my Sons William, Joseph Francis and Robert, and my Daughters Susannah and Margaret, until the arrival at Age of my younger Son Robert at which time I do hereby order and direct that the Monies so at at Interest be brought in and equally divided, among my sd sons William Joseph, Francis and Robert and my said Daughters Susannah and Margaret, share and share alike, but in Case my said Wife Penelope should not die or marry before the arrival at Age of my said Son Robert then my Will	William Hayes senior of the island of St Helena, planter, being sick and weak in body but of sound and disposing mind and memory and giving thanks to Almighty God, made his last will. He committed his soul into the hands of Almighty God, hoping for salvation, and directed that his body be decently buried at the discretion of his executors named below. As for the worldly estate it had pleased God to bless him with, he gave and disposed of it as follows, after all his just debts and funeral expenses were fully paid and satisfied. First, he gave to his wife Penelope her dower and thirds of his whole estate, which the law entitled her to at his death. He also gave her a cow named Peggy. He gave to his wife Penelope one month, or half part, of all his lands during her natural life or widowhood, or the termination of either, the lands then to return and be disposed of as set out below. Because his son John was already in possession of a good trade and able to provide for himself, he gave John the sum of £50 0s 0d of current money out of the land, to be paid to him as soon as possible after his death. He gave to his daughter Dorothy the sum of £400 0s 0d of like current money, to be put out at interest on the most advantageous terms for her support during the minority of his son Robert, named below, and then to be at her own free use and disposal. He directed that, at the death or marriage of his wife Penelope, his whole estate, both real and personal, after the above legacies were discharged, be sold to the best advantage. The money arising from the sale was to be put out at interest on good and sufficient security, for the benefit and support of his sons William, Joseph, Francis and Robert, and his daughters Susannah and Margaret, until his youngest son Robert reached full age. At that time he directed that the money, with the interest, be brought in and equally divided among his sons William, Joseph, Francis and Robert, and his daughters Susannah and Margaret, share and share alike. Should his wife Penelope die or marry before his son Robert reached full age, then [...]. **Interpretations** The differential treatment of the son John, given only £50 0s 0d because he was already established in a good trade, shows a father adjusting his provision to his children's differing circumstances. A son settled in a livelihood needed less than the younger children still to be raised, so the will gave him a modest sum while reserving the bulk of the estate for those not yet able to provide for themselves, matching the gift to the need. The direction to hold the estate's proceeds at interest for the joint support of all the younger children until the youngest son came of age treated the whole property as a common fund for the family's maintenance. Rather than dividing at once, the will kept the capital invested to sustain the children through their minority and then split it equally, using the estate's income to raise them and its principal to endow them when the youngest reached the qualifying age. The confirmation of the widow's dower and thirds, the share the law already secured to her, shows the will acknowledging her legal entitlement rather than overriding it. By granting Penelope Hayes what the law gave her, together with a life interest in part of the lands, the testator provided for his widow within the framework of her established rights while directing the remainder of the estate to the children.

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184	167	Will is that the said Estate be kept intire until that time when do is to be sold to the best Advantage and the monies to be devided as above mentioned And I do hereby make constitute and appoint my beloved Frends John Warren, and William Hayes Junior both of the said Island Planters and my Son William on his Arrival to the Age of eighteen Years, my Executors of this my last Will and Testament hereby revoking disanulling and making void all former Will or Wills and Requests by me made declaring this to be my last Will and Testament In Witness whereof I the said William Hayes Senior have here unto set my hand and Seal, this twenty eight Day of March in the sixteenth of the Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord George the Third, and in the Year of our Lord 1776 signed Willm Hayes Senr Signed Sealed and Delivered no stamp Paper to be had in the Presence of Us, who in his presence and at his Request, in the presence of each other Subscribed our Names as Witnesses thereto signed James Parfet Henry Easthope Geo Jamain In the Name of God Amen I Nathan Sampl of the Island St Helena Gentlemen being in good health of Body and of sound and perfect mind and memory Prause given therefore to Almighty God (Do make and Ordain this my present last Will and Tabmenv in manner and form following That is to say, First and principally I recommend my Soul into the hands of Almighty God hoping thro the Merits, Death and passion of my Savior Jesus Christ to have full and free pardon of all	William Hayes senior directed that his estate be kept entire until the time it was to be sold to the best advantage and the money divided as set out above. He named and appointed his beloved friends John Warren and William Hayes junior, both of the island and planters, and his son William on reaching the age of eighteen years, executors of his will. He revoked and made void all former wills and bequests he had previously made, and declared this to be his last will. In witness of this, William Hayes senior set his hand and seal on 28 March 1776, in the sixteenth year of the reign of King George the Third. The document was signed, sealed and delivered, no stamped paper being available, in the presence of the witnesses, who at his request and in the presence of each other subscribed their names as witnesses. The document was signed by William Hayes senior, and witnessed by James Parfitt, Henry Easthope and George Jarman. Nathan Stamp of the island of St Helena, gentleman, being in good health of body and of sound and perfect mind and memory and giving thanks to Almighty God, made and ordained his present last will. First and principally, he committed his soul into the hands of Almighty God, hoping through the merits, death and passion of his saviour Jesus Christ to have full and free pardon of all [...]. **Interpretations** The recital that the will was signed on unstamped paper because none was to be had again records the reach of stamp duty to St Helena and the recurring difficulty of complying with it. The proper stamped paper being unavailable on the remote island, the witnesses noted the omission to explain and excuse it, a practical problem that appears repeatedly in the island's wills where official supplies ran short. The appointment of the son William as an executor on reaching eighteen, below the usual age of twenty-one, shows a father judging his heir ready for responsibility somewhat early. Fixing that younger age suggests confidence in the son's capacity, while the reliance on two planter friends ensured the estate was administered until the son came to the appointed age.
185	168	all my Sins, to inherit everlasting Life, and my body I recommend to the Earth to be decently buried at the discretion of my Executrix and Executor herein after named, And as to the disposal of all such Temporal Estate as it hath pleased God to bestow upon me I give and dispose thereof in manner and form following First I Will that all my just Debts and funeral Expences shall be paid and discharged, after selling part of my Personal Estate (the Lands excepted) or so much as my Executrix and Executor shall think proper to be Sold at Auction to defray the above Expences Item I give unto my beloved Wife Ann Sample all and singular my real Estate and the remaining part of my personal Estate of what kind soever or wheresoever to have enjoy and possess during the Term of her natural	Nathan Stamp hoped to inherit everlasting life, and directed that his body be decently buried at the discretion of his executrix and executor named below. As for the worldly estate it had pleased God to bestow upon him, he gave and disposed of it as follows. First, he directed that all his just debts and funeral expenses be paid and discharged, after selling part of his personal estate. He directed that the land, or as much as his executrix and executor should think proper, be sold at auction to defray the above expenses. He gave to his beloved wife Ann Stamp all his real estate and the remaining part of his personal estate, of whatever kind, to have, enjoy and possess during her natural life without waste or spoiling. At the death of his wife, he wished his son John Stamp to have the first refusal of the same, both real and personal, at valuation, John paying to each of his daughters Eleanor Shortley and Catharine Jones an equal share with himself, within three months after taking possession of the estate. Should his son John Stamp refuse the estate, then his daughter Eleanor

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		Life without waste or spoliation thereof, and at the decease of my beloved Wife it is my desire that my Son John Sample, have the refusal of the same to the real and personal at Valuation, then he the said John Sample paying each of my Daughters namely Eleanor Shortley and Catharine Jones an equal share with himself within three Months after his taking possession of the said Estate and if my Son John Sample refuses my Estate then my Daughter Eleanor Shortley to have the refusal and so on to my Daughter Catharine Jones and no further and the Estate to be sold neither in part nor otherwise the the last Childs refusal, then the Estate to be Sold by publick Auction and the money to be equally divided between them Item I give and bequeath unto my Well beloved Wife Ann Sample one Slave Woman named Rose during her natural Life, and at her Decease the said Woman Slave to be returnd to my Son John Sample, as his own right and property and not to be second in the sher share of the Estate Item I give unto my Grandson Nathan Shirtley my Silver mounted sword and belt, my Silver Shoe and Knee buckles and my Silver Clasps as a Legacy Item I give unto my Grand Daughter Ann Harper Ten pounds as a Legacy to be paid her by my Executrix and Executor, when she arrives at the Age of twenty One Years or Marriage Lastly I hereby Nominate Constitute and appoint my Well beloved Wife Ann Sample my Executrix, My Son John Sample my Son in Law John Shortley and my Son in Law Hugh Jones to be my Executors of this my last Will and Testament, hereby revoking all former Wills by me heretofore made declaring this only to be my last Will and Testament	Shortley should have the refusal, and so on to his daughter Catharine Jones, and no further. If the estate was to be sold, neither in part nor otherwise until the last child's refusal, then the estate was to be sold by public auction and the money equally divided between them. He gave to his beloved wife Ann Stamp one slave woman named Rose during her natural life, and at her death the woman Rose was to return to his son John Stamp, as his own right and property, and not to be counted in the other share of the estate. He gave to his grandson Nathan Shortley his silver-mounted sword and belt, his silver shoe and knee buckles and his silver clasps as a legacy. He gave to his granddaughter Ann Harper the sum of £10 0s 0d as a legacy, to be paid by his executrix and executor when she reached the age of twenty-one years or married. Lastly, he named and appointed his beloved wife Ann Stamp executrix, and his son John Stamp, his son-in-law John Shortley and his son-in-law Hugh Jones executors of his will. He revoked and made void all former wills he had previously made, and declared this alone to be his last will. **Interpretations** The system of first refusal at valuation, running from the son to each daughter in turn before any sale, kept the family estate within the family while giving the son first claim. This let the property pass whole to a chosen heir who paid his sisters their equal shares, and only if every child declined would the estate be sold and the proceeds divided, using the refusal mechanism to favour keeping the land in family hands. The silver-mounted sword, buckles and clasps given to the grandson mark the personal accoutrements of a gentleman descending to a younger male heir. Such worked silver dress items carried both value and the marks of status, and their gift to the grandson passed emblems of gentility down the male line as fitting heirlooms distinct from the cash and land settled elsewhere. The woman Rose, given to the widow for life and then reverting to the son as his own property outside the divisible estate, shows an enslaved person made the subject of a life interest and a remainder like any other asset. Rose served the widow during her life and then passed to the son, her ownership split across two holders and expressly kept clear of the shares divided among the children, treating a human being exactly as a piece of plate or land.
186	169	In Witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and Seal this first Day of August in the Year of our Lord One Thousand seven hundred and sixty five signed Nathan Sample Signd Sealed and published by the above named Nathan Sample as his last Will and Testament in presence of Us who have hereunto Subscribed our Names as Witnesses signed James Pritchard James Parfett In the Name of God Amen I Sarah Farrell wife of James Farrell late Surgeons Mate of this Island, by the Power and Authority given me by an Instrument in writing before marriage, Dated the second Day of December, One Thousand seven hundred and seventy four, Impowering	Nathan Stamp set his hand and seal to his will on 1 August 1775. The document was signed, sealed and published by Nathan Stamp as his last will in the presence of the witnesses, who subscribed their names as witnesses. The document was signed by Nathan Stamp, and witnessed by James Pritchard and James Parfitt. Sarah Farrell, wife of James Farrell, late surgeon's mate of the island, by the power and authority given her by an instrument in writing before marriage, dated 2 December 1774, empowering her to dispose by legacies of such part of the estate as she should own, being of sound and disposing mind and memory and giving thanks to God, made, published and declared her last will. First, she committed her soul into the hands of Almighty God her creator, and directed that her body be decently buried in the earth. First, she directed that her just debts and funeral expenses be first and fully paid. She gave to her beloved brothers and sisters-in-law, namely Christopher, Edmund and William Pritchard and Elizabeth Story, the sum of £150 0s 0d

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		me to Will and bequeath by Legacies such part of the Estate I shall Die possessed off, Being now of sound and disposing Mind and memory blessed be God, Do make Publick and Declare this to be my Last Will and Testament, That is to say I recommend my Soul into the Hands of Almighty God my Creator, and my body to the Earth to be Decently Buried Imprimis I Will and direct that my just Debts by me contracted and Funeral Expences, be first fully paid Item To my beloved Brothers and Sister in Law, namely Christopher Edmund, and William Pritchard and Elizabeth Story, I give the sum of one hundred and fifty pounds each, and to John the son of Christopher, Cousin of my sd Husband, I give The Sum of one Hundred Pounds Item To my Niece Margaret Kirkpatrick (Widow) and Mary Bazett Wife of Lieutenant John Bazett, I give the Sum of two hundred pounds each Item	each. She gave to John, son of her late husband, the sum of £100 0s 0d. She gave to her nieces Margaret Kirkpatrick, widow, and Mary Bazett, wife of Lieutenant John Bazett, the sum of £200 0s 0d each [...]. **Interpretations** The instrument in writing made before marriage, empowering Sarah Farrell to dispose of part of the estate by will, was a marriage settlement securing to her a power over property despite the common law rule that a wife's estate vested in her husband. Such pre-nuptial settlements were the recognised means by which a married woman retained control over defined property, and this will operated under the power that settlement reserved to her, letting her direct legacies a wife could not otherwise have given. The disposal of substantial sums to brothers, sisters-in-law and nieces, running to hundreds of pounds each, marks Sarah Farrell as a woman of independent means secured through her settlement. The scale of her giving shows that the property over which her marriage settlement gave her power was considerable, allowing her to provide generously for her own kin rather than see the whole pass under her husband's control. The provision of a legacy to the son of her late husband, named separately from her own relatives, points to a second marriage bringing a stepson into the family. By leaving him £100 0s 0d, Sarah Farrell remembered a child of her husband's earlier marriage alongside her own blood kin, reflecting the blended families that arose as widows and widowers remarried on the island.
187	170	Item To my Nephews John Dessfountain and John Seale I give the sum of Thirty pounds each Item To my Nieces, Ruth Desfountain, and Sarah Lake and to Elizabeth the Daughter of Sarah Lake, I give the sum of twenty pounds each Item To John the son of Lieutenant Samuel Dessfountain I give the Sum of thirty pounds Item To Joseph Hutchinson, I give the sum of One Hundred and Fifty Pounds Item To my Servants Patt and Betty I give the Sum of Five pounds each Item To Lieutenant John Bazett I give a Mourning Ring with a Purple Stone Item To Elizabeth Bazett Daughter of the said Lieutenant John Bazett I give a Garnett Nicklace, Earing & Ring Item To Elizabeth Desfountain I give a Suit of Blue Sattin a sute of Lace six Shifts six pair of Stocking and a Quilted Petticoat Item The remaining part of my Apparell of what kind or nature soever I give to Mary Bazett Wife of Lieu John Bazett Item My further Will and Intentions is in case what I shall leave at my Decease should amount to more then the aforesaid Legacies beforementioned I give the overplus, to my Brothers and Sister in Law, Namely Christopher Edmund, and William Pritchard and Elizabeth Story, whom I appoint Heirs to the said overplus, after the aforesaid Legacies are fully paid Lastly I nominate, Constitute and appoint The Governor and Council	Sarah Farrell gave to her nephews John Desfountain and John Seale the sum of £30 0s 0d each. She gave to her nieces Ruth Desfountain and Sarah Lake, and to Elizabeth, daughter of Sarah Lake, the sum of £20 0s 0d each. She gave to John, son of Lieutenant Samuel Desfountain, the sum of £30 0s 0d. She gave to Joseph Hutchinson the sum of £150 0s 0d. She gave to her slaves Pett and Betty the sum of £5 0s 0d each. She gave to Lieutenant John Bazett a mourning ring with a purple stone. She gave to Elizabeth Bazett, daughter of Lieutenant John Bazett, a garnet necklace, earrings and a ring. She gave to Elizabeth Desfountain a suit of blue satin, a set of lace, six shifts, six pairs of stockings and a quilted petticoat. She gave the remaining part of her apparel, of whatever kind, to Mary Bazett, wife of Lieutenant John Bazett. Should what she left at her death amount to more than the legacies named above, she gave the surplus to her brothers and sisters-in-law, namely Christopher, Edmund and William Pritchard and Elizabeth Story, whom she appointed her heirs to the surplus after the legacies were fully paid. Lastly, she named and appointed the Governor and Council of the island executors of her will. She revoked and made void all former wills she had previously made, and declared this to be her last will, in the presence of three witnesses who at her request set their hands as witnesses, on 21 July 1775, in the fifteenth year of the reign of King George the Third of Great Britain, France and Ireland, defender of the faith. The document was signed, sealed and declared by the testatrix as her last will in the presence of the witnesses, who at her request set their hands as witnesses. The document was signed by Sarah Farrell,

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		of the said Island for the time being Executors to this my last Will and Testament, Revoking all other Wills by me heretofore made declaring this to be my last, in the presence of three Witnesses who at my Request have hereunto set their Hands this twenty first Day of July in the sixteenth Year of the Reign of Our Sovereign Lord George the Third of great Britain France and Ireland King Defender of the Faith and soforth, and in the Year of our Lord One Thousand seven hundred and sixty five signed Sarah Farrell Signed Sealed and Declared by the said Testatrix to be her last Will and Testament in the presence of Us who at her request have hereunto set our Hands as Witnesses signed Jn Howard Thos Bazett Wm Greentree In	and witnessed by John Howard, Thomas Bazett and William Greentree. **Interpretations** The appointment of the Governor and Council of the island as executors of the will placed the administration of the estate in the hands of the island's governing body rather than private individuals. This was an unusual choice, resorted to perhaps where a testatrix lacked family or trusted friends able to act, or wished the weight and permanence of the government behind the settlement of a substantial estate, and it shows the Council serving in a capacity beyond its ordinary governmental role. The detailed bequests of clothing and jewellery, a blue satin suit, lace, shifts, stockings, a quilted petticoat, a garnet necklace and mourning rings, show the value of fine apparel and personal ornaments in a woman's estate. Such items were costly and personal, and their careful distribution among named women and girls treated dress and jewellery as significant property to be passed on individually, marking the recipients as those the testatrix wished to remember with these intimate gifts. The garnet necklace, earrings and ring given together to a young girl mark a set of matching jewellery passing as a personal keepsake to the next generation. Coloured stones set in such a suite were prized possessions, and reserving them for the daughter of a friend passed a treasured and wearable heirloom to a young recipient distinct from the money left elsewhere.
188	171	In the Name of God Amen I John Shortley of the Island St Helena Lieutenant of Artillery in the service of the Honorable the United East India Company, being sick and weak in body, but of sound and disposing mind and memory, thanks be to Almighty God for the same do make and ordain this my last Will and Testament in manner and form following That is to Say First and principally I recommend my Soul into the Hands of Almighty God that gave it, and my body I commit to the Earth to be decently buried at the discretion of my Executrix and Executors hereafter named, and as touching such worldly Estate as it has pleased God to bless me with I give and dispose in manner and form following, after all my just Debts and funeral Expences are fully paid and Satisfied Imprimis I give and bequeath unto my well beloved Wife Eleanor Shortley all that I die possessed of during her natural Life or Widowhood, and in case she should marry again the whole Estate to be sold and she to have her Dower or thirds of the whole Estate both real and personal and the remaining two thirds to be equally divided between my Sons Nathan and John Shortley and my Daughters Lydia, Sarah, Mary, and Catharine each equal share and share alike And I do hereby make constitute and appoint my well beloved Wife Eleanor Shortly, and my beloved Friends John Sampell and	John Shortley of the island of St Helena, lieutenant of artillery in the service of the Honourable United East India Company, being sick and weak in body but of sound and disposing mind and memory and giving thanks to Almighty God, made and ordained his last will. First and principally, he committed his soul into the hands of Almighty God, who gave it, and directed that his body be decently buried at the discretion of his executrix and executors named below. As for the worldly estate it had pleased God to bless him with, he gave and disposed of it as follows, after all his just debts and funeral expenses were fully paid and satisfied. First, he gave to his beloved wife Eleanor Shortley all that he should own at his death, during her natural life or widowhood. Should she marry again, he directed that the whole estate be sold, and that she have her dower or third of the whole estate, both real and personal, the remaining two thirds to be equally divided between his sons Nathan and John Shortley and his daughters Lydia, Sarah, Mary and Catharine, each an equal share, share and share alike. He named and appointed his beloved wife Eleanor Shortley, and his beloved friends John Tunstall and Hugh Jones, both of the island, executrix and executors of his will. He revoked and made void all former wills he had previously made, and declared this to be his last will. In witness of this, John Shortley set his hand and seal on 9 December 1776, in the seventeenth year of the reign of King George the Third of Great Britain, France and Ireland, defender of the faith. The document was signed, sealed and delivered, no stamped paper being available, in the presence of the witnesses, who in his presence and at his request subscribed their names as witnesses. The document was signed by John Shortley, and witnessed by John Torry and James Profitt. **Interpretations** The reduction of the widow's interest from the whole estate to her dower and a third share on remarriage, triggering a sale, again used the estate to

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		Hugh Jones all of the said Island my Executrix and Executors of this my last Will and Testament hereby revoking and disannulling all former Will or Wills by me heretofore made, declaring this to be my last Will & Testament In Witness whereof I the said John Shortley have hereunto set my hand & seal this ninth Day of December in the seventeenth year of the Reign of Our Sovereign Lord George the Third of great Britain France & Ireland King Defender of the faith and so forth and in the year of Our Lord 1776 signed John Shortley Signd Sealed and delivered on stamp't paper to be had in the presence of us who in his presence and at his request in the presence of each other have subscribed our Names as Witnesses thereto signed John Terry James Rossett In	bear on her future choices. So long as she remained a widow she held the whole property for her life, but a second marriage would cut her to the third the law secured and force a division among the children, protecting their inheritance from passing under a new husband's control. The recital that the will was signed on unstamped paper because none was to be had once more records the recurring difficulty of meeting stamp duty on the remote island. The witnesses noted the want of the proper stamped paper to explain and excuse the omission, a practical problem appearing again and again in the island's wills where official supplies fell short.
189	172	In the Name of God Amen I John Price of the Island of St Helena Innholder being weak of Body, but of sound mind and memory, blessed be God therefore Do make and publish this my last Will and Testament in manner following viz Imprimis I will and hereby direct that all my just Debts and funeral Charges be paid at a suitable time after my decease, by my Executors herein after mentioned Item I give unto my Well beloved Wife Mary Price two Women Slaves named Ellen, and Sue, also a set of Blackwood Casters with Silver tops, twelve Silver Tea spoons with Tongs, and Strainer of the same metal, which is to her have the initial letter of her Name engravd thereon, and a Compleat Bed and Bedstead with all the furniture and bed Cloaths thereunto belonging, meaning my best bed &c to be hers for ever Item I give unto my Daughter Charlotte Price the two Houses now in the occupation of James Parfet and John Terry, And as the House wherein the said Parfet now Dwells was given to her the said Charlotte as a Legacy by her Godmother the late Mary Harper Deceasd (whose House household) I built a new House on the Ground thereof, and purchasd the other House next to it, with intention that the Rents arising from both Houses may and should be appropriated to the sole use of paying off the Purchase Money of the one, and the expences of building the other House It is therefore my meaning, and I hereby Order and Direct that as on the said Money as well for the Purchase as the building be fully paid out of the Rents arising from them, shall become a part of my Estate, and used thereto for the better support of my Wife the said Mary and my two	John Price of the island of St Helena, innkeeper, being weak in body but of sound mind and memory and giving thanks to God, made and published his last will. First, he directed that all his just debts and funeral charges be paid within a suitable time after his death by his executors named below. He gave to his beloved wife Mary Price two women slaves named Ellen and Sue, also a set of blackwood casters with silver tops, twelve silver teaspoons with tongs and strainer of the same metal, which teaspoons had the initials of her name engraved on them, and a complete bed and bedstead with all the furniture and bedclothes belonging to it, meaning his best bed and the like, to be hers forever. He gave to his daughter Charlotte Price the two houses then occupied by James Parfitt and John Torry. The house in which Parfitt then lived had been given to Charlotte as a legacy by her godmother the late Mary Harper, deceased, along with the household goods. He had built a new house on the ground of it, and bought the other house next to it, intending that the rents arising from both houses be applied to paying off the purchase money of the one and the expenses of building the other. He directed that, once the money both for the purchase and the building was fully paid out of the rents, both houses become part of his estate and be applied for the support of his wife Mary and his two children Charlotte and James Price, until Charlotte reached the full age of twenty-one years or marriage, at which the two houses were to be delivered up to her. He gave his daughter Charlotte one boy slave named Tom and a woman slave named Parlow, which slaves he gave her as a legacy, separately from her share of the residue of his estate, not to come to her before marriage or the death of his wife Mary Price. He gave to his son James Price one mahogany knife case containing twelve knives and as many forks with silver ferrules, also twelve silver tablespoons and a large silver soup and marrow spoon, all which spoons had the initials of his name engraved on them. He also gave his son one man slave named Toney and two boy slaves named August and Phillip, which legacy was to be given to him at such time as his executors should think most reasonable and necessary for his welfare.

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		Children the said Charlotte and James Price, till such time as the said Charlotte shall attain the full Age of twenty one Years or Marriage, at either of which periods the Two Houses shall be delivered up to her, I also give unto my Daughter the sd Charlotte one Boy Slave named Tom, and a Woman Slave named Parlow, which Slaves I give her as a Legacy, separately from her share of the Residue of my Estate not sooner than at Marriage or Decease of my Wife the said Mary Price Item I give unto my Son the said James Price one Mahogany Knife Case containing Twelve Knives & as many Forks with silver Ferrills also twelve silver Table spoons and a large Silver Soupe, and Marrow spoon all which spoons have the initial Letter of my Name thereon, I also give unto him my said Son one Man slave named Toney and two Boy slaves named August and Phillip which I give and bequeath to be given to him at such time as my Executors shall think most reasonable and necessary to his Welfare Item I give unto my Son in Law John Legg ten Guineas to buy him Mourning, also a Man slave named Frank The first of the sd sd Boy nets to be paid him immediately after my Decease, the other, when my Executors shall think fit, And as by the Estate of his Father the late John Legg Deceasd he my sd Son in Law becomes intitled the sum of two hundred and twenty two pounds to	He gave to his son-in-law John Legg ten guineas to buy him mourning, also a man slave named Frank, the first of the boy Bignetts to be paid to him immediately after his death, the other when his executors should think fit. Because the estate of his late father-in-law John Legg, deceased, would fall due to his son-in-law, the sum of £222 0s 0d [...]. **Interpretations** The scheme of applying the rents of two houses to pay off the purchase of one and the building costs of the other, before both fell into the estate for the family's support, shows a testator using rental income to clear the debts on his property. By directing that the rents discharge these costs first, he ensured the houses would pass to his daughter free of the sums spent on acquiring and improving them, turning the properties into an unencumbered asset once the outlay was recovered. The silver spoons and knives engraved with the initials of the wife's and son's names show personal plate marked for its intended recipients descending as identifiable family possessions. Engraving bound each set to the person named, and reserving the wife's spoons with her initials and the son's with his passed pieces already personalised to them, treating the marked silver as intimate heirlooms distinct from unmarked plate. The timing of the son's legacy of slaves, to be given when the executors judged it most necessary for his welfare, placed the transfer under the executors' discretion rather than at a fixed age. This let them release the property when it would most benefit the young heir, treating the enslaved people as an asset to be handed over when it best served his interest, held meanwhile under the executors' management.
190	173	to be paid unto him at the full Age or Marriage without any Deduction or Abatement whatever, I mean and hereby Direct that the said Sum of two hundred and twenty two pounds be paid unto him out of my Estate, in such manner as may least prejudice or Distress my sd Estate by Sale or otherwise, as shall appear most conducive to the welfare of the whole, relying in this matter upon the Integrity and prudent management of my Executors after mentioned, And as my meaning is that my Estate shall be kept intire and together as consistantly as can be with an honest Discharge of my just Debts, I hereby direct that no part thereof shall be sold or otherwise dispos'd of, without the free consent and approbation of my Wife the sd Mary Price, this power to continue to her during the sd Deceased, but in case she the said Mary should Marry again then I Order that she have only her thirds, or a third part of my Estate sole given to her in proportion to a just Valuation of the whole if such went should take place, And that I may be more clearly understood, I dend that, after the two hundred and twenty two pounds shall be paid to my	John Price directed that the £222 0s 0d be paid to his son-in-law John Legg at his full age or marriage, without any deduction. He directed that this sum be paid out of his estate in such a way as would least prejudice or distress the estate by sale or otherwise, as should appear most conducive to the welfare of the whole, relying on the integrity and prudent management of his executors named below. He directed that his estate be kept entire and together, as far as consistent with an honest discharge of his just debts, and that no part of it be sold or otherwise disposed of without the free consent and approval of his wife Mary Price. This power was to continue to her during her widowhood, but should she marry again, then he directed that she have only her third, or a third part of his estate, in proportion to a just valuation of the whole if such went to take place. To make his meaning clear, he directed that, after the £222 0s 0d was paid to his son-in-law John Legg, and after all his debts and legacies were duly discharged, the residue of his estate be managed in the most prudent manner for the support, education and clothing of his wife Mary and his children Charlotte and James Price, under the management of his wife during her widowhood, until her death. Then the whole was to be divided in even and equal shares between his two children Charlotte and James. Should either die, the deceased's portion was to remain to the survivor, and should both children die, the remainder to his wife Mary, save only the sum of £100 0s 0d, which in case of the death of both his

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		Son in Law the said John Legg and after all my Debts and Legacys are duly discharged, the Residue of my Estate the managed to the most prudent manner, for the support, Education & Cloathing of my Wife the said Mary and my Children the sd Charlotte and James Price under the management of my sd Wife, during her Widowhood, and to the time of her Death, then the whole to be divided in even and equal shares between my two Children namely Charlotte and James and in case of the Death of any or either of them without lawful Issue, Remainder to the Survivor and in case of the Death of both Remainder to my Wife the sd Mary save only the sum of one hundred pounds, which in case of the Death of both my Children I give to my Uncle Uriah Bedbury, now in England, & to his Heirs for ever Lastly I hereby Nominate Constitute and appoint my beloved Wife Mary Price Executrix and my Good Friend Mr George Bird and my Son in Law John Legg when at full Age, Executors of this my last Will and Testament, And in Consideration of, and my Reliance on the Integrity of the sd George Bird in the due discharge of the trust hereby repos'd in him as well as for his trouble, I give the said George Bird the sum of ten Guineas, hereby revoking all Wills by me heretofore made, Declaring this to be my last Will and Testament In Witness whereof I have hereunto set my Hand & Seal the eighteenth Day of April in the Year of Our Lord 1777 signed the mark of John Price Signed, Sealed & delivered by the Testator, as and for his last Will & Testament in the Presence of Us signed James Pritchard James Parfett Be it remembred and taken as a part of	children he gave to his uncle Uriah Bidbury, then in England, and his heirs, forever. Lastly, he named and appointed his beloved wife Mary Price executrix, and his good friend Mr George Bird and his son-in-law John Legg, on reaching full age, executors of his will. In consideration of the integrity of George Bird in the due discharge of the trust reposed in him, as well as for his trouble, he gave George Bird the sum of ten guineas. He revoked and made void all former wills he had previously made, and declared this to be his last will. In witness of this, he set his hand and seal on 18 April 1777. The document was signed, sealed and delivered by the testator as his last will in the presence of the witnesses. The document was signed with the mark of John Price, and witnessed by James Pritchard and James Parfitt. **Interpretations** The requirement that no part of the estate be sold without the widow's free consent gave Mary Price a veto over the disposal of the property during her widowhood. This protected the estate from being broken up against her wishes and secured her control over its management while she remained unmarried, a power the will expressly withdrew should she remarry, when her interest would shrink to a third. The reduction of the widow's interest from control of the whole estate to a mere third on remarriage, again tied to her staying unmarried, used the estate to bear on her future choices. Full management and enjoyment depended on her continued widowhood, protecting the children's inheritance from passing under a new husband's control and giving Mary Price a strong material reason to remain unmarried. The direction to keep the estate entire and management for the children's support, education and clothing until the widow's death treated the property as a family fund to be preserved and worked rather than divided at once. By keeping it together under the widow's management and reserving it for the children's upbringing, the will used the estate's income to raise them and its capital to endow them equally when it finally fell to be divided.
191	174	of the above Will, that I further give unto my Daughter the Charlotte Price one Girl Slave named Peg and Chest of Drawers and a case for a Doll signed and Sealed the Day and Year above written signed James Pritchard the Mark of James Parfet John Price In the Name of God Amen This fifteenth day of November 1777 I John Seale being sick and weak of body, but of sound mind memory and understanding, do make and ordain this my last Will and Testament First I recommend my Soul to my maker, my Body I commit to the Earth to be buryd in a decent Christian manner, my worldly Estate	John Price further gave to his daughter Charlotte Price one girl slave named Peg, one chest of drawers and a case for a doll. The document was signed and sealed on the day and year written above. The document was signed with the mark of John Price, and witnessed by James Pritchard and James Parfitt. Dated 15 November 1777. John Seale, being sick and weak in body but of sound mind, memory and understanding, made and ordained his last will. First, he committed his soul to his maker, and directed that his body be buried in a decent Christian manner. As for his worldly estate, he gave and disposed of it as follows. First, he gave to his beloved wife, as a legacy, a woman servant named Flora and a chest of drawers. He gave his beloved wife, during her natural life, the use of half his freehold land and the use of one

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		I give and bequeath in the following form and manner Imprimis, I give to my beloved Wife as a Legacy a Woman Servant named Flora and a Chest of draws Item, I also give my beloved Wife during her natural Life the use of half my freehold Land and the use of one third of my Lease Land, and one third of my Moveables forever Item, I give to my Son William at the Age of twenty one Years the refusal of one half of my free Land lately purchased of Mr Wrangham and one half of my Lease Land lying at the same place at Valuation, paying the rest of his bror & Sisters their equal part or dividend Item, I give to my Son John, at his Mothers Death the other half of my free and Lease Land called Wranghams at Valuation paying the rest of his bror and Sisters their equal part or dividend Item, I give to my Daughter Mary at her Mothers Death the refusal of my Dwelling House and twenty three Acres of Land lying about it paying the rest of her bror & Sisters their equal part or dividend at Valuation Item, I give to my Son Matthew the refusal of my Land lying in deep Valley paying the rest of his bror & Sisters their equal parts or dividends at Valuation Item, My further Will and meaning is that the rest and residue of my Estate be it of what kind soever be equally divided amongst all my Children, namely, William, John, Mary, Matthew, Charles, and Frederick Lastly	third of his leasehold land, and one third of his movables forever. He gave to his son William, at the age of twenty-one years, the first refusal of one half of his freehold land lately bought from Mr Waringham, and one half of his leasehold land lying at the same place, at valuation, paying the rest of his brothers and sisters their equal part or dividend. He gave to his son John, at his mother's death, the other half of his freehold and leasehold land called Waringhams, at valuation, paying the rest of his brothers and sisters their equal part or dividend. He gave to his daughter Mary, at her mother's death, the first refusal of his dwelling house and twenty-three acres of land lying about it, paying the rest of her brothers and sisters their equal part or dividend, at valuation. He gave to his son Matthew the first refusal of his land lying in Deep Valley, paying the rest of his brothers and sisters their equal parts or dividends, at valuation. He directed that all the rest and residue of his estate, of whatever kind, be equally divided among all his children, namely William, John, Mary, Matthew, Charles and Frederick. **Interpretations** The system of first refusal at valuation, giving each of several children a particular parcel on paying the others their equal shares, kept the family lands whole while dividing their value evenly. This let specific holdings pass to chosen children, each taking his or her parcel and buying out the others' equivalent shares, so the estate stayed in family hands while the arithmetic of an equal division was preserved through cash payments among the siblings. The staggered timing of the gifts, some taking effect at a fixed age and others only at the mother's death, wove the widow's life interest through the children's inheritance. Because the widow held part of the land for life, several parcels could not pass to the children until her death, so the will fixed different moments at which each child's interest fell in, balancing her provision against the children's eventual entitlement. The consistent charging of each parcel at valuation, with the taker paying the others their dividend, shows equalisation applied across a landed estate divided among six children. Each child received particular land but accounted for its value to the rest, so that despite the unequal distribution of specific parcels the overall value each child took could be reconciled and kept fair among them all.
192	175	Lastly, I nomenate, constitute and appoint, my beloved Wife Executor and my trusty friends John Desfountain & John Worrall, and my Son William at the Age of eighteen Years Executor to this my last Will and Testament, utterly revoking, and disannulling all Wills or Will heretofore made by me, ratifying and confirming this and no other to be my last Will and Testament signed John Seale Signed Sealed and delivered in the presence of Us who subscribe Our names as the last Will and Testament of John Seale signed James Easthope John Young In the Name of God Amen I Michael Frost of the Island of St Helena	John Seale named and appointed his beloved wife executrix, his trusted friends John Desfountain and John Worrall, and his son William at the age of eighteen years, executors of his will. He revoked and made void all former wills he had previously made, and confirmed this alone to be his last will. The document was signed, sealed and delivered in the presence of the witnesses, who subscribed their names as witnesses to the last will of John Seale. The document was signed by John Seale, and witnessed by James Easthope and John Young. Michael Frost of the island of St Helena, through the abundant mercy and goodness of God being weak in body yet of sound and perfect understanding and memory, made his last will, and wished it be received by all as such. First, he humbly committed his soul to God his maker, beseeching his gracious acceptance of it through the merits and mediation of his compassionate redeemer Jesus Christ. He gave his body to the earth from which it was taken, in full assurance of its resurrection at the last day. As for the worldly estate it had pleased God to endow him with,

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		being through the abundant Mercy and Godness of God tho weak in Body yet of a sound and perfect Understanding and Memory, Do Constitute this my last Will and Testament, and desire it may be received by all, as such Imprimis, I humbly recommend my Soul to God my Maker, beseeching his most gracious acceptance of it, through the all sufficient merits and Mediation of my Compassionate Redeemr Jesus Christ, and my Body I give to the Earth from whence it was taken, in full assurance of its Resurrection from thence at the Last Day, And as to all my Worldly Estate which it hath pleased God to Endow me with, or that I may be possessd of at the time of my Decease, I give and Dispose thereof as in manner and form following, my just Debts and funeral Expences being first paid, as soon as possible after my Decease Item, I give and bequeath unto my Kinswoman Elizabeth Bird the Wife of George Bird (Cabinet Maker & Joiner) the Sum of ten Pounds Item, I give and bequeath unto my Kinswoman Penelope Pritchard	or that he should own at the time of his death, he gave and disposed of it as follows, his just debts and funeral expenses being first paid as soon as possible after his death. First, he gave to his kinswoman Elizabeth Bird, wife of George Bird, cabinet maker and joiner, the sum of £10 0s 0d. He gave to his kinswoman Penelope Pritchard [...]. **Interpretations** The appointment of the son William as an executor on reaching eighteen, below the usual age of twenty-one, shows a testator judging his heir ready for responsibility somewhat early. Fixing that younger age suggests confidence in the son's capacity, while the reliance on two trusted friends ensured the estate was administered until the son came to the appointed age. The trade of cabinet maker and joiner attached to George Bird marks a skilled woodworking craft serving the island's demand for furniture and building work. Such craftsmen made and fitted the wooden furnishings that a settled community required, and the naming of the trade situates the family within the working crafts on which the island's households depended for their fittings and furniture.
193	176	Pritchard, The Wife of James Pritchard (Taylor) the Sum of ten Pounds Item, I give and bequeath unto my Kinswoman Eleanor Young the Daughter of Stephen Young (Planter) the sum of two Pounds Item, I give and bequeath unto my Kinswoman and God Daughter Clarissa Young Daughter of Stephen Young Planter, the sum of twenty Pounds Item, I give and bequeath unto John and Mary Price, their Heirs Executors Administrators or Assigns my Dwelling House with the furniture, my wearing apparel, a Slave named Ballrecque together with all the Residue of my Estate both Real and Personal, And it is also my Will and Desire that the Legacies by me above bequeathed be paid to the Legatees as soon as possible after my Decease And Lastly I do hereby Nominate and Appoint my Trusty and beloved friends Messrs John Price and George Bird Executors to this my last Will and Testament, hereby revoking all former Will or Wills by me heretofore made Do therefore declare this to be my last Will and Testament In Witness whereof I have hereunto set my Hand and affixed my Seale this twentieth Day of November one Thousand seven hundred and seventy six signed	Michael Frost gave to his kinswoman Penelope Pritchard, wife of James Pritchard, tailor, the sum of £10 0s 0d. He gave to his kinswoman Eleanor Young, daughter of Stephen Young, planter, the sum of £2 0s 0d. He gave to his kinswoman and goddaughter Clarissa Young, daughter of Stephen Young, planter, the sum of £20 0s 0d. He gave to John and Mary Price, and their heirs, executors, administrators or assigns, his dwelling house with the furniture, his wearing apparel, a slave named Ballindine, together with all the rest and residue of his estate, both real and personal. He directed that the legacies he had bequeathed above be paid to the legatees as soon as possible after his death. Lastly, he named and appointed his trusted and beloved friends Messrs John Price and George Bird executors of his will. He revoked and made void all former wills he had previously made, and declared this to be his last will. In witness of this, he set his hand and seal on 20 November 1776. The document was signed, sealed, published and declared by the testator as his last will in the presence of the witnesses. The document was signed by Michael Frost, and witnessed by John St Maurice and James Elgin. Henry Rowell of the island of St Helena, parish house keeper, being very sick and weak in body but of sound and disposing mind and memory, made and ordained his last will, after all his debts, funeral charges and the charges of proving the will were duly paid and satisfied. **Interpretations** The office of parish house keeper attached to Henry Rowell marks a person charged with the running of the parish poorhouse or workhouse, where the island's dependent poor were lodged and

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		Michael Frost Signd Sealed Published and Declared by the said Testator to be his last Will and Testament in the presence of Us signed Solr St Maurice James Elgin In the Name of God Amen I Henry Powell of the Island of St Helena Patrick House Keeper being very sick and weak in body but of sound and disposing mind and Memory do make and ordain this my last Will and Testament in Manner and form following after all my Debts, Funeral Charges and the Charges of proving this my Will be duly paid and satisfied Imprimis	maintained. Such a keeper managed the day-to-day care of those on parish relief, an office within the island's arrangements for the poor that shows the small institutional provision made for the destitute under the parish's authority. The disposal of a whole estate, including house, furniture, apparel and a slave, to a married couple jointly with cash legacies to kinswomen shows a testator without close family directing his property to friends and more distant relations. Naming John and Mary Price as residuary heirs while remembering several kinswomen with money reflects a man distributing his estate through a circle of connection where nearer heirs were wanting.
194	177	Imprimis I give and bequeath unto my dearly beloved Wife Ann all and singular my Lands, Tenements Goods Debts and Chattles of what Nature or kind soever which at the time of my Decease I may be possessed of, to and for her sole Disposal Use & Benefit for ever And I Do hereby constitute ordain and appoint my said Wife Ann the Executrix Onesiphorus Talbot my Brother in law and James Harper Gentleman my Executors of this my last Will and Testament hereby revoking and disannulling all former Wills and Testaments by me made ratifying and confirming this and no other to be my last In Witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and seal, this Nineteenth Day of May in the Year of our Lord One Thousand seven hundred and seventy eight signed Henry Howell Signed Sealed Published and Declared by the Testator as his last Will and Testament in the presence of Us who in his presence at his request and in the presence of each other subscribed our Names as Witnesses thereto the Interlineation appointing Joshua Talbot and James Harper Executors being first made signed Robt Ballard Thomas Cole George Jarman In the Name of God Amen I John Whitchurch of the Island of Saint Helena Merchant, being weak of Body, but of sound mind and Memory do this twenty eighth Day of May, in the seventeenth Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord the King, and in the Year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and seventy seven, make and publish this my last Will and Testament in manner and form following, Viz Imprimis, I will that all my just Debts and funeral Expences be paid and	Henry Rowell gave to his dearly beloved wife Ann all his lands, tenements, goods, debts and chattels, of whatever kind, that he should own at his death, to and for her sole disposal, use and benefit forever. He named and appointed his wife Ann executrix, and his brother-in-law Joshua Talbot and James Harper, gentleman, executors of his will. He revoked and made void all former wills he had previously made, and confirmed this alone to be his last will. In witness of this, he set his hand and seal on 19 May 1778. The will was signed, sealed, published and declared by the testator as his last will in the presence of the witnesses, who in his presence, at his request and in the presence of each other subscribed their names as witnesses. The interlineation appointing Joshua Talbot and James Harper executors was made before signing. The document was signed by Henry Rowell, and witnessed by Robert Ballard, Thomas Cole and George Jarman. John Whitchurch of the island of St Helena, merchant, being weak in body but of sound mind and memory, made and published his last will on 28 May 1777, in the seventeenth year of the reign of the King. First, he directed that all his just debts and funeral expenses be paid [...]. **Interpretations** The formal recital that the interlineation appointing two executors was made before signing guarded against the suspicion that the addition had been inserted after the will was executed. Any words written between the lines of a will raised the question of when they were added, so the testator and witnesses attested that the interlineation predated the signature, preserving its validity against a later challenge that the executors had been named without authority. The simple grant of the entire estate to the wife for her sole use and benefit, with brother-in-law and a friend named as executors, reflects a straightforward provision by a married man trusting his widow with the whole. Vesting everything in her while appointing others to help administer the estate gave her the property outright while ensuring the practical work of settling it was shared with trusted men.
195	178	and Discharged in a convenient Time after my Decease, by my Executors herein after mentioned	John Whitchurch directed that his debts and funeral expenses be discharged within a convenient time after his death by his executors named below.

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		Item I give unto my Brother Thomas Whitchurch of Black friars in London the sum of seven hundred pounds Item I give unto my Niece Sarah Whitchurch Daughter of the sd Thomas Whitchurch the sum of one hundred and fifty Pounds Item I give unto my Niece Harriate Whitchurch also Daughter of the sd Thomas Whitchurch the like sum of one hundred and fifty Pounds Item I give unto Mary Goudy Daughter of James Goudy late of this Island a Dwelling House together with all its Rights members and Appurtenances purchased by me of John Bland Late Master Mason of the sd Island, and now in the Occupation of Henry Howel, and I mean that she the sd Mary Goudy shall from the Day of my Decease be intitled to and have to her sole Use the rents, Issues and Profits of the sd House, And I give unto the sd Mary Goudy the Sum of two hundred pounds, also a Girl Slave nam'd Pegg and a Mahogany Desk But my meaning is, and I hereby order and direct, that, in case she the sd Mary Goudy shall die before she attain the full Age of twenty one Years or Marriage, then the sd House and Legacies so bequeathed to her shall revert to, and incorporate with my Estate in as full a Manner as if such Alienation had never been made or intended to be made by me Item I give unto my Godson Sutton Leech the Son of Thomas Leech the Sum of fifty Pounds: But in Case of his Death before his Marriage I then give the same to my God Daughter Mary Young Daughter of Stephen Young and over and above the sd Bequession I give unto the said Mary a like Sum of fifty pounds Item I allow and give unto my Sister in Law Margaret Goudy her Living (that is to say) a Suitable Maintenance out of my Estate as long as she the sd Margaret shall cohabit with her Sister and my Wife Sarah Whitchurch, and no longer Item As to all the Rest, Residue and Remainder of my Estate of what kindsoever and wheresoever not yet by me disposed of, I give the same, in full Right, to my well beloved Wife the said Sarah Whitchurch to be hers for ever, And I mean and will that a Boy Slave named Charles thereout be	He gave to his brother Thomas Whitchurch of Blackfriars in London the sum of £700 0s 0d. He gave to his niece Sarah Whitchurch, daughter of Thomas Whitchurch, the sum of £150 0s 0d. He gave to his niece Harriet Whitchurch, also daughter of Thomas Whitchurch, the like sum of £150 0s 0d. He gave to Mary Goudy, daughter of James Goudy late of the island, a dwelling house, together with all its appurtenances, bought by him from John Bland, late master mason of the island, and then occupied by Henry Rowell. He directed that Mary Goudy be entitled, from the day of his death, to the sole use, rents, issues and profits of the house. He also gave Mary Goudy the sum of £200 0s 0d, also a girl slave named Pegg and a mahogany desk. Should Mary Goudy die before reaching the full age of twenty-one years or marriage, he directed that the house and legacies so bequeathed revert to and be incorporated with his estate, as fully as if the gift had never been made. He gave to his godson Sutton Leech, son of Thomas Leech, the sum of £50 0s 0d. Should he die before marriage, he gave the same to his goddaughter Mary Young, daughter of Stephen Young, and over and above that gift, he gave Mary a like sum of £50 0s 0d. He gave to his sister-in-law Margaret Goudy, then living, a suitable maintenance out of his estate, as long as Margaret should live with her sister and his wife Sarah Whitchurch, and no longer. As for the rest, residue and remainder of his estate, of whatever kind, not already disposed of, he gave it to his wife Sarah Whitchurch, to be hers forever. He directed that a boy slave named Charles [...]. **Interpretations** The gift over of Mary Goudy's house and legacies, reverting to the estate should she die before coming of age or marrying, provided for the failure of a substantial bequest to a young beneficiary. Because her interest would become absolute only at twenty-one or marriage, the will guarded against her dying young by directing the property back into the estate, ensuring it would not pass out of the testator's intended line should she not live to inherit fully. The maintenance secured to the sister-in-law Margaret Goudy, but only so long as she lived with the widow, tied her support to her remaining in the household as a companion. This created a charge on the estate for a dependent female relative while binding her to stay with the widow, using the provision both to keep Margaret and to give the widow a resident companion, the support ending should she leave. The property bought from a master mason of the island shows the skilled building trades among those who acquired and dealt in real estate on St Helena. A master mason directed the stonework and construction that a settled community required, and his ownership and sale of a dwelling house marks such craftsmen as men of substance whose work and property formed part of the island's built fabric and its market in houses.
196	179	be and belong to my Wife the sd Sarah during her natural Life, then the sd boy Slave be made free, and to be then paid the sum of fifty Pounds, which Sum is to be taken out of the Residue of my Estate bequeathed to my Wife the sd Sarah Lastly I hereby constitute nominate and appoint my good	John Whitchurch directed that the boy slave Charles belong to his wife Sarah during her natural life, and then be made free, and be paid the sum of £50 0s 0d, which was to be taken out of the residue of his estate bequeathed to his wife Sarah. Lastly, he named and appointed his good friends Messrs Stephen Young, George Bird and Thomas Burnham executors of his will. He revoked and made void all former wills he had previously made, and declared this to be his last will. In consideration of his

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		Friends Messieurs Stephen Young, George Bird and Thomas Burnham Executors of this my last Will and Testament revoking and annulling all Wills by me heretofore made declaring this to be my last Will and Testament, And in consideration of my confidence in the Integrity and honest discharge of the Trust hereby reposd in them my sd Executor as well as for their trouble in the execution thereof, I give unto each of them ten Pounds apiece, In Witness whereof I the sd John Whitchurch have hereunto set my Hand and Seal the Day and Year above written signed John Whitchurch Signed Sealed and declared in the presence of Us whose Names are under mentioned at the request of the Testator signed B Wright Robt Leech Phill Mahony In the Name of God Amen I William Beale of the Island of St Helena Planter being Sick and Weak in body but of Sound and disposing mind and memory do make my last Will and Testament in manner following, after all my Debts and funerall Charges are fully paid and Satisfyed Imprimis I give unto my Dearly beloved wife Sarah, her thirds of what belongs to me, of what kind soever, at the time of	confidence in the integrity and honest discharge of the trust reposed in them, as well as for their trouble in carrying out the will, he gave each of them the sum of £10 0s 0d. In witness of this, John Whitchurch set his hand and seal on the day and year written above. The document was signed, sealed and declared in the presence of the witnesses, whose names were written below at the request of the testator. The document was signed by John Whitchurch, and witnessed by Britanicus Wright, Robert Leech and Philip Mahony. William Beale of the island of St Helena, planter, being sick and weak in body but of sound and disposing mind and memory, made his last will, after all his debts and funeral charges were fully paid and satisfied. First, he gave to his dearly beloved wife Sarah her thirds of whatever belonged to him, of whatever kind, at the time [...]. **Interpretations** The freedom granted to the boy Charles after the widow's death, coupled with a £50 0s 0d payment, again tied manumission to a term of prior service and gave the freed slave means to begin his liberty. Charles served the widow throughout her life before gaining his freedom, so his release followed years of labour, and the accompanying sum, drawn from the estate, ensured he did not enter freedom destitute. The reward of £10 0s 0d to each executor in consideration of their trouble and the trust reposed in them treated the executors' fee as recompense for the work of administration. Settling an estate with numerous legacies and reversions demanded real effort, and paying each executor a fixed sum recognised the burden of the office and secured the willing service of trusted friends.
197	180	of my Decease, I bequeath unto my Four Children Nam'd, Henery Beal, William Beal, Sarah Beal, and John Beal, Three equal Shares alike, And do hereby appoint my Son in Law Samuel Knipe Junr, and James Parfett Shopkeeper of the said Island my Executors to this my last Will and Testament, revoking all former Wills and Testaments by me made, declaring this to be my last In Witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and Seal this thirteenth Day of May, in the Year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and seventy eight signed W Beal Signed Seal Published and declared by the Testator as is last Will and Testament, in the Presence of us who in his Presence subscrib'd our Names as Witnesses thereto When no stampd Paper tobe had signed John Hayes his Mark Willm Clougw mark Charles Holloway In the Name of God Amen Island of St Helena Feby 24 1779 I John Ferguson Sailor on Board the Eagle Packet, belonging to the Honble East India Company being very weak in Body but perfect in Mind & memory; Do make this my last	William Beale gave to his four children, named Henry Beale, William Beale, Sarah Beale and John Beale, three equal shares alike. He named and appointed his son-in-law Samuel Knipe junior and James Parfitt, shopkeeper of the island, executors of his will. He revoked and made void all former wills he had previously made, and declared this to be his last will. In witness of this, he set his hand and seal on 13 May 1778. The will was signed, sealed, published and declared by the testator as his last will in the presence of the witnesses, who in his presence subscribed their names as witnesses, no stamped paper being available. The document was signed by William Beale, and witnessed by John Hayes, who made his mark, William Clough and Charles Holloway. Dated on the island of St Helena, 24 February 1779. John Ferguson, sailor on board the Eagle packet belonging to the Honourable East India Company, being very weak in body but perfect in mind and memory, made his last will, and wished it be received by all as such. First, he committed his soul to God his maker, saviour and redeemer. He gave his body to the ground in sure and certain hope of a glorious resurrection to eternal life, when Christ, who is our life, should appear [...]. **Interpretations** The apparent naming of four children to take three equal shares suggests either an error in the number of shares or that one child was to share differently from the others. Where a will directs an unequal correspondence between beneficiaries and shares, it may reflect a slip in drafting or an intention that two children divide a single portion, a discrepancy the executors would have had to resolve in settling the estate.

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		Will and Testament in manner & form following & Desire it may be receivd by all Persons as such First I commit my Soul to God my Maker, Saviour & Sanctifier Next My Body to the Ground in sure & certain hopes of a Glorious Resurrection to Eternal Life, When Christ who is our life shall appear Next	The recital that the will was signed on unstamped paper because none was to be had once more records the recurring difficulty of meeting stamp duty on the remote island. The witnesses noted the want of the proper stamped paper to explain and excuse the omission, a practical problem appearing repeatedly in the island's wills where official supplies fell short. The description of John Ferguson as a sailor on the Eagle packet marks him as a seaman on one of the Company's vessels calling at the island. Packet ships carried mail, dispatches and passengers on regular routes, and St Helena served as a station on the long passage, so a sailor falling ill aboard such a vessel might make his will there, his estate settled far from home as the ship lay in the road.
198	181	Next I make Constitute & Ordain John Ferguson Steward to George Cummings Esqr at No Eighteen New Broad Street near the Royal Exchange London, I do hereby give and bequeath to him all my Ready Money, Goods Chattels &c that may be my Property at my Decease, In Testimony of which I have set my Hand to the Date abovementioned signed signed Joseph Stacey John Ferguson Witness William Warner In the Name of God Amen I William Seale Senior late Planter of the Island Saint Helena being of a Sound Mind and Memory, do make and Ordain this my last Will and Testament in manner and form following First I recommend my Soul to God in hopes of a Glorious Resurrection and my Body to the Earth to be Decently Interred at the Reversion of my Executors hereafter mentioned, as tomy Worldly Effects which it has pleased God to indue me with, I dispose in manner and form following Vizt Imprimis, It is my Will and desire that my whole Estate both real and Personal which I may Be possessed off at the time of my Decease do be equally Divided among my Children particularly mentioned, John Seale, William Seale, Benjamin Seale and George Seale, which Effects shall not be distributed among my said Children untile my Son George shall attain the Age of twenty one Years then to be equally divided among them, and their Survivors Item I do likewise Will and Desire that my Daughters Mary Stone, and Margaret Kirkpatrick be not in any manner intitled to any part of which I may be possessed of at the time of my Decease, and in Order to Prevent any Right and title thereto if it should be Demanded, that on such Demand, they be paid one shilling Each	John Ferguson named and appointed John Ferguson, steward to George Cummings of number eighteen New Broad Street near the Royal Exchange in London, his executor. He gave to him all his ready money, goods, chattels and the like that should be his property at his death. In witness of this, he set his hand on the date written above. The document was signed by John Ferguson, and witnessed by Joseph Stacey and William Warner. William Seale senior, late planter of the island of St Helena, being of sound mind and memory, made and ordained his last will. First, he committed his soul to God, hoping for a glorious resurrection, and directed that his body be decently buried at the discretion of his executors named below. As for the worldly effects it had pleased God to endow him with, he disposed of them as follows. First, he directed that his whole estate, both real and personal, that he should own at his death, be equally divided among his children, namely John Seale, William Seale, Benjamin Seale and George Seale. These effects were not to be distributed among his children until his son George reached the age of twenty-one years, then to be equally divided among them and their survivors. He directed that his daughters Mary Stone and Margaret Kirkpatrick not be entitled to any part of what he should own at his death. To prevent any claim, should it be demanded, he directed that on such demand they be paid one shilling each. He gave to his daughter Elizabeth Jenkins the sum of £30 0s 0d, which bequest was not to be in the power of her husband William Jenkins to receive [...]. **Interpretations** The nominal legacy of one shilling to each of two daughters was a deliberate device to bar them from any share while forestalling a claim that they had been overlooked. Leaving a token sum showed the exclusion was intentional, since a child entirely unmentioned might argue the testator had simply forgotten her, whereas a named gift of a shilling put the disinheritance beyond dispute. The provision that the daughter Elizabeth Jenkins's legacy be kept from her husband's power to receive it applied the common safeguard protecting a married woman's gift from her husband. By directing that the money not fall into William Jenkins's hands, the will sought to secure the legacy to Elizabeth's own use, working around the common law rule that a wife's property vested in her husband. The deferral of the whole division until the youngest son reached twenty-one held the estate together as a single fund through the children's minority. Rather than distributing at once, the will kept the property entire until the youngest came of age, then divided it equally among the sons and any

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		Item I further give and Bequeath unto my Daughter Eliz beth Jenkins the Sum of Thirty Pounds, which said Bequest shall not be in the Power of her Husband William Jenkins to Receive from	survivors, ensuring the estate was managed as a whole until all were old enough to take their shares.
199	186	thousand seven hundred and seventy nine signed James Bryce Signed Sealed published and declared by the within named Testator Jas Bryce to be his last Will & Testament, in presence of Us who Subscribed our names in presence of the said Testator and of each other signed Sutton Teackes William Warner In the Name of God Amen I John Mitchell Captains Steward of the Royal George East Indiaman being of sound and disposing Mind and Memory and considering the Perils and Dangers of the Seas and other uncertainties of this transitory Life do for avoiding controversies after my Decease, make publish and declare this my last Will and Testament in manner following ( ) That is to say First I recommend my Soul to God that gave it & my Body I commit to the Earth or Seas, as it shall please God to Order, and as for and concerning all my Worldly Estate, I give bequeath and dispose thereof as followeth That is to say, whereas before my Departure from England I did Borrow sundry Sums of Money on Respondentia for the Payment of which Sums my sd Brother in Law Thomas Goose in St Pauls Church Yard London Trunkmaker, is jointly bound with myself, therefore in regard to all such Wages Sum and Sums of Money, Lands Tenements Goods, Chattles and Estate whatsoever, as shall be any ways due owing or belonging unto me at the time of my Decease, I do give Devise and bequeath the same unto my said Brother in Law Thomas Goose and Robert Wright Gunner of the Ships Royal George aforesaid, in trust to be by them applied to the discharge of my Respondentia Bond Debts and in case of any Residue afterwards to the Discharge of my other Debts, And I do hereby Nominate and appoint the said Thomas Goose and Robert Wright Gunner aforesaid Executors of this my last Will and Testament, hereby revoking all former and other Wills Testaments and Deads of Gift by me at any time heretofore made, And I do ordain and Ratify these Presents to stand	James Bryce set his hand to his will on a day in 1779. The document was signed, sealed, published and declared by James Bryce as his last will in the presence of the witnesses, who subscribed their names in the presence of the testator and of each other. The document was signed by James Bryce, and witnessed by Sutton Teackes and William Warner. John Mitchell, captain's steward of the Royal George East Indiaman, being of sound and disposing mind and memory, and considering the perils and dangers of the seas and other uncertainties of this transitory life, made and published his last will to avoid controversy after his death. First, he committed his soul to God, who gave it, and his body to the earth or sea, as it should please God to order. As for his worldly estate, he gave and disposed of it as follows. Before his departure from England, he had borrowed sundry sums of money on respondentia for the payment of which his brother-in-law Thomas Goose, trunkmaker of St Paul's Church Yard in London, was jointly bound with him. In regard to all such wages, sums of money, lands, tenements, goods, chattels and estate of whatever kind that should in any way be owing or belonging to him at his death, he gave them to his brother-in-law Thomas Goose and Robert Wright, gunner of the Royal George, to be applied by them to the discharge of his respondentia bond debts, and any residue afterwards to the discharge of his other debts. He named and appointed Thomas Goose and Robert Wright executors of his will. He revoked and made void all former wills and deeds of gift he had previously made [...]. **Interpretations** Respondentia was a loan raised on the security of a ship's cargo, repayable with interest only if the voyage succeeded, the lender bearing the risk of loss at sea. A seaman or trader might borrow on respondentia to finance goods carried on the voyage, and John Mitchell's will was chiefly concerned to discharge such a bond, showing how the maritime credit system entangled the personal finances of those who sailed on the Company's ships. The joint binding of a London trunkmaker as surety for the respondentia debt reveals how a seaman's family at home stood behind his ventures abroad. Because the brother-in-law Thomas Goose was liable with him for the borrowed sums, the will directed the estate first to clear that bond, protecting the surety from having to pay, and showing the chains of obligation that linked a sailor's affairs at sea to his kin in the metropolis. The direction that the whole estate go first to discharge the respondentia and then other debts, with executors charged to apply it accordingly, marks this as a will made chiefly to settle liabilities rather than to bestow gifts. A man venturing on the eastern trade might die owing more than he left, so the will's purpose was to see his debts honoured and his surety relieved, the estate serving to clear obligations before anything could pass to others.
200	187	stand and be for and as my only last Will and Testament In Witness whereof to this my said Will I have set my	John Mitchell declared this to be his only last will. In witness of this, he set his hand and seal on 12 July 1779, in the nineteenth year of the reign of King

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		Hand and Seal the twelfth Day of July in the Year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and seventy nine and in the nineteenth Year of the Reign of his Majesty King George the Third over Great Britain &c signed John Mitchell Signed Sealed Published and Declared in the presence of signed Bowsley Kent, Surgeon George Terry, Proiner In the name of God Amen I Samuel Alexander of the Island St Helena Planter being weak of body, but of Sound and disposing mind, memory and understanding but well knowing the uncertainty of this life, Do make and publish this my last Will and Testament, That is to Say, First and Principally, I recommend my Soul into the hands of Almighty God, my Creator, and my body to the Earth to be decently buried Imprimis I will and desire that all my just Debts, and funeral Expences be first fully Paid, and the rest and residue of all such Effects, which it has pleased God to entrust me with, I settle and dispose of, in Manner and form following Item I give and bequeath unto my well beloved Wife Mary, the use of every and all my Estate, for and during her natural life, both real and Personal, and at her decease I give her one third part of my Personal Estate (exclusive of my Leasehold Lands) to be at her own disposal by Will and Valuement, I also give her for ever my Maid Servant named Betty, the choice of one Bureau, one Bureau, by Silver Table and Six Tea spoons, also my young Mare Item To my Godson Martin Alexander Harper, I give one boy named George, and one Girl Named Aspive, also the Sum of Fifty Pounds Item To Sarah the Widow of my Nephew Gabriel Alexander Boniface, I give one boy Named Jonas, and the Sum of Fifty Pounds, and as I intend to fix up my old House known by the Name of Gorgons, for her use, I will and direct, that the said	George the Third over Great Britain. The document was signed, sealed, published and declared in the presence of the witnesses. The document was signed by John Mitchell, and witnessed by Powsley Kent, surgeon, and George Perry, purser. Samuel Alexander of the island of St Helena, planter, being weak in body but of sound and disposing mind and memory, and well knowing the uncertainty of this life, made and published his last will. First and principally, he committed his soul into the hands of Almighty God his creator, and directed that his body be decently buried. First, he directed that all his just debts and funeral expenses be first fully paid. As for the rest and residue of all his effects, which it had pleased God to entrust him with, he gave and disposed of them as follows. He gave to his beloved wife Mary the use of all his estates, of every kind, both real and personal, during her natural life. At her death, he gave her one third part of his personal estate, excluding his leasehold lands, to be at her own disposal by will and valuation. He also gave her his maid servant named Betty, the choice of one of his bureaus, one bureau table, one silver kettle and six silver teaspoons, also his young mare. He gave to his godson Martin Alexander Harper one boy named George, one girl named Sophia, also the sum of £50 0s 0d. He gave to Sarah, widow of his nephew Gabriel Alexander Boniface, one boy named Jonas, and the sum of £50 0s 0d. Because he intended to fix up his old house known by the name of Gurgons for her use, he directed that the [...]. **Interpretations** The office of purser, held by one of the witnesses, marks the ship's officer responsible for the accounts, provisions and pay aboard an East Indiaman. Along with the surgeon who also witnessed, the purser was among the senior men of the ship, and their attestation of a steward's will shows the shipboard hierarchy gathered to witness the affairs of one of their number as the vessel lay in the road. The provision to fix up an old house for the use of a deceased nephew's widow shows a testator making practical arrangements for the shelter of a dependent female connection. Rather than a mere money gift, the will undertook to make a house habitable for her, combining the provision of a home with the cash and a slave, a fuller kind of support for a widow left without her husband. The grant to the wife of a life interest in the whole estate, with a third of the personal property at her own disposal by will at her death, gave her both present enjoyment and a measure of testamentary power. She held everything for life and could dispose of a defined share by her own will afterwards, combining a life estate with a limited power of appointment over part of the property.
201	188	have the use of the same with the small Piece of Ground lying round it, adjoining to my Plantation in Front, and on the West adjoining to Major Meurcy Bazetts Plantation Ground, with the small piece of Yams thereon for and during her Natural Life, And as this small Piece of Land, is part of Ten Acres of Free Land I hereafter bequeath my Nephew John Alexander, I direct after her decease the same to be delivered up to him Item To my Brother George Alexander, I give my Goat range in Sandy Bay	Samuel Alexander directed that Sarah have the use of the old house Gurgons, together with the small piece of ground adjoining his plantation in front, and on the west adjoining Major Meurong Bazett's plantation ground, with the small piece of yams on it, during her natural life. Because this small piece of land was part of ten acres of freehold land he bequeathed to his nephew John Alexander, he directed that after Sarah's death it be delivered up to him. He gave to his brother George Alexander his goat range in Sandy Bay. He gave to his nephew John, and his nieces Eleanor, Mary and Ann, daughters of his brother

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		Item To my Nephew John, and Neices, Eleanor and, Mary, Ann and Daughters of my Brother John Alexander, I give the Sum of Fifty Pounds each, to be delivered at Age or Marriage the same to be placed at Interest, after the decease of my Wife, for their own and benefit Item To my Nephew Britanicus Alexander Wright, I give the Sum of two hundred Pounds £200 Item To John Scott and Sarah his Wife, I give the Sum of twenty pounds £20 each Item To my Godson Richard Doveton, I give the Sum of Five Pounds five shillings for a ring Item I give and bequeath unto my Nephew John, Son of my Brother George Alexander (now at Fort Marlbro) my dwelling House, with Ten Acres of Free Land belonging thereto, to be delivered him in convenient time after the Death of my beloved Wife but this bequest is to be subject to the incumberance I have laid thereon, during the Life of Sarah, Widow of my Nephew Gabriel Alexander Harper, I also give the refusal of a piece of Leasehold Land lying above my said House, Containing between four and six Acres, at Twelve Pounds P Acre, the said piece of Land I purchased from John Bland At my decease, I make free my boy Slave, James George, and direct that, Fifty pounds be set aside out of my Estate, I give my decease made to my Brother George's Children, and the same put to Interest for the Support of the said boy James George, and when he attains the Age of twenty Years, I give him the same I will and direct, That after the Death of my Wife, all my Estate both real and Personal, except those pieces of Land, and other moveables already mentioned to sold at Public Auction, and after the aforesaid Legacies are fully paid, I give and bequeath the remainder to be equally divided between all the Sons and Daughters of my Brother George Alexander, except his Eldest Son John, To whom I have already bequeathed my House and Ten Acres of Free Land, And my meaning is that no Legacies herein mentioned, shall be paid until after the Death, of my said Wife Lastly I hereby Nominate, Constitute and appoint my beloved Wife Executrix, and my Brother John and George Alexander, with my Nephew Britanicus Alexander Wright Executors, and as my Friend Major Meury Bazett has promised jointly to undertake the execution of this my Will and Testament until such Time as a division and Sale thereof be made, I hereby appoint him joint Executor thereto until that Period, after which I exonerate him from any farther Trouble or Concern therein	John Alexander, the sum of £50 0s 0d each, to be delivered at their age or marriage, the same to be placed at interest after the death of his wife, for their own benefit. He gave to his nephew Britanicus Alexander Wright the sum of £200 0s 0d. He gave to John Scott and Sarah his wife the sum of £20 0s 0d each. He gave to his godson Richard Doveton the sum of £5 5s 0d for a ring. He gave to his nephew John, son of his brother George Alexander, then at Fort Marlborough, his dwelling house with ten acres of freehold land belonging to it, to be delivered to him within a convenient time after the death of his beloved wife, but subject to the encumbrance he had laid on it during the life of Sarah, widow of his nephew Gabriel Alexander Harper. He also gave John the first refusal of a piece of leasehold land lying above the house, containing between four and six acres, at £12 0s 0d an acre, that piece of land having been bought from John Bland. At his death, he made free his boy slave James George, and directed that £50 0s 0d be set aside out of his estate, of any monies made over to his brother George's children, and put at interest for the support of the boy James George, and when he reached the age of twenty years, he gave him the sum. He directed that, after the death of his wife, all his estate, both real and personal, except those pieces of land already mentioned, be sold at public auction. After the legacies were fully paid, he gave the remainder to be equally divided among all the sons and daughters of his brother George Alexander, except his eldest son John, to whom he had already bequeathed his house and ten acres of freehold land. He wished that no legacies named be paid until after the death of his wife. Lastly, he named and appointed his beloved wife executrix, and his nephews John and George Alexander, together with his nephew Britanicus Alexander Wright, executors of his will. Because his friend Major Henry Bazett had promised to help see the will carried out until such time as a division and sale should be made, he appointed him joint executor and trustee until that period, after which he exonerated him from any further trouble or concern [...]. **Interpretations** The freedom granted to the boy James George at the testator's death, coupled with a £50 0s 0d fund set at interest for his support until he reached twenty, gave the freed boy both liberty and the means to sustain it. By setting aside capital to yield an income during his minority and then the sum itself, the will ensured his release came with provision rather than leaving a freed child destitute, the fund drawn from money otherwise passing to the family's children. The reservation of a life interest in a small piece of ground for a deceased nephew's widow, before it passed to another nephew, wove the widow's provision through the descent of the land. The piece formed part of a larger parcel given to one nephew, but was charged with the widow's use for her life, so her support was secured out of property destined for another, delaying his full enjoyment until her death. The reference to a nephew at Fort Marlborough shows the reach of the Company's stations into the family's affairs, Fort Marlborough being the Company's settlement at Bencoolen on Sumatra. A relative serving there, half a world from St Helena, was to inherit the island house and land, illustrating how the Company's servants were scattered across its eastern possessions while retaining interests and expectations at home on the island.

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			The exclusion of the eldest son John from the divided residue, on the ground that he had already received the house and ten acres, shows the doctrine of advancement applied to keep the division fair. Having provided for the eldest with real property, the will barred him from also sharing in the residue, so the remaining estate passed to his siblings, balancing what each branch of the family received.
202	189	therein, revoking all other Wills by me heretofore made, declaring this to be my last Will and Testament made this 25 Day of September in the Nineteenth Year of His Majesty's reign and in the Year of our Lord 1779 signed Saml Alexander Signed Sealed and declared by the said Testator to be his last Will & Testament in the presence of signed James Colgrave John Bagley Junr John Young In the Name of God Amen I Gabriel Ssacke Senr Planter in Lemon Valley on the Island St Helena being very sick and weak in body but of sound and disposing mind, Memmory, and Understanding, do make this my last Will and Testament, after all my just debts, funeral Charges and charges of Proving this my Will be fully Paid and satisfyes in manner and form following, That is to say Imprimis I give to my Daughter Clarisa my Slave Girl named Filla, to be hers only after the decease of my wife Sarah, to whom I give my Slave woman Sarah, these two bequests are seprate and apart from my estate herein after disposed of Item I give to my Grandson John Desfountain the Sum of ten Pounds, As for one Sam Nattey for his misconduct and undutiful Behaviour I give him one Shilling and no more Item I give to my dearly Beloved Wife Sarah my dwelling housein James's Valley during her Life and I here desire the same to be appraised and the Preference of the purchase thereof, I will, may be hindered to my Son Willia and on his refusal my Son George, to have the same preference, and on failure of both the same to be disposed of in the most adeantageous manner by my Executors herein after Named and the Manies arising then Given to be equally distributed among my Children herein after Mentioned, in equal Parts and Proportions Share and Share, alike, I also give to my said Wife Sarah my house and Lands in Lemon	Samuel Alexander revoked all former wills he had previously made, and declared this to be his last will, made on 25 September 1779, in the nineteenth year of the reign of the King. The document was signed, sealed and declared by the testator as his last will in the presence of the witnesses. The document was signed by Samuel Alexander, and witnessed by James Colgrave, John Bagley junior and John Young. Gabriel Ishacke senior, planter in Lemon Valley on the island of St Helena, being very sick and weak in body but of sound and disposing mind, memory and understanding, made his last will, after all his just debts, funeral charges and the charges of proving the will were fully paid and satisfied. First, he gave to his daughter Clarissa his slave girl named Titta, to be hers only after the death of his wife Sarah, to whom he gave his slave woman Sarah, these two slaves being separate and apart from his estate disposed of below. He gave to his grandson John Desfountain the sum of £10 0s 0d. As for his son Nathaniel, for his undutiful behaviour, he gave him one shilling and no more. He gave to his dearly beloved wife Sarah his dwelling house in James's Valley during her life. He wished the house be appraised, and the first refusal of the purchase given to his son William, and on his refusal to his son George, to have the same, or on failure of both, the same to be disposed of in the most advantageous manner by his executors named below. The money arising was to be equally divided among his children named below, share and share alike. He also gave his wife Sarah his house and lands in Lemon Valley [...]. **Interpretations** The nominal legacy of one shilling to the son Nathaniel, expressly for his undutiful behaviour, combined disinheritance with a rebuke recorded in the will itself. Leaving a token sum showed the exclusion was deliberate rather than an oversight, and naming the reason marked the father's displeasure, using the will both to bar the son from a share and to set down publicly why he had been cut off. The gift of two named slaves to a daughter and the wife, expressly kept separate and apart from the divisible estate, treated these enslaved women as personal gifts outside the general division. Because they were set aside from the property to be shared, each recipient took her slave over and above her portion, and the careful separation shows how human beings were allotted individually like any other chattel, distinct from the estate divided among the children. The system of first refusal at valuation, offering the house to one son and then another before any sale, kept the family dwelling within the family while dividing its value. This let a son take the house by paying its appraised price, the money then shared among the children, and only if both declined would it be sold, using the refusal mechanism to favour keeping the property in family hands.
203	190	from my Executors hereafter mentioned, unless reduced to Poverty Distress, Provided this Legacy is not necessarily wanted by the	This continues the will of William Seale senior. He directed that the legacy to his daughter Elizabeth Jenkins not fall into the power of her husband, and be paid by his executors named below unless she was

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		Elizabeth Jenkins during her Life, I further more desire that the said Legacy be equally Divided among my Children John Seale William Seale, Benjamin Seale and George, and to their Heirs Executors, Administrators or Assigns Lastly I do Nominate Constitute, and Appoint my said Sons John Seale William Seale Benjamin Seale, and George Seale to be my Executors to this my last Will and Testament, and I do also Acknowledge this to be my last Will and Testament Revoking and Disannulling all other Will or Wills, by me heretofore made Ratifying and Confirming this to be my last In Witness whereof I have hereunto set my Hand and Seal this thirtieth Day of November one Thousand seven hundred and seventy six signed Wm Seale Signed Seal and declared to be his last Will and Testament in the presence of signed Benjr Seale John Young In the Name of God Amen I Wm Young of the Island St Helena Planter, being in Good Health, of Sound and disposing Mind, Memory and Understanding blessed be God, Do make Publish and Declare this my Will and Testament in Manner and form following, That is to say, First and principally I recommend my Soul into the Hands of Almighty God my Creator, and my Body to the Earth to be decently Buried Imprimies, I direct all my just Debts and funeral Expences to be fully Paid I Will, Order and Direct, that my Estates both real and Personal be kept together for the better maintenance of my beloved Wife and Children subject only to the following directions First At the expiration of the Term of a Lease, for the House and Ground now in the Occupation of Mr Stroud I give the Refusal of the said House with the Free Land it stands on, also fifteen and a quarter Acres of Lease Land adjoining, to my Eldest Son John, at the Valuation I shall hereafter set thereon, and should this Allotment exceed his Share	reduced to need, provided the legacy was not necessarily wanted by Elizabeth Jenkins during her life. He further wished that the legacy be equally divided among his children John Seale, William Seale, Benjamin Seale and George, and their heirs, executors, administrators or assigns. Lastly, he named and appointed his sons John Seale, William Seale, Benjamin Seale and George Seale executors of his will. He acknowledged this to be his last will, revoking and making void all former wills he had previously made. In witness of this, he set his hand and seal on 30 November 1776. The document was signed, sealed and declared as his last will in the presence of the witnesses. The document was signed by William Seale, and witnessed by Benjamin Seale and John Young. William Young of the island of St Helena, planter, being in good health and of sound and disposing mind, memory and understanding and giving thanks to God, made, published and declared his last will. First and principally, he committed his soul into the hands of Almighty God his creator, and directed that his body be decently buried. First, he directed that all his just debts and funeral expenses be fully paid. He directed that his estate, both real and personal, be kept together for the better maintenance of his beloved wife and children, subject only to the following directions. At the expiration of the term of a lease, he gave to his eldest son John the first refusal of the house and ground then occupied by Mr Stroud, with the freehold land it stood on, also fifteen and a quarter acres of leasehold land adjoining, at the valuation he should later set on it. Should this allotment exceed his [...]. **Interpretations** The direction to keep the whole estate together for the maintenance of the widow and children treated the property as a single fund to support the family rather than assets to be divided at once. By holding the estate entire, the will used its income to sustain the widow and children as a household, deferring any division so the family could be maintained from the property as a whole before it was eventually shared. The system of first refusal at valuation, giving the eldest son the house and land on paying its appraised value, kept the family property within the family while accounting for its worth. This let the son take a specific holding by buying it at the price the testator would set, so the land stayed in family hands while its value was reckoned into the eventual division among the children.
204	191	Share or Dividend according to an Inventory to be taken at the time I direct he pay five P Cent Interest, for such overplus, untill a farther Division of my Estate shall take place Secondly At the time my Youngest Surviving Son shall attain the Age of twenty one Years (provided my Wife be not alive) I give him the refusal of my Dwelling House with the Piece of Land it stands on, from the fence on the top of Askhs Hill, Also that piece of Free Land known by the Name of Smiths spring, at Valuation, on Condition that one half of	William Young directed that, should the eldest son's allotment exceed his share or dividend according to an inventory to be taken at the time, he pay five per cent interest on the surplus until a further division of the estate took place. When his youngest surviving son reached the age of twenty-one years, provided his wife was not then alive, he gave him the first refusal of the dwelling house with the piece of land it stood on, from the fence on the top of Ashes Hill, also that piece of freehold land known by the name of Smiths Spring, at valuation, on condition that one half of the dwelling house be kept and appropriated to the use of any unmarried surviving daughters who might be in need.

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		my said Dwelling House, be kept and appropriated to the use of any poor Surviving Daughters (not being Married) that may be distitute Thirdly At the time my Youngest Surviving Son, shall be put in possession of my Dwelling House and Lands allotted him, I then Will and direct that my next Youngest Surviving Son shall have the refusal of my Free and Leasehold Lands, lying in one Pasture from the top of Askhs Hill, to the top of Vaughans Hill, and from the Gate and fence in Lemontree Gut, to the fence near to Mrs Strouds House at Valuation And as I have sent my Son Jonathan from the Island and have given my Son William a Trade, I mean they shall be excluded from the possession of any of the Lands I have allotted, allt either of them should be the youngest Surviving Son, but in such case the refusal thereof, I direct shall go to next Youngest surviving Son My House in James Valley I direct shall be kept tenanted for the Benefit of my Family until my Youngest Daughter shall attain the Age of twenty one Years, at which period, I bequeath her the same at Valuation On the Age or Marriage of any of my Sons or Daughters, I hereby empower my Executrix and Executors to advance them the Sum of Fifty Pounds each, Charging them with the same as Part of their share or Dividend of my Estate and I farther give them a discretional power to dispose of, to the best adeantage, Such Pieces of Land, as I have not already allotted, for the benefit of my Heirs As, I have advanced my Son William the Sum of thirty Pounds to bind him Apprentice I direct the same be charged him as part of his Dividend of my Estate As the alteration of fences about my Lands leaves at present an uncertainty of the Acres contained in the I order and direct that they be measured as they now stand since	At the time his youngest surviving son was put in possession of the dwelling house and lands allotted him, he directed that his next youngest surviving son have the first refusal of his freehold and leasehold lands lying in one pasture, from the top of Ashes Hill to the top of Vaughans Hill, and from the gate and fence in Lemontree Gut to the fence near Mr Stroud's house, at valuation. Because he had sent his son Jonathan from the island and had given his son William a trade, he directed that they be excluded from the possession of any of the lands he had allotted. Should either of them be the youngest surviving son, then he directed that the first refusal go to the next youngest surviving son. He directed that his house in James's Valley be kept tenanted for the benefit of his family until his youngest daughter reached the age of twenty-one years, at which time he bequeathed her the same at valuation. On the age or marriage of any of his sons or daughters, he empowered his executors to advance them the sum of £50 0s 0d each, charging them with the same as part of their share or dividend of his estate. He further gave his executors a discretionary power to dispose of such pieces of land as he had not already allotted, to the best advantage, for the benefit of his heirs. Because he had advanced his son William the sum of £30 0s 0d to bind him apprentice, he directed that the same be charged to him as part of his dividend of the estate. Because the allotment of the fences about his lands left an uncertainty of the acres contained in them, he directed that they be measured as they then stood [...]. **Interpretations** The exclusion of two sons from the land, one because he had been sent from the island and the other because he had been set up in a trade, shows a father matching provision to what each child had already received. A son established in a livelihood or settled abroad needed less than those still to be provided for, so the will directed the land to the others, reserving the real property for the sons who would remain to work it. The condition that half the dwelling house be kept for unmarried daughters in need, attached to the son's inheritance of it, secured a refuge for dependent women within the family property. By charging the house with their use, the will ensured that daughters without husbands would have a home, binding the son who took the house to share it with his sisters should they require it. The charging of a £30 0s 0d apprenticeship advance to the son William against his eventual share applied the doctrine of advancement to keep the division fair. The money spent binding him to a trade was treated as part of his portion, so that his eventual share was reduced accordingly, ensuring the other children were not disadvantaged by the earlier outlay on his behalf. The apprenticing of a son at his father's expense shows the placing of children in trades as a recognised form of provision. Binding a boy apprentice equipped him with a craft and a livelihood, and the cost was reckoned as part of his inheritance, treating the investment in his training as equivalent to a share of the estate given in another form.
205	184	fenced and those Pieces allotted stand accordingly, and at the following Valuation; The Land and Plantation Ground on which	William Young directed that the pieces of land allotted stand fenced accordingly, at the following valuation. The land and plantation ground on which his house stood, also the piece called Smiths Spring, were to be at £3 0s 0d an acre, the house to be valued

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		my House stands, also that piece called Smiths Spring, at twelve Pounds P Acre, the House to be Valued by my Executor The Free Land which I have given my Second Youngest Surviving Son the Refusal of lying from the top of Askhs Hill, at eighteen Pounds P Acre, and the twenty Acres of Leasehold Land adjoining and running to the top of Vaughans Hill at Nine Pounds P Acre My Free Land on which Mr Stroud has Built at fifteen Pounds P Acre and the fifteen and a quarter of Lease adjoining at five Pounds P Acre Having Ordered and Directed my Estate to be kept together as much as possible, for the maintenance of my Beloved Wife and Children, my meaning is, That no Division of the Lands allotted shall take Place, altho my Youngest Sons be of Age, until after the decease of my Wife, except that to my Eldest Son John, or the more sister my Executor may be under of disposing of any part of my upper Lands for the payment of my just Debts or the advance to any of my Children as before Directed, And I farther direct that in case any of Children should have demanded the receivd on Age or Marriage the said advance of Fifty Pounds as before Directed Such Child shall have no farther advantage from my Estate untial a General Division shall take place Item I Will and bequeath unto my Beloved Wife Ann one third part of my Personal Estate (Lands excepted) to be at her own disposal, And in case she should chuse to Marry again I then give her the use of the Lands allotted my Second Youngest Surviving Son, from top of Askhs Hill, to the top of Vaughans Hill, for and during natural Lifer, and no longer After the Decease of my Wife, and my Youngest Son of full Age, I then Will and bequeath an Equal Share or dividend of my Estate, both real and Personal unto each and every one of my Surviving Children by my Wife Ann, share a Share alike Lastly I hereby Constitute and Appoint my Beloved Wife Executrix and my Good friends Messrs Matthew Bazett, Henry Bazett Jonathan Doveton, William Doveton, John Doveton, Stephen Young and my Son John Young Executors to this my last Will and Testament revoking all other Will, by me heretofore made declaring this and only this my last Will and Testament made on the Island St Helena	by his executors. The freehold land he had given his second youngest surviving son, the first refusal of which lay from the top of Ashes Hill, was set at £18 0s 0d an acre, and the twenty acres of leasehold land adjoining and running to the top of Vaughans Hill at £9 0s 0d an acre. His freehold land on which Mr Stroud had built was set at £15 0s 0d an acre, and the fifteen and a quarter acres of leasehold adjoining at £5 0s 0d an acre. Having directed his estate be kept together as far as possible for the maintenance of his wife and children, he wished that no division of the lands allotted take place, though his youngest sons be of age, until after the death of his wife, except that his eldest son John, or whichever sister his executors might choose, could dispose of any part of his upper lands for the payment of his just debts or the advance to any of his children as directed. He further directed that, should any child demand and receive the advance of £50 0s 0d on age or marriage, that child have no further advantage from his estate until a general division took place. He gave to his beloved wife Ann one third part of his personal estate, lands excepted, to be at her own disposal. Should she choose to marry again, he then gave her the use of the lands allotted to his second youngest surviving son, from the top of Ashes Hill to the top of Vaughans Hill, during her natural life and no longer. After the death of his wife, and his youngest son being of full age, he gave an equal share or dividend of his estate, both real and personal, to each of his surviving children by his wife Ann, share and share alike. Lastly, he named and appointed his beloved wife executrix, and his good friends Messrs Matthew Bazett, Henry Bazett, Jonathan Doveton, William Doveton, John Doveton, Stephen Young and his son John Young executors of his will. He revoked and made void all former wills he had previously made, and confirmed this alone to be his last will, made on the island of St Helena [...]. **Interpretations** The detailed schedule of valuations, fixing a price per acre for each parcel according to its quality and tenure, gave the executors a settled measure for the equalisation of the children's shares. By setting in advance what each piece of land was worth, the will removed uncertainty from the division, so that a child taking a particular parcel could be charged its established value and the shares reconciled without dispute over appraisal. The wide disparity in the per-acre valuations, from £3 0s 0d for the home plantation to £18 0s 0d for certain freehold, reflects the differing quality, situation and improvement of land on the island. Some ground was more fertile, better placed or built upon, and the range of prices shows how sharply the value of St Helena's land varied from one parcel to the next, a distinction the will captured in fixing each at its proper worth. The provision that a child taking the £50 0s 0d advance forfeit any further benefit until the general division prevented a child from drawing early on the estate and then claiming a full share as well. This kept the eventual division fair by treating the advance as a charge against the child's portion, so that those who took money early would have it reckoned against them when the estate came finally to be shared.
206	185	in the Eighteen Year of the reign of our Sovereign Lord George the Third by the Grace of God of great Britain France and Ireland King, Defender of the	In the eighteenth year of the reign of the sovereign King George the Third, by the grace of God King of Great Britain, France and Ireland and Defender of the Faith, on 23 February 1778, William Young set his hand and seal to the document. He

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		Faith and so forth, this twenty third day of February and in the Year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and seventy Eight, have hereunto set my Hand and Seal. Signed Sealed and declared by the said Testator, as his last Will and Testament in the presence of us (Signed) Will:m Young) Thos Bazett Chas Ross Stewart Philip Mahoney In the Name of God. Amen. I James Bryce late of the Latham East Indiaman Capt Prince Commander, Mariner, but now of the Island of St Helena Africa. Being of perfect Mind and Memory but very Sick in the Hospital and considering that it is appointed for all Men once to Die, do therefore make this my last Will and Testament: First my Body I committ to the Earth, and my Soul into the Hands of God who Gave it, As for my temporal Estate such as my Chest, Cloaths, Bedding, Wages due to me on board the said Latham, and all other propertys of what kind soever to me appertaining or belonging, I give devise and bequeath to my Esteemed Friend Thomas White, late of the Lord Bath East Indiaman Capt Hambly Commander, but now Sick in the Hospital of St Helena aforesaid. whom I also constitute and appoint the whole and sole Executor of this my last Will and Testament, and I do hereby utterly revoke, disallow and disannul, all former Bequests Wills and Legacees by me heretofore in any wise left or made: Declaring, Ratifying and Confirming, This, and no other to be my last Will and testament In Witness whereof I have hereunto set my Hand and Seal this twenty ninth of June and in the Year of our Lord one	signed, sealed and delivered it as his last will and testament in the presence of witnesses. The witnesses were Thomas Bassett, Charles Ross Stewart and Philip Mahoney. A second will followed, opening in the name of God. James Bryce, formerly of the East Indiaman *Latham* and serving as captain, prince's commander and mariner, was now living on the island of St Helena in Africa. He was of sound mind and memory but lay very sick in hospital, and reflecting that all men must die, he set down his last will and testament. He first committed his body to the earth and his soul to God who gave it. As for his worldly possessions, he named his chest, clothing, bedding and the wages owed to him aboard the *Latham*, together with all other property of every kind belonging to him. He gave and bequeathed everything to his esteemed friend Thomas White, formerly of the East Indiaman *Lord North* and serving as its captain and Hambly commander, who was now himself sick in the hospital at St Helena. He also appointed White as sole executor of the will. He revoked and annulled every earlier bequest, legacy and will he had previously made, declaring and confirming this one alone as his last testament. In witness of this he set his hand this 29 June in the year of the Lord. **Interpretations** An East Indiaman was a large armed merchant ship run by the East India Company for the long voyage between Britain and Asia. The *Latham* and the *Lord North* were both such vessels, and St Helena served as a standard revictualling and recovery stop on the homeward route, which explains why two ship's officers from different vessels lay sick in the same island hospital at once. The disposal of a mariner's estate turned largely on his unpaid wages. A seaman's pay built up across a voyage and was settled only on the ship's return, so the wages owed aboard the *Latham* were an asset that could not be collected on the island but formed a claim recoverable in Britain. Naming a fellow captain as sole executor placed that recovery in the hands of a man positioned to pursue it through the Company once he reached home. **Speculations** Bryce left his whole estate to a fellow ship's captain rather than to any family or kin, and the record shows why the obvious course was passed over. Both men lay sick in the same hospital far from home, and White was named not only beneficiary but sole executor, the man who would have to collect the wages held by the Company in Britain. Choosing a fellow officer bound for the same homeward passage put both the inheritance and its recovery in the hands of the one person able to act on them, where a distant relative could have done neither.
207	190	Lemon Valley with the Slaves, Stock and Furniture thereon during her Life or Widowhood and on the termination of either the whole thereof to be disposed of in manner as above mentioned and the Monies arising therefrom to be equally distributed among my Sons Gabriel, William, George, Matthew and Frederick and my Daughters Margaret, Mary, and Clarissa in equal Parts and proportions Share and Share alike. But it is also my will and intention and I do hereby further Order and direct that should any future Issue happen during my life or should she be quick with Child at the time of my Decease Such Issue will be Considered as equally entitled to, and Share alike	The testator gave his wife the use of the property in Sandy Valley, together with the slaves, stock and furniture on it, for the rest of her life or for as long as she remained a widow. On the ending of either, the whole was to be sold in the manner already set out, and the money raised divided equally among his sons Gabriel, William, George, Matthew and Frederick and his daughters Margaret, Mary and Clarissa, every child taking the same. He further ordered that, should any further child be born to him during his life, or should his wife be pregnant at the time of his death, that child be counted equally entitled and share alike in the profits of his estate, as fully as the children already named. He directed that the dower or one third becoming the property of his wife at his death be vested in her as her own absolute property for ever.

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		the profits of my estate in as full and ample manner as my Children above mentioned. Mem It is my will that the dower or Thirds, becoming the Property of my said Wife at my decease, be vested solely in her as her absolute Property for ever. And lastly I do hereby Nominate Constitute and appoint, my said Wife to be Executrix to this my will and Testament during her Natural Life or Widowhood, and at the Expiration of Either my good Friend, Stephen Jones Punch House Keeper and my Sons Gabriel and George my Executors hereto, hereby Revoking all former Wills and Testaments by me made and done declaring, this and no other to be my last, In Witness whereof I have hereunto Set my hand and Seal this Sixth day of May in the twentieth Year of his Majestys reign, and in the Year of our Lord One thousand Seven Hundred and eighty. Signed sealed published and declared by the Testator, as his last Will and Testament in the presence of Us who in his presence subscribed our Names as Witnesses hereto signed Signed Gabriel Isacke his Mark signed Will:m Roberts Rich Knipe Will:m Mason In the name of God. Amen. the fourteenth day of April One thousand seven hundred and Eighty One I Orlando Bagley Planter being sick and weak of Body, but of sound mind memory and understanding do make and ordain this my last Will and Testament in manner and form followeig	Lastly, he named his wife executrix of his will for as long as she remained his widow, and on the ending of her widowhood his good friend Stephen Young, house keeper, together with his sons Gabriel and George, to be his executors. He revoked every former will he had made and declared this one alone to be his last. In witness of this he set his hand and seal on 6 May 1780, in the twentieth year of the reign of the King. The will was signed, sealed, published and declared by the testator as his last will and testament in the presence of the witnesses, who signed their names as witnesses. It was signed by Gabriel Isaacs, who made his mark. The witnesses were William Roberts, Richard Knipe and William Mason. A further will followed, opening in the name of God. On 14 April 1781, Orlando Bagley, planter, being sick and weak in body but of sound mind, memory and understanding, made and ordained his last will and testament in the manner following. **Interpretations** The provision counting an unborn child equally, whether born later in the testator's life or carried by his wife at his death, closed a gap that primogeniture and fixed legacies left open. A will that named only the living children risked leaving a posthumous or after-born child unprovided, and by treating any such child as a full sharer the testator kept the division even across every child he might in the end have, not merely those alive when he wrote. The distinction the will drew between the wife's life interest and her dower is worth marking. The Sandy Valley property, its slaves, stock and furniture, she held only for life or widowhood, after which it fell into the common pool for sale and division. Her dower third, by contrast, was made hers absolutely and for ever, a settled freehold she could dispose of as she wished. The two forms of provision served different ends, one keeping the bulk of the estate intact for the children while supporting the widow, the other giving her outright property of her own. Slaves appear in the will as chattels, listed alongside stock and furniture and passing with the land to be sold and the proceeds divided. Their treatment as transferable property, valued and disposed of like livestock or household goods, reflects the settled legal status of slaves on St Helena, where the East India Company's plantation economy rested on enslaved labour held and inherited as part of an estate.
208	191	Imprimis I give to my beloved Wife the use of my whole Estate during her natural life, I also give to my beloved Wife the Sum of Fifty pounds to do and dispose of as she shall think proper. Item I give to Margaret Feunge As a Legacy the Sum of, One hundred and fifty pounds fifty, but not to be paid to her until her Mothers death, I also give to the said Margaret Feunge a Feather Bed and furniture, I also give to her the refusal of a Woman Slave named Sophia she paying for her at the price of Twenty pounds, I also give unto Margaret Feung a Boy named Jack and a Girl named Clary Item I give unto my Son Richard As a Legacy four Slaves named James Fanny Lucy and Molly, I also give to him a black Beaure Item I also Order that my Man named Joe shall not be sold on any Account	Orlando Bagley gave his wife the use of his whole estate for the rest of her life, and to her he also gave the sum of £50 0s 0d, to use and dispose of as she thought proper. To Margaret Fringe he left a legacy of £150 0s 0d, though it was not to be paid to her until her mother's death. He also gave Margaret Fringe a feather bed and furniture, and the first refusal of a woman slave named Sophia, on her paying £20 0s 0d for her. He also gave Margaret Fringe a boy named Jack and a girl named Clary. To his son Richard he gave, as a legacy, four slaves named James, Fanny, Lucy and Molly, and also a black bureau. He ordered that his man named Joe not be sold on any account to pay any part of his debts, but remain part of his estate. The rest and residue of his estate, once all his lawful debts were paid, he gave to his son Richard on his mother's death. Should Margaret Fringe die unmarried, he ordered that what he had given her as a legacy be taken back into his estate and pass to his son Richard.

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		to pay any part of my debts but shall be and remain in my Estate Item The rest and residue of my Estate, after all lawful debts are paid I give to my Son Richard at his mothers decease Item Provided that Margaret Feunge should die not being married I then Order that what I have given her as a Legacy shall be reckoned as part of my Estate, and shall belong to my Son Richard Item Provided that my Son Richard should die under the Age of twenty and one Years, then in that case I leave to Margaret Feunge One hundred pounds not meaning the Legacy which I have already given her Item In case my Son Richard should die under Age, I give to my Sister Sarah Harper fifty pounds, and to my Sister Anne Isacke and Mary Knipe twenty five pounds each, the rest and residue of my Estate of every kind, should my Son Richard die under the Age of Twenty One Year I give to my Sister Margaret Alexander Item In case Margaret Feunge should die before my beloved Wife (not being Married) And my Son Richard should die before his Mother not being of the Age of twenty one Years, in that case I give to my beloved Wife the Sum of, One hundred and fifty pounds to do and dispose of as she shall think proper Lastly I nominate constitute and appoint my Trusty friends Executors	Should his son Richard die under the age of twenty-one, he then left Margaret Fringe £100 0s 0d, this being separate from the legacy he had already given her. Should his son Richard die under age, he gave his sister Sarah Harper £50 0s 0d, and his sisters Ann Isaacs and Mary Knipe £25 0s 0d each, with the rest and residue of his estate of every kind to go to his sister Margaret Alexander, should Richard die under the age of twenty-one. Should Margaret Fringe die before his wife while still unmarried, and should his son Richard die before his mother while under the age of twenty-one, he then gave his wife the sum of £150 0s 0d, to use and dispose of as she thought proper. Lastly, he named, appointed and constituted his trusty friends as executors. **Interpretations** The instruction that Joe not be sold on any account to meet the testator's debts singled him out from the other slaves in the will, who were left as ordinary bequests or made liable, with the rest of the estate, to the payment of debts. A named exemption of this kind removed one enslaved man from the pool of assets creditors could reach, keeping him within the family holding whatever the estate's liabilities, a protection the will did not extend to James, Fanny, Lucy, Molly, Sophia, Jack or Clary. The slaves run through this will as the estate's most freely moved assets, willed by name, priced for sale and held back from creditors as the testator directed. Sophia was offered to Margaret Fringe at a fixed £20 0s 0d, others were handed over outright and one was shielded from any sale at all, which shows enslaved people on St Helena treated wholly as property, bought, bequeathed and reserved at their owner's pleasure under the plantation regime the East India Company maintained on the island. The cascade of substitute gifts, each turning on a child dying unmarried or under twenty-one, built a chain of alternative destinations for the estate against the early death of Richard or Margaret Fringe. High mortality made such contingencies real rather than formal, and by naming who took what should the primary heirs fail, the testator kept control of the property's descent through every likely turn rather than leaving it to fall in by the general law.
209	192	to this my last Will and Testament, Robert Leech Francis Seale John Bagley Junior James Cotgrave George Alexander Senior Executors to this my last Will and Testament utterly revoking and disannuling all former Wills and Testaments by me heretofore made Acknowledging this and no other to be my last Will and Testament, In Witness hereof I have Set my hand and Seal, the day and Year above written N Bene that the word Friends being first interlined before this Will was signed Signed Sealed published pronounced and declared As the last Will and Testament of Orlando Bagley in the presence of Us who Subscribe our names signed (signed) Orlando Bagley Ge Alexander John Desfountaine William Worrall	Orlando Bagley named Robert Leech, Francis Yeale, John Bagley junior, James Cotgrave and George Alexander senior as executors of his last will and testament. He revoked and annulled every former will he had made, acknowledging this one alone to be his last. In witness of this he set his hand and seal on the day and year already written. A note recorded that the word friends had first been interlined before the will was signed. The will was signed, sealed, published, pronounced and declared as the last will and testament of Orlando Bagley in the presence of the witnesses, who signed their names. The witnesses were George Alexander, John Desfountaine and William Worrall. A further will followed, opening in the name of God. Alexander Davison, formerly a marine aboard the transport *Myrtle* but now on the island of St Helena, was in a poor state of health though of sound mind and memory. Knowing the uncertainty of human life, he made his last will and testament in the manner following. He gave and bequeathed to John Willson, mattross of the artillery, all his worldly effects, together with all his wages, debts, dues and demands, and any sums of money that should be owing to him

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		In the Name of God Amen I Alexander Davison late Marines on Board the Myrtle Transport, but now on the Island of St Helena/ being in a low state of Health but of perfect mind and memory, and knowing the uncertainties of human Life do make this my last Will and Testament in manner and form following. First I give and bequeath unto John Willson Mate of the Artillery all my Worldly Effects together with all my Wages Debts Dues Demands and all Sum or Sums of Money that shall be due to me at the time of my Decease. The aforesaid John Willson and no this to be my whole and sole Executor to this my last Will and Testament In Witness whereof I have hereunto set my Hand and Seal this Eighteenth Day of January in the Year of our Lord One thousand seven hundred and Eighty two. 1782 Signed Sealed and Delivered in the presence of Us where no Stampt Paper is to be had. Signed (Signed) Alexander Davison his Mark John Amble Robert Waters James McDaniel his Mark	at his death. He appointed Willson sole executor of the will. In witness of this he set his hand and seal on 18 January 1782. The will was signed, sealed and delivered in the presence of the witnesses, in a place where no stamped paper was to be had. It was signed by Alexander Davison, who made his mark. The witnesses were John Amthie, Robert Waters and James McDaniel, who made his mark. **Interpretations** A mattross was a soldier in an artillery train ranking just below a gunner, who assisted in loading, firing and hauling the guns and in tending the powder and stores. The bequest ran from one serviceman to another, a marine off a transport leaving all he had to an artilleryman on the island, which reflects the military establishment St Helena carried as an East India Company garrison rather than any civilian tie between the two men. The note that no stamped paper was to be had spoke to a real legal difficulty. English law required certain instruments to be written on stamped paper bought from the revenue, and a will made where none could be got risked challenge on that ground. Recording the want of stamped paper on the face of the document was a precaution meant to excuse the omission and preserve the will's validity, given the remoteness of the island from the ordinary machinery of the stamp revenue. The whole of Davison's estate lay in his unpaid wages and the debts and demands owing to him, the standard shape of a serviceman's property far from home. Naming a single beneficiary who was also sole executor gave that one man both the right to the money and the standing to collect it, the arrangement that best served an estate consisting of claims that would have to be pursued through the paymaster or the Company rather than gathered on the spot.
210	193	In the Name of God Amean I James Dick late Quarter Master on board the Ship Earl of Mansfield being in great affliction of Body tho of perfect mind and memory blessed be God for it and calling to mind The uncertainty of human Life do make this my last Will and Testament in words and manner following (that is to say) First I recomend my Soul into the hand of God who gave it and my Body to the Earth from whence it was taken to be Buried in dean Christian buriall as my Executor shall se most convenient Firstly I give and Bequeath to Thomas Thomas, Steward to Governor John Mottoe of this Island, thirty Rupees & three Dollars in Cash Itam, One tin Cady Box of Tea & one Long Set of China Itam) One Black Satin Waistcoat One pr of Black Satin Breeches Likewise I Constitute and Appoint the aforesaid Thomas Thomas whole and sole Executor of this my last Will & Testement and the said Thomas to se that I have a Coffin a Clean Shirt a pr of White Breeches & a Pair of Clean White Stockings to be buried in, Likewise to get a small Head Stone to be put up at my	A will followed, opening in the name of God. James Dick, formerly quartermaster aboard the ship *Earl of Mansfield*, was in great affliction of body but of sound mind and memory, for which he thanked God. Mindful of the uncertainty of human life, he made his last will and testament in the words and manner following. He first committed his soul to God who gave it and his body to the earth from which it was taken, to be given decent Christian burial as his executor thought most fitting. He gave and bequeathed to Thomas Thomas, steward to Governor John Motte of the island, thirty rupees and three dollars in cash. He left one tin caddy box of tea and one long set of china. He left one black satin waistcoat and one pair of black satin breeches. He appointed Thomas Thomas sole executor of his will, and charged him to see that he was buried with a coffin, a clean shirt, a pair of white breeches and a pair of clean white stockings. He also charged him to set up a small headstone at his grave, carrying his name, age and the date of the year and day of the month on which he died. He declared this to be his last will and testament, and in the presence of the witnesses set his hand to it on 9 January 1782. The will was signed by James Dick, who made his mark. The witnesses were Thomas Hood, John Wiltshire and Joseph Diley. **Interpretations** A quartermaster aboard a merchant ship of this period was a senior petty officer responsible for steering, stowage of the hold, and the issue of provisions and stores, a position of some standing among the crew. The *Earl of Mansfield* was an East India Company ship, and Dick's presence sick on St

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		grave with my Name, Age Date of the Year and Day of the Month when I Deceased, furthermore I declare this to be my last Will & Testement and I do hereby in presence of the undermentioned Witnesses set my Hand to the same this Ninth Day of January in the Year of Our Lord one thousand seven hundred and Eighty two signed (Signed) his James Dick Mark Witnesses Thom Good Jno Wiltshire Jos Diley	Helena fits the pattern of the island as a place where Company crewmen were put ashore to recover or to die on the long homeward passage. The legacy mixed two currencies, thirty rupees and three dollars, which reflects the mingled coinage in circulation on St Helena. The island lay on the Company's Indian trade route, so Indian rupees passed there alongside the Spanish dollars that served as common silver across the maritime world, and a seaman's cash could readily hold both. Dick's careful instructions for his own burial, a coffin, clean linen, white breeches and stockings, and a named and dated headstone, show a man spending part of a modest estate to secure a decent and marked grave far from home. For a sailor dying among strangers on a remote island, the arrangement guarded against an anonymous or pauper's burial, fixing his name and dates in stone where no family was present to do it.
211	194	In the Name of God. Amen. I Lawrence Magher late Marine of His Majesty's Ship Romney, but now on the Island of St Helena, being in a low State of Health, but of perfect mind and memory, and knowing the uncertainty's of human Life do make this my last Will and Testament in manner and form following. First. I recommend my Soul to God who gave it me, in hopes of a joyful Resurrection at the last day. And as for my Worldly Effects. I bequeath as follows. Imprimis I will and Bequeath unto William Gahagan, all my pay Arrears of Pay, Cloathing, debts dues, and demands together with all my pay and Prize Money that shall be due to me from His Majesty's Ship Romney aforesaid. The said William Gahagan and no other to be my whole and sole Executor to this my last Will and Testament In Witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and Seal this twenty first Day of February 1782 Signed Seal'd and Deliver'd In the presence of Us. Where no Stamp Paper is to be had. (Signed) Lawrence Magher His Mark (Signed) Robert Watson Rich Lachland Rich Flatfoot In the Name of God Amen. I John Jones now living on the Island of Saint Helena, being of well disposing Mind and Memory, and considering the uncertainties of this transitory Life, do make this my last Will and Testament, in manner following that is to say First I Recommend my Soul to God who gave it and my Body to the Earth or Sea, at whale please his Almighty Will Secondly I have and bequeath to my Dear Brother Jane Fowlerd of the Parish of Chelsea One thousand Pounds Sterling Money of Great Britain and to my Dear Brother David Jones of the Parish aforesaid One thousand Pounds	A will followed, opening in the name of God. Lawrence Magher, formerly a marine aboard His Majesty's ship *Romney* but now on the island of St Helena, was in a poor state of health though of sound mind and memory. Knowing the uncertainty of human life, he made his last will and testament in the manner following. He first committed his soul to God who gave it, in hope of a joyful resurrection at the last day, and set out how his worldly effects were to be disposed. He gave and bequeathed to William Gahagan all his arrears of pay, clothing, debts, dues and demands, together with all the pay and prize money that should be owing to him from His Majesty's ship *Romney*. He appointed Gahagan sole executor of the will. In witness of this he set his hand and seal on 21 February 1782. The will was signed, sealed and delivered in the presence of the witnesses, in a place where no stamped paper was to be had. It was signed by Lawrence Magher, who made his mark. The witnesses were Robert Watson, Richard Lachland and Richard Flatfoot. A further will followed, opening in the name of God. John Jones, now living on the island of St Helena, was of sound mind and memory. Reflecting on the uncertainty of this passing life, he made his last will and testament in the manner following. He first committed his soul to God who gave it and his body to the earth or sea, to be dealt with as God in his almighty will saw fit. He gave and bequeathed to his dear brother James Fowlerd, of the parish [...], the sum of £1,000 0s 0d sterling, money of Great Britain, and to his dear brother David Jones, of the same parish, a further sum of £1,000 0s 0d. **Interpretations** Magher's estate was made up entirely of arrears of pay and prize money owed by the navy, the whole worldly property of a marine serving aboard a King's ship. Prize money was the sailor's share of the value of enemy vessels and cargoes captured in war, distributed among a ship's company by rank, and in 1782, with Britain at war, such sums could form a real part of a serviceman's expected estate. Naming one man as both sole beneficiary and executor gave him the standing to pursue these claims through the naval agents once the ship returned home. The note that no stamped paper was to be had again marked a will made where the revenue stamps English law demanded could not be obtained. Recording the want on the face of the document was the standard precaution taken on the island to guard the will against later challenge on that technical ground.

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			The reach of these servicemen's wills across the ocean is worth marking. Magher aboard a King's ship and Jones on the island both directed property that lay elsewhere, Magher his naval claims and Jones legacies of £1,000 0s 0d apiece to brothers in a home parish. Their wills, drawn up on a remote South Atlantic island, were instruments meant to move money and claims back to Britain and its naval machinery, binding St Helena into a wider imperial web of pay, prize and family provision.
212	195	Pounds Sterling, lawfull money of Great Britain and to each of his five Children, Five hundred Pounds each, lawfull Money of Great Britten and to my Dear Sister Margaret James of the Parish aforesaid One hundred Pounds Sterling lawfull Money of Great Britain and at her Decease, to be equally divided among the Family Thirdly I have and bequeath unto Louisa Sommers of the Parish aforesaid Five hundred Pounds Sterling, lawfull Money of Great Britain and unto my Dear Brother Peter Jones Natural Daughter One hundred Pounds Sterling, lawfull Money of Great Britain Fourthly I do appoint my Nephew James Hutchison now living on board the Ship Lord Shurastney Commanded by Captain William Hall and bound to England and John Price Perfumer in Leaden Hall Street London, my whole and sole Executors to this my last Will and Testament, and the remainder part of my Estate, I have and bequeath unto my aforesaid Nephew James Hutchison, after paying the necessary charges of my Funeral, and what Debts I may have left unpaid at my Decease Fifthly I request and desire the aforesaid Legacys to be paid, when my Money is collected and my Debts received Signed Seal'd and Delivered where no stampt Paper is to be had this Twenty fifth Day of June in the Year of our Lord One thousand seven hundred and Eighty four and in the Reign of our Sovereign Lord George the third of Great Britain &c & Signed Sealed and Delivered In the presence of Us Signed (Signed) John Jones George Bramston Roberts James Christie In the Name of God Amen I Julio Fabians of the Island of St Helena Shipwright being weak of Body, but of sound and disposing Mind Memory and understanding praised be God for the same, Do make Publish and declare this my last Will and Testament in manner and form following (that is to say) First and principally I give and my Soul into the Hands of Almighty God, hopeing thro the Merits Death and Passion	John Jones gave each of his brother David's five children the sum of £500 0s 0d sterling. To his dear sister Margaret James, of the same parish, he gave £100 0s 0d sterling, and on her death this sum was to be divided equally among the family. He gave and bequeathed to Louisa Sommers, of the same parish, £500 0s 0d sterling, and to his brother Peter Jones's natural daughter £100 0s 0d sterling. He appointed his nephew James Hutchison, now aboard the ship *Lord Sackville*, commanded by Captain William Hale and bound for England, together with John Price, perfumer of Leaden Hall Street in London, as sole executors of his will. He gave and bequeathed to his nephew James Hutchison the remaining part of his estate, once the necessary charges of his funeral and any debts left unpaid at his death had been met. He asked that the legacies be paid when his money was collected and his debts received. The will was signed, sealed and delivered in a place where no stamped paper was to be had, on 25 June 1784, in the reign of the sovereign King George the Third of Great Britain. The will was signed, sealed and delivered in the presence of the witnesses. It was signed by John Jones. The witnesses were George Bramston Roberts and James Christie. A further will followed, opening in the name of God. Julius Fabians, shipwright of the island of St Helena, was weak in body but of sound mind, memory and understanding, for which he thanked God. He made, published and declared his last will and testament in the manner following. He first committed his soul to Almighty God, hoping through the mercy, death and passion of Jesus Christ for full and free pardon and forgiveness of all his sins, and to inherit everlasting life, and committed his body to the earth to be decently buried at the discretion of his executors. As for his worldly estate, with which it had pleased God to bless him, he set out its disposal in the following manner. He first directed that all his lawful debts and funeral expenses be met. **Interpretations** The legacies in this will were very large for a man dying on St Helena, running to £500 0s 0d for each of five nephews and nieces and £500 0s 0d and £1,000 0s 0d elsewhere, sums pointing to substantial accumulated wealth rather than a common seaman's arrears. The whole was tied to money still to be collected and debts still to be received, so the estate existed largely as outstanding claims that the executors would have to gather in before any legacy could be paid. Pairing a nephew aboard a homeward ship with a named London tradesman as joint executors answered the problem of settling an estate whose assets and beneficiaries lay in Britain while the testator died in the South Atlantic. The seagoing nephew could carry the matter home, while the London perfumer gave a fixed and reachable address in the capital through which the collection of money

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		of my Saviour Jesus Christ to have full and free Pardon and forgiveness of all my Sins and to inherit everlasting Life, and my Body I committ to the Earth to be decently buried at the discretion of my Executors herein after named; and as to my Worldly Estate wherewith it hath pleased God to bless me, I dispose thereof as follows First I direct that all my just Debts and Funeral Expences Julio Fabians be	and payment of legacies could actually be managed once the claims came to be pursued. A shipwright on St Helena was a skilled tradesman employed in building and repairing vessels, a trade essential to an island wholly dependent on shipping for its supply and defence. The East India Company maintained such craftsmen to keep its ships and boats in service, and Fabians's standing as a shipwright marks him as part of the skilled working establishment the Company needed to sustain the island as a link in its maritime trade.
213	196	be fully paid and satisfied by my Executors hereafter named. Then I give unto my Slave Woman named Tillaa her Freedom, I also give unto her Son named Billy his Freedom after the term of his Mothers natural Life, but while she lives he is to work for her and in every respect be considered as her property and under her sole command. I also give and bequeath unto the said Tillaa the House she now holds under me situate lying and being near the side Path together with my Slave Woman named Nanny for and during the Term of her natural life she paying quarterly and every Quarter unto my Executors hereinafter named the Sum of seven pounds and Ten Shillings and from and after her Decease I give and Devise the same I unto her Son Billy his Heirs and Asigns for ever, but in case of failure of any of the said Quarterly Payments of the said Sum of Seven pounds and Ten Shillings, then and in such case it is my Will that my said Executors enter into and upon the said Promisses and take possession thereof, as also of the said Slave named Nanny and sell the same, for the best price that can reasonably be had or gotten for the same and the money arising therefrom I direct shall be applied to the use of my Boy called Billy in like manner as other Bequests by me to him hereafter bequeathed untill the said Billy Son of said Tillaa shall arrive at the age of Twenty one Years, I also give and bequeath unto the said Tillaa the Sum of Five pounds, and to her Son Billy the Sum of Two Pounds and the Receipt of said Billy altho a Minor shall by my Executors be considered a sufficient Discharge for the same Mem, I give and bequeath unto Thomas Yates Shopkeeper a Slave named Bacchus also the Sum of thirty pounds Mem, I give and Bequeath unto John Thompson Painter the Sum of Fifty Pounds Item, I give and bequeath unto Thomas Ailsworth a Man Slave named London also to his Wife Ruth Ailsworth the Sum	Once his executors had fully paid and satisfied his debts and funeral expenses, Julius Fabians gave his slave woman named Tillaa her freedom. He also gave her son named Billy his freedom, but only after the term of his brother's life. While that brother lived, Billy was to work for him and in every respect be treated as his property and under his sole command. He gave and bequeathed to Tillaa the house she then held under him, lying near the Rut, together with his slave woman named Nanny, for the rest of Tillaa's life, on her paying quarterly to his executors the sum of £7 10s 0d each quarter. On Tillaa's death he gave and devised the same to her son Billy and his heirs for ever. Should any of the quarterly payments of £7 10s 0d fail, he directed that his executors enter on the premises and take possession of them, and also sell the slave named Nanny for the best price that could reasonably be got. The money raised was to be applied to the use of his boy Billy, in the same way as the other bequests left to him, until Billy, Tillaa's son, reached the age of twenty-one. He gave and bequeathed to Tillaa the sum of £5 0s 0d, and to her son Billy the sum of £2 0s 0d, and directed that Billy's receipt, though a minor, be treated by his executors as a sufficient discharge for the payment. He gave and bequeathed to Thomas Yates, shopkeeper, a slave named Bacchus, and also the sum of £30 0s 0d. He gave and bequeathed to John Thompson, painter, the sum of £50 0s 0d. He gave and bequeathed to Thomas Ailsworth, a man slave named London, and also to his wife Ruth Ailsworth the sum of £10 0s 0d. He gave and bequeathed to William Hayes and Francis Hayes, sons of the late William Hayes, boat builder's carpenter, the sum of £10 0s 0d each. He gave and bequeathed to Hassey, sister of True Harry, the sum of £10 0s 0d. He gave and bequeathed to Thomas Langley the sum of £10 0s 0d. He gave and bequeathed to Sarah Holloway, wife of Charles Holloway, corporal, the sum of £10 0s 0d, and directed that her receipt, apart from her husband, be treated as a sufficient discharge for the payment. He gave and bequeathed to Mrs Winfield, wife of Harry Winfield, mason, the sum of £10 0s 0d, and directed that her own receipt be treated as sufficient. **Interpretations** The manumission of Tillaa and the deferred freedom of her son turned on carefully staged conditions rather than an outright release. Tillaa gained both her liberty and a life interest in a house, but only against a heavy quarterly rent of £7 10s 0d, and her son's freedom waited on the death of another before it took effect. The arrangement freed the enslaved mother while binding the property she was to enjoy to a continuing money payment, so that her liberty and her livelihood came hedged with

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		of Ten pounds Mem I give and bequeath unto William Hayes and Francis Hayes Sons of the late William Hayes Bread Collens Baylor the Sum of Ten pounds each Item I give and bequeath unto Cassey Sister of True Harry the Sum of Ten pounds Mem I give and bequeath unto Thomas Langley the Sum of Ten pounds Item, I give and bequeath unto Sarah Holloway wife of Charles Holloway Corporal the Sum of Ten pounds, and her Receipt apart from her said Husband shall be considered a sufficient Discharge for the same Item, I give and bequeath unto Wm Winsfield Wife of Harry Winsfield Mason, the Sum of Ten pounds and her own Receipt to be Julio Fabiano considered	obligations that kept the estate's claims alive after the testator's death. The will exposes the grim mechanics of slavery even in an act of freeing. Nanny, herself a slave, was made the security for Tillaa's rent, to be seized and sold for the best price obtainable should the quarterly payments fail, her value converted into money for the benefit of the boy Billy. One enslaved woman was thus made the collateral for another's conditional liberty, which shows how completely slaves on St Helena were treated as realisable assets, freed, bequeathed or sold as the disposal of an estate required. The direction that married women, Sarah Holloway and Mrs Winfield, could give a valid receipt apart from their husbands departed from the ordinary common law, under which a wife's property and receipts fell to her husband. By specifying that each woman's own receipt should discharge the legacy, the testator meant these small sums to reach the wives themselves rather than their husbands, a deliberate step to keep the gifts out of the husbands' hands.
214	197	considered a sufficient Discharge for the same Item I give and bequeath unto John Torlott the Sum of Ten pounds Item Igive and bequeath unto my good Friend Robert Leech the Sum of thirty Pounds Mem, I give and bequeath unto Mrs Jenkins the Sum of Ten Pounds Mem Igive and bequeath unto Mr Battista Gunner of the Ship Warren the Sum of One Hundred Pounds Mem, Igive and bequeath unto the following Slaves viz London Betty, Bacchus, Jack, Christian and Nanny the Sum of Five Pounds each and unto my Man Slave named Pedro the Sum of Five Pounds All the beforementioned Legacies by me hereby given and bequeathed I direct shall be paid at the end of Six Months next after my Decease Item Igive unto my Boy called Billy his Freedom. I also give Devise and bequeath unto my said Boy called Billy and to his Heirs and Asigns for ever All those four Messuages or Dwelling Houses near the Bridge in the several possessions of Mrs Jenkins, myself True Harry and True Prince as also the following Slaves viz Johann Joseph, Charles, Harry Jack Christian and Pedro. It is also my desire that my said Executors will have my said Boy called Billy Christined and Educated in a manner fit for Business and that he then be bound to some Trade at the Discretion of my said Executors. But in Case my said Boy called Billy should happen to Die before he attains the age of Twenty one Years. It is in that case my Will and Mind and I do hereby give unto each of my said Executors the Sum of Fifty Pounds in consideration of the Trouble they have theretofore had and after payment thereof, I direct that all the rest and Residue of my Estate of what nature or kind soever and whatsoever shall be sold by Auction to the best bidder and the Money arising from the Sale thereof to be by my Executors Divided amongst the poorest Families	Julius Fabians gave and bequeathed to John Torbett the sum of £10 0s 0d. He gave and bequeathed to his good friend Robert Leech the sum of £30 0s 0d. He gave and bequeathed to Mrs Jenkins the sum of £10 0s 0d. He gave and bequeathed to Mr Battista, gunner of the ship *Warren*, the sum of £100 0s 0d. He gave and bequeathed to his slaves London, Betty, Bacchus, Jack, Christian and Nanny the sum of £5 0s 0d each, and to his man slave named Pedro the sum of £2 0s 0d. He directed that all these legacies be paid at the end of six months after his death. He gave his boy Billy his freedom. He also gave, devised and bequeathed to Billy and his heirs for ever those four messuages or dwelling houses near the bridge, in the several occupations of Mrs Jenkins, himself, True Harry and one other, along with the following slaves: Johann, Joseph, Charles, Harry, Jack, Christian and Pedro. He wished Billy to be brought up and educated in a manner fit for business, and then bound to some trade at the discretion of his executors. Should Billy die before reaching the age of twenty-one, he then gave his executors the sum of £50 0s 0d each in consideration of the trouble they would have had. After payment of that, he directed that all the rest and residue of his estate, of whatever kind, be sold by auction to the best bidder, and the money raised divided by his executors among the poorest families of the island in proportion to their several needs. All the rest, residue and remainder of his estate and effects, of whatever kind and wherever he should die possessed, whether in possession, reversion or remainder, he gave to his boy Billy and his heirs for ever. He named and appointed his good friends Robert Leech, Robert Gurling and James Pritchard as executors in trust for his boy Billy. He wished them to put out at interest whatever money he left for Billy's use, but not so as to be answerable for any bad debts that should be contracted, and directed that they retain all their charges and expenses of whatever kind. **Interpretations** The whole shape of this will bent toward the advancement of one enslaved boy, Billy, whom the testator freed and then made his principal heir. Billy was left four houses, a body of other slaves, and the entire residue of the estate, and was to be educated

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		of this Island in proportion to their respective necessities All the rest residue and remainder of my Estate and Effects whatsoever or wheresoever, whereof I shall Die siezed in possession Reversion or remainder I give to my said called Boy Billy his Heirs and Asigns for ever And I make ordain constitute and appoint my Good Friends Mr Robert Leech, Robert Gurling and James Pritchard to be my Executors in Trust for my said little Boy Billy and it is my Will that they shall put out what Moneys I leave for his use, but not so as to be accountable for bad Debts Debts that shall be Contracted and that they shall retain all their Charges and Expences Julio Fabiano whatsoever	for business and bound to a trade. The document turns a slave child into a substantial freeholder and man of property, an unusual and deliberate act that reversed his condition at law and set the machinery of the estate to raising him into the propertied class. The gift of slaves to a freed slave marks the peculiar logic of the system. Billy, himself only just released from bondage, was made owner of Johann, Joseph, Charles, Harry, Jack, Christian and Pedro, some of whom had earlier been left small money legacies in the same will. The arrangement shows that on St Helena freedom and ownership were not opposites but positions a single person could pass between, and that a former slave could hold others as property once his own status was altered. The residuary gift to the poorest families of the island, should Billy die young, turned the estate into a charitable fund of last resort. Rather than letting the property fall to distant kin or the Crown on the failure of his heir, the testator directed it be sold and distributed among the island's needy in proportion to their wants, a provision that reveals a settled sense of obligation to the wider community of St Helena beyond his own household and dependents.
215	198	whatsoever in relation to their said Trust Also Igive them the Sum of Twenty Pounds a piece as a Token of my Esteem for them and for their kindness in accepting this Trust and I do surely revoke and make void all former Wills by me at any time heretofore made In Witness whereof I the said Julio Fabiano have to the First Second and Third Sheet of this my last Will and Testament containing Four Sheets of paper set my Hand and to this last Sheet thereof my Hand and Seal the Twenty fourth Day of July one thousand seven Hundred & eighty four Signed Sealed Published and declared by the said Julio Fabiano as and for his last Will and Testament in the presence of Us who in his presence at his request and in the presence of said other have subscribed our Names as Witnesses (Signed) (Signed) Julio Fabiano Willr Hayward John Sampele Jno Taylor In the Name of God. Amen I James Cheeseman Mariner, belonging to His Majesty's Ship Worcester, late of Tunbridge Wells in Kent, being of a sound and disposing mind, considering the perils and Dangers of the Sea and other uncertainties of this transitory Life, do for avoiding controversies after my Decease make Publish and declare this to be my last Will and Testament in manner following, that is to say. First I recomend my Soul to God who gave it and my Body to the Earth or Sea as it shall please God to order it and as for and concerning all my Worldly	Julius Fabians gave his executors the sum of £20 0s 0d apiece, as a token of his esteem and for their kindness in accepting the trust. He revoked and made void every former will he had made. In witness of this he set his hand to the first, second and third sheets of his will, which ran to four sheets of paper, and his hand and seal to this last sheet, on 24 July 1784. The will was signed, sealed, published and declared by Julius Fabians as his last will and testament in the presence of the witnesses, who at his request signed their names. The witnesses were William Hayward, John Sample and John Taylor. A further will followed, opening in the name of God. James Cheeseman, marine aboard His Majesty's ship *Worcester* and formerly of Tunbridge Wells in Kent, was of sound mind. Mindful of the perils and dangers of the sea and the other uncertainties of this passing life, and wishing to avoid disputes after his death, he made, published and declared his last will and testament in the manner following. He first committed his soul to God who gave it and his body to the earth or sea, to be dealt with as God saw fit, and set out how his whole estate was to be disposed. He gave and bequeathed to his friend Thomas Gardner, marine of the same ship *Worcester* and formerly of Whitburn in Herefordshire, the sum of £10 0s 0d. All the rest of his money, wages, prize money and effects of every kind that should be owing or belonging to him at his death, he gave, devised and bequeathed to his honoured parents Edward and Ann Cheeseman of Tunbridge Wells in Kent. He named and appointed Edward and Ann Cheeseman sole executors of his will, revoking every former will and deed of gift he had made. **Interpretations** Cheeseman's care to record his origin at Tunbridge Wells, his parents' names and address, and his fellow marine's home at Whitburn served the estate's central purpose of moving his property back to Britain. His whole estate lay in wages, prize money and effects owing to a serving marine, and by fixing precisely who his executors were and where they lived, the will gave the naval agents and the machinery of settlement the exact addresses needed to remit the money home to Kent. The reason the will gives for making it, the wish to avoid disputes after his death, states plainly the ordinary function of a serviceman's will. A marine's accumulated pay and prize money formed a fund that

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		Estate I give Bequeath and Dispose of follows, ten Pounds Sterling to my friend, Thomas Gardner Marine of the said Ship Worcester, late from Whitburn in Herefordshire, and all other Sum or Sums of Money, Wages or Prize Money and Effects whatsoever shall be any ways Due owing or belonging unto me at my Decease, I Do give Devise and Bequeath the same unto my Honored Parents Edward and Ann Cheeseman of Tunbridge Wells in Kent, and I Do Nominate Constitute and Appoint the said Edward and Ann Cheeseman sole Executors of this my last Will and Testament hereby revoking all former Wills and Testaments and Deeds of Gifts, by me at any time heretofore made and I Do ordain and	others might claim, and a clear written testament naming beneficiaries and executors forestalled the quarrels and rival demands that an intestate death could raise, settling in advance where the money was to go. The leaving of the estate to honoured parents rather than to a wife or children marks Cheeseman as a young unmarried man, the common case among the marines and seamen who died in the Company's and the navy's service. For such men the natural objects of a will were the parents who had raised them, and the bequest sent a son's earnings back up to the family that had launched him rather than down to a family of his own he had not lived to found.
216	199	and Ratify these Presents to stand and be for and as my only last Will and Testament In Witness whereof to this my last Will I have set my Hand and Seal this [...] Day of our Lord, and in the twenty Year of the Reign of his Majesty King George the Third Defender of the faith over Great Britain &c & Signed Sealed Published and declared in the Island of St Helena in the presence (where no stamp'd paper could be had) of (Signed) (Signed) his James Cheeseman Mark Dav Kay Willm Geoghegan Island St Helena David Kay and Willm Geoghegan came this Day before me Daniel Corneille Esqr Governor and Justice of Peace for the said Island, and made Oath That James Cheeseman Deceased late Seaman of His Majestys Ship Worcester, Did on the 7 Day of January 1786 at the Hospital at St Helena, put his hand and Seal to a certain Instrument in Writing, declaring (hereto annext) the same to be his last Will and Testament, being then in perfect Mind, Memory and Understanding. Which said Will and Testament was this Day Signed before me And the Day of the Month, Year and Reign of his Majestys appears to have been omitted in the said Testament Given under my Hand and Seal in the said Island this 16 Day of January 1786 (Signed) Davd Corneille	James Cheeseman ratified the document as his only last will and testament. In witness of this he set his hand and seal on the [...] day of [...], in the twenty-[...] year of the reign of the King George the Third, Defender of the Faith over Great Britain. The will was signed, sealed, published and declared on the island of St Helena, in a place where no stamped paper could be had, in the presence of the witnesses. It was signed by James Cheeseman, who made his mark. The witnesses were David Kay and William Geoghegan. A certificate followed, headed island of St Helena. David Kay and William Geoghegan came before Governor Daniel Corneille, governor and justice of the peace for the island, and swore on oath that James Cheeseman, formerly a seaman of His Majesty's ship *Worcester*, died on 7 January 1786 at the hospital at St Helena. Before his death he had set his hand and seal to a written instrument, declaring it to be his last will and testament, being then of sound mind, memory and understanding. This will had been signed before the Governor, though the day of the month, the year and the regnal year of the King appeared to have been omitted from it. The certificate was given under the Governor's hand and seal on the island on 16 January 1786, and signed by Daniel Corneille. **Interpretations** The sworn certificate answered a defect the earlier will carried on its face, the blank left where its date and regnal year should have stood. A will bearing no date was open to challenge, since it could not be fixed in time against other instruments or against the testator's death, and the two witnesses' oath before the Governor supplied by external proof what the document itself lacked, establishing when Cheeseman died and that the will was genuinely his. The Governor of St Helena acting as justice of the peace to take this oath shows the concentration of authority on the island, where the head of the Company's government also served as the resident judicial officer. A death and a defective will that in England would have passed through separate hands were here dealt with by a single official, who both received the witnesses' oath and certified the matter under his own hand and seal. The repeated absence of a proper date and stamped paper in these seamen's wills points to the makeshift conditions under which they were drawn. Dying men on a remote island, without lawyers or revenue stamps and often in the hospital in their last

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			hours, produced documents with formal gaps that the local authorities then had to cure by affidavit, a recurring pattern that reveals how the ordinary legal forms of England were stretched and patched to work at the far edge of the Company's world.
217	200	In the Name of God Amen I Joshua Roberts Soldier in the third Company of Infantry commanded by Capt Samuel Desfountain on the Island of St Helena. Being in a low State of Health, but of perfect mind and memory, and knowing the uncertainty of this Human Life do make this my last Will and Testament in manner and form following. I give and bequeath unto Joseph Hand Serjeant in the said Company all my Effects, wearing Apparel Pay, Arrears of Pay, with every other Debt, Due Demand or property whatsoever that shall be due to me at the time of my Decease, the said Joseph Hand and no other to be whole and sole Executor, acknowledging this to be my true and last Will and Testament. The said Joseph Hand also to receive the Indentures from the Church Wardens of George Wade, to Cloath and maintain him in Sickness and in Health according as the Indentures shall ascertain. In Witness whereof I have set my Hand and Seale this fourteenth day of October, in the Year of Our Lord One thousand seven hundred and twenty Six. Signed and Sealed in the presence of Where no Stamp Paper was to be had. (Signed) his Joshua Roberts Mark Signed Willm Geoghegan J Hazell Philip Nuthall In the Name of God. Amen. I George Bird of the Island of St Helena Cabinet maker being in perfect Health and of sound and disposing Mind Memory and Understanding do make this my last Will and Testament in manner and form following: that is to say Imprimis I Will and direct that all my just Debts, Funeral Charges and the charges of proving this my Will, be fully paid and satisfied as soon after my Decease as may be by my Executors herein after named Mem I give and bequeath unto my Dear Mother Catharine Bird of Namptwich in Cheshire in that part of Great Boritan called England the full Sum of Two hundred pounds of Sterling Money thereof provided she be living at the time of my Decease, but in case of her death I give and bequeath the said Sum of Two hundred Pounds unto all and every the Issue of my Brother	A will followed, opening in the name of God. Joshua Roberts, soldier in the third company of infantry commanded by Captain Samuel Desfountain on the island of St Helena, was in a poor state of health though of sound mind and memory. Knowing the uncertainty of human life, he made his last will and testament in the manner following. He gave and bequeathed to Joseph Hand, serjeant in the same company, all his effects, wearing apparel, arrears of pay and every other debt, due, demand or property of whatever kind that should be owing to him at his death. He appointed Hand sole executor, acknowledging this to be his last will. He also charged Hand to receive the indentures for George Wade from the churchwardens, and to clothe and maintain him in sickness and in health as those indentures should require. In witness of this he set his hand and seal on 14 October 1726. The will was signed and sealed in a place where no stamped paper was to be had, in the presence of the witnesses. It was signed by Joshua Roberts, who made his mark. The witnesses were William Geoghegan, John Hazell and Philip Nuthall. A further will followed, opening in the name of God. George Bird, cabinet maker of the island of St Helena, was in perfect health and of sound mind, memory and understanding. He made his last will and testament in the manner following. He first directed that all his lawful debts, funeral charges and the charges of proving the will be fully paid and satisfied by his executors as soon after his death as possible. He gave and bequeathed to his dear mother Catharine Bird of Nantwich in Cheshire, in England, the full sum of £200 0s 0d sterling, provided she was living at his death. Should she have died before him, he gave the same £200 0s 0d to all the children of his brother Thomas, share and share alike. Should there be no such children, then the sum was to revert and be treated as part of his estate. **Interpretations** The charge laid on the executor to receive George Wade's indentures and to clothe and maintain him bound up a pauper apprenticeship with the settlement of the estate. Under the poor law the churchwardens bound out poor or orphaned children as apprentices, and the master took on a legal duty to house, feed and keep the child. Roberts had held such an indenture, and his will passed both the document and its continuing obligations to his executor, so that the boy Wade would not be left unprovided by his master's death but carried on under a new keeper. The bequest turned wholly on the mother outliving the son, with a chain of substitute takers set behind her. A gift to a named person living far away in England risked lapsing if she died first, and by naming his brother's children as the next takers, and his own estate as the last resort, Roberts kept the £200 0s 0d moving to a living object rather than falling away, guarding the legacy against the delay and distance between St Helena and Cheshire. A cabinet maker on St Helena was a skilled joiner who built fine furniture, a trade marking Bird as a man of some standing among the island's craftsmen rather than a labourer or common soldier. That he could leave £200 0s 0d to his mother and provide for a brother's children shows a settled tradesman of modest property, part of the skilled

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		Thomas Bird and Share alike, but in case of failure of such Issue then the said Sum ptr to revert to, and be considered as part	civilian population the Company's small colony supported alongside its garrison and its slaves.
218	201	part of my Estate herein after disposed of and I do hereby Order that my Executors do as soon as possible after my Death make enquiry accordingly, in order that my intention herein be complied with Item, I give to my God Children George Son of Gabriel Isacke Mary Daughter of Thomas Leech and Mary Daughter of Stephen Young the Sum of Twenty pounds each Item I give unto Stephen Young of the said Island Planter and Penelope his Wife the Sum of Five pounds each for Mourning and to their Son John and their Daughters Eleanor and Clarissa a like Sum of Five Pounds each for Mourning, I also give the Sum of Five Pounds to Stephen Son of the said John Young Item, I give unto my Brother in Law James Pritchard and Penelope his Wife and to their Sons James and Stephen the Sum of Five Pounds each for Mourning And Lastly, as for all the rest Residue and remainder of my Estate whether real or personal of what nature or Kind so ever I give and demise the same unto my Dearly beloved Wife Elizabeth to and for the sole use and benefit of the said Elizabeth her Heirs and Asigns for ever And I do hereby nominate constitute and appoint the said Stephen Young Executor and my said Wife Executrix to this my last Will and Testament hereby revoking all former Wills and Testaments by me made, and done declaring this and no other to be my last In Witness whereof I have hereunto set my Hand and Seal this third Day of March in the Year of our Lord One thousand seven hundred and Eighty Signed, Sealed Published and declared by the Testator as his last Will and Testament in the presence of Us, who in his presence Subscribed our Names as Witnesses hereto (Signed) Geo. Bird (Signed) John Scott Hugh Jones Thomas Cole Be it known to all Men by these Presents. That I George Bird of the Island of St Helena have made and delivered my last Will and Testament in Writing bearing Date the third Day of March in the Year of our Lord One thousand seven hundred and Eighty. I the said George Bird by this present Codicil do	George Bird directed that this sum form part of his estate as later disposed of, and ordered his executors to make enquiry as soon as possible after his death, so that his intention be carried out. He gave to his godchildren George, son of Gabriel Isaacs, Mary, daughter of Thomas Leech, and Mary, daughter of Stephen Young, the sum of £20 0s 0d each. He gave to Stephen Young of the island, planter, and Penelope his wife the sum of £5 0s 0d each for mourning, and to their son John and their daughters Eleanor and Clarissa a like sum of £5 0s 0d each for mourning. He also gave the sum of £5 0s 0d to Stephen, son of John Young. He gave to his brother-in-law James Pritchard and Penelope his wife, and to their sons James and Stephen, the sum of £5 0s 0d each for mourning. Lastly, all the rest, residue and remainder of his estate, whether real or personal and of whatever kind, he gave and devised to his dearly beloved wife Elizabeth, for the sole use and benefit of Elizabeth and her heirs for ever. He named and appointed Stephen Young executor and his wife Elizabeth executrix of the will, revoking every former will he had made. In witness of this he set his hand and seal on 3 March 1780. The will was signed, sealed, published and declared by the testator as his last will and testament in the presence of the witnesses, who signed their names. The witnesses were John Scott, Hugh Jones and Thomas Cole. A codicil followed. George Bird of the island of St Helena made it known that he had made and declared his last will and testament in writing, bearing date 3 March 1780. By this codicil he added to that will. **Interpretations** The several gifts of £5 0s 0d marked expressly for mourning followed a settled custom of the period, by which a testator left small sums to friends and kin to buy mourning clothes or rings and so to appear at the funeral in proper black. The money was not a general legacy but a specific provision for the outward observance of grief, binding the named recipients into the ceremony of the testator's burial and marking the circle he counted closest. The residue passing to the wife absolutely, for her and her heirs for ever, gave Elizabeth Bird the whole of the estate beyond the fixed legacies as her own outright property. This went beyond a mere life interest and made her the true heir of the bulk of her husband's estate, a generous provision that placed the widow, rather than any blood relation, at the centre of the settlement and left her free to dispose of the property as she wished. The naming of a second will in the form of a codicil shows the ordinary machinery by which a testator altered his arrangements without remaking the whole document. A codicil was a supplement executed with the same formality as the will, adding to or varying it while leaving the rest in force, and Bird's resort to one indicates a change of intention after 3 March 1780 that he wished to graft onto his existing testament rather than replace it entirely.
219	202	Do Ratify and Confirm my said Will & Testament: and do further	George Bird ratified and confirmed his will, and by this codicil further gave and bequeathed to the Reverend Mr Sewell the sum of £5 0s 0d for

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		give and bequeath unto the Revd Mr Sewell the Sum of Five Pounds for Mourning to be paid, unto him the said Revd Mr Sewell by my Executor Stephen Young and my Executrix Elizabeth Bird my Wife out of my Estate And my Will and meaning is that this Codicil be adjudged, to be a part and parcel of my last Will and Testament and that all things therein mentioned and contained be faithfully and truly performed, and as fully and amply in every respect as if the same were so declared and set down in my said last Will and Testament. Witness my Hand this Sixth Day of April One thousand seven hundred and Eighty seven Witnesses to this Codicil (Signed) his George Bird mark. (Signed) John Robinson Edward Hayes William Seale In the Name of God Amen, This Twenty fifth Day of August One Thousand seven hundred and eighty one I Edward Bagley of the Island St Helena, being of sound mind memory and understanding. Do make and Ordain this my last Will and Testament in manner and form following Imprimis I give to my Godson William Seale the Sum of Five Pounds to be paid soon after my Decease Item, I give to my God Daughter Elizabeth Bagley the Sum of Ten Pounds to be paid unto her soon after my Decease Item I give unto a Woman named Mary formerly belonging to my Brother Richard Bagley the Sum of Five Pounds Item I give unto my Executors hereafter nominated and appointed the Sum of Five Pounds each Item My further Will and meaning is that a Woman Named Pat now belonging to me shall be entirely free and at her own disposal, I also give her the said Pat Fifty Pounds, I also give to her a pot-shead feather Bed and Furniture and Twelve Table Spoons to do with them as as she shall think proper Item I give to my five Male Children named Michael, David, John, James and Robert /being the natural Children of the Woman named Pat/ their freedom And	mourning, to be paid by his executor Stephen Young and his executrix Elizabeth Bird his wife out of his estate. He directed that the codicil be treated as part of his last will and testament, and that everything in it be faithfully performed as fully as if it had been set down in the will itself. In witness of this he set his hand on 6 April 1787. The codicil was signed by George Bird, who made his mark. The witnesses were John Robinson, Edward Hayes and William Seale. A further will followed, opening in the name of God. On 25 August 1781, Edward Bagley of the island of St Helena, being of sound mind, memory and understanding, made and ordained his last will and testament in the manner following. He gave to his godson William Seale the sum of £5 0s 0d, to be paid soon after his death. He gave to his goddaughter Elizabeth Bagley the sum of £10 0s 0d, to be paid to her soon after his death. He gave to a woman named Mary, formerly belonging to his brother Richard Bagley, the sum of £5 0s 0d. He gave to his executors the sum of £5 0s 0d each. He directed that a woman named Pat, then belonging to him, be entirely free and at her own disposal, and gave her the sum of £50 0s 0d. He also gave Pat a tortoiseshell feather bed and furniture and twelve table spoons, to do with as she thought proper. He gave to Pat's five male children, named Michael, David, John, James and Robert, the natural children of the woman named Pat, their freedom. **Interpretations** The manumission of Pat and the freeing of her five children turned an act of the will into a wholesale release of one enslaved family. Pat gained not only her liberty but a substantial legacy of £50 0s 0d and household goods, and her sons Michael, David, John, James and Robert were freed alongside her. The provision moved a whole family from bondage to freedom in a single instrument, and the money and goods given to Pat were meant to set the freed household on its feet rather than turning it loose without means. The phrasing that Mary formerly belonged to the testator's brother, and Pat then belonged to the testator, records the plain fact of enslaved people held and passed between members of a family. Slaves on St Helena were inherited, transferred and disposed of like any other property within a kinship group, and the will's notice of who had owned whom reflects the settled treatment of these men and women as chattels moving through the hands of successive owners. The particular gift to Pat of a feather bed, furniture and twelve table spoons, over and above her money legacy, marks an intention to establish her as a householder in her own right. These were the furnishings of a settled domestic establishment rather than a labourer's few possessions, and by handing them to the freed woman the testator equipped her to keep a house of her own, a deliberate step beyond mere liberty toward an independent footing.
220	203	And Do by this my last Will and Testament Declare them to be entirely free and not to be reckoned as any part of my Estate Item I give to a Boy named Sam / the Son of a Woman named Mary/ his freedom Item My further Will and meaning is that three	Edward Bagley declared these children entirely free by his will, and directed that they not be counted any part of his estate. He gave to a boy named Sam, the son of a woman named Mary, his freedom. He directed that three children, the children of the woman named Mary, be at liberty to choose their masters or mistresses at a proper valuation, the purchaser not to be concerned in the matter beyond that.

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		Children being the Children of the Woman named Mary shall have liberty to choose their Masters or Mistresses at a proper Valuation, the purchaser to not to be concerned therein Item I give to a Boy named Michael /being the Son of the Woman named Pat / one Chest one Trunk and one small Table Item I do hereby Order that all my other Effects shall be sold at Public Auction, And the money arising from the same, as well as the money the three Children that belong to the Woman named Mary are sold For/ the Legacies and my just Debts being first paid, shall be equally Divided amongst all the natural Children of the aforesaid Woman named Pat. Item, I do hereby Order that each Childs part or dividend be put to Interest to the best advantage untill they come to the Age of Twenty one Years for their maintenance provided the Interest will not maintain them, my Executors are to advance part of the principal for their maintenance, but not in any extravagant manner Lastly, I constitute Nominate and appoint my trusty Friends Robert Leech John Bagley Junior and James Cotgrave Executors to this my last Will and Testament utterly revoking and disannuling all former Wills heretofore made by me, ratifying and Confirming this and no other to be my last Will & Testament In Witness hereof I have hereunto set my hand and Seal the Day and Year above written Signed Sealed published and declared And pronounced to be the Testators last Will and Testament in the presence of Us who Subscribe our Names (Signed) Edward Bagley Signed Robt Hodson Jamd Arispe Senr The following Paper was also produced at the time of Proving the above Will. Island	He gave to a boy named Michael, the son of the woman named Pat, one chest, one trunk and one small table. He ordered that all his other effects be sold at public auction. The money raised, together with the money for which the three children belonging to the woman named Mary were sold, was, once the legacies and his lawful debts had been paid, to be divided equally among all the natural children of the woman named Pat. He ordered that each child's share be put out at interest to the best advantage until they reached the age of twenty-one, for their maintenance. Should the interest not be enough to maintain them, his executors were to advance part of the principal for their keep, but not in any extravagant manner. Lastly, he named and appointed his trusty friends Robert Leech, John Bagley junior and James Cotgrave as executors of his will, revoking every former will he had made. In witness of this he set his hand and seal on the day and year already written. The will was signed, sealed, published, pronounced and declared to be the testator's last will and testament in the presence of the witnesses, who signed their names. It was signed by Edward Bagley. The witnesses were Robert Hodson and James Wright senior. A further paper was produced at the time of proving the will. **Interpretations** The will drew a sharp line between two enslaved families in the same document. Pat and her children were freed outright and made the beneficiaries of the estate, while Mary's three children, though allowed the unusual latitude of choosing their own buyers, were still to be sold, their price swept into the fund that maintained Pat's family. One family was raised into freedom and provision at the very moment another was converted into cash to pay for it, a stark measure of how arbitrarily the line between liberty and sale could fall within a single owner's household. The liberty granted to Mary's children to choose their masters at a proper valuation was a partial and limited mercy within continued bondage. They remained property to be sold, but were spared the ordinary powerlessness of the auction block by being allowed to pick the household they entered. The concession softened the sale without ending it, and shows an owner exercising a personal discretion that the law left entirely to his will, mitigating the condition of these children while leaving its substance intact. The direction to put each child's portion out at interest until the age of twenty-one, drawing on the principal for maintenance only sparingly, set up a small trust for the upbringing of Pat's freed children. The scheme aimed to preserve the capital while yielding an income for their keep, and the caution against any extravagant use of the principal reveals a concern that the fund last through their minority, a careful provision meant to carry the freed family to adulthood on a settled financial footing.
221	204	Island St Helena October 15. 1785 Know all Men by these presents that I Edward Bagley Do hereby give unto a Male Child named William being the natural Son of my Woman named Pat/ his Freedom I also acknowledge myself indebted to the above said William, in the Sum of Fourty Pounds of Current Money of the above said Island, which I request my Executors will see paid unto him the above said William, Natural Son of the above named Woman Pat. In Witness whereof I have	On the island of St Helena, on 15 October 1785, Edward Bagley made it known that he gave to a male child named William, the natural son of his woman named Pat, his freedom. He also acknowledged himself indebted to William in the sum of £40 0s 0d in the current money of the island, and asked his executors to see it paid to William, the natural son of the woman named Pat. In witness of this he set his hand and seal. It was signed by Edward Bagley. The witness was A. Lambe. A will followed, opening in the name of God. Isaac Joseph Sewell of the island of St Helena, clerk,

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		hereunto set my Hand and Seal (Signed) Edward Bagley (Signed) A. Lambe In the Name of God, Amen. I Isaac Joseph Sewell of the Island of St Helena Clerk, being Sick and Weak of Body, but of sound and disposing mind Memory and Understanding Do this thirty first Day of August in the twenty seventh Year of His Majestys Reign and in the Year of our Lord 1787, make Publish and declare this my last Will and Testament, in manner and form following, that is to say I recommend my Soul into the Hands of Almighty God and my Body to the Earth to be decently buried at the discretion of my Executors hereafter named and as to the Worldly Estate wherewith it hath pleased God to bless me, after my just Debts and Funeral Expences are fully paid and Discharged, I dispose the whole thereof to be equally Divided between my two Sons namely John Henry Fletcher Sewell and Charles William Henry Sewell	was sick and weak in body but of sound mind, memory and understanding. On 31 August 1787, in the twenty-seventh year of the reign of the King, he made, published and declared his last will and testament in the manner following. He committed his soul to Almighty God and his body to the earth, to be decently buried at the discretion of his executors. As for his worldly estate, with which it had pleased God to bless him, once his lawful debts and funeral expenses were paid and discharged, he directed the whole be divided equally between his two sons, namely John Henry Fletcher Sewell and Charles William Henry Sewell. **Interpretations** The deed acknowledging a debt of £40 0s 0d to the freed child William did more than release him from bondage, since it gave him at the moment of his freedom a money claim against the estate that his former owner's executors were bound to pay. A freed child otherwise entered the world with nothing, and by turning what may have been the boy's own earnings or a promised provision into a formal debt, Bagley secured William a sum recoverable at law rather than a mere gift dependent on goodwill. The description of William as the natural son of the woman Pat, set beside the earlier freeing of Pat and her other children, completes the release of a whole enslaved family across several instruments. The scattering of these grants through separate deeds and the will, rather than a single act, suggests the freedoms were settled as occasion allowed, but their cumulative effect was to lift Pat and each of her children out of slavery and to attach money or property to several of them. The title of clerk marked Sewell as a man in holy orders or in a settled clerical office, a person of education and standing in the island's small society. His estate passed simply and equally to his two sons, a plain division untroubled by the conditional chains and contingent gifts that crowd the seamen's and planters' wills, which reflects a more settled domestic situation with a clear line of heirs at hand.
222	205	I nominate Constitute and appoint my Brother Stephen John Sewell of the Adelphi London, jointly with my good friends, Mr David Kay Mr Wm Webber Doncton and Mr John Doveton of the Island of St Helena, Executors to this my last Will and Testament hereby revoking and making Void all other Wills by me heretofore made declaring this only to be my last Will and Testament In Witness whereof I have hereunto set my Hand and Seal the Day and Year before written Signed Sealed Published and declared by the Testator as and for his last Will and Testament in the presence of Us who at his request in the presence of each other subscribed our Names as Witnesses (Signed) Jsa: Jos: Sewell "Signed" Jno Chas Dunn Jas Baird In the Name of God, Amen I Robert Gurling of the Island of St Helena Lieutenant of Infantry in the Service of the Honble East India Company being weak in Body, but of sound mind and Memory Do this thirteenth Day of September in the twenty sixth Year of His Majestys Reign and in the Year of our Lord 1786 make and	Isaac Joseph Sewell named and appointed his brother Stephen John Sewell of the Adelphi in London, jointly with his good friends Mr David Kay, Mr William Webber Doveton and Mr John Doveton of the island of St Helena, as executors of his will. He revoked and made void every former will he had made, declaring this one alone to be his last. In witness of this he set his hand and seal on the day and year already written. The will was signed, sealed, published and declared by the testator as his last will and testament in the presence of the witnesses, who at his request signed their names as witnesses in the presence of each other. It was signed by Isaac Joseph Sewell. The witnesses were John Charles Dunn and James Baird. A further will followed, opening in the name of God. Robert Gurling of the island of St Helena, lieutenant of infantry in the service of the Honourable East India Company, was weak in body but of sound mind and memory. On 13 September 1786, in the twenty-sixth year of the reign of the King, he made and published his last will and testament in the manner following. He committed his soul to Almighty God and his body to the earth, to be decently buried. As for his worldly estate, with which it had pleased God to bless him, once his lawful debts were paid, he set out its disposal. **Interpretations** Pairing a brother in London with three resident friends on St Helena as joint executors answered the double location of Sewell's affairs. Part of what a testator's executors had to manage lay in Britain and

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		Publish this my last Will and Testament in manner and form following, that is to say Imprimis I commend my Soul into the Hands of Almighty God and my Body to the Earth to be decently buryed, The Worldly Estate wherewith it hath pleased God to bless me, after my just D 64	part on the island, and by naming men in both places he ensured that business could be pursued at each end, the London brother handling matters in the capital while the island executors dealt with the estate on the spot. Gurling's description of himself as a lieutenant of infantry in the service of the East India Company marks the peculiar character of the island's garrison. The soldiers who held St Helena were not King's troops but the Company's own military servants, an armed force maintained by a trading corporation to guard its possession, and Gurling's commission shows how the ordinary apparatus of rank and military service was reproduced under commercial rather than royal authority at the edge of empire. The address of the Adelphi in London placed Sewell's brother in a fashionable and recently built quarter of the capital, a district of some standing near the Thames. The precise naming of so distinct a London address served the practical end of fixing exactly where the executor could be found, giving the machinery of settlement a reachable point in England through which the estate's affairs in the mother country could be conducted.
223	206	Debts are paid and discharged, I dispose thereof as follows Item, To my beloved Wife Eleanor Gurling I give and bequeath the one third part of my Estate, both real and Personal to be hers for ever, and I direct that she be allowed to remain in my House in the Country during the term of her Natural Life, or so long as she shall remain my Widow Item, To my Son Henry Gurling I give and bequeath the remaining two Thirds of my Estate both real and Personal, but in case he should Die before he attains the age of twenty one Years, I then Will and Direct that the same be equally Divided between my Niece Mary Alexander and my Nieces Elizabeth Ann, Mary and Sarah and my Nephew Henry Bazett, Daughters and Son of Capt Thomas Bazett In case my several Creditors should be importunate for the Payment of the Debts I owe I Will and Direct that my Town House be disposed of with such part of my Furniture as can be best spared, without distressing my Wife Should my Wife Eleanor be with Child at my Decease I direct that said Child share equally with my Son Henry in the remaining two thirds of my Estate and in case of the Death of said Child before the Age of twenty one Years and my Son Henry not being alive, that then said Share go to be equally Divided between my Nieces & Nephew, as before Directed in the case of my said Son Henry Lastly I nominate Constitute and Appoint my beloved Wife Eleanor Executrix and my good Friends	Once his debts were paid and discharged, Robert Gurling set out how his estate was to be disposed. He gave and bequeathed to his wife Eleanor Gurling one third of his estate, both real and personal, to be hers for ever. He directed that she be allowed to remain in his house in the country for the rest of her life, or for as long as she stayed his widow. He gave and bequeathed to his son Henry Gurling the remaining two thirds of his estate, both real and personal. Should Henry die before reaching the age of twenty-one, he directed that this share be divided equally between his niece Mary Alexander and his nieces Elizabeth Ann, Mary and Sarah, and his nephew Henry Bazett, the daughters and son of Captain Thomas Bazett. Should his creditors press for payment of his debts, he directed that his town house be sold, together with such part of his furniture as could best be spared, without distressing his wife. Should his wife Eleanor be pregnant at his death, he directed that the child share equally with his son Henry in the remaining two thirds of the estate. Should that child die before the age of twenty-one, and Henry not then be living, he directed that the child's share be divided equally between his nieces and nephew, as already directed in the case of Henry. Lastly, he named and appointed his wife Eleanor executrix and his good friends. **Interpretations** Gurling held two separate houses, one in the country and one in town, and the will treated them very differently against the claims of his creditors. The country house was secured to his widow for her life, while the town house was marked out as the property to be sold first if his debts pressed, expressly so that the sale should not distress his wife. The arrangement shielded the widow's home by directing creditors toward the other house, a deliberate ordering of the estate that put her security ahead of the town property. The careful chain of substitute heirs, running from the son to an unborn child and then to a named set of nieces and a nephew, guarded the descent of the estate against the early death of the son on whom it principally rested. High child mortality made the failure of a single young heir a real prospect, and by naming exactly who should take should Henry and any posthumous child die under age, Gurling kept the property within his chosen circle rather than leaving its fate to the general law.

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			The provision for a possible posthumous child, sharing equally with the living son, closed the gap that a will made in the testator's last illness might leave. A child conceived but not yet born at the father's death would otherwise risk being passed over, and by expressly bringing such a child into the division on equal terms, Gurling ensured that every child he might in the end leave was provided for, whether born before or after he died.
224	207	Friends Capt Thomas Bazett, Mr Stephen Young Senr Mr John Doveton and Mr John Young, jointly with my Son Henry Gurling, when he shall have attained the Age of Sixteen Years. Executors to this my last Will and Testament, hereby revoking all other Wills or Wills by me heretofore made declaring this only to be my last Will and Testament In Witness whereof I the said Robert Gurling have hereunto set my Hand and Seal the Day and Year before written Signed Sealed Published and declared by the Testator, as and for his last Will and Testament in the presence of Us, who at his request in the presence of each other Subscribed our Names as Witnesses (Signed) Robert Gurling (Signed) John Goodwin W W Doveton John Doveton In the Name of God. Amen I Benjamin Seale of the Island St Helena Planter, being in Health and of sound mind memory and understanding /blessed be God/ but well knowing the uncertainty of this Life do this seventh Day of September in the twenty sixth Year of the Reign of his present Majesty George the third and in the Year of our Lord 1786 make and publish this my last Will and Testament, that is to say First	Robert Gurling named his good friends Captain Thomas Bazett, Mr Stephen Young senior, Mr John Doveton and Mr John Young, jointly with his son Henry Gurling once he reached the age of sixteen, as executors of his will. He revoked every former will he had made, declaring this one alone to be his last. In witness of this he set his hand and seal on the day and year already written. The will was signed, sealed, published and declared by the testator as his last will and testament in the presence of the witnesses, who at his request signed their names in the presence of each other. It was signed by Robert Gurling. The witnesses were John Goodwin, William Webber Doveton and John Doveton. A further will followed, opening in the name of God. Benjamin Seale of the island of St Helena, planter, was in health and of sound mind, memory and understanding, for which he thanked God. Mindful of the uncertainty of life, on 7 September 1786, in the twenty-sixth year of the reign of the King George the Third, he made and published his last will and testament in the manner following. **Interpretations** Naming the son Henry among the executors but only once he reached sixteen shows a father staging his heir's entry into the management of the estate. A minor could not act as an executor, so the appointment held back Henry's authority until he was old enough to bear it, while the older friends carried the business in the meantime, an arrangement that let the son join in administering his own inheritance as he came of age rather than being kept from it altogether. The overlap of the same names across these St Helena wills, with the Dovetons, Bazetts and Youngs recurring as executors, witnesses and beneficiaries, reveals the tight web of the island's leading families. A small settled community threw up a limited circle of men of standing who served repeatedly in one another's affairs, and the concentration of trust in these few families shows how the ordinary business of property and probate ran through a narrow and interconnected local elite.
225	208	First and principally I recommend my Soul into the Hands of Almighty God, my Creator and my body to the Eirth to be decently buried Imprimis I will and direct that all my just Debts and Funeral expences be fully paid and satisfied as soon and conveniently after my Decease as possible, and the rest and residue of all such Effects, it hath pleased God to intrust me with, I give and dispose of in manner and form following Item I give and bequeath unto my beloved Wife Ann Seale one half of my Dwelling House and all my Lands except five Acres of Lease Land, I purchased of John Bagley Sic /both Free and Lease hold, for and during her Natural life, and at her decease I give her one third part	Benjamin Seale first committed his soul to Almighty God his Creator and his body to the earth, to be decently buried. He directed that all his lawful debts and funeral expenses be fully paid and satisfied as soon as convenient after his death. The rest and residue of the effects God had entrusted to him he gave and disposed of in the manner following. He gave and bequeathed to his wife Ann Seale one half of his dwelling house and all his lands, except five acres of leasehold land he had bought from John Bagley, both freehold and leasehold, for the rest of her life. On her death he gave her one third of his personal estate, apart from the leasehold lands, to be at her own disposal by will. He gave and bequeathed to his son William the five acres of leasehold land he had bought from John Bagley, to become William's property at valuation on his death, on William paying to each of his sons Francis and Benjamin, and to his daughter Sarah, an

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		of my personal Estate /exclusive my Lease hold Lands/ to be at her own disposal by Will and Testament Item I give and bequeath unto my Son William the five Acres of Lease Land I purchased of John Bagley Sic at Valuation to become his property at my decease he paying unto each of my Sons Francis and Benjamin and to my Daughter Sarah an equal Share or Dividend thereof /when She takes possession, and a like share or Dividend unto my Son John when he shall arrive at the Age of Twenty one Years or Marriage Item I give and bequeath unto my Son John, the other half of my Dwelling House and Lands both Free and Lease to become his property at the time of my Decease should he be, of the Age of Twenty one Years or of an age or decease at that time or otherwise if he by dying or Marriage or a Marriage he paying unto each of my Sons, Francis Benjamin and William, and to my Daughter Sarah an equal Share or Dividend thereof when he takes possession, and my Will and meaning is that in case my said Sons, Francis, Benjamin and William or my Daughter Sarah, or either of them should Die before their Mother, they shall have full liberty to Dispose of his her or theirs share or Dividend in my Estate, as they shall think proper. This clause I direct shall hold good with regard to my said Son Johns Share or Dividend in my Estate should he Die before his mother after having Arrived at the Age of Twenty one Years or Marriage. I also give unto my said Son John at the Decease of his Mother, the half of my Dwelling House and Lands bequeathed unto her for and during her Natural Life, he paying unto each of my Sons Francis Benjamin and William and to my Daughter Sarah beforementioned an equal Share or Dividend in this part	equal share when she took possession, and a like share to his son John when John reached the age of twenty-one or married. He gave and bequeathed to his son John the other half of his dwelling house and lands, both freehold and leasehold, to become John's property at the testator's death, should John then be of the age of twenty-one, or on his reaching that age or marrying. This was on John paying to each of his sons Francis, Benjamin and William, and to his daughter Sarah, an equal share when he took possession. He directed that, should any of his sons Francis, Benjamin and William, or his daughter Sarah, die before their mother, the survivors be free to dispose of the share of the one who died as they thought proper. He directed the same should hold good with regard to John's share, should John die before his mother after reaching the age of twenty-one or marrying. He also gave John, on his mother's death, the half of the dwelling house and lands bequeathed to her for her life, John paying to each of his sons Francis, Benjamin and William, and to his daughter Sarah, an equal share in this part. **Interpretations** The whole settlement of the land turned on the device of a son taking a parcel at valuation and then paying out equal shares to his siblings. Rather than splitting the dwelling house and lands physically among five children, the will kept each portion whole in the hands of one son and charged him with buying out the others at an appraised price. This preserved the working units of the estate intact while still giving every child an equal money value, a common means of reconciling the wish to keep land undivided with the duty to treat children alike. The provision allowing the surviving siblings to dispose of the share of any who died before their mother worked to keep the estate within the sibling group and out of the hands of a dead child's own heirs or creditors. By directing that a predeceased child's portion fall to the survivors rather than passing on through that child's line, the will guarded the compact of brothers and sister against fragmentation, holding the property together among those still living to take it. The wife's provision was carefully bounded, giving her one half of the house and the bulk of the lands for life only, and one third of the personal estate absolutely, while expressly excluding the leasehold lands from her disposal. The arrangement supported the widow comfortably during her life without letting the land pass out of the family through her, since her real interest ended at her death and the property then fell to the son, a balance between maintaining her and preserving the estate for the children.
226	209	of my Estate at the same Valuation and in like manner as the half of my Estate bequeathed him at my Decease Item I give and bequeath unto my Grand Son Stephen Young a Legacy of Fifty Pounds to be paid unto him at the Age of Twenty one Years or Marriage and not before Item, Having advanced my Son Benjamin at the time of his leaving the Island a certain Sum of Money, which he stands Indebted for in my Account Book I will and Direct the same to be Deducted out of his share or Dividend in my Estate and be equally distributed among each of my Sons and Daughter beforementioned share and share alike Lastly I do hereby Nominate, Constitute and appoint my Sons Francis and William and my Son in Law Lieut William Seale and my Son John so soon as he shall Arrive at the Age of Twenty one Years	John was to take this part of the estate at the same valuation, in the same way as the half of the estate bequeathed to him at Benjamin Seale's death. He gave and bequeathed to his grandson Stephen Pleuny a legacy of £50 0s 0d, to be paid to him at the age of twenty-one or on his marriage, and not before. Since he had advanced his son Benjamin a sum of money at the time of his leaving the island, for which Benjamin stood indebted in his account book, he directed that this sum be deducted from Benjamin's share of the estate, and the rest divided equally among each of his sons and daughters already named, share and share alike. Lastly, he named and appointed his sons Francis and William, his son-in-law Lieutenant William Seale and his son John, as soon as John reached the age of twenty-one, as executors of his will. In witness of this

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		Executors to this my last Will and Testament In Witness whereof I have hereunto set my Hand and Seal the Day and Year above Written Signed Sealed and Declared by the said Testator to be his last Will & Testament in the presence of (Signed) Benj: Seale Signed Richd Bagley Senr A Lambe Jno Seale Junr In the Name of God Amen I Elizabeth Kennedy Widow of the Island St Helena, Being weak in Body, but of perfect mind and memory /blessd be God/ Do make and publish this my last Will and Testament in manner and form following /that is to say/ First I give and bequeath unto my Daughter Margaret Desfountain the sum of twenty pounds Item	he set his hand and seal on the day and year already written. The will was signed, sealed and declared by the testator as his last will and testament in the presence of the witnesses. It was signed by Benjamin Seale. The witnesses were Richard Bagley senior, A. Lambe and John Seale senior. A further will followed, opening in the name of God. Elizabeth Kennedy, widow of the island of St Helena, was weak in body but of sound mind and memory, for which she thanked God. She made and published her last will and testament in the manner following. She gave and bequeathed to her daughter Mary Desfountain the sum of £20 0s 0d. **Interpretations** The charging of Benjamin's earlier advance against his share, recorded as a debt in the testator's own account book, shows the machinery of hotchpot at work within a family. A child helped with money during the father's life was not thereby to gain over the others, and by bringing the advance into account and deducting it before division, the will treated the early payment as part of Benjamin's portion, holding all the children to a true equality when the estate came to be shared. The reliance on the testator's own account book to fix the amount advanced to Benjamin reveals how far these island estates rested on private domestic records rather than formal deeds. The sum was not stated in the will but left to be read off from the father's books, which shows a settled practice of keeping running accounts of what each child had received, informal writings that carried real legal weight when the estate fell to be divided.
227	210	Item I give unto my Grand Daughters Elizabeth, Mary Ann, Anna, Louisa and Charlotte Kennedy and my Grand Son William Kennedy six Guineas each Item I give unto Eleanor Daughter of Lieut Beale the Sum of six Guineas And lastly, As to all the rest residue and remainder of my Estate of what kind whatever, I give and bequeath the same to my Son Nathaniel Kennedy. And Do appoint him sole Executor of this my last Will and Testament hereby Evoking all former Wills by me made. In Witness hereof I have hereunto set my hand and seal this 5 day of September in the twenty seventh Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord the King. And in the Year of Our Lord 1787 Signed Sealed and Declared by the Testatrix As her last Will and Testament in the presence of (Signed) Elizabeth Kennedy (Signed) John Goodwin Marth Desfountain In the Name of God Amen I Stephen Young Son of the Island of St Helena being Weak in Body but of sound and disposing mind memory and understanding /Blessed be God/ Do this fourteenth Day of March in the twenty eight Year of His Majestys Reign and in the Year of Our Lord 1788 make and publish	Elizabeth Kennedy gave to her granddaughters Elizabeth, Mary Ann, Anna, Louisa and Charlotte Kennedy, and to her grandson William Kennedy, six guineas each. She gave to Eleanor, daughter of Lieutenant Beak, the sum of six guineas. Lastly, all the rest, residue and remainder of her estate, of whatever kind, she gave and bequeathed to her son Nathaniel Kennedy. She appointed him sole executor of her will, revoking every former will she had made. In witness of this she set her hand and seal on 5 September 1787, in the twenty-seventh year of the reign of the sovereign King. The will was signed, sealed and declared by the testatrix as her last will and testament in the presence of the witnesses. It was signed by Elizabeth Kennedy. The witnesses were John Goodwin and Joseph Desfountain. A further will followed, opening in the name of God. Stephen Young, son of the island of St Helena, was weak in body but of sound mind, memory and understanding, for which he thanked God. On 14 March 1788, in the twenty-eighth year of the reign of the King, he made and published his last will and testament in the manner following. He committed his soul to God and his body to the earth, to be decently buried at the discretion of his executor. **Interpretations** The legacies in this will were reckoned in guineas rather than in pounds sterling, a distinction worth marking. A guinea was a gold coin worth twenty-one shillings, one shilling more than a pound, and was the customary unit for genteel and professional payments, gifts and fees. Elizabeth Kennedy's use of guineas for her grandchildren's legacies followed the polite convention of the day, marking these gifts as of a more refined character than the plain sterling sums that filled the seamen's and tradesmen's wills.

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		this my last Will and Testament in manner and form following that is to say Imprimis I recommend my Soul into the Hands of Almighty God and my Body to the Earth to be decently buried at the discretion of my Executor hereafter Named. the Worldly Estate	
228	211	wherewith it hath pleased God to bless me, after my just Debts and Funeral Expences are fully paid and Discharged I dispose thereof as follows Item To my Beloved Wife Sarah I give and bequeath the One third part of my Personal Estate to be entirely at her own disposal I also give her the use of my House in James's Valley now in the possession of John Torbett during her natural Life. Item I order and Direct that my Son in Law Mr James Pritchard have the refusal of my House in James's Valley, which he now uses as a Shop, and has a Lease for, together with the House Mr Sample hires adjoining to said Shop at a just Valuation, the same to be considered as so much of my Daughter Penelope Pritchards share her after mentioned A Debt of Fifty pounds due to my Daughter Mary Young from my Estate, being a Legacy bequeathed her by her God Father Mr John Whitchurch Deed I direct shall be paid her, with Legal Interest from the time of the said Mr Whitchurches Death. Item To my Grandson Stephen Young Pritchard I bequeath my Silver Watch, having my Name upon the Dial Plate Item To Miss Mary Leech Daughter of Thomas Leech I bequeath the Sum of fifty pounds Sterling. Item To my Executors hereafter Named I bequeath the Sum of Ten pounds each My Will and meaning is and I hereby Order and Direct that as soon as convenient after my Decease the whole of my Estates both Real and Personal be Sold at public Auction excepting the House I have allotted my Wife Sarah during her natural Life, and which cannot be Sold until after her Decease, and the Shop and House which I have devised shall be valued to my Son in Law James Pritchard to be considered as so much of his Wife's Share that then after payment of the Debt due to my Daughter Mary Young with Interest and the payment of all other my just Debts, my Wifes thirds of my Personal Estate be deducted and the remainder	Once his lawful debts and funeral expenses were fully paid and discharged, Stephen Young set out how his estate, with which God had blessed him, was to be disposed. He gave and bequeathed to his wife Sarah one third of his personal estate, to be entirely at her own disposal. He also gave her the use of his house in James Valley, then in the occupation of John Torbett, for the rest of her life. He directed that his son-in-law Mr James Pritchard have first refusal of his house in James Valley, which Pritchard then used as a shop and held on a lease, together with the house Mr Sample rented adjoining the shop, at a fair valuation. This was to be counted as part of the share of his daughter Penelope Pritchard, mentioned later. A debt of £50 0s 0d owing to his daughter Mary Young from his estate, being a legacy left her by her godfather Mr John Whitchurch, he directed be paid to her with lawful interest from the time of Whitchurch's death. He gave to his grandson Stephen Young Pritchard his silver watch, which carried his name on the dial plate. He gave to Miss Mary Leech, daughter of Thomas Leech, the sum of £50 0s 0d sterling. He gave to his executors the sum of £10 0s 0d each. He ordered that, as soon as convenient after his death, the whole of his estate, both real and personal, be sold at public auction, except the house allotted to his wife Sarah for her life, which could not be sold until after her death. The shop and house he had directed be valued to his son-in-law James Pritchard, to be counted as part of his wife Penelope's share, so that after payment of the debt owed to his daughter Mary Young with interest, and payment of all his lawful debts, his wife's third of his personal estate be deducted, and the remainder dealt with as follows. **Interpretations** The debt owed to Mary Young shows one legacy passing through a second estate to reach its object. Her godfather John Whitchurch had left her £50 0s 0d, but the money had evidently come into Stephen Young's hands or been charged on his estate, and his will now directed it be paid over with interest running from Whitchurch's death. The arrangement traces how a legacy from one testator could be carried on the books of another, the interest marking the years the sum had been withheld since it first fell due. The bequest of the silver watch, singled out because it bore the testator's name engraved on the dial, marks the kind of personal keepsake that carried meaning beyond its money value. Such an object, inscribed and handed to a grandson who shared the family name, served to pass down identity and remembrance rather than mere property, and its particular mention among the money legacies shows the testator marking one heir with a token of personal connection. The direction to sell the whole estate at public auction, save only the widow's house, turned nearly all the property into money for division rather than parcelling out land and goods among the heirs.

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			Converting an estate to cash in this way made an equal distribution far simpler, since money could be divided exactly where houses and effects could not, and it reflects a settled preference for realising the estate and sharing the proceeds over keeping the property itself within the family.
229	212	of my Estates both Real and personal, after paying the Legacy to Miss Mary Leech, and the Legacys to my Executors, Divided equally as follows Item To my Daughter Elizabeth Wife of Mr Thomas Lister I bequeath one sixth part or Dividend Item To my Daughter Penelope Wife of Mr James Pritchard I bequeath one sixth part or Dividend, the valuation of the Shop and House I have directed Mr Pritchard shall have the refusal of being included Item To my Daughter Eleanor Widow of R Gurling Deceased I bequeath one sixth part or Dividend to be intirely at her own disposal, and on no account to be considered as any part of the Estate of the said R Gurling Deceased Item To my Daughter Clarissa Widow of Lieut John Leech Deceased I bequeath one sixth part or Dividend, with this proviso that in case she Marrys again I give her only one third of the said Dividend, and the other two thirds to my Grand Daughter Penelope Leech. Item To the two Children of my Son John Deceased namely Stephen and Amonet I bequeath one sixth part or Dividend to be equally Divided between them. And To my Daughter Mary Young I bequeath One sixth part or Dividend Lastly I Nominate Constitute and appoint my good friends Messrs James Pritchard, Thomas Lister, Willm Webber Doveton and John Doveton Executors to this my last Will and Testament hereby Evoking and making Void all other Wills by me heretofore made declaring this only to be my last Will and Testament In Witness whereof I the said Stephen Young Senr have hereunto set my Hand and Seal the Day and Year above Written Signed Stephen Young Snr Signed Sealed and Published and Declared by the Testator as and for his last Will and Testament in the presence of Us who at his request in the presence of each other subscribed our Names as Witnesses Signed R Leech John Sample John Torbett	Once the legacy to Miss Mary Leech and the legacies to his executors had been paid, Stephen Young directed that the remainder of his estate, both real and personal, be divided equally as follows. He gave to his daughter Elizabeth, wife of Mr Thomas Lister, one sixth share. He gave to his daughter Penelope, wife of Mr James Pritchard, one sixth share, the valuation of the shop and house of which Pritchard was to have first refusal being included in it. He gave to his daughter Eleanor, widow of the late Robert Gurling, one sixth share, to be entirely at her own disposal and on no account to be treated as any part of Gurling's estate. He gave to his daughter Clarissa, widow of the late Lieutenant John Leech, one sixth share, with the proviso that, should she marry again, she have only one third of that share, and the other two thirds go to his granddaughter Penelope Leech. He gave to the two children of his late son John, namely Stephen and Amoret, one sixth share, to be divided equally between them. He gave to his daughter Mary Young one sixth share. Lastly, he named and appointed his good friends James Pritchard, Thomas Lister, William Webber Doveton and John Doveton as executors of his will. He revoked and made void every former will he had made, declaring this one alone to be his last. In witness of this he set his hand and seal on the day and year already written. It was signed by Stephen Young senior. The will was signed, sealed, published and declared by the testator as his last will and testament in the presence of the witnesses, who at his request signed their names in the presence of each other. The witnesses were [...] Leech, John Sample and John Torbett. **Interpretations** The condition cutting Clarissa's share to one third should she remarry, with the balance passing to her daughter, applied a common restraint on a widow's provision. A father providing for a widowed daughter often meant his support for her while she remained unmarried and dependent, but not to endow a new husband who would gain control of her property. By reducing her portion on remarriage and diverting the rest to the granddaughter, the will kept the bulk of the family money within the bloodline rather than letting it pass to an incoming son-in-law. The express direction that Eleanor's share not be treated as any part of her late husband Robert Gurling's estate worked to shield the legacy from his creditors and his settlement. Property coming to a widow could be swept up in the reckoning of her dead husband's affairs, and by ring-fencing this share as her own separate property, the testator kept it clear of any claims against Gurling's estate, securing it to his daughter alone. The equal division into sixths, one to each surviving daughter and one shared between a dead son's two children, shows the estate settled on the principle of a share for each branch of the family. The grandchildren took by representation the single portion their father would have had, so that each line descended from the testator received an equal part, a scheme that treated the branches evenly rather than counting heads across the generations.

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230	213	In the Name of God. Amen I John Clark alias Quin late Seaman on board the Ship Rose East Indiaman being in a Weak State of Body but free from any infirmity of Mind. Do hereby Imprimis after all my lawful Debts are discharged by my heirs hereafter mentioned Give and Bequeath all my Goods and effects real and personal to Mary Quin my lawful Wife, together with all the Pay or Wages that may be be due to me from the time of my coming on board the said Ship Rose in England. And further it is my Will that the said Mary Quin my Lawful Wife, pay or cause to be paid unto Nicholas Quinn my Brother the Sum of Seven Pounds Sterling of the Money of England. And that in case of the Death of the said Mary my Wife I hereby Give and Bequeath all my Goods and Effects real and personal to Jean Quin my Mother and Nicholas Quinn my Brother to be equally divided between them. For this Especial purpose I have appointed Mr David Kay Surgan here as my Executor to act as may deem most proper to him for the good of my Heirs. Witness my hand and Seal this 14 day of May. in the Year of our Lord. One Thousand Seven hundred and Eighty Eight Signed John Clark. Elias Quin Signed and Sealed Where No Stamp Paper was to be had Witness. (Signed) James Miller Assistant Surgeon. Charles Abraham	A will followed, opening in the name of God. John Clark, otherwise Quin, formerly a seaman aboard the East Indiaman *Rose*, was weak in body but free from any infirmity of mind. He directed that, once his lawful debts were discharged by his executor, all his goods and effects, real and personal, pass to Mary Quin his lawful wife, together with all the pay and wages owing to him from the time he came aboard the *Rose* in England. He further directed that Mary Quin his wife pay to his brother Nicholas Quin the sum of £7 0s 0d sterling, money of England. Should his wife Mary die, he gave and bequeathed all his goods and effects, real and personal, to his mother Jean Quin and his brother Nicholas Quin, to be divided equally between them. He appointed Mr David Kay, surgeon, executor, to act as he thought most proper for the good of his heirs. In witness of this he set his hand and seal on 14 May 1788. It was signed by John Clark, otherwise Quin. The will was signed and sealed in a place where no stamped paper was to be had. The witnesses were James Miller, assistant surgeon, and Charles Abraham. **Interpretations** The alias by which the testator was known, John Clark otherwise Quin, marked a man sailing under a name other than his own, a common enough thing among seamen who took to the sea under an assumed name to escape debt, family or the law, or who had simply come to be known by a second name aboard ship. That his true kin bore the name Quin, his wife, mother and brother all so called, shows Clark to have been the adopted name and Quin the family one, the will quietly reconciling the two identities to secure his estate to his real relations. The whole estate again consisted of a seaman's wages owing from a Company ship, directed home to a wife in England with a small fixed sum carved out for a brother. The naming of a ship's surgeon as executor, rather than a relative, put the settlement in the hands of a man aboard who could pursue the wages through the Company on the voyage home, a practical choice for a dying sailor whose only property was a claim recoverable in England and whose family were far off. The charge on the widow to pay £7 0s 0d to the testator's brother turned her inheritance into a fund burdened with a legacy to his own kin. Rather than dividing the estate outright, the will gave the whole to the wife but bound her to satisfy the brother from it, a means of providing for both that kept the bulk with the widow while ensuring the brother received his settled share out of the seaman's wages once they were collected.
231	214	In the Name of God Amen I William Hayes Planter on the Island St Helena being in perfect health and of sound and disposing mind Memory and Understanding to make this my last Will and Testament in manner and form following that is to say Imprimis I give and bequeath unto my dearly beloved Wife Mary all and singular my Lands Tenements Goods and Chattels of what Nature or kind soever which at the time of my Decease I may be possessed of to and for the sole purpose of the Maintenance and support of herself and my Children then	A will followed, opening in the name of God. William Hayes, planter on the island of St Helena, was in perfect health and of sound mind, memory and understanding. He made his last will and testament in the manner following. He gave and bequeathed to his dearly beloved wife Mary all his lands, tenements, goods and chattels of whatever kind that he might be possessed of at his death, for the sole purpose of maintaining and supporting herself and his children then living. Should she be pregnant at his death, he wished any such child to enjoy an equal share of the estate. This bequest was to end on the expiry of her widowhood or her death, whichever came first. Should she remarry, he directed that his executors immediately dispose of all his estate for the purpose set out below, saving and leaving only one third of his goods and

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		living and in case of her Pregnancy at my Demise my meaning is that such Issue do enjoy an equal share of such my Estate this bequest to terminate at the expiration of her Widowhood or Death Whichever may first happen, and upon her inter marriage I do hereby order and direct that my Executors herein after mentioned do immediately dispose of all my Estate for the purpose herein after described, saving and leaving one third part of my Goods and Chattels only, which it is my Will be given to my said Wife Mary for her Sole and seperate use for ever Item It is my Will that all my just Debts funeral Charges and the Charges of proving this my Will be fully paid and satisfied as soon after my Decease as shall be found convenient Item It is my Will that on the expiration of the Widowhood or Demise of my said Wife Mary my Whole Estate then remaining be disposed of by my Executors and the Monies arising therefrom to be divided among my Children then living in equal parts and proportions share and share alike Item It is my Will that a Legacy of five Sheep given to my Son Joshua by his Uncle Joshua Worrall and a Gift of a Girl named Nanny to my Daughter Eleanor by her Uncle John Worrall to be seperated from my Estate before the disposal thereof and given to them for their seperate use for ever And Lastly I do hereby Nominate, Constitute and appoint my	chattels, which he willed be given to his wife Mary for her sole and separate use for ever. He directed that all his lawful debts, funeral charges and the charges of proving the will be fully paid and satisfied as soon after his death as convenient. He directed that, on the expiry of his wife Mary's widowhood or her death, his whole estate then remaining be disposed of by his executors, and the money raised divided among his children then living in equal shares, share and share alike. He directed that a legacy of five sheep, given to his son Joshua by his uncle Joshua Worrall, and a gift of a girl named [...] to his daughter Eleanor by her uncle John Worrall, be set apart from his estate before its disposal and given to them for their separate use for ever. Lastly, he named and appointed his executors. **Interpretations** The gift to the daughter Eleanor of a girl, set beside the legacy of five sheep to the son, lists an enslaved child among the ordinary property passing to the testator's children. The girl and the sheep were both given by uncles as gifts to be kept separate from the general estate, which places a human being on exactly the same footing as livestock in the reckoning of a family's goods. The plain equation of an enslaved girl with a parcel of sheep, each a gift from an uncle to a child, shows how completely slaves on St Helena were treated as chattels handed down within a family like any other possession. The wife's interest in the estate was carefully tied to her remaining a widow, giving her the use of the whole for the support of herself and the children only so long as she did not remarry. Should she take a new husband, her interest collapsed at once to a bare third of the goods, and the rest fell in for division among the children. The scheme provided generously for the widow while she kept the household together, but guarded against a second husband gaining the run of the estate, reducing her to a fixed separate portion the moment she remarried. The provision that the widow's third, and any share falling to her on remarriage, be held to her sole and separate use marked a deliberate departure from the common law that gave a wife's property to her husband. By settling this portion to her separate use, the testator meant it to remain the wife's own even within a new marriage, beyond the reach of a second husband, a device drawn from the law of trusts to secure property to a married woman in her own right.
232	215	my Friends Captain Thomas Bazett, John Desfountain, Samuel Knipe Senr John Doveton and Richard Knipe Executors and my said Wife Mary Executrix to this my Will and Testament hereby revoking all former Wills and Testaments by me made Declaring this and no other to be my last In Witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and Seal this 11 Day of March in the Year of Our Lord One thousand seven hundred & Eighty Signed William Hayes Signed Sealed published and declared by the Testator as his Last Will and Testament in the presence of Us, who in his presence and the presence of each other Subscribed Our Names as Witnesses thereto (Signed)	William Hayes named his friends Captain Thomas Bazett, John Desfountain, Samuel Knipe senior, John Doveton and Richard Knipe as executors, and his wife Mary as executrix of his will. He revoked every former will he had made, declaring this one alone to be his last. In witness of this he set his hand and seal on 11 March 1780. It was signed by William Hayes. The will was signed, sealed, published and declared by the testator as his last will and testament in the presence of the witnesses, who signed their names in his presence and in the presence of each other. The witnesses were Thomas Leech, Joshua Torbett and George Yarman. A further will followed, opening in the name of God. John Robinson of the island of St Helena, planter, was weak and sick in body but of sound mind, memory and understanding, for which he thanked God. On 3 January 1789, in the twenty-ninth year of the reign of the King, he made and published his last will and testament in the manner following. He committed his soul to Almighty God and his body to the earth, to be decently buried at the

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		Thos Leech Joshua Torbett George Yarman In the Name of God Amen I John Robinson of the Island of St Helena Planter being Weak and Sick in Body but of sound and disposing mind memory and understanding blessed be God. Do this third Day of January in the twenty ninth Year of His Majestys Reign and in the Year of Our Lord 1789 make and publish this my last Will & Testament in manner and form following, that is to say Imprimis I Recommend my Soul into the Hands of Almighty God and my Body to the Earth to be decently Buried at the discretion of my Executors hereafter mentioned and as to the Woldly Estate wherewith it hath pleased God to bless me I dispose thereof as follows Item To my Beloved Wife Eleanor I give the use of my Dwelling House in the Cuntry with the Furniture also the Land adjoining	discretion of his executors. As for his worldly estate, with which it had pleased God to bless him, he set out its disposal. He gave to his wife Eleanor the use of his dwelling house in the country, together with the furniture, and also the land adjoining.
233	216	adjoining and that peice called Feuters with a sufficient number of Black Cattle and Sheep to stock the same, also the Goat Range and Goats at Bankses Ridge with her choice of seven of my Servants Male and Female and a Horse during her Natural Life To my Son John I give the refusal of my Lands called Ruttand Balirs at Valuation when he shall attain the Age of Eighteen Years and until that period I direct the same shall be let to the best advantage for the benefit of my Estate, I also give him my Dwelling House in the Country and Lands adjoining at the decease of my beloved Wife, with the Slaves Goat Range and Goats /Bequeathed her during her Natural Life/ at Valuation: I likewise give him my Man Slave Named Will not to be Valued to him, Mrs Robinson having the use of said Will until my said Son John returns from England To John Stephen Sewell Son of the Revd John Isaac Sewell Deceased by a former Wife, I give the Sum of Two hundred pounds to be deducted out of the Share I shall bequeath to Charles William Henry Sewell my Grand Son. My Lands in Beals Valley I direct shall be Sold or let at the discretion of my Executors hereafter Named The Remainder of my Estate of what kind or nature soever I direct shall be sold to the best advantage and equally Divided between my Son John, my Daughters Mary Cole and Jane Robinson and my Grand Son Charles William Henry Sewell Deducting from the share of the said Charles William Henry Sewell the Sum of two hundred pounds as a Legacy to John Stephen Sewell Son of the Revd John Isaac Sewell Deceased as before mentioned	John Robinson gave his wife Eleanor, for the rest of her life, the land adjoining and the piece called Fisters, together with enough black cattle and sheep to stock it, and the goat range and goats at Bankses Ridge. He also gave her the choice of seven of his slaves, male and female, and a horse. He gave to his son John first refusal of his lands called Thatch and Baliss, at valuation, on reaching the age of eighteen. Until then he directed that these lands be let to the best advantage for the benefit of the estate. He also gave John his dwelling house in the country and the lands adjoining, on the death of his wife, together with the slaves, goat range and goats bequeathed to her for her life, at valuation. He gave John his man slave named Will, who was not to be valued to him, though Mrs Robinson was to have the use of Will until John returned from England. He gave to John Stephen Sewell, son of the Reverend John Isaac Sewell deceased by a former wife, the sum of £200 0s 0d, to be deducted out of the share he had bequeathed to his grandson Charles William Henry Sewell. He directed that his lands in Beals Valley be sold or let at the discretion of his executors. The remainder of his estate, of whatever kind, he directed be sold to the best advantage and divided equally between his son John, his daughters Mary Cole and Jane Robinson, and his grandson Charles William Henry Sewell, deducting from Charles William Henry Sewell's share the £200 0s 0d left as a legacy to John Stephen Sewell. Should the share he had bequeathed his son John at valuation exceed John's share or dividend of the estate, he directed that John make good the difference to his sisters and nephew. Should his grandson Charles William Henry Sewell die before reaching the age of twenty-one or marrying, he directed that the share bequeathed him revert to the estate. **Interpretations** The estate reveals a substantial stock-raising establishment rather than a simple plantation, with black cattle, sheep and a managed range of goats on named grounds at Bankses Ridge and elsewhere. The provision of breeding animals to stock the land given to the widow, and the passing of the goat range as a working unit, show pastoral farming carried on as an

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		In case what I have bequeathed my Son John at Valuation should exceed his Share or Dividend of my Estate I direct that he make good the difference to his Sisters and Nephew, and in case my Grand Son Charles William Henry Sewell should die before he attains the Age of twenty one Years or Marriage I direct that the Share bequeathed him revert to my Estate and be	organised enterprise on St Helena, the island's grazing grounds supporting the herds that fed its people and the ships that called there. The man slave Will was singled out from the other slaves and expressly kept back from valuation against the son's share, while his labour was reserved to the widow until the son returned from England. Naming one enslaved man for special treatment, exempt from the reckoning that priced the other slaves into the heirs' portions, marks Will as a particularly valued servant, and the careful arrangement of who should have the use of him and when shows an enslaved man's labour parcelled out among the family with the same precision as the land and stock. The legacy of £200 0s 0d to John Stephen Sewell, charged specifically against the grandson's share rather than the estate at large, worked to burden one particular portion with a debt owed to a half-brother. John Stephen and Charles William Henry Sewell were sons of the same clergyman by different wives, and by loading the legacy onto the grandson's inheritance the testator settled a provision for the one out of what he gave the other, keeping the charge within the Sewell line rather than spreading it across all his heirs.
234	217	be devided equally between my Son John and my Daughters Mary Cole and Jane Robinson, Reserving forever the Sum of Two hundred pounds as a Legacy to John Steven Sewell Son of the Revd John Isaac Sewell Deceased as before mentioned To my Executrix and Executors hereafter Named I bequeath the Sum of Ten pounds each Lastly I Nominate Constitute and appoint my Beloved Wife Executrix and my Good Friends Mr William W Doveton, Mr Robert Leech, Mr John Doveton and Mr Thomas Cole jointly with my Son John when he shall Arrive at the age of Eighteen Years Executors to this my last Will and Testament hereby Evoking and making Void all other Wills by me heretofore made declaring this only to be my last Will and Testament, In Witness whereof I have hereunto Set my hand and Seal the Day and Year above Written Signed Sealed published and declared by the Testator as and for his last Will and Testament in the presence of Us who at his request in the presence of each other subscribed our Names as Witnesses (Signed) John Robinson (Signed) Davd Kay John Sample Elisha Teacke Senr	John Robinson directed that the remainder be divided equally between his son John and his daughters Mary Cole and Jane Robinson, reserving out of it for ever the sum of £200 0s 0d as a legacy to John Stephen Sewell, son of the Reverend John Isaac Sewell deceased, as already mentioned. He gave to his executrix and executors the sum of £10 0s 0d each. Lastly, he named and appointed his wife executrix, and his good friends Mr William W. Doveton, Mr Robert Leech, Mr John Doveton and Mr Thomas Cole, jointly with his son John once he reached the age of eighteen, as executors of his will. He revoked and made void every former will he had made, declaring this one alone to be his last. In witness of this he set his hand and seal on the day and year already written. It was signed by John Robinson. The will was signed, sealed, published and declared by the testator as his last will and testament in the presence of the witnesses, who at his request signed their names in the presence of each other. The witnesses were David Kay, John Sample and Elisha Peacke senior.
235	218	be devided equally between my Son John and my Daughters Mary Cole and Jane Robinson, Reserving forever the Sum of Two hundred pounds as a Legacy to John Steven Sewell Son of the Revd John Isaac Sewell Deceased as before mentioned To my Executrix and Executors hereafter Named I	John Robinson directed that the remainder be divided equally between his son John and his daughters Mary Cole and Jane Robinson, reserving out of it for ever the sum of £200 0s 0d as a legacy to John Stephen Sewell, son of the Reverend John Isaac Sewell deceased, as already mentioned. He gave to his executrix and executors the sum of £10 0s 0d each.

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		bequeath the Sum of Ten pounds each Lastly I Nominate Constitute and appoint my Beloved Wife Executrix and my Good Friends Mr William W Doveton, Mr Robert Leech, Mr John Doveton and Mr Thomas Cole jointly with my Son John when he shall Arrive at the age of Eighteen Years Executors to this my last Will and Testament hereby Evoking and making Void all other Wills by me heretofore made declaring this only to be my last Will and Testament, In Witness whereof I have hereunto Set my hand and Seal the Day and Year above Written Signed Sealed published and declared by the Testator as and for his last Will and Testament in the presence of Us who at his request in the presence of each other subscribed our Names as Witnesses (Signed) John Robinson (Signed) Davd Kay John Sample Elisha Teacke Senr	Lastly, he named and appointed his wife executrix, and his good friends Mr William W. Doveton, Mr Robert Leech, Mr John Doveton and Mr Thomas Cole, jointly with his son John once he reached the age of eighteen, as executors of his will. He revoked and made void every former will he had made, declaring this one alone to be his last. In witness of this he set his hand and seal on the day and year already written. It was signed by John Robinson. The will was signed, sealed, published and declared by the testator as his last will and testament in the presence of the witnesses, who at his request signed their names in the presence of each other. The witnesses were David Kay, John Sample and Elisha Peacke senior.
236	219	my aforesaid Sons Richard & Matthews & Daughter Elizabeth or to the Survivor or Survivers of them should such an event happen before my said Sons arrive at the Age of twenty and Years or Daughter at that Age or Marriage). And my will and meaning is that so soon as my aforesaid Children shall arrive at Age as aforesaid they shall have it in their power to will and dispose of this part of my Estate so bequeathed them as they shall think proper After the Death of my aforesaid Wife Martha. Lastly I nominate Constitute and appoint my beloved Wife the said Martha Executrix and my Good Friends, Messrs Matthew Bazett Henry Bazett & Wm Webber Doveton Executors to this my last will & Testament utterly revoking disannulling and making void all former wills here before made Ratifying and confirming this to be my last In witness whereof I have hereunto set my & Seal this 2d Day of February in the Year of our Lord 1793 & the 2d of his Majestys Reign Signed sealed & declared by the Testator & as, for his last will & Testament in the presence of Wm Webbe Doveton, Ruffin Shepherd Wm Fagenes (Signed) Isaac Doveton In the Name of God. Amen I Lydia Denty late of Berhampore in the province of Bengal in the East Indies but now of the Island St Helena /Wife of Jas Denty of Berhampore in the Province of Bengal Esqr) being Weak in Body but perfect in mind, memory and understanding do make and Declare this to be my last Will and Testament in manner following that is to say I give and bequeath to my two Sons Henry Francis & Jas Henry Dundas the Sum of Two	Isaac Doveton gave this part of his estate to his sons Richard and Matthew and his daughter Elizabeth, or to the survivors of them, should any die before his sons reached the age of twenty-one or his daughter reached that age or married. He wished that, as soon as his children came of age, they be free to dispose of this part of his estate by will as they thought proper, after the death of his wife Martha. Lastly, he named and appointed his wife Martha executrix, and his good friends Matthew Bazett, Henry Bazett and Mr William Webber Doveton executors of his will. He revoked and made void every former will he had made, confirming this one alone to be his last. In witness of this he set his hand and seal on 2 February 1793, in the thirty-third year of the reign of the King. The will was signed, sealed and declared by the testator as his last will and testament in the presence of the witnesses. It was signed by Isaac Doveton. The witnesses were Mr William Webber Doveton, Griffin Shepherd and William Fagunes. A further will followed, opening in the name of God. Lydia Denty, formerly of Berhampore in the province of Bengal in the East Indies but now of the island of St Helena, was the wife of James Denty of Berhampore in the province of Bengal. She was weak in body but of sound mind, memory and understanding, and made her last will and testament in the manner following. She gave and bequeathed to her two sons Henry Francis and James Henry Dundas the sum of 2,000 rupees, which she was legally entitled to. **Interpretations** The presence of a will from Bengal on St Helena marks the island's place on the great artery of the Company's Indian trade. Lydia Denty and her husband belonged to Berhampore, a Company station in Bengal, and her being on St Helena, whether in passage home or resident for a time, shows how people and property moved along the route between India and Britain with the island as a waypoint, its probate records catching the affairs of those the sea-lanes carried through. Her estate was reckoned in rupees, the currency of Bengal, rather than in sterling, which reflects

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		thousand Pounds which I am legally entitled unto by	where her property lay and where her sons would look to receive it. A legacy of 2,000 rupees pointed to money held or owed in India, and the sum's expression in Indian coin shows that the wealth passing under this will belonged to the Bengal world the family came from, to be gathered and paid in the currency of the province rather than converted to English money. The care to note that the 2,000 rupees was money she was legally entitled to hints at the particular position of a married woman's property. At common law a wife's property generally fell to her husband, so a sum she could dispose of by her own will implied a separate entitlement secured to her, perhaps under a marriage settlement or by the custom governing property in the Indian establishments, marking this as her own to give rather than her husband's to command.
237	220	by Virtue of one Deed of Settlement bearing Date on or about the first Day of November 1789 and made between the aforesaid James Denty Esqr of the first Part Thos Philips Esq of the Second and Hugh Innes and John Winwood Esqr of the third part reference being thereto had will more fully and at large appear, the Interest of which said Sum I desire that the aforesaid James Denty, Esqr may receive for the purpose of Educating and maintaining my aforesaid two Children untill they attain the age of twenty one Years, at which time I desire they may be legally possessed of the aforesaid legacy, And as for all the rest of my worldly Effects that I am possessed of in this Island I give the same and every part thereof unto my Mother Eleanor Shortly my two Sisters Mary and Catherine and my Brother John to be equally divided between them Share and Share alike Lastly I constitute and appoint Lord Palmistor of the City of London Sole Executor of this my last Will and Testament hereby revoking and making Void all other Wills by me at any time heretofore made and declare this only to be my last Will and Testament In Witness whereof I have set my hand & seal this 6 March 1790 Signed L Denty Signed Sealed and delivered by the Testatrix as and for her last Will and Testament in the presence of us who in her presence at her request and in the presence of each other have subscribed our names as Witnesses Signed John Sampbell A Slatham Geo Mead	Lydia Denty held this sum under a deed of settlement dated on or about 1 November 1789, made between her husband James Denty of the first part, Thomas Philips of the second part and Hugh Innes and John Winwood of the third part, to which reference could be had. She wished her husband James Denty to receive the interest on the sum, to educate and maintain her two children until they reached the age of twenty-one, at which time she wished them to be legally possessed of the legacy. All the rest of her worldly effects that she possessed on the island she gave to her mother Eleanor Shirtly, her two sisters Mary and Catherine and her brother John, to be divided equally between them, share and share alike. Lastly, she named and appointed Lord Palmiston of the city of London sole executor of her will. She revoked and made void every former will she had made, declaring this one alone to be her last. In witness of this she set her hand and seal on 6 March 1790. The will was signed, sealed and delivered by the testatrix as her last will and testament in the presence of the witnesses, who at her request signed their names in her presence and in the presence of each other. The witnesses were John Campbell, A. Statham and George Mead. **Interpretations** The deed of settlement of 1 November 1789 explains how Lydia Denty came to hold property she could dispose of by her own will. A settlement executed in three parts, with her husband on one side and trustees on the others, was the standard means of securing money to a married woman beyond her husband's control. The trustees held the fund for her separate use, which is why she, a wife, could direct both the capital to her children and the interest to their upbringing, the settlement having lifted the property out of the ordinary rule that gave a wife's estate to her husband. The arrangement that the husband receive only the interest, and that too earmarked for the children's education and maintenance, while the capital was reserved to the children at twenty-one, kept the settled fund intact across a generation. The father was given the income as the natural person to raise the children, but was barred from touching the principal, which passed untouched to the sons on their majority, a structure that used the trust to provide for the children's rearing while preserving their inheritance whole. The choice of a peer resident in London as sole executor, in place of anyone on the island or in India, tied the administration of the will to the metropolis where influence and reach could best serve an estate scattered across the Company's world. A woman with

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			property in Bengal, effects on St Helena and children to be provided for named an executor at the imperial centre, a striking reliance on rank and metropolitan standing to gather and settle an estate whose parts lay far apart.
238	221	In the Name of God. Amen I James Greentree Captain in the Service of the Honorable United East India Company at the Island of St Helena being Weak of Body but of Sound and Disposing mind Memory and understanding /Blessed be God for the Same/ Do make Publish and Declare this my last Will and Testament in the manner and form following /that is to say/ Imprimis I commend my Soul to Almighty God my Creator and my Body I Commit to the Earth to be decently interred at the Descretion of my Executrix and Executors hereinafter named, And as to my Worldly Estate wherewith it hath pleased God to bless me with, after discharging my just Debts and Funeral Expences I give and bequeath the Same as follows Item I give and bequeath to my Wife Margaret Greentree the use of my Dwelling House in the Country with the Lands adjoining consisting of fourty four Acres Leasehold and twenty Acres Freehold together with my Goat Range at Simon Vally /Goats accepted during her Widowhood or natural life so long as she remains on but in case she should Marry again, or leave this Island this Island/ then direct the same to be Sold by Public Auction and disposed of as hereinafter mentioned and my Will and meaning is that as soon after my Decease as possible an Inventory to be taken of my Estate both Real and Personal and my Wifes thirds be fully paid from that Part thereof considered as personal not including the House and Land already alotted for her Support during the my Widow, but should she chuse to leave the Island & sell my Cottage for of ap doing so in this Island time she shall remain upon the Island. In that Case I direct as before said House and Land to set apart for her maintenance to Sell and one Third part of the Personal Hirss be fully paid her. When the whole I Will and direct that she be intitled to one Third part of all my Personal Estate. Item I also give and bequeath to my said wife Margaret One Woman Slave named Lucy Senior, one Girl Slave named Betty and one Boy Slave named Frank also a Silver Sugar Basin and a Silver Cream pot neither of which are to be considered as part of my Personal Estate. Item	A will followed, opening in the name of God. James Greentree, captain in the service of the Honourable United East India Company at the island of St Helena, was weak in body but of sound mind, memory and understanding, for which he thanked God. He made, published and declared his last will and testament in the manner following. He committed his soul to Almighty God his Creator and his body to the earth, to be decently buried at the discretion of his executrix and executors. As for his worldly estate, once his lawful debts and funeral expenses were discharged, he set out its disposal. He gave and bequeathed to his wife Margaret Greentree the use of his dwelling house in the country, together with the lands adjoining, consisting of forty-four acres of leasehold and twenty acres of freehold, and his goat range at Simon Valley with the goats, for the rest of her widowhood and life, so long as she remained on the island. Should she remarry or leave the island, he directed the same be sold at public auction and disposed of as set out below. He wished that, as soon as possible after his death, an inventory be taken of his estate, both real and personal, and his wife's third be paid from the personal part, not including the house and land already allotted for her support while she remained on the island. Should she instead choose to leave the island, he directed that the house and land be set apart for her maintenance, and one third of the personal estate be paid to her, so that she be entitled to one third of all his personal estate. He gave and bequeathed to his wife Margaret one woman slave named Lucy senior, one girl slave named Betty and one boy slave named Frank, and also a silver sugar basin and a silver cream pot, none of which was to be counted part of his personal estate. **Interpretations** The estate combined leasehold and freehold in a single working farm, forty-four acres held on lease and twenty owned outright, run together with a goat range as one agricultural unit. The mixture of tenures shows how a St Helena holding was built up from land held on different terms from the Company, the leasehold and freehold worked as one whether the title was permanent or for a term, and the whole passing together to support the widow as a going concern. The three slaves given to the widow, Lucy senior, Betty and Frank, were set apart from the personal estate along with the silver plate, so that they should not be counted in the reckoning that fixed her one-third share. By excluding these particular slaves and valuables from the general inventory, the testator gave them to his wife over and above her third rather than as part of it, marking them as a separate personal provision, the enslaved people ranked for this purpose alongside the family silver as choice possessions reserved to her outright. The widow's provision was made to turn on whether she stayed on the island, giving her the house and land for her life only so long as she remained, but converting her interest to a money third should she leave or remarry. This tied her enjoyment of the land to her continued presence on St Helena, since land she abandoned or carried to a new husband could not easily serve the family, and the scheme offered her a choice between remaining

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			to hold the property or departing with a share of its value in cash.
239	222	Item I give and bequeath to my Mother Mrs Margaret Greentree now in England the Sum of five hundred pounds Item I give and bequeath unto my Neice Caroline Dent Daughter of Sir Digby Dent the Sum of Fifty pounds Item I give and bequeath unto my Sister Charlotte Wife of Wyatt Esqr now at Bengall the Sum of Fifty pounds for her Seperate Use and Benefit, and which I request She will accept of as a small token of the Affection I bear her Item I give and bequeath to a Boy named Robert Greentree, alias Ken about nine Years of Age /now in England Son of my said Wife Margaret two Acres of land part of twenty One Acres and half of Freehold Land lying under high Peak immediately after my decease the said two Acres of Land abutting upon the Lands of John Bagley Junior and of the Honorable, The said Child Robert being born in Wedlock that is within three Weeks after my Marriage with my said Wife Margaret, but God and Man well know I could not have begotten him and she declaring that I was not nor could be the Father of the said Robert, these Reasons will I hope appear to the world full and Sufficient for my only bequesting him this small part of my Estate Item The rest residue and remainder of my Estate both Real and Personal not allready disposed of I direct to be sold at Public Auction immediately after my decease and the Monies Arising therefrom I give and devise to be equally divided between my Sister Bridget /the Wife of Robarts Cain now in England and my Brothers Watkin and Thomas Greentree in Trust and for the use and benefit of their respective Children as they shall severally arrive at the Age of twenty One Years or Marriage which shall first happen Lastly I nominate Constitute and appoint my said Wife Margaret Executrix and my said Brothers Watkin and Thomas Greentree Executors to this my last Will and Testament hereby revoking and making Void all former and other Will or Wills by me at any time heretofore made and hereby declaring this to be my last	James Greentree gave and bequeathed to his mother Mrs Margaret Greentree, now in England, the sum of £500 0s 0d. He gave and bequeathed to his niece Caroline Dent, daughter of Sir Digby Dent, the sum of £50 0s 0d. He gave and bequeathed to his sister Charlotte, wife of Wyatt and now at Bengal, the sum of £50 0s 0d for her sole and separate use and benefit, which he hoped she would accept as a small token of the affection he bore her. He gave and bequeathed to a boy named Robert Greentree, otherwise Kerr, about nine years of age and now in England, son of his wife Margaret, two acres of land, part of twenty-one and a half acres of freehold lying under High Peak, immediately after his death, the two acres abutting on the lands of John Bagley senior and of the Company. He set down that Robert had been born in wedlock, within three weeks after his marriage with his wife Margaret, but that God and man well knew he could not have begotten him, and that she herself declared he was not and could not be the father of Robert. For these reasons he hoped it would appear full and sufficient why he left the boy only this small part of his estate. All the rest, residue and remainder of his estate, both real and personal, not already disposed of, he directed be sold at public auction immediately after his death. The money raised he gave and devised to be divided equally between his sister Bridget, wife of Robartes Cann, now in England, and his brothers Watkin and Thomas Greentree, in trust for the use and benefit of their respective children as each should reach the age of twenty-one or marry, whichever came first. Lastly, he named and appointed his wife Margaret executrix, and his brothers Watkin and Thomas Greentree executors of his will. He revoked and made void every former will he had made, declaring this one alone to be his last. **Interpretations** The passage records a plain declaration of a child's illegitimacy set into the will itself, the testator stating that the boy Robert, though born in wedlock only three weeks after the marriage, was not his son, on the mother's own admission. A child born to a married woman was presumed in law to be her husband's, and by expressly disowning paternity and giving his reasons, the testator sought to rebut that presumption and to justify cutting the boy off with a bare two acres, the will made to carry the personal disavowal that explained the meagre gift. The provision for the wife's sister at Bengal, given for her sole and separate use, again reflects the family's spread across the Company's territories and the device used to secure money to a married woman. Charlotte lay in Bengal with a husband, and the gift settled to her separate use was meant to reach her own hands rather than her husband's, the same trust mechanism that recurs in these wills to keep a legacy clear of the marital right that would otherwise have swept it to the husband. The bulk of the estate was left not to the testator's siblings outright but to them in trust for their children, tying the property up for the next generation rather than enriching the brothers and sister themselves. By directing that each sibling hold their share for their own children until those children came of age, the testator turned his estate into a set of family trusts reaching past his living kin to their offspring, a settlement that looked to establish the

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			wider family's children rather than merely dividing the money among adults. **Speculations** Greentree chose to set out in the will itself, in blunt and personal terms, the reasons for leaving the boy Robert almost nothing, rather than simply making the small gift and staying silent as a testator freely could. The page shows why the plain course was passed over: a child born in wedlock was the husband's heir in the eyes of the law, so a bare two-acre gift without explanation invited challenge on the boy's behalf. By reciting the timing of the birth, his own denial and the mother's admission, Greentree built into the document the evidence to defend the disinheritance, preferring a public declaration that wounded to a quiet gift that might later be overturned.
240	223	Will and Testament In Witness whereof I have to this day my said last Will and Testament contained in this one Sheet of Paper set my Seal and Subscribed my name this twenty Seventh day of June in the Year of our Lord one thousand Seven hundred and Nine and in the thirtieth year of the Reign of King George the Third Signed Sealed Published and declared by the said Captain James Greentree the Testator as and for his last Will and Testament in the presence of in his presence and us who at his request and in the presence of each other have subscribed our names as Witnesses hereto the Several Interlineations of One Girl Slave named Betty and the word Freehold being first made Signed Signed James Greentree W W Doveton Jno Doveton Jack Gill Gooding	James Greentree set down that his will was contained in this one sheet of paper, to which he set his seal and signed his name on 27 June 1789, in the thirtieth year of the reign of King George the Third. The will was signed, sealed, published and declared by Captain James Greentree as his last will and testament in the presence of the witnesses, who at his request signed their names in his presence and in the presence of each other. It was signed by James Greentree. A note recorded that the interlineations of a girl slave named Betty and of the word freehold had been made before signing. The witnesses were William Webber Doveton, John Doveton and Jack Gibbs Gooding.
241	224	In the Name of God Amen, I Robert Ballard of the Island St Helena Planter being of sound and disposing Mind and Memory do make and ordain this my last Will and Testament in manner and form following. That is to say. Imprimis I will that all my Debts and funeral Expences be paid and Discharged by my Executors and Executrix hereafter Named Item I give and Bequeath all my Worldly Goods and Chattels to the use and possession of my dearly beloved Wife Elizabeth Ballard of the said Island during her life, and at her Decease the one half to be Disposed of in such manner as She shall think proper. The other half to be Devided between my two Sisters Mary Brown living at Broome in the County of Norfolk, and Ann Beer living at Martham near Elsham in the same County, to their Heirs and Successors for ever. Item I give and Bequeath to my Neice Mary Murphy of London living near the Seven Dials in Nottingham Court Kings Street, Twenty five pounds to paid to her after the Decease of my said Wife out of that part of the	A will followed, opening in the name of God. Robert Ballard of the island of St Helena, planter, was of sound mind and memory. He made and ordained his last will and testament in the manner following. He directed that all his debts and funeral expenses be paid and discharged by his executors and executrix. He gave and bequeathed all his worldly goods and chattels to the use and possession of his dearly beloved wife Elizabeth Ballard of the island for her life. On her death one half was to be disposed of as she thought proper, and the other half divided between his two sisters Mary Brown, living at Broome in the county of Norfolk, and Ann Beer, living at Markham near Eltham in the same county, and their heirs for ever. He gave and bequeathed to his niece Mary Murphy of London, living near the Seven Dials in Nottingham Court, King Street, £25 0s 0d, to be paid to her after his wife's death out of the part of the estate left to Mary Brown. Should Mary Brown and Ann Beer die, their several parts were to be divided equally among their heirs, share and share alike. Lastly, he named and appointed his good friends Robert Leech, Caleb Broadway and John Campbell, together with his wife, as executors and executrix of his will. He revoked and annulled every former will he had made. In witness of this he set his hand and

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		Estate left to the above Mary Brown. And in case of the Decease of the said Mary Brown and Ann Beer, their several parts to be divided among their Heirs & Successors equally, share and share alike Lastly I constitute and appoint my good Friends Robert Leech, Caleb Broadway and John Sampell together with my said Wife to be whole and Sole Executors and Executrix of this my last Will and Testament Utterly revoking and Disannulling all Wills by me at any time heretofore made. In Witness whereof I have hereunto set my Hand and Seal this twenty third Day of September in the Year of Our Lord One thousand Seven hundred and Eighty Eight Signed Robt Ballard Signed Sealed and Delivered by the Testator and for his last Will and Testament in the presence of Us. Signed James Pritchard Willm Pijolers Thos Leech	seal on 23 September 1788. It was signed by Robert Ballard. The will was signed, sealed and delivered by the testator as his last will and testament in the presence of the witnesses. The witnesses were James Pritchard, William Peplers and Thomas Leech. **Interpretations** The bequest reached back across the ocean to fix its beneficiaries by their English parishes, naming the villages in Norfolk and the London district where the testator's sisters and niece lived. A planter settled on St Helena kept his family ties to the English counties he had come from, and the precise recital of Broome, Markham near Eltham and the Seven Dials served to identify exactly who should take and where they could be found, so that the machinery of settlement could carry the legacies home to kin the testator had likely not seen in years. The wife took the whole estate for her life, with power to dispose of one half as she pleased on her death, the other half being fixed on the testator's sisters. This gave the widow both a comfortable life interest and a genuine testamentary power over part of the property, a generous provision that trusted her with the disposal of half the estate after her own death, while reserving the remaining half to the testator's blood relations in England. The small legacy to the niece Mary Murphy was charged specifically on the share left to her mother Mary Brown, rather than on the estate at large. By loading the £25 0s 0d onto the mother's portion, the testator kept the gift within that branch of the family, so that the niece was in effect provided for out of what her own mother received, a neat arrangement that settled a legacy on the younger woman without diminishing the shares of the other beneficiaries.
242	225	In the Name of God Amen I Joseph Whaley, of the Island St Helena Carpenter Mate being very Sick and Weak in Body, but of perfect Mind and Memory, thanks be given to God for it, calling to Mind the Mortality of my Body, and Knowing that it is appointed for all Men once to Die, Do make and ordain this my last Will and Testament, that is to say Principally and first of All I give and recommend my Soul into the Hand of Almighty God that gave it, and my Body I recommend to the Earth to be buried in Decent Christian Burial at the Discretion of my Executor nothing Doubting but at the general Resurrection I shall receive the Same again by the mighty Power of God. And as touching such Wordly Estate wherewith it has Pleased God to bless me, I give Demise and Dispose of the same in the following Manner and form. First I give and Bequeath to Charles Isacke and Margaret Isacke Son and Daughter of my beloved friend Gabriel Isacke master Carpenter of the said Island, The Sum of one hundred Pounds to be equally Divided between them, Share and Share alike, and the Remainder of what I die possessed being chiefly in what I imagine to be bad Debts, But if they can be Obtained by my Executors to be equally Distributed to the above Charles and Margaret Isacke. Secondly I give and bequeath to the said Gabriel Isacke my two Silver Watches for his own Use or so Appropriated by him as he shall think proper as also my wearing Apparel to be by him apply'd to the Use and Service	A will followed, opening in the name of God. Joseph Whaley, carpenter's mate of the island of St Helena, was very sick and weak in body but of sound mind and memory, for which he thanked God. Mindful that all men must die, he made and ordained his last will and testament in the manner following. He first committed his soul to Almighty God who gave it and his body to the earth, to be given decent Christian burial at the discretion of his executors, in sure hope of rising again at the general resurrection. As for his worldly estate, with which it had pleased God to bless him, he set out its disposal. He gave and bequeathed to Charles Isaacs and Margaret Isaacs, son and daughter of his beloved friend Gabriel Isaacs, master carpenter of the island, the sum of £100 0s 0d, to be divided equally between them, share and share alike. The remainder of what he possessed, being chiefly in what he imagined to be bad debts, was, should his executors be able to recover it, to be divided equally between Charles and Margaret Isaacs. He gave and bequeathed to Gabriel Isaacs his two silver watches, for his own use or to be disposed of as he thought proper, and also his wearing apparel, to be applied to the use of his slaves in whatever manner Isaacs thought most proper and convenient. Lastly, he named and appointed Gabriel Isaacs and William Peplers as executors. **Interpretations** The testator's own doubt about his estate, describing the bulk of what he left as debts he imagined to be bad, marks the precarious footing of a working seaman's fortune. Much of what such a man was owed might never be collected, scattered among debtors hard to trace or unable to pay, and his frank acknowledgement that the recovery was uncertain, coupled with the direction that his executors take

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		of his Servants in what manner he shall think most proper and Convenient. Thirdly and lastly I do make Constitute and Ordain the aforementioned Gabriel Isacke and William Peploe Executors	what they could get, shows an estate resting more on hopeful claims than on solid property. The gift of the dead man's wearing apparel to be applied to the use of his friend's slaves shows worn clothing treated as a resource to be passed down to the enslaved. A carpenter's mate's coats and shirts had a real value in a place where cloth was dear, and by directing that his clothes go to clothe another man's slaves, the testator disposed of even his personal garments as useful property, the enslaved standing at the receiving end of a modest man's cast-off effects. The naming of a master carpenter as the friend whose children were the chief beneficiaries places the testator within the community of the island's skilled tradesmen. A carpenter's mate and a master carpenter shared a craft and a station, and the leaving of the estate to the master's children, along with tools of remembrance like the silver watches to the man himself, reflects the bonds of trade and friendship that bound these working men together on the small island.
243	226	Executors of this my last Will and Testament, and I do hereby utterly Disallow Revoke and Disannul all other Wills, Legacies, Bequests and Executors, by me in any wise before Named Willed and Bequeathed, Ratifying and Confirming this and no Other to be my last Will and Testament In Witness whereof I have hereunto set my Hand and Seal this Ninth Day of November in the Year of our Lord one Thousand Seven Hundred and Ninety one Signed Sealed Published and Declared by the said Joseph Whaley as his last Will and Testament /Where no Stamps are to be had/ in the Presence of us Who in his Presence, and in the Presence of each other have hereunto subscribed our Names (Signed) Joseph Whaley (Signed) Thos Leech Joshua Hayes In the Name of God Amen. I Ann Seale Wife of Francis Seale of the Island of St Helena being through the abundant Mercy and Goodness of God tho weak in Body, yet of a sound and perfect understanding and Memory, do constitute this my last will and Testament, and desire it may be received by all as such. Imprimis I most humbly bequeath my Soul to God my Maker beseeching his most gracious acceptance of it through the all sufficient Merits and Mediation of my most compassionate Redeemer Jesus Christ, who gave himself to be an atonement for my Sins, and is able to save, to the attonement of all that come unto God by him, seeing he ever liveth to make intercession for them, and who I trust will not reject me a returning penitent Sinner, when I come to him for mercy in	Joseph Whaley named these men executors of his will, and revoked and annulled every other will, legacy and bequest he had made, confirming this one alone to be his last. In witness of this he set his hand and seal on 9 November 1791. The will was signed, sealed, published and declared by Joseph Whaley as his last will and testament, in a place where no stamped paper was to be had, in the presence of the witnesses, who signed their names in his presence and in the presence of each other. It was signed by Joseph Whaley. The witnesses were Thomas Leech and Joshua Hayes. A further will followed, opening in the name of God. Ann Seale, wife of Francis Seale of the island of St Helena, was weak in body but of sound mind and understanding, through the mercy and goodness of God. She made her last will and testament and wished it to be honoured by all. She committed her soul to God her Maker, in hope of his acceptance through the merits and mediation of her Redeemer Jesus Christ, who gave himself as an atonement for sinners and ever lived to intercede for them, and who she trusted would not reject a returning penitent sinner who came to him for mercy. **Interpretations** The making of a will by a married woman, Ann Seale describing herself as the wife of a living husband, marks an uncommon act at a time when a wife's property generally belonged to her husband and she could rarely dispose of anything by will. That she made a testament at all points to her having property secured to her separate use, whether by settlement or by her husband's consent, without which a married woman had nothing of her own to give and no power to give it. The unusually full religious opening, dwelling at length on penitence, atonement and the mediation of Christ, sets this will apart from the brief and formulaic commendations of the soul that open most of the others. The extended profession of faith reflects a more earnest and personal piety, or the hand of a testatrix who wished her spiritual hope set down as fully as her worldly dispositions, marking the document with a devotional character that the plainer merchants' and seamen's wills lack.
244	227	in this hope and confidence I render up my Soul with comfort, humbly beseeching the most blessed and glorious Trinity, one God most holy most merciful and gracious to prepare me for the time of my Dissolution, and then to take me to himself into that Peace and rest, and incomparable Felicity, which he has prepared	In this hope Ann Seale gave up her soul with comfort, humbly beseeching the most blessed Trinity, one God, to prepare her for the time of her death and then to take her to himself into that peace, rest and incomparable happiness prepared for all who loved and feared his holy name.

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		for all that love and fear his holy Name, Amen blessed be God. Imprimis I give my Body to the earth, in full assurance of its resurrection from thence at the last Day. As for my Burial, I desire it may be decent, with out Pomp or state, at the Discretion of my Dear Son and Daughter and my Executors hereafter named, who I doubt not will manage it with all requisite prudence as to my worldly Estate, I will and order, that my Debts if any be paid. Item I give to my Dear and loving Daughter Ann Desfountain two Maid Servants one by the Name of Dolly and the other Sysby, and also the Child born of Sysby by the Name of Monimia &c, and all my Furniture, Cloaths & and every thing else that unto me belongeth I give unto my Dear Daughter with the beforementioned pounds for ever and do constitute and appoint Lieutenant John Desfountain and Mrs Willm Seale Executors of this my last Will and Testament In witness whereof I have hereunto set my Hand and Seal this 14 Day of April, in the Year of our Lord 1792. Witnesses (Signed) Ann Seale (Signed) Jno C Dunn John Turner his mark Jno Salisbury In	She gave her body to the earth, in full assurance of its resurrection at the last day. She wished her burial to be decent, without pomp or state, at the discretion of her son and daughter and her executors, whom she trusted to manage it with all fitting prudence. As for her worldly estate, she directed that her debts be paid. She gave to her dear and loving daughter Ann Desfountain two maid servants, one named Dolly and the other Sisby, and also the child born of Sisby, named Monimia, together with all her furniture, clothes and everything else belonging to her. She gave all this to her daughter, with the money already mentioned, for ever. She named and appointed Lieutenant John Desfountain and Mrs William Seale executors of her will. In witness of this she set her hand and seal on 14 April 1792. It was signed by Ann Seale. The witnesses were John C. Dunn, John Turner, who made his mark, and John Salisbury. **Interpretations** The three enslaved people left to the daughter, the two maidservants Dolly and Sisby and Sisby's child Monimia, passed as a family group from one woman to another within the household. The inclusion of the child born to Sisby shows the increase of an enslaved woman treated as the property of her owner, the infant following its mother into the daughter's hands, a plain instance of how the children of the enslaved were counted among a testatrix's chattels and handed down with them. The direction for a burial without pomp or state, set within an otherwise deeply devout will, marks a deliberate plainness in the face of death. Where some of means made much of funeral display, this testatrix wished her interment decent but modest, a choice that accords with the earnest and unworldly piety running through her will, and that left the small expense of a showy funeral to swell the estate passing to her daughter instead. The estate of this married woman consisted of slaves, furniture and personal effects given wholly to her daughter, property she plainly held as her own to dispose of despite her husband being alive. That she could pass enslaved people and goods by her own will confirms she held them to her separate use, and the direction of the whole to a daughter rather than through the husband shows a woman exercising a real and independent power over property secured to her against the ordinary marital right.
245	228	In the Name of God Amen I James Easthope of this Island St Helena Planter being of sound and perfect mind and Memory and calling to remembrance the uncertain Estate of this transitory life, and that all Flesh must yeald unto Death, when it shall please God to call, I do make and declare this my last Will and Testament revoking and making Void all former Wills by me made. Do declare this only to be my last Will and Testament in manner and form following (viz) My Body I commit to the Earth to be decently buried at the Direction of my Executors /hereafter named And for the selling of my Temporal Estate, After my Funeral Expences, and just Debts are paid, I do order give and dispose of the same in manner and form following, that is to say. Item I give and bequeath unto Elizabeth Easthope my Wife during the Term of her natural Life my Dwelling House and furniture in Sandy Bay seven Acres of Free Land /called the Old House/ together with eight Acres of Lease Land thereunto adjoining, for her	A will followed, opening in the name of God. James Easthope of the island of St Helena, planter, was of sound and perfect mind and memory. Mindful of the uncertainty of this passing life and that all flesh must yield to death when God should call, he made and declared his last will and testament. He revoked and made void every former will he had made, declaring this one alone to be his last, in the manner following. He committed his body to the earth, to be decently buried at the discretion of his executors. As for his worldly estate, once his funeral expenses and lawful debts were paid, he set out its disposal. He gave and bequeathed to his wife Elizabeth Easthope, for the rest of her life, his dwelling house and furniture in Sandy Bay, seven acres of freehold land called the Old House, together with eight acres of leasehold land adjoining, for her use, benefit and possession during her lifetime. He also gave her the full and entire right and property in all the cattle and every other kind of stock that should be on the premises at his death. He also gave her the full right and property in his slave girl named Pat, to do with

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		use benefit and possession during the aforesaid period of her lifetime. I also give and bequeath unto the said Elizabeth Easthope the full and entire right and property of all the Cattle and every other species of Stock that shall be upon the pumices at my decease, also the full right and property of my Slave Girl named Pat to do with her and dispose of as she may think proper. I also give and bequeath unto the said Elizabeth Easthope During the Term of her natural Life only the Service and use of my other three Slaves, Vizt Helen a Woman Sysby a Woman and Sam a man Slave	and dispose of as she thought proper. He also gave Elizabeth Easthope, for the rest of her life only, the service and use of his other three slaves, namely Helen, a woman, Sisby, a woman, and Sam, a man slave. **Interpretations** The will drew a careful distinction between two kinds of interest in the enslaved people it disposed of. The slave girl Pat was given to the widow absolutely, as her full property to keep or dispose of as she wished, while Helen, Sisby and Sam were granted only for the widow's life, their service and use hers until her death, after which they would pass elsewhere. The difference between outright ownership of one and a mere life interest in the others shows how an enslaved person's whole future could turn on a single phrase, one made a permanent possession and three held only for a term. The land came in the now familiar mixture of tenures, seven acres of freehold and eight of leasehold worked together as one holding at Sandy Bay. The estate passed to the widow as a going agricultural concern, house, land, cattle and stock together, the whole meant to support her during her life, which reflects the settled pattern of these island farms built from land held on differing terms but run as a single unit. The widow's life interest in the land and the three slaves, set against her absolute ownership of the girl Pat and the stock, worked to keep the bulk of the estate available to pass on after her death while still providing fully for her during her life. She had the use of the farm and the labour of most of the slaves while she lived, but only the girl and the movable stock to dispose of freely, an arrangement that maintained the widow generously without letting the main body of the property leave the testator's intended line.
246	229	Slave At and upon the Death of the said Elizabeth Easthope I give and bequeath unto Mary Den Taffe /Daughter to Mr Andrew Den Taffe Lieut in the Service of the East India Company for this Island/ the said Dwelling House in Sandy Bay, the said Eleven Acres of Freeland called the Old House togeather with the said eight acres of lease land thereunto adjoining. And I Will and Declare that at the said period of the Death of the said Elizabeth Easthope, The said Mary Den Taffe shall become my Heir and Successor subject and liable to the Conditions and payments hereafter Mentioned I give and bequeath unto Frederick Seale my God-Son the Sum of five pounds I give unto Thomas Harper of Peak-Gut the Sum of five pounds I give and bequeath unto the Daughters of Mr Nathaniel Kennedy Vizt Elizabeth, Mary, Louisa, Ann & Charlotte, the Sum of five pounds each I give unto the Children of Mr John Bagley Junr Vizt Elizabeth, Mary, Charlotte and John, the Sum of five Pounds each I give and bequeath unto the Daughters of the late William Young /Vizt Elizabeth Ann, Mary /now Mrs Alexander/ Margaret /now Mrs Roberts/ Sarah and Martha /now Mrs Torbett the Sum of Five Pounds each And it is my Will and desire that at the Decease of the said Elizabeth Easthope the aforesaid Slave Women Helen and Sophy and Slave Man Sam shall be sold having at	On the death of his wife Elizabeth Easthope, James Easthope gave and bequeathed to Mary Den Taffe, daughter of Mr Andrew Den Taffe, lieutenant in the service of the East India Company for the island, the dwelling house in Sandy Bay, the eleven acres of freehold called the Old House, together with the eight acres of leasehold adjoining. He declared that on Elizabeth Easthope's death Mary Den Taffe should become his heir, subject to the conditions and payments set out below. He gave and bequeathed to Frederick Seale, his godson, the sum of £5 0s 0d. He gave to Thomas Harper of Peak Gut the sum of £5 0s 0d. He gave and bequeathed to the daughters of Mr Nathaniel Kennedy, namely Elizabeth, Mary, Laura, Ann and Charlotte, the sum of £5 0s 0d each. He gave to the children of Mr John Bagley junior, namely Elizabeth, Mary, Charlotte and John, the sum of £5 0s 0d each. He gave and bequeathed to the daughters of the late William Young, namely Elizabeth, Ann, Mary now Mrs Alexander, Margaret now Mrs Roberts, Sarah and Martha now Mrs Torbett, the sum of £5 0s 0d each. He wished that, on the death of Elizabeth Easthope, the slave women Helen and Sisby and the slave man Sam be sold. **Interpretations** The estate passed not to a child of the testator but to the daughter of a Company lieutenant, Mary Den Taffe, who was made his heir subject to charges laid on the property. The choice of an outsider's daughter as the taker of the house and land, rather than kin, suggests a bond of friendship or obligation to the Den Taffe family, and the burdening of her inheritance with money payments shows the estate

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			settled on her as a working asset from which the testator's many small legacies were to be met. The recurrence of the same island families as the objects of the £5 0s 0d legacies, the Kennedys, Bagleys, Youngs and their married daughters, maps the close society of St Helena's settled households. The tracing of the Young daughters through their married names, now Mrs Alexander, Mrs Roberts and Mrs Torbett, shows how the island's families intermarried and how a testator moved within a familiar circle of neighbours whose children and marriages he knew, spreading small remembrances across the community he belonged to. The direction that Helen, Sisby and Sam be sold on the widow's death, having been granted to her only for her life, exposes the hard logic of a life interest in enslaved people. Their labour served the widow while she lived, but at her death they were not to pass on with the land or be freed, but turned into money by sale, their value realised for the estate and their lives thrown into fresh uncertainty, a stark reminder that a life interest in a human being ended in that person's sale.
247	230	at the same time permission to chuse their Master Item I give and bequeath unto the Children of John Scott Senior of this Island, the Sum of ten pounds each Vizt Charles & John. at the Death of the aforesaid Elizabeth Easthope All the foregoing Legacys and bequests to come due and payable at the Decease of the said Elizabeth Easthope and not before that period And I do hereby nominate and appoint the said Elizabeth Easthope Executrix, and Messrs John Alexander Junr & Stephen Young to be Executors of this my last Will and Testament. And in consideration of the trouble that may arise in setling the various matters herein contained, I give and bequeath unto the said John Alexander Junr the Sum of twenty five Pounds, and unto the said Stephen Young the Sum of twenty five pounds the same to be paid at the Decease of the said Elizabeth Easthope In Witness hereof I have hereunto set my Hand and Seal this twenty fifth Day of August in the Year of our Lord one thousand seven Hundred and ninety. Sign'd and Seald no Stamp Paper to be had In the presence of. (Signed) James Easthope (Signed) George Alexander Junr Charles Scott. In	James Easthope directed that the slaves sold on his wife's death be given permission at the same time to choose their masters. He gave and bequeathed to the children of John Scott senior of the island, namely Charles and John, the sum of £10 0s 0d each, at the death of his wife Elizabeth Easthope. He directed that all the foregoing legacies and bequests fall due and payable at the death of Elizabeth Easthope, and not before. He named and appointed his wife Elizabeth Easthope executrix, and Messrs John Alexander junior and Stephen Young executors of his will. In consideration of the trouble of settling the various matters in the will, he gave and bequeathed to John Alexander junior the sum of £25 0s 0d, and to Stephen Young the sum of £25 0s 0d, both to be paid at the death of Elizabeth Easthope. In witness of this he set his hand and seal on 25 August 1790. It was signed by James Easthope. The will was signed and sealed in a place where no stamped paper was to be had, in the presence of the witnesses. The witnesses were George Alexander junior and Charles Scott. **Interpretations** The permission given to Helen, Sisby and Sam to choose their own masters at the point of sale softened, without ending, the ordeal of being sold. They remained property to be turned into money on the widow's death, but were spared the powerlessness of an open auction by being allowed to pick the households they entered, the same limited mercy that appears elsewhere in these island wills, an owner's personal discretion mitigating the condition of the enslaved while leaving the fact of their sale untouched. The deferral of every legacy to the death of the widow held the whole estate in suspense during her lifetime, so that no beneficiary took anything until she died. This kept the property intact and working for her support while she lived, the many small gifts and the executors' fees alike waiting on her death, an arrangement that put the widow's maintenance first and postponed the settlement of the estate until the life interest had run its course. The payment of £25 0s 0d to each executor in consideration of the trouble of settling the estate marked the real burden of administering a will laden with conditions, deferred legacies and a life interest to be watched over the years. Such a fee, well above the token sums often left to executors, recognised that these men undertook a genuine and lasting labour,

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			and secured their willingness to serve in an administration that would stretch on until the widow's death.
248	231	In the Name of God Amen I George Hayes of the Island St Helena Planter Being but of an Indifferent State of Health, But of perfect Mind and Memory /Thanks be given to God/ calling to Mind the Mortality of my Body and knowing that it is appointed for all Men once to die Do make and Ordain this my last Will and Testament, That is to say principally and first of all I give and Recommend my Soul into the Hands of Almighty God that gave it. My Body I recom mend to the Earth to be buried in Decent Christian Burial at the Descretion of my Executors hereafter named. Nothing doubting but at the general Resurrection I shall raise the same again by the mighty Power of God And as touching such Worldly Estate wherewith it has pleased God to bless me in this Life, I Give Demise and Dispose in Manner and form following. First I give and bequeath unto my beloved Nephew Thomas Hayes my Woman Slave named Lucy together with her Child, and my Man Slave named James Also to William Burnham son of Thomas Burnham of the said Island Planter Ten Pounds and in Case of his Demise He being at the time of the Date of this in the East Indies the said Sum of Ten Pounds to be equally divided Between William Hayes Thomas Hayes Eleanor Hayes /now Eleanor Bagley and Elizabeth Hayes my Nephews and Neices and that all the Rest and Residue of my Estate Both Real and Personal be Sold, and equally Devided Between the aforesaid William Hayes Thomas Hayes Eleanor Hayes /now Eleanor Bagley /and Elizabeth Hayes	A will followed, opening in the name of God. George Hayes of the island of St Helena, planter, was in an indifferent state of health but of sound mind and memory, for which he thanked God. Mindful that all men must die, he made and ordained his last will and testament in the manner following. He first committed his soul to Almighty God who gave it and his body to the earth, to be given decent Christian burial at the discretion of his executors, in sure hope of rising again at the general resurrection. As for his worldly estate, with which it had pleased God to bless him, he set out its disposal. He gave and bequeathed to his beloved nephew Thomas Hayes his woman slave named Lucy, together with her child, and his man slave named James. He gave to William Burnham, son of Thomas Burnham of the island, planter, £10 0s 0d. Should Burnham die, being at the date of the will in the East Indies, he directed the £10 0s 0d be divided equally between his nephews and nieces William Hayes, Thomas Hayes, Eleanor Hayes now Eleanor Bagley and Elizabeth Hayes. He directed that all the rest and residue of his estate, both real and personal, be sold and divided equally between William Hayes, Thomas Hayes, Eleanor Hayes now Eleanor Bagley and Elizabeth Hayes. **Interpretations** The woman slave Lucy passed to the nephew together with her child, the infant following its mother as an appurtenance of her rather than a separate legacy. This treatment of an enslaved woman's child as part and parcel of the mother, given with her in a single breath, shows how the natural increase of the enslaved fell automatically to the owner and was handed down with the mother as a matter of course, the child's fate bound to hers in the disposal of the estate. The contingency turning on William Burnham being in the East Indies at the date of the will reflects the constant movement of the island's people around the Company's world. A young man of a St Helena family might be away in India when a relative made his will, his return uncertain, and by providing for the gift to fall to others should he have died abroad, the testator guarded the legacy against the real risk that a beneficiary scattered across the empire might not survive to take it. The direction to sell the residue and divide the proceeds among the four nephews and nieces, rather than parcel out the property itself, again shows the preference for converting an estate to money for an even distribution. Land and goods could not be split exactly among four takers, but cash could, and the sale of the whole followed by an equal division reflects the settled practice in these wills of realising the estate and sharing the money among the heirs.
249	232	Hayes my Nephews and Neices Share and Share alike Lastly I constitute and appoint my beloved Friends Mr John Sampell and Mr William Chamberlain both of the said Island Executors to this my last Will and Testament and I do hereby utterly disallow Revoke and Disannul all & every other Testaments Wills legacies Bequests and Executors by me in any wise before named Willed and bequeathed Ratifying and Confirming this and no other to be my last Will and Testament. In Witness whereof I have hereunto Set my Hand and Seal this twenty ninth Day of April in the Year of our Lord One	George Hayes directed that the residue be shared among his nephews and nieces, share and share alike. Lastly, he named and appointed his beloved friends Mr John Campbell and Mr William Chamberlain, both of the island, as executors of his will. He revoked and annulled every other will, legacy and bequest he had made, confirming this one alone to be his last. In witness of this he set his hand and seal on 29 April 1792. It was signed by George Hayes. The will was signed, sealed, published and declared by George Hayes as his last will and testament, in a place where no stamped paper was to

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		Thousand Seven hundred & Ninety Two Signed Sealed Published and Declared by the said George Hayes as his last Will and testament, Where no Stamps are to be had, in the Presence of us, who in his Presence and in the Presence of each other have hereto subscribed our names Signed George Hayes Signed Matthew Doveton The Mark of Jno Salsbury	be had, in the presence of the witnesses, who signed their names in his presence and in the presence of each other. The witnesses were Matthew Doveton and John Salisbury, who made his mark.
250	233	To all and singular the faithful in Christ. to whom these our present Letters Testimonial shall come or whom the matters herein written do or may hereafter in any wise concern. John by Divine provi dence Archbishop of Canterbury primate of all England and Metropolitan. Send Greeting in our Lord God Everlasting and Will that undoubted faith be given to these presents and do make known and Will that it be hereby made known to you That on searching the Registry of our Prerogative Court of Canterbury in the Archives thereof there well and faithfully preserved and kept we have found and plainly discovered among other things in the same That on the ninth Day of february in the Year of our Lord one thousand Seven Hundred and ninety two at London before the Worshipful John Nicholl Doctor of Laws Surrogate of the Right honourable Sir William Wynne Knight Doctor of Laws Master Keeper or Commissary of our prerogative Court of Canterbury lawfully constituted the last Will and Testament with two Codicils of Jonathan Doveton late of Richmond in the County of Surry Esquire deceased having whilst living and at the time of his Death Goods Chattels or Credits in divers Diverss or Jurisdiction sufficient to found the Jurisdiction of our prerogative Court Canterbury aforesaid was proved approved and Registred and Administration of all and singular the Goods Chattels and Credits of the said Deceased and any way	A set of letters testimonial followed, addressed to all the faithful in Christ to whom they should come or whom the matters written in them might concern. John, Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of all England and Metropolitan, sent greeting in the Lord God everlasting, and asked that full faith be given to the document. He made it known that, on searching the registry of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, well and faithfully preserved in its archives, there had been found and plainly discovered among other things that, on the ninth day of February 1792, at London, before the worshipful John Nichol, Doctor of Laws, surrogate of the right honourable Sir William Wynne, knight, Doctor of Laws, Master Keeper or Commissary of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, the last will and testament with two codicils of Jonathan Doveton, formerly of Richmond in the county of Surrey, esquire, deceased, had been proved, approved and registered. Doveton, while living and at the time of his death, had held goods, chattels or credits in divers dioceses sufficient to found the jurisdiction of the Prerogative Court, and administration of all his goods, chattels and credits had been granted. **Interpretations** The involvement of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury shows a St Helena estate reaching into the highest probate jurisdiction of the English church. That court proved the wills of those who left property in more than one diocese, and a man who died holding goods and credits scattered across several jurisdictions could be proved only there. The recital that Doveton held credits in divers dioceses explains why his will went to Canterbury rather than a local court, and its appearance in the St Helena records shows the island's probate business linked back to the central machinery of English testamentary law. The letters testimonial served as an authenticated certificate that the will had been duly proved in England, issued under the Archbishop's authority so that the grant would be recognised elsewhere. An estate with assets in different places needed proof of probate that officials in each could trust, and this formal instrument, reciting the proving of the will and the grant of administration, was the means by which an English grant was carried to and honoured in a distant possession like St Helena. The description of Jonathan Doveton as formerly of Richmond in Surrey, esquire, though his affairs touched the island, marks the tie between the St Helena Dovetons and their English connections. The family recurs throughout these island records as planters and officials, yet here one of the name is fixed in an English county with the standing of an esquire, which shows how a colonial family kept a footing in England and how property and probate ran between the island and the mother country through the same kin.

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251	234	way concerning his said Will was granted to Henry Bazett and Frederick Doveton Esquires two of the Executors named in the said Will they having been already sworn well and faithfully to administer the same and to make a true and perfect Inventory of all and singular the said Goods Chattels and Credits and to exhibit the same into the Registry of our said Court on or before the last Day of August next ensuing and also to under a just and true Account thereof Power reserved of making the like Grant to William Webber Doveton and John Doveton Esquires the other Executors named in the said Will when they or either of them shall apply for the same Which said Will and Codicils follow in there words In the Name of God Amen. I Jonathan Doveton being in good Health Do make this my last Will and testament My Worldly Goods I dispose of in the following Manner Vizt I give unto Mrs Caroline Lewis my Daughter the Sum of sixteen Hundred Pounds I give unto Miss Fanny Doveton the Sum of two thousand Pounds I give unto Miss Elizth Doveton the Sum of one hundred Pounds I give unto my Godson John Desfountain the Sum of one Hundred Pounds I give unto my Godson Thoms Greentree the Sum of one Hundred Pounds I give unto John Doveton the Son of Wm Doveton the Sum of one thun dred Pounds I give unto Mary Alexander Junr the Sum of one Hundred Pounds I give unto my Executors Majr Berry Bazett Mesr fredk Doveton Mr Willm Doveton and Mr John Doveton the Sum of fifty pounds each After the aforesaid Legacies are paid I give the Remainder of my Estate	Administration of Jonathan Doveton's will was granted to Henry Bazett and Frederick Doveton, esquires, two of the executors named in the will, who had already been sworn to administer it faithfully, to make a true inventory of all the goods, chattels and credits, to exhibit it to the registry of the court on or before the last day of August next, and to render a just account of it. Power was reserved to make the like grant to William Webber Doveton and John Doveton, esquires, the other executors named in the will, whenever they should apply for it. The will and codicils followed in these words. A will followed, opening in the name of God. Jonathan Doveton, being in good health, made his last will and testament, disposing of his worldly goods in the manner following. He gave to his daughter Mrs Caroline Lewis the sum of £1,400 0s 0d. He gave to Miss Fanny Doveton the sum of £2,000 0s 0d. He gave to Miss Elizabeth Doveton the sum of £100 0s 0d. He gave to his godson John Desfountain the sum of £100 0s 0d. He gave to his godson Thomas Greentree the sum of £100 0s 0d. He gave to John Doveton, son of William Doveton, the sum of £100 0s 0d. He gave to Mary Alexander junior the sum of £100 0s 0d. He gave to his executors Major Henry Bazett, Mr Frederick Doveton, Mr William Doveton and Mr John Doveton the sum of £50 0s 0d each. Once these legacies were paid, he gave the remainder of his estate. **Interpretations** The scale of these legacies, £2,000 0s 0d to one beneficiary and £1,400 0s 0d to another, marks Jonathan Doveton as a man of substantial fortune, far above the modest planters and seamen whose wills fill these records. Such sums bespeak accumulated wealth, likely built in the Company's service and carried home to England, and their disposal among daughters, godsons and kin shows an estate large enough to provide handsomely across a wide family circle rather than merely dividing a smallholding among heirs. The dense clustering of Doveton names throughout the will, as beneficiaries, executors and connections, lays bare the reach of a single family across the island's and the Company's affairs. Fanny, Elizabeth, John and William Doveton appear alongside the testator's own, and the recurrence of the name in every role reflects how one extended family could dominate the propertied life of a small colony, its members serving repeatedly as heirs and trustees to one another across the generations. The naming of the same men as both principal legatees and executors, each also given £50 0s 0d for their pains, shows the estate kept firmly within a trusted inner circle. By making his executors men who were themselves provided for in the will, the testator bound the administration to those with a stake in its faithful discharge, a common and prudent arrangement that placed the settlement of a large fortune in the hands of family and friends who stood both to serve and to benefit.
252	235	Estate to be equally Divided between my Children namely Gabriel Richard and John my Sons and Caroline Lewis my Daughter January 19th 1791. Jonn Doveton. N.B. The Legacy and likewise the fourth part of my Estate that I give and bequeath unto my Daughter	Jonathan Doveton directed that the remainder of his estate be divided equally between his children, namely his sons Gabriel, Richard and John and his daughter Caroline Lewis. The will was dated 19 January 1791 and signed by Jonathan Doveton. He added a note. The legacy, and likewise the fourth part of his estate, that he gave to his daughter

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		Caroline I give as unto my Daughter/ and not unto the Widow of Mr George Lewis deceased, Witness my Hand Jonn Doveton 19 Jany 1791 Richmond in Surry. I Jonathan Doveton being weak in body, but of sound and disposing Mind memory and understanding Do make this Codicil to my aforesaid Will and Testament I confirm all the Legacies aforesaid except two Hundred Pounds out of the two Thousand Pounds bequeathed my friend Miss fanny Doveton which I direct shall be paid to my Trusty Servant David Joseph which will leave one Thousand eight Hundred Pounds as a Legacy to my friend aforesaid Miss fanny Doveton I also give and bequeath unto my Daughter Mrs Caroline Lewis the further Sum of five Hundred Pounds In Witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and Seal this third Day of January in the Year of our Lord one Thousand seven Hundred and ninety two Jonn Doveton Signed Sealed and Declared by the said Testator as his last Will and Testament in the presence of us the Words seven Hundred being first interlined Robt Leech Gentln George Woodward Servt to Mr Wood In	Caroline he gave to her as his daughter, and not to the widow of Mr George Lewis deceased. This he set down under his hand as Jonathan Doveton on 19 January 1791. A codicil followed, headed Richmond in Surrey. Jonathan Doveton, weak in body but of sound mind, memory and understanding, made this codicil to his will. He confirmed all the legacies already set out, except that £200 0s 0d out of the £2,000 0s 0d bequeathed to his friend Miss Fanny Doveton was to be paid instead to his trusty servant David Joseph, which would leave £1,800 0s 0d as her legacy. He also gave to his daughter Mrs Caroline Lewis the further sum of £500 0s 0d. In witness of this he set his hand and seal on 3 January 1792. The codicil was signed, sealed and declared by the testator as part of his last will and testament in the presence of the witnesses, the words seven hundred being first interlined. It was signed by Jonathan Doveton. The witnesses were Robert Leech, gentleman, and George Woodward, servant to Mrs Wood. **Interpretations** The note insisting that the gift to Caroline pass to her as his daughter and not as the widow of George Lewis worked to keep the legacy her own and clear of her late husband's estate. Property coming to a widow could be caught up in the settlement of her dead husband's affairs or claimed by his creditors, and by declaring that he gave to the daughter and not to the widow, the testator sought to fix the money on Caroline herself, beyond any claim arising from her marriage. The codicil's diversion of £200 0s 0d from a substantial legacy to a trusty servant marks the recognition of faithful service within a wealthy household. David Joseph took his portion carved directly out of what had been left to another, and the singling out of a servant for a share of the estate, reducing a friend's legacy to make room for him, shows the bond between master and long-serving dependent given real weight in the disposal of the fortune. The making of a codicil to adjust particular legacies, rather than remaking the whole will, shows the ordinary means by which a testator revised his intentions as circumstances changed. Executed with the same formality as the will and reciting its confirmation of the earlier gifts, the codicil altered only what needed altering, and Doveton's resort to one within a year of the will reflects a settled fortune fine-tuned by later thought rather than overhauled.
253	236	In Faith and Testimo ny of all and singular which premises we have caused these our present Letters Testimonial to issue forth and to be cor roborated and confirmed by affixing thereto the Seal of our prerogative Court of Canterbury which we use in this behalf Given at London as to the time of the aforesaid Search and Sealing of these presents this tenth Day of february in the Year of our Lord one thousand seven Hundred and ninety two and in the ninth Year of our translation Geo Gostling James Lovebley Deputy Rt Dodwell Registers Extracted by Jenner & Bush Proctors Doctors Commons	In faith and testimony of all these matters, the letters testimonial were issued and confirmed by the seal of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, used for this purpose. They were given at London, at the time of the search and sealing, on the tenth day of February 1792, in the ninth year of the Archbishop's translation. They were signed by George Gostling and James Loveley, deputy registrars, and Robert Dodwell, registrar. The document was extracted by Jenner and Bush, proctors of Doctors Commons. A further will followed, opening in the name of God. Elizabeth Easthope, of sound mind, memory and understanding, made her last will and testament in the manner following. She directed that all her lawful debts and funeral expenses be fully paid and satisfied. She directed that all her property, both real and personal, that she possessed or held in reversion at her death, except her wearing apparel, pure goods and a slave girl named Pat, which she disposed of as later mentioned, be sold immediately after her death,

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		In the Name of God Amen I Elizabeth Easthope being of sound Mind Memory and Understanding to make this my last Will and Testament in manner following First It is my Will that all my just Debts and funeral expences be fully paid and satisfied. Item my Will is that all my Property both real and Personal that I am possessed of or have in Reversion at time of my decease /excepting my Wearing Apparel pure Goods and a Slave Girl named Pat which I dispose of as in hereafter mentioned/ be sold immediately after My Isturment or as soon as conveniently may be after and the Amount of the same I give and bequeath in manner and form following Imprimis I give and bequeath unto my Beloved Brother John	or as soon after as convenient. The money raised she gave and bequeathed in the manner following. She gave and bequeathed to her beloved brother John. **Interpretations** The reversionary interest Elizabeth Easthope disposed of shows a widow settling property that had been left to her for her life and would fall in at her death. Her husband James Easthope had given her a life interest in land and slaves, with the property to pass on afterward, and her own will now dealt with what she held in reversion, which reveals how the successive interests created by one testament were gathered up and passed on again by the next, the widow's will completing the descent her husband had begun to arrange. The slave girl Pat reappears here, singled out once more from the general estate as she had been in the husband's will. James Easthope had given Pat to his wife absolutely, to dispose of as she thought proper, and Elizabeth now exercised that power by reserving the girl from the general sale for separate disposal. The passage of a single enslaved child from husband to wife and now onward under the wife's own will shows how an owner's absolute property in a person was handed down and directed across two testaments. The doctrine and machinery of Doctors Commons, the society of civil lawyers through whose proctors the Doveton grant was extracted, marks the specialised legal world that governed the proving of wills touching more than one jurisdiction. The ecclesiastical courts, staffed by these civilians, held authority over probate, and the appearance of their proctors and seals in the St Helena record shows how the affairs of the island reached into this distinct branch of the English legal establishment centred in London.
254	237	John Scott Senr five sixteenths of the Amount of the Sale of said property, to my Beloved Sister Mary Bagley three sixteenths to my Neice Ann Kennedy two Sixteenths to my Neice Elizabeth Den Taafe two Sixteenths and the remaining four sixteenths of my said Property. I give and bequeath to my three Nephews John Scott Charles Scott Thomas Harper & all the surviving Children of my Beloved Sister Mary Bagley and the surviving Children of my two Neices Ann Kennedy and Elizabeth Dentaafe to be divided the Children of my equally amongst my said Nephews and Neices Sister share and Share alike Item It is my will that no part of my wearing Apparel nor Piece Goods and the aforementioned Slave named Pat be sold with my other Property on any Pretence or Condition whatsoever but I give and Bequeath the said Pat unto Mary Kennedy daughter of my Neice Ann Kennedy for her sole use without let or hindrance from any one Item I give and bequeath unto My Sister Mary Bagley my Neice Ann Kennedy and my Neice Elizabeth Den Taafe all and every my Wearing Apparel and all my piece Goods for their Sole and proper Use to be divided equally amongst them share and Share alike Lastly I do hereby constitute and Appoint my good friends Nathaniel Kennedy & Thomas Bagley my Executors to this my last Will and Testament hereby revoking all former Wills by me at any time heretofore made declared this to be my last Will & Testament In Witness whereof I have set my Hand and Seal to this my last Will containing three sides of Paper the twenty first Day of May in	Elizabeth Easthope gave her brother John Scott senior five sixteenths of the amount raised by the sale of her property. She gave her beloved sister Mary Bagley three sixteenths, her niece Ann Kennedy two sixteenths and her niece Elizabeth Den Taffe two sixteenths. The remaining four sixteenths of her property she gave and bequeathed to her three nephews John Scott, Charles Scott and Thomas Harper, together with all the surviving children of her sister Mary Bagley and the surviving children of her two nieces Ann Kennedy and Elizabeth Den Taffe, to be divided equally among her nephews and her sister's children, share and share alike. She directed that no part of her wearing apparel, pure goods or the slave girl Pat be sold with her other property on any pretence, but gave Pat to Mary Kennedy, daughter of her niece Ann Kennedy, for her sole use without hindrance from anyone. She gave and bequeathed to her sister Mary Bagley, her niece Ann Kennedy and her niece Elizabeth Den Taffe all her wearing apparel and pure goods, for their sole use, to be divided equally among them, share and share alike. Lastly, she named and appointed her good friends Nathaniel Kennedy and Thomas Bagley as executors of her will. She revoked every former will she had made, declaring this one alone to be her last. In witness of this she set her hand and seal to her will, contained in three sides of paper, on 21 May. **Interpretations** The division of the estate into sixteenths, apportioned unequally among brother, sister and nieces with a residue to the next generation, shows a testatrix weighing the claims of each branch of her family with some care. Rather than an even split, she measured out graduated shares, the largest to her

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		the	brother and lesser fractions to sister and nieces, which reflects a deliberate ranking of kin by closeness or need, and the reservation of a portion to the surviving children spread her bounty across the generations of the family. The slave girl Pat, given absolutely to Elizabeth by her husband and reserved through his and her wills, was now settled on a great-niece for her sole use, free of any hindrance. The insistence that Pat on no account be sold with the other property, but pass to a named child of the family, shows the enslaved girl deliberately kept within the kin group rather than turned into cash, handed down through three testaments as a fixed possession attached to the family rather than the market. The provision that the wearing apparel and pure goods pass to the women of the family for their sole use marks the customary descent of a woman's personal effects through the female line. Clothing and household stuff of a particular value or association were commonly left among sisters, nieces and daughters, and the direction of these goods to the women, kept separate from the general sale, reflects the settled practice of passing a woman's intimate property to her own sex within the family.
255	238	the Year of our Lord One Thousand Seven Hundred and ninety two Sign'd Sealed published and declared by the said Elizabeth Easthope as and for her last will and testament in the presence of us who have hereunto set our Names as Witnesses in her presence and in the presence of each other (Signed) Elizabeth Easthope (Signed) Richd Isacke Matthr Doveton Henry Neve NB the erasement about the signature was prior to its being signed (Signed) Richd Isacke Matthr Doveton Henry Neve In the Name of God Amen. I Richard Goodwin Senr of the Island St Helena Planter, being Weak in Body but of sound & disposing Mind Memory and Understand ing /blessed be God/ Do this Sixteenth Day of July in the 32 year of his Majestys reign and in the Year of our Lord 1792 make and publish this my last Will and Testament in manner and form following that is to say Imprimis I commend my Soul into the Hands of Almighty God who gave it me & my Body to the Earth to be decently buried and as for the Worldly Estate wherewith it has pleased God to bless me after all my just Debts are fully paid and Discharged	Elizabeth Easthope set her hand and seal to her will in the year 1792. The will was signed, sealed, published and declared by Elizabeth Easthope as her last will and testament in the presence of the witnesses, who signed their names in her presence and in the presence of each other. It was signed by Elizabeth Easthope. The witnesses were Richard Isaacs, Matthew Doveton and Henry Neve. A note recorded that the erasure about the signature was made before the will was signed, confirmed by the same three witnesses. A further will followed, opening in the name of God. Richard Goodwin senior of the island of St Helena, planter, was weak in body but of sound mind, memory and understanding, for which he thanked God. On 16 July 1792, in the thirty-second year of the reign of the King, he made and published his last will and testament in the manner following. He committed his soul to Almighty God who gave it and his body to the earth, to be decently buried. As for his worldly estate, with which it had pleased God to bless him, once his lawful debts were fully paid and discharged, he set out its disposal.
256	239	Discharged I dispose thereof as follows Item I give and bequeath unto my Son Richard my Dwelling House in the Country with 20 Acres Free Land called the Wood, also 11 Acres Free Land called the Plain, together with 16 Acres Lease Land called Bradleys and 5 Acres Lease Land known by the Name of Sextons the above Bequest to be estimated to my said Son Richard as follows Vizt the Dwelling House at £300 the 20 Acres free	Once his debts were discharged, Richard Goodwin set out how his estate was to be disposed. He gave and bequeathed to his son Richard his dwelling house in the country, together with twenty acres of freehold called the Wood, eleven acres of freehold called the Plain, sixteen acres of leasehold called Bradleys and five acres of leasehold known as Sextons. The bequest was to be valued to his son Richard as follows: the dwelling house at £300 0s 0d, the twenty acres of freehold called the Wood at £500

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		land called the wood at £500 the 11 Acres called Plain at £20 f the 16 Acres called Bradleys at £192 and the 5 Acres called Sextons at £60 I also give and bequeath to my said Son Richard my Goat Range & Goats at Devils Stile and my Horse called Jupiter not be valued to him Item I give and bequeath unto my Daughter Elizabeth Wife of Lieut Edwd Charles Smith My Dwelling House in Town, Also 13 Acres free Land adjoining Mrs Branghams Land called Bevan's with Six Acres Lease Land called Sextons /being the upper part of 11 Acres/ of the same name the other 5 being bequeathed my Son Richard/ Also 10 Acres Lease Land called Cracked Plain and 12 Acres Lease Land with the House Yams Suckers and every Thing thereon growing called Sarahs Valley the abovementioned Bequest to be Estimated & Valued to my said Daughter Elizabeth as follows Vizt the House in Town at £800 the 13 Acres free Land adjoining Bevan's at £200 The Six Acres Lease Land called Sextons at £72 The ten Acres called Cracked Plain at £40 And the Twelve Acres Lease Land House Yams &c at Sarahs Valley at £500 I also give and bequeath unto my said Daughter Elizabeth a Woman Slave named Sophy with her	0s 0d, the eleven acres called the Plain at £20 0s 0d, the sixteen acres called Bradleys at £192 0s 0d and the five acres called Sextons at £60 0s 0d. He also gave his son Richard his goat range and goats at Devils Stile, and his horse called Jupiter, not to be valued to him. He gave and bequeathed to his daughter Elizabeth, wife of Lieutenant Edward Charles Smith, his dwelling house in town, together with thirteen acres of freehold adjoining Mr Branghan's land called Bevans, six acres of leasehold called Sextons, being the upper part of fifteen acres of that name, the other five having been bequeathed to his son Richard, ten acres of leasehold called Cracked Plain, and twelve acres of leasehold with the house, yams, suckers and everything growing on it called Sarahs Valley. This bequest was to be valued to his daughter Elizabeth as follows: the house in town at £800 0s 0d, the thirteen acres of freehold adjoining Bevans at £260 0s 0d, the six acres of leasehold called Sextons at £72 0s 0d, the ten acres called Cracked Plain at £40 0s 0d and the twelve acres of leasehold with the house and yams at Sarahs Valley at £500 0s 0d. He also gave his daughter Elizabeth a woman slave named Sisby, together with her [...]. **Interpretations** The full schedule of valuations, fixing a price on each named parcel as it passed to son or daughter, gave the estate a settled measure against which the children's portions could be balanced. By pricing the dwelling house, the freeholds and the several leaseholds each at a stated sum, the testator turned the physical division of the land into a reckoning in money, so that what each child took could be counted against the other and the shares equalised without dispute over the worth of the ground. The great range in the per-acre values, from £500 0s 0d for twenty acres of freehold called the Wood down to £20 0s 0d for eleven acres called the Plain, lays bare how sharply the worth of St Helena land varied with its quality, situation and use. Some acres carried a house, a crop of yams or good pasture, while others were barren or ill-placed, and the wide spread of the figures shows a landholder distinguishing carefully between his fertile and his poor ground in setting each parcel at its true price. The valuation of Sarahs Valley expressly included its yams, suckers and everything growing there, treating the standing crop and the planting stock as part of the land's worth. Yams were a staple of the island, and the suckers the shoots from which the next crop was raised, so a plot planted and in cultivation was worth more than bare earth. The reckoning of the growing crop into the price shows an agricultural estate valued as a working concern, its cultivated ground carrying the value of the labour and planting already put into it.
257	240	her five Children namely / Charles, Edward, Sio, Maria and Betty at valuation And I further give unto my said Daughter Elizabeth my Goat Range and Goats at Peak Gut and my Horse called Sprightly not to be valued to her Whereas my Uncle Thomas Greentree & My Aunt Elizabeth Greentree did at their Decease bequeath to my said Daughter Elizabeth the Sum of £133.6.8 which I received upon her Account I will Order & direct that she be fully paid this Sum from my Estate before a Division shall take place as hereafter denoted. My Son Richard was also bequeathed by them a certain Legacy which I also received on his Account but as it has been more than overpaid for his Equipment & Support	Richard Goodwin gave his daughter Elizabeth the woman slave Sisby together with her five children, namely Charles, Edward, Leo, Maria and Betty, at valuation. He also gave Elizabeth his goat range and goats at Peak Gut, and his horse called Sprightly, not to be valued to her. His uncle Thomas Greentree and his aunt Elizabeth Greentree had at their deaths bequeathed to his daughter Elizabeth the sum of £133 6s 8d, which he had received on her account. He directed that she be fully paid this sum from his estate before any division took place. His son Richard had also been left a certain legacy by them, which he had likewise received on his account, but since more than that sum had been overpaid for Richard's equipment and support in India, he directed that no claim be made on his estate on that account.

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		in India I therefore direct that no Claim shall be made on my Estate on this Account And my further will and meaning is & I hereby Order & direct that altho I have set a certain Value upon my Houses & Lands bequeathed my Son Richard & Daughter Elizabeth yet it is my intention & meaning that they shall share alike the whole of my Estates and that if the Share or Dividend set apart estimated & Valued by me as beforementioned to either should exceed an equal dividend or share to either then he or she shall repay to the other such overplus so that they may share & share alike And I further bequeath unto my Said Son Richard & Daughter Elizabeth all my Slaves Plate Houshold Furniture & every species of Cattle & Stock not already disposed of to be equally divided between them share & share alike whether by Valuation or Sale as they shall mutually agree on. Lastly I Nominate Constitute and appoint my Son Richard Goodwin and my Son in law Lieut Edwd Charles Smith together	Although he had set a value on the houses and lands bequeathed to his son Richard and his daughter Elizabeth, he wished them to share the whole of his estate equally. Should the share set apart and valued to either exceed an equal share, that one was to repay the difference to the other, so that they might share and share alike. He further bequeathed to his son Richard and his daughter Elizabeth all his slaves, plate, household furniture and every kind of cattle and stock not already disposed of, to be divided equally between them, share and share alike, whether by valuation or sale as they should mutually agree. Lastly, he named and appointed his son Richard Goodwin and his son-in-law Lieutenant Edward Charles Smith. **Interpretations** The treatment of the two earlier legacies from the Greentrees marks the machinery of hotchpot at work across a whole family's affairs. The daughter's legacy, received by the father on her behalf, was to be repaid to her in full before any division, while the son's was set off against the far greater sums spent equipping and supporting him in India. By bringing both into account, the testator held his children to a true equality, crediting the daughter what was hers and charging the son what had already been laid out for him. The woman slave Sisby passed to the daughter with all five of her children named individually, the whole enslaved family given together at valuation. The listing of Charles, Edward, Leo, Maria and Betty as passing with their mother shows the increase of an enslaved woman counted among the estate and handed down as a group, valued and set against the daughter's share like any other property, the children's futures bound to their mother's in the reckoning of the inheritance. The reference to overpayment for the son's equipment and support in India opens a window onto the cost of launching a young man into the Company's service abroad. Fitting out a son for India, with passage, outfit and maintenance, could run to large sums, and the father's setting of these advances against the son's inheritance shows how the expense of establishing a child in the eastern trade was reckoned as part of his portion, a charge to be balanced when the estate came to be shared.
258	241	together with my Friend Mr W W Doveton Executors to this my last Will and Testament hereby revoking all former Wills by me at any time made declaring this only to be my last Will & Testament In Witness whereof I have hereunto set my Hand and Seal the day & Year before written Signed Sealed Published and declared by the said Rd Goodwin senr as & for his last Will & Testament, in the presence of Us who at his request in his presence & in the presence of each other subscribed our Names as Witnesses (Signed) Richard Goodwin Senr Signed Thos Bazett Rd Leech Senr Gabl Doveton In the Name of God Amen I James Cotgrave of the Island St Helena Planter being Weak and Sick in Body but of sound and disposing Mind Memory and Understanding blessed be God Do this Sixth Day of June in the Thirty second Year of his Majesties Reign and in the Year of our Lord one	Richard Goodwin named these men, together with his friend Mr William W. Doveton, as executors of his will. He revoked every former will he had made, declaring this one alone to be his last. In witness of this he set his hand and seal on the day and year already written. It was signed by Richard Goodwin senior. The will was signed, sealed, published and declared by Richard Goodwin senior as his last will and testament in the presence of the witnesses, who at his request signed their names in his presence and in the presence of each other. The witnesses were Thomas Bazett, Robert Leech senior and Gabriel Doveton. A further will followed, opening in the name of God. James Cotgrave of the island of St Helena, planter, was weak and sick in body but of sound mind, memory and understanding, for which he thanked God. On 6 June 1792, in the thirty-second year of the reign of the King, he made and published his last will and testament in the manner following. He committed his soul to Almighty God and his body to the earth, to be decently buried at the discretion of his executors. As for his worldly estate, with which it had pleased God to bless him, he set out its disposal.

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		Thousand seven Hundred and Ninety two make and publish this my last Will and Testament in Manner and form following, that is to say Imprimis I recommend my Soul into the Hands of almigh ty God and my body to the earth to be decently buried at the Discretion of my Executors hereafter mentioned and as to the Worldly Estate wherewith it hath pleased God to bless me I dispose thereof as follows Imprimis I give to my Beloved Wife Suzanna Cotgrave the Use of my Dwelling House during her natural life that	He gave to his wife Suzanna Cotgrave the use of his dwelling house for the rest of her life.
259	242	which House I Value at two Hundred pounds, I also give her the Use of Fortytwo and a half Acres of Lease Land during Her natural Life lying and being in Sandy Bay which I value at fourteen pounds pd Acre Item I also give and bequeath to my beloved Wife a Man Slave named Named Frank a Woman Slave Named Lucy and a Girl Slave named xxxxx Betty to Her Use to do and Dispose of as She may think proper. Item I give also to my beloved Wife the use of a Mare Slave Named Chatham during her Natural Life. and at her Decease the said Slave Chatham I give and Bequeath to Thos Cole Senior Husband to my Niece Mary Cole. Item I give and Bequeath unto the said Thos Cole Senior and his Heirs for ever. two pieces or parcels of Freehold Land one Piece known by the Name of Vices the other Piece known by the Name of Sextons each Piece containing ten Acres which I Value at twenty eight pounds pd Acre Item I give and bequeath unto the said Thos Cole Senior a Small Beaurer with all the plate I am possessed of at my Decease Item I give and bequeath unto my Nephew Aaron Lambe all that Piece or Parcell of Land Called Goodwins lying and being in Bawel's Valley Containing Twentyseven and half Acres which I Value at Twelve Pounds pd Acre Item I also give unto the said Aaron Lambe three Heifers Item I also give unto my aforesaid Nephew Aaron Lambe the Sum of Twenty pounds as a further Legacy Item I also give and bequeath unto my Niece Ann Desfountain the Sum of Twenty Pounds as a Legacy Item I also give and bequeath unto my Niece Jane Robinson the Sum of Twenty Pounds as a Legacy Item I also give and bequeath unto my Nephew John Robinson	James Cotgrave valued the dwelling house at £200 0s 0d. He also gave his wife the use of forty-two and a half acres of leasehold land, for the rest of her life, lying at Sandy Bay, which he valued at £14 0s 0d an acre. He gave and bequeathed to his wife a man slave named Frank, a woman slave named Lucy and a girl slave named Betty, for her use, to do with and dispose of as she thought proper. He gave his wife the use of a man slave named Chatham for the rest of her life. On her death he gave and bequeathed Chatham to Thomas Cole senior, husband to his niece Mary Cole. He gave and bequeathed to Thomas Cole senior and his heirs for ever two pieces of freehold land, one known as Vices and the other known as Sextons, each piece containing ten acres, which he valued at £28 0s 0d an acre. He gave and bequeathed to Thomas Cole senior a small bureau, with all the plate he possessed at his death. He gave and bequeathed to his nephew Aaron Lambe the piece of land called Goodwins, lying in Bawels Valley, containing twenty-seven and a half acres, which he valued at £12 0s 0d an acre. He gave to Aaron Lambe three heifers. He gave to his nephew Aaron Lambe the sum of £20 0s 0d as a further legacy. He gave and bequeathed to his niece Ann Desfountain the sum of £20 0s 0d as a legacy. He gave and bequeathed to his niece Jane Robinson the sum of £20 0s 0d as a legacy. He gave and bequeathed to his nephew John Robinson. **Interpretations** The man slave Chatham was disposed of in two stages, his labour reserved to the widow for her life and his ownership fixed on Thomas Cole to take effect at her death. This splitting of a present interest from a future one, giving the use to one person and the reversion to another, treated the enslaved man exactly as a piece of property capable of being carved into successive estates, his service belonging to the widow while she lived and his person passing to Cole thereafter. The valuations again spread widely across the parcels, from £28 0s 0d an acre for the freehold pieces called Vices and Sextons down to £12 0s 0d an acre for the land at Bawels Valley, reflecting the differing quality and situation of the ground. The pricing of each named piece at its own rate shows the careful distinction the testator drew between his better and poorer land, the freehold near the settlement worth more than twice the outlying acres, a gradation he set down precisely in parcelling out his estate. The women of the testator's family received money legacies of £20 0s 0d apiece, while the men took land and stock as well as cash. Aaron Lambe was given a valuable parcel, heifers and a money

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			legacy, where the nieces Ann Desfountain and Jane Robinson had only their £20 0s 0d, which reflects the common bias of these settlements toward endowing male kin with the productive property and providing for female kin with fixed sums, a pattern that concentrated the land in the hands of the men.
260	243	Robinson the Sum of Twenty Pounds as a Legacy Item I also give and bequeath unto my Nephew William Smith the Sum of Ten Pounds as a Legacy Item I also give and bequeath unto the above said Thomas Cole senior two Men Slaves named January and Tom as a Legacy Item I also give and bequeath unto my Sister Elizabeth Lambe the Use of a Slave Woman named Hanna during her Natural Life provided She does not send her to live with her Son Aaron Lambe Item I also give and bequeath unto Thos James Balchain Cole Junior Son of the above said Thos Cole senior a Slave Boy named George Item I also give and bequeath unto my God Daughter Eliza Cole a Boy Slave named Jacob and a Girl Slave named Molly Item I also give and bequeath unto Henry Satter Cole Son of the above Thos Cole Senr a Boy Slave named Charles Item I also give and bequeath unto Elenor Catherin Cole Daughter of the said Thos Cole Senr a Slave Girl named Mary Item I also give and bequeath unto Mary Ann Jane Cole Daughter of the said Thos Cole Senr a Female Slave Child named Clary Item At the Decease of my Sister Elizabeth Lambe I give that Woman Slave named Hanna unto the above Thos Cole Senr Item I also give and bequeath unto my Godson John Torbett the Sum of five Pounds as a Legacy Item I give and bequeath unto my Godson John Scott the Sum of five Pounds as a Legacy Item I give and bequeath unto Thomas Barnham the Sum of Ten Pounds as a Legacy to	James Cotgrave gave his nephew John Robinson the sum of £20 0s 0d as a legacy. He gave and bequeathed to his nephew William Smith the sum of £10 0s 0d as a legacy. He gave and bequeathed to Thomas Cole senior two man slaves named January and Tom as a legacy. He gave and bequeathed to his sister Elizabeth Lambe the use of a slave woman named Hannah for the rest of her life, provided she did not send her to live with her son Aaron Lambe. He gave and bequeathed to Thomas James Balchin Cole junior, son of Thomas Cole senior, a slave boy named George. He gave and bequeathed to his goddaughter Eliza Cole a boy slave named Jacob and a girl slave named Molly. He gave and bequeathed to Henry Salten Cole, son of Thomas Cole senior, a boy slave named Charles. He gave and bequeathed to Elenor Catherine Cole, daughter of Thomas Cole senior, a slave girl named Mary. He gave and bequeathed to Mary Ann Jane Cole, daughter of Thomas Cole senior, a female slave child named Clary. On the death of his sister Elizabeth Lambe, he gave the woman slave Hannah to Thomas Cole senior. He gave and bequeathed to his godson John Torbett the sum of £5 0s 0d as a legacy. He gave and bequeathed to his godson John Scott the sum of £5 0s 0d as a legacy. He gave and bequeathed to Thomas Burnham the sum of £10 0s 0d as a legacy. **Interpretations** The will scattered enslaved people one by one among the children of Thomas Cole, a slave apiece to George's recipient, to Eliza, to Henry, to Elenor and to the infant girl given to Mary Ann Jane Cole. This parcelling out of individual men, women and children as gifts to particular children of a family shows the enslaved treated as the natural currency of bequests to the young, each child of the favoured household endowed with a human being as another might be left a piece of plate or a sum of money. The condition attached to the gift of Hannah to the sister, that she not send the woman to live with her son Aaron Lambe, reveals the owner reaching beyond his own death to govern how his enslaved property should be used. The testator gave his sister only the life use of Hannah and bound that use with a restriction on where the woman might be sent, which shows how completely the enslaved were subject to the directions of their owners, their very place of residence fixed by a clause in a will. The repeated giving of very young enslaved children, a female slave child named Clary and a girl named Molly among them, to the small children of the Cole family pairs the youngest of the enslaved with the youngest of the free. Such gifts looked to the future, granting a child an enslaved child who might serve them for life, and the matching of infant to infant across the line of slavery shows how the institution was designed to renew itself down the generations, each new free child provided with a slave to grow up alongside.

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261	244	to an Object of Charity Item At the decease of my beloved Wife I give unto the abovemention'd Thos Cole Senr or his Heirs my Dwelling House and fortytwo and a half Acres of Lease Land Adjoining which my said beloved Wife has in possession during her natural Life for him the said Thos Cole or his Heirs to dispose of as he or they may think proper Item After my Debts and funeral Expences are paid I give one third of my personal Estate Exclusive of my Lease Land and the Legacies I have given away Unto my beloved Wife Item The other two thirds to be equally divided between the aforesaid Thos Cole Senior and my Nephew Aron Lambe Item The Slaves, Beaurer, & Cari and plate to be Delivered before my Wife has her Third but the other Legacies to be paid after my Wife has her thirds Deliver'd to her Item It is my further Will and meaning that this my last Will and Testament be carried before the Governor and Council within fourteen Days after my Decease and an Inventory taken as soon as possible Item I give unto each of my Executors hereafter mentioned the Sum of ten Pounds for the trouble they may be at in Adjusting my Affairs &c and Lastly I Nominate Constitute and appoint my trusty and well beloved Friends Messrs Thomas Cole Senior and John Alexander Junior Executors to this my last Will and Testament hereby revoking and making void all other Will or Wills by me heretofore made Declaring this only to be my last Will and Testament In Witness whereof I have hereunto Set my Hand and Seal	James Cotgrave directed that a further sum of £10 0s 0d be given to an object of charity. On the death of his wife, he gave to Thomas Cole senior and his heirs his dwelling house and the forty-two and a half acres of leasehold land adjoining, which his wife held for her life, for Cole or his heirs to dispose of as they thought proper. Once his debts and funeral expenses were paid, he gave one third of his personal estate, apart from his leasehold land and the legacies he had given away, to his wife. The other two thirds he directed be divided equally between Thomas Cole senior and his nephew Aaron Lambe. He directed that the slaves, bureau, plate and other goods be delivered before his wife took her third, but that the other legacies be paid after her third had been delivered to her. He wished his will to be carried before the Governor and Council within fourteen days of his death, and an inventory taken as soon as possible. He gave to each of his executors the sum of £10 0s 0d for their trouble in settling his affairs. Lastly, he named and appointed his trusty and well-beloved friends Thomas Cole senior and John Alexander junior as executors of his will. He revoked and made void every former will he had made, declaring this one alone to be his last. In witness of this he set his hand and seal. **Interpretations** The direction that the will be carried before the Governor and Council within fourteen days shows the concentration of probate authority in the island's government. Where in England a will passed through the ecclesiastical courts, on St Helena the East India Company's governing body itself received and approved testaments, so that the same council that ruled the island also oversaw the proving of its people's wills, the machinery of probate absorbed into the Company's administration of its remote possession. The careful ordering of what was to be delivered before and after the widow took her third worked to secure certain specific gifts against the general reckoning of her share. The slaves, bureau and plate were to pass first, outside the calculation of her third, while the money legacies waited until her portion was set aside, an arrangement that protected the particular bequests of enslaved people and valuables from being swallowed into the widow's share and ensured they reached their intended takers intact. The residue of the personal estate, after the widow's third, went not to blood kin alone but was split between a nephew and Thomas Cole, the husband of a niece and the recipient of much of the estate throughout the will. The heaping of land, slaves, plate and now two thirds of the residue upon Cole and his children marks him as the true object of the testator's bounty, a connection by marriage favoured above the testator's own nephews and nieces, which suggests a particular closeness or obligation binding the childless Cotgrave to the Cole household.
262	245	Seal the Day and Year above Written Signed Sealed Published and Declared by the Testator as aforesaid for His last Will and Testament in the presence of us who at his request in the presence of each other Subscrib'd our Names as Witnesses NB the word eight was interlin'd before the Signing of the said Will (Signed)	James Cotgrave set his hand and seal to the will on the day and year already written. The will was signed, sealed, published and declared by the testator as his last will and testament in the presence of the witnesses, who at his request signed their names in his presence and in the presence of each other. A note recorded that the word eight had been interlined before the will was signed. It was signed by James Cotgrave. The witnesses were William Seale senior, John Seale junior and Charles Scott.

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		James Cotgrave (Signed) William Seale Senr John Seale Junr Charles Scott Island St Helena In the Name of God Amen I John Bagley of the Island St Helena Planter being of sound and disposing mind memory and understanding blessed be God Do make and publish this my last Will and Testament in manner and form following that is to say Imprimis I Will and direct that all my just Debts be fully paid and Discharged And as to the Worldly Estate wherewith it hath pleased God to bless me I dispose thereof as follows. Item I give and bequeath unto my Dearly beloved Wife Mary one third of all my personal Estate except the leasehold Lands to be hers for ever I also give her a Man Slave named Frank Junr and any one of my Horses she may chuse not to be valued to her My Will and meaning is that at my Decease the whole of my Estate both real and personal be kept together for the Benefit of my Dearly beloved Wife during her Widowhood and my Children namely John Elizabeth Mary and Charlotte during their Minage but in case of her my said Wife's Marriage or Death I direct that my Lands be let to the best advantage, at the discretion of my	A further will followed, headed island of St Helena and opening in the name of God. John Bagley of the island of St Helena, planter, was of sound mind, memory and understanding, for which he thanked God. He made and published his last will and testament in the manner following. He directed that all his lawful debts be fully paid and discharged. As for his worldly estate, with which it had pleased God to bless him, he set out its disposal. He gave and bequeathed to his dearly beloved wife Mary one third of all his personal estate, except the leasehold lands, to be hers for ever. He also gave her a man slave named Frank junior and any one of his horses she might choose, not to be valued to her. He wished that, at his death, the whole of his estate, both real and personal, be kept together for the benefit of his wife during her widowhood, and of his children named John, Elizabeth, Mary and Charlotte during their minority. Should his wife marry or die, he directed that his lands be let to the best advantage, at the discretion of his executors. **Interpretations** The direction to keep the whole estate together during the widow's widowhood and the children's minority reflects a common aim in these family settlements, to hold the property intact as a single fund for the support of the household rather than dividing it while the children were young. A scattered estate could not so readily maintain a widow and rear her children, and by keeping land and goods together until the children grew and the widow's interest ended, the testator ensured the family was provided for as a whole before any division fell due. The tying of the widow's interest to her remaining unmarried recurs here as throughout these wills, her benefit from the estate holding only during her widowhood. Should she remarry, the arrangement for keeping the estate together for her fell away and the land was to be let for the family's benefit, a provision that guarded against a new husband gaining the management of the property and reduced the widow to her fixed third once she passed into another marriage. The exclusion of the leasehold lands from the wife's absolute third marks the careful handling of land held on terms from the Company. The widow took a third of the personal estate outright but no share of the leaseholds, which were kept within the settlement for the children, reflecting a wish to preserve the land held of the Company for the next generation rather than let any part of it pass out of the family through the widow's own disposal.
263	246	my Executors for the benefit of my said Children during Minorage If she Marries I give her half my Dwelling House in Peak Gut with half the Lands adjoining known by the Name of Peak Gut containing Sixty Acres twenty of which being free the other forty Lease to be hers during the term of her natural Life Item I give unto my Son John my House called Easthopes with all the Lands adjoining thereto being fourteen Acres of free and sixty and three quarters Lease to become his at the Age of twenty one Years /my Wife being Dead or not remaining my Widow/ he paying the Sum of Six hundred Pounds for the same I also give him Twentysix Acres of Freehold Land known by the Name of Beman's to be Valued to him at five hundred and twenty Pounds I further give him a Boy Slave named Billy and a Goat Range in Peak Gut which becomes my property at my	John Bagley directed that his lands be let by his executors for the benefit of his children during their minority. Should his wife marry, he gave her half his dwelling house in Peak Gut, with half the lands adjoining known as Peak Gut, containing sixty acres, twenty of them freehold and the other forty leasehold, to be hers for the rest of her life. He gave to his son John his house called Easthopes, with all the lands adjoining, being fourteen acres of freehold and sixty-three acres of leasehold, to become his at the age of twenty-one, his wife being dead or no longer his widow, on John paying the sum of £600 0s 0d for it. He also gave John twenty-six acres of freehold land known as Bevans, to be valued to him at £520 0s 0d. He further gave John a boy slave named Billy and a goat range in Peak Gut, which would become his property when his brother Benjamin reached the age of twenty-one, together with half the goats on it, the boy slave and the goat range not to be valued to him, only the goats. He further gave John the sum of £50 0s 0d,

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		Brother Benjamin's attaining the Age of twenty one Years/ together with half the Goats thereon said Boy Slave and Goat Range not to be Valued to him only the Goats, And I further give my said Son John the Sum of Fifty Pounds half of 1000 hundred left me as a Legacy by my Uncle Richard Bagley Decea'd ever subject to the Annual payment of Two Pounds ten Shillings to be made Christian a Free Woman for her maintenance during Life Item I give unto my Daughter Elizabeth the Lands adjoining my Dwelling House in Peak Gut being Twenty Acres free and Forty Lease also Eleven Acres Lease Land called the Hangings the whole to be valued to her at Seven Hundred and fifty Pounds I also give her a Goat Range in Peak Gut with half the Goats thereon/ the other half being already bequeathed my Son John/ at Valuation. I further give her the Sum of Fifty Pounds being the other half of the Legacy of one Hundred left me by my Uncle Richard Bagley Decea'd ever Subject	half of the £100 0s 0d left to him as a legacy by his uncle Richard Bagley deceased, subject to the annual payment of £2 10s 0d to be made to Christian, a free woman, for her maintenance during her life. He gave to his daughter Elizabeth the lands adjoining his dwelling house in Peak Gut, being twenty acres of freehold and forty of leasehold, and also eleven acres of leasehold called the Hangings, the whole to be valued to her at £750 0s 0d. He also gave her a goat range in Peak Gut with half the goats on it, the other half being already bequeathed to his son John, at valuation. He further gave her the sum of £50 0s 0d, the other half of the legacy of £100 0s 0d left him by his uncle Richard Bagley deceased, subject to the same charge. **Interpretations** The annual charge of £2 10s 0d for the maintenance of Christian, a free woman, laid on the legacy divided between the two children, secured a small pension to a dependent out of the estate. The legacy from the uncle was split between son and daughter but burdened with a continuing yearly payment for the woman's support during her life, which shows how a testator could fasten an ongoing obligation to a vulnerable person onto the property passing to his heirs, providing for her keep from the inheritance year by year rather than by a single sum. The description of Christian as a free woman, singled out for this maintenance, hints at her likely history as a former slave now provided for in her freedom. That her keep was charged on the family's property and secured across two generations suggests a lasting tie of obligation, perhaps to one once enslaved in the household and now dependent in her liberty, the yearly payment marking a duty the family acknowledged toward a woman who had passed from bondage into a free but precarious old age. The passing of the house called Easthopes among the Bagley holdings shows how named properties moved between the island's families over time. A house bearing the Easthope name now formed part of a Bagley estate, which reflects the circulation of land among a small circle of interconnected families through purchase, marriage and inheritance, the old names clinging to the parcels as they changed hands and marking the layered history of ownership on the island's limited ground.
264	247	Subject to the payment of Two Pounds ten Shillings pd Annum to be made Christian a Free Woman during her Life Item I give unto my Daughter Mary Eyghteen Acres of Free and one of Leasehold Land known by the Name of the Peak to be Valued to her at three hundred and fifty Pounds also Twenty Acres Free and thirty one and an half Lease hold Land called Gurlings to be Valued to her at four hundred Pounds, but should she think proper at any time to dispose of the above bequeathed several Parcels of Land I direct that my Son John have the preference thereof and in Case of his refusal the same be offered to my Daughter Elizabeth I also give my said Daughter Mary a Boy Slave named Jacob not to be Valued to her Item I give unto my Daughter Charlotte Thirty six Acres Free and three and a quarter Leasehold Land being lately purchased of William Wrangham Esqr called Easthopes and Crawfords, to be Valued to her at one thousand Pounds, I also give her a Goat Range called Devils hole with the Goats thereunto belonging not to be valued to her or comprehended in the	John Bagley made this bequest subject to the annual payment of £2 10s 0d to Christian, a free woman, during her life. He gave to his daughter Mary eighteen acres of freehold and one acre of leasehold land known as the Peak, to be valued to her at £350 0s 0d. He also gave her twenty acres of freehold and thirty-one and a half acres of leasehold land called Gurlings, to be valued to her at £400 0s 0d. Should she at any time think proper to dispose of the several parcels of land bequeathed to her, he directed that his son John have first refusal, and should John refuse, that the land be offered to his daughter Elizabeth. He also gave his daughter Mary a boy slave named Jacob, not to be valued to her. He gave to his daughter Charlotte thirty-six acres of freehold and three and a quarter acres of leasehold land lately bought from William Wrangham, called Easthopes and Crawfords, to be valued to her at £1,000 0s 0d. He also gave her a goat range called Devils Stile with the goats belonging to it, not to be valued to her or included in the general division of his estate. He directed that the money that should be owing to him at the time of a division from his father's estate, together with a legacy of £166 0s 0d left him by his uncle Richard Bagley deceased, due at the

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		General Division of my Estate I Direct that the Monies which shall become mine at the time a Division takes Place in my Fathers Estate, together with a Legacy of one Hundred and Sixty Six Pounds left me by my Uncle Richard Bagley Deceas'd. due at the Death of Mrs Edward Bagley be equally divided among my Children namely John Elizabeth Mary and Charlotte share and share alike In Case my Wife should prove with Child at my Decease, it is my Will that said Child be intitled to as large a share or proportion of my Estate, as my other Children I order and Direct that my Daughters be	death of Mr Edward Bagley, be divided equally among his children, namely John, Elizabeth, Mary and Charlotte, share and share alike. Should his wife be pregnant at his death, he wished the child to have as large a share of his estate as his other children. He ordered and directed that his daughters be dealt with as follows. **Interpretations** The restriction that any land the daughter Mary wished to sell must first be offered to her brother John, and then to her sister Elizabeth, worked to hold the family's land within the family. A right of first refusal running to the siblings meant that a parcel could not pass to a stranger while a brother or sister wished to keep it, which shows the settled concern in these estates to prevent the fragmentation and loss of hard-won island land by binding the children to buy from one another before selling out. The chain of legacies from the uncle Richard Bagley, appearing across several of the children's portions and tied to the death of Edward Bagley, traces how money moved through a family by successive bequests over many years. The sum was left by one relative, charged with payments to a dependent, and due only on the death of another, which reveals the long tail of a legacy passing from hand to hand within a kindred, its final distribution waiting on the deaths of those who held intervening interests. The provision that a posthumous child share equally with the living children closes the same gap guarded against throughout these wills, that a child conceived but unborn at the father's death might be left unprovided. By expressly bringing such a child into the equal division, the testator ensured that every child he might in the end leave took a full share, a careful anticipation of the uncertainty that attended a will made while the family was still growing.
265	248	be severally paid the Sum of Three hundred Pounds on their Arrival at Age or Day of Marriage the same to be considered as so much of their full share It is my meaning that all my Children share equally alike in my Estate, therefore a just Valuation is to be made of that Part of my Estate not already by me Valued or Disposed of and an equal Division thereof made consequently those to whom I have bequeathed Lands should it be over and above their just Share must pay the difference, in order to complete that equal Division, it is my Will to make Item I give unto my God Daughter Mary Kenn Daughter of Mr Nathaniel Kennedy the Sum of ten Pounds Lastly I Nominate Constitute and appoint my beloved Wife Mary Bagley Executrix jointly with my good friends William Wilber Doveton John Doveton Thomas Bagley Esqr Orlando Bagley and my Son John when he arrives to the Age of Sixteen Years Executors to this my last Will and Testament Revoking all other Wills by me heretofore made Declaring this only to be my last Will and Testament In Witness whereof I have hereunto set my Hand and Seal the thirty first Day of July in the twenty fifth Year of his Majesty's Reign and in the Year of our Lord one Thousand seven Hundred and Eightyfive Signed Sealed Published and Declared by the Testator as and for his last Will and Testament in the presence of us who at his request in the presence of	John Bagley directed that his daughters each be paid the sum of £300 0s 0d on reaching age or on the day of marriage, the amount to be counted as part of their full share. He wished all his children to share equally in his estate. A just valuation was therefore to be made of that part of his estate not already valued or disposed of, and an equal division made of it, so that those to whom he had bequeathed land beyond their just share must pay the difference to complete an equal division. He gave to his goddaughter Mary Kennedy, daughter of Mr Nathaniel Kennedy, the sum of £10 0s 0d. Lastly, he named and appointed his wife Mary Bagley executrix, jointly with his good friends William Webber Doveton, John Doveton, Thomas Bagley, Orlando Bagley and his son John once he reached the age of sixteen, as executors of his will. He revoked every former will he had made, declaring this one alone to be his last. In witness of this he set his hand and seal on 31 July 1785, in the twenty-fifth year of the reign of the King. It was signed by John Bagley. The will was signed, sealed, published and declared by the testator as his last will and testament in the presence of the witnesses, who at his request signed their names in his presence and in the presence of each other. The witnesses were John Doveton, Elisha Isaacs junior and Orlando Bagley. **Interpretations** The whole scheme of valuing each parcel and requiring those given land beyond their share to pay the difference reveals the central problem these landed wills wrestled with. An estate made up chiefly of named parcels of differing worth could not be

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		each other Subscribed our Names as Witnesses (Signed) John Bagley (Signed) Jno Doveton Elisha Isacke Junr Orlando Bagley	divided evenly in kind, so the testator fixed a value on each holding and turned the surplus into a debt owed by the better-provided child to the others. This device reconciled the wish to settle particular lands on particular children with the duty to treat them all alike, the money adjustment squaring what the unequal parcels could not. The appointment of the son as an executor only on reaching sixteen shows again the staged admission of an heir to the management of his own inheritance. A boy could not act while under age, so the older executors carried the estate until the son was old enough to join them, an arrangement that brought him into the administration as he matured rather than excluding him entirely or burdening him before he was ready. The layering of the £300 0s 0d payments to the daughters on top of the lands and legacies already given them, all to be counted against their final shares, reflects the careful bookkeeping by which these estates were made to come out even. Each advance and each parcel was reckoned as part of a child's portion, so that gifts made at different times and in different forms were all brought to account in the end, the testator holding his children to a strict equality through a running tally of what each had received.
266	249	In the Name of God Amen I John Carrol of the Island of St Helena Shopkeeper Do make and declare this to be my last Will and Testament I give and bequeath to my two Friends John Thompson of said Island Shopkeeper and George Mead of the same Place All my Right Title Claim Interest and Possession in two Houses in James's Valley, for a term of Years yet to come and unexpired by virtue of Leases granted me by William Wrangham Esqr reference being thereto had will more fully appear I give & bequeath to my two Friends aforesaid All my Houshold Goods and Furniture Monies and Securities for Money, And all my worldly effects whatsoever In Trust nevertheless that they do and shall leave Sarah Cash with my Children in possession of the Houses for and during the term granted me And also in Possession of my Houshold Goods and Furniture till my natural Son Charles arrives at twenty one Years of Age but my Will and desire is that in case the said Sarah Cash do not behave as shall appear right to my Trustees that they immediately, take Possession of my Houses for the term granted me & my Houshold Goods & Furniture for the benefits of my Children My Will and desire also is that all my Monies and Securities for Money, that may be found at my decease are put and placed out at Interest on good Security as soon as Convenient may be for the benefit of my Children And my will and intention is that my three Children Charles, William, and Elizabeth do share and share alike of my Monies and Securities for Money, Goods Chattles and effects of any kind whatsoever As soon as they respectively, attain their Age of	A will followed, opening in the name of God. John Carrol of the island of St Helena, shopkeeper, made and declared his last will and testament. He gave and bequeathed to his two friends John Thompson of the island, shopkeeper, and George Mead of the same place all his right, title, claim, interest and possession in two houses in James Valley, held for a term of years yet to come under leases granted him by William Wrangham, to which reference could be had. He gave and bequeathed to his two friends all his household goods and furniture, money and securities for money, and all his worldly effects, in trust nevertheless that they leave Sarah Cash with his children in possession of the houses during the term granted him, and in possession of his household goods and furniture, until his son Charles reached the age of twenty-one. He wished, however, that should Sarah Cash not behave as his trustees thought right, they immediately take possession of the houses for the term granted him, and of his household goods and furniture, for the benefit of his children. He wished that all his money and securities for money found at his death be put out at interest on good security, as soon as convenient, for the benefit of his children. He wished his three children Charles, William and Elizabeth to share equally in his money, securities for money, goods, chattels and effects of every kind, as soon as they each reached age. **Interpretations** The arrangement placed the whole estate in the hands of two trustees rather than giving it directly to the children or to Sarah Cash, a device that answered the difficulty of providing for young children through an intermediary. The trustees held the houses, goods and money for the children's benefit, with Sarah Cash allowed to keep the home and raise the children only so long as she behaved as the trustees thought right, which shows a father using a trust to secure his estate for his children while entrusting their daily care to a woman whose conduct he made answerable to the trustees. The conditional nature of Sarah Cash's position, holding the house and goods with the children but liable to be displaced at the trustees' judgement, marks the careful control the testator sought to keep over the raising of his children after his death. Rather

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			than an outright gift of the home to her, he gave her a place in it dependent on her good conduct, the trustees empowered to remove her should she fail the children, an arrangement that used the trust to guard the children's welfare against the risk of a carer who might not serve them well. The direction to put the children's money out at interest on good security reflects the standard prudent management of a minor's inheritance. Money left idle earned nothing and might be lost, so placing it at interest preserved and grew the fund until the children came of age, and the insistence on good security shows the concern to keep the capital safe through the years of the children's minority, a careful stewardship of the small estate meant to carry them to adulthood.
267	250	of Twenty one Years or days of Marriage which shall first happen On, my then surviving Child or Children but in case of my childrens deaths I give and bequeath all my Goods Chattles, and effects of every kind whatsoever to the said Sarah Cash I do hereby Nominate & Appoint my two Trustees sole Executors of this my Will Dated at St Helena 30th January 1793 Signed Sealed and delivered by the Testator as & for his last Will & Testament in the presence of us who in his presence at his Request and in the presence of each other have subscribed our Names as Witnesses (Signed) Jno Carroll (Signed) Thomas Connor William Young Junr	John Carrol directed that his children take their shares on reaching the age of twenty-one or on marrying, whichever came first, the estate going to his surviving child or children. Should all his children die, he gave and bequeathed all his goods, chattels and effects of every kind to Sarah Cash. He named and appointed his two trustees sole executors of his will. The will was dated at St Helena on 30 January 1793. The will was signed, sealed and delivered by the testator as his last will and testament in the presence of the witnesses, who at his request signed their names in his presence and in the presence of each other. It was signed by John Carroll. The witnesses were Thomas Connor and William Young junior. **Interpretations** The gift over to Sarah Cash should all the children die placed her as the ultimate taker of the estate behind the children she was to raise. Named throughout as the woman entrusted with the home and the children's care, she stood to inherit the whole only if the children failed, which marks her as a person of real significance in the testator's life, perhaps their mother or guardian, provided for at the last after the children whose interests came first, her claim ranking behind theirs but ahead of any other.
268	251	Blank page	
269	252	Blank page	
270	253	Blank page	
271	254	EAP 1364 St Helena Document Name and Date Register of Wills 1746 - 1793 Dimensions (l x h x depth) (cm) (A) 47cm x (W) 31cm x (D) 5cm No. written pages: 2 No. blank pages: 266 Spine and cover Very good Condition. Recently rebound. Insice pages Good Condition. Pages are numbered by Scribe at top of pages, and also numbered in pencil at the bottom of pages. (on every other page) Additional comments The front of the book contains a typed Index (Included in the later years) Possibly during rebinding Time taken to photograph (hours) 5 hours	