

St Helena Letters from England 1744-1753

Introduction: This is the seventh volume in the series *St Helena Letters from England*. It includes incoming official correspondence from the East India Company in London to the island's Governor and Council, conveying directives on government, defence, trade, staffing and supplies. The letters were usually read in consultation and copied or abstracted into the records.

The fifth volume in this series covered the years 1717–1725, showing that letters from England for the intervening period of 1725–1744 have been lost. While many volumes of *Original Letters, &c., from St. Helena to the Court* are catalogued at the British Library in London (Reference IOR/G/32), no corresponding letters sent in the opposite direction - from the Court in London to St Helena - are held at that location. Thus, these *Letters from England* records held at St Helena are unique.

Source: Images of the original records can be viewed on the British Library's website: <https://eap.bl.uk/archive-file/EAP1364-1-3-7>.

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

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

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

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.

Text Loss: Many pages are bleached or faded, which created difficulties for AI transcription. The problem was compounded by excessive margin notes, some of which obscured or overwrote paragraph numbers, as well as by ink bleeding through from the reverse side of the pages.

It is also clear that pages have been lost from the manuscript. For instance, one letter concludes on page 34/31, while the following page, 35/32 shows the last page of another letter. Again, a letter ends abruptly

on 46/43 without any signatures or date and another ends without signatures on 79/76, the next starting without an introduction on the next page.

Pagination: The existing page numbering system has been disregarded. That system placed sequential numbers on the bottom left-hand corner of every right-hand page (appearing on Film Nos. 4, 6, 8, etc.), which would have required designations like 1R, 1V, 2R, 2V to account for both recto and verso sides of each leaf. For simplicity, a consecutive numbering scheme has been adopted instead: Film No. 4 corresponds to page 1 (location 4/1), Film No. 5 to page 2 (location 5/2), and so forth.

Dates: During the period covered by this volume, England and its colonies followed the Old-Style Julian calendar, under which the legal new year began on 25 March (Lady Day). The earliest letter recorded in this volume was sent from London on 31 January 1744. The last letter was dated on 28 November 1753.

These letters were sent from England during the administrations of David Dunbar (1744-1747) and Charles Hutchinson (1747-1764)

AI Generated Summary

Introduction

The Court of Directors of the East India Company wrote annually to the Governor and Council of St Helena, and the surviving letters covered here run from 1744 to 1753. The earliest years were dominated by the War of the Austrian Succession and closed with the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, after which the correspondence turns to the professionalising of the island's defences and the settled management of its shipping, provisioning and slaves. Each letter answered the Council's advices point by point, so the correspondence records London's priorities as much as the island's own affairs. Read critically, the material shows a small, fortified and chronically cash-poor outpost governed at several months' remove by directors preoccupied with defence, debt and the discipline of their own servants. [Film No. 4, 53, 104, 156]

The letters survive with gaps. Several break off mid-paragraph, some signatures are lost to damage and the Interpretations attached to each entry are a modern gloss rather than part of the original record. Material describing Governor Goodwin's estate and the island's provisioning recurs almost word for word between films 91 and 94, which may reflect scribal duplication in the surviving archive or a genuine repetition by the Court itself. The island appears throughout only through London's summary of its reports, since the source is the Court's outgoing correspondence rather than the island's own testimony. This limitation runs through every topic that follows. [Film No. 89, 91-94]

Governance and Administration

Across the earliest years the Court pressed the Council repeatedly toward better record-keeping. It complained that bills of exchange and certificates went unrecorded because their dates and payees were omitted, that cash accounts lacked day-by-day detail and that its own letters had arrived without any note that they had even been read in council. The remedy it imposed was strict. A council was to convene the moment a ship arrived, the packet was to be opened at once and every order minuted the same day, with a running diary kept between meetings and signed as each entry was approved rather than in a lump. The sheer repetition of these instructions across so many letters suggests the Council's paperwork remained loose for years despite London's insistence. [Film No. 16, 18-19, 27, 30]

The most consequential change of these years was the removal of Governor Dunbar, who had promised the Court he would not trade heavily and would not engross liquors, yet had done both to the oppression of the inhabitants. The Court answered by requiring a free and open trade to all persons and by appointing Charles Hutchinson as Governor at a salary of £500 0s 0d a year, with the government and all its books, cash and effects to pass to him at once. A postscript sent by the *Grantham* then qualified the trust it had just given, requiring Hutchinson to act in all things by the advice of the lieutenant and the secretary rather than alone. Dunbar himself was nonetheless treated with courtesy on his departure, fed at the Council's table and carried home at the Company's charge, a leniency that sits uneasily beside the severity of the Court's own complaints against him. [Film No. 31-35, 42]

Each despatch of the following years opened by listing every advice received since the last conveyance, naming the dates and the ships that carried them. This housekeeping mattered because loose and disordered consultations were hard to reconcile in London. The Court eventually ordered the Council to note the date of the previous consultation at the head of each new one, since batches arrived piecemeal. It also standardised the physical form of the island's paperwork, for bills had been written on paper too small to leave room for acceptance, and stores accounts lacked any note of weight or size. Half sheets for bills and demy paper of a common size for advices were ordered, together with a full specification of every anchor, cable, hook and line. The aim was a uniform and checkable archive rather than the correction of any single transaction. [Film No. 57, 65, 84, 89]

A committee of secrecy, usually three senior directors such as William Baker, Richard Chauncy and William Mabbott, fixed the signals and rendezvous for each season's shipping. This recurring formality reflected a genuine wartime concern, since the Company's silver and homeward cargoes were valuable and its ships sailed largely unescorted. The same practice continued into the 1750s, with Roger Drake, William Baker and William Mabbott holding the charge in 1751, and Richard Chauncy, Roger Drake, Christopher Burrow and William Mabbott holding it in 1753. The committee was renewed annually because a homeward fleet's safety could depend on signals kept from enemies and privateers. [Film No. 57, 84, 104, 121, 141]

Parliament passed an act in 1751 reforming the calendar and moving the start of the legal year from 25 March to 1 January. The Court ordered every book, account and proceeding on the island to follow the new dating from then on, so that a statute passed at Westminster reached directly into the island's routine bookkeeping. When David Hunter left for the East Indies in 1751, the Court transferred his whole office to John Adamson, granting him Hunter's salary of £250 0s 0d a year, his £100 0s 0d diet money, his apartments and the use of the Company slaves Hunter had enjoyed. The Court also fixed a line of succession, naming Adamson to take the government if Governor Charles Hutchinson died or was absent, so that a senior post's pay and privileges were tied to the office itself rather than to any one man. [Film No. 113, 118, 130]

By 1753 the Court wished to avoid being drawn into the island's private lawsuits. Having paid for counsel's opinion in a dispute between the executors Goodwin and Harper, it ordered that future doubtful cases be settled locally instead, and that the parties themselves, not the Company, bear the cost of any outside legal opinion. This retreat from private litigation marks the settled, cautious administration of the later years, in contrast to the closer intervention of the wartime period. [Film No. 156]

Military Affairs and Defence

Fortification was declared the Governor's principal object throughout the early correspondence, ranked above repairs to dwelling houses and stores alike. The Court welcomed the new battery ordered at Sandy Bay on the very day Hutchinson took the chair, and it noted with approval that the inhabitants had agreed to send one third of their slaves to help build it, treating the planters' willingness to commit their slaves' labour as a sign of the harmony it prized. On the military establishment itself, the Court barred Irishmen from future service and permitted doubtful Roman Catholic soldiers to be exchanged for men from Bencoolen, a policy readily explained by the Jacobite rising of 1745 and the wider suspicion it cast over Catholic loyalty within British garrisons at exactly this date. [Film No. 8, 10, 41-42]

Wartime caution shaped the island's dealings with foreigners. French ships were to be received civilly once peace returned, yet their crews were still barred from going up into the country or viewing the fortifications, a restriction the Court had applied throughout the war and was unwilling to drop at once. Salutes fired for ordinary commanders were abolished to save powder, reserved thereafter for flag officers and the Company's own returning Governor, a small economy that nonetheless reveals how closely the Court audited even ceremonial expense on a station it considered chronically short of money. [Film No. 43-44, 49]

The most substantial military development of the middle years was the appointment of Benjamin Robins as engineer general of the Company's East Indies settlements and St Helena, with a further commission as commander in chief of the artillery. His instructions gave him free access to every paper touching the

fortifications and a vote at military consultations wherever he travelled. He could also suspend or dismiss unfit artillery officers, though he had to certify his reasons home. This scale of authority marks a shift toward professional military engineering directed from London. He arrived with six named assistants, a smith and a carpenter engaged for 5 years, and a system of independent inspectors and duplicate certificates against fraud in the works, so that no workman was paid and no material accepted without a certificate examined and countersigned by Robins himself. At Calcutta he was told to design new works so that an initial stage could later be built into a complete fortress without demolition. [Film No. 62, 68-76, 83]

The garrison remained chronically short of men. Only 16 of the soldiers returning under Admiral Boscawen could be persuaded to re-enlist, so the Court raised the re-engagement bounty from 5 guineas to £10 0s 0d and lifted the sentinel's pay to 10d a day. Thirty recruits meant for the west coast were on no account to be detained at St Helena, showing how the island's own wants were repeatedly subordinated to the needs of Fort Marlborough. Promotion generally followed seniority, but the Court twice insisted that merit could override it for a vacant lieutenantancy. A discharge fee of 10s wrongly levied on time-served soldiers was ordered stopped, and when the former soldier John Gold complained from England of hardships suffered on the island, the Court required a full local enquiry and a report, so that even a private soldier's grievance could reach the directors themselves. [Film No. 64-65, 95-98, 101]

By the early 1750s the garrison's pay followed a single graded scale. A first lieutenant or master gunner earned 5s 0d a day, a private sentinel earned 10d, and the matross, the lowest grade of the gun crews, earned 1s 0d a day. Diet money and house rent, paid to certain officers on top of these rates, formed a real part of their income on an island where food and lodging were costly. Officers reached the garrison by two channels, some coming as trained regulars from the King's foot guards, such as Stephen Herbert and Frances Mowatt in 1751, and others rising from within, as when Lieutenant Joseph Kendall first held the adjutancy alongside his lieutenantancy for half pay, then resigned it so a full-time adjutant could be appointed at the complete rate. The Court could not confirm which officer the island had recommended for that post, since the Council's letter omitted his name, and supposed the man meant was probably Herbert, a small omission that showed how easily a gap in an island despatch became a real obstacle to business conducted wholly by letter. [Film No. 109, 110, 111, 133, 134]

Recruits usually arrived in batches of about 60 men, split between the island's own garrison and the settlements on the west coast of Sumatra, and none bound for Fort Marlborough were to be detained on any pretence. Soldiers who had served their term and would not re-enlist on the island were offered £8 0s 0d to sign on instead at Fort Marlborough, the bounty being the Company's device for keeping trained men within its own system rather than losing them home to England. From 1752 deserters recovered from other Indian settlements were no longer sent back to the garrison they had fled but were kept to serve out their time at St Helena, so that the island's isolation, once a hardship, became a form of secure confinement for unreliable men. Soldiers discharged and sent home were required, under a 1753 ruling, to take their wives with them, and if a wife refused to leave the Council could compel her departure unless she could support herself at no cost to the Company. [Film No. 111, 112, 133, 150]

Discharged soldiers had complained that spoiled provisions were issued as part of their pay and that officers took a 50 per cent markup on clothing stopped from their wages. The Council investigated and, on the word of the storekeeper, cooper and commanding officers, found both charges groundless. The Court accepted this finding but still pressed the island to see that the soldiery had justice done them in future, a sign of some lingering unease at accepting testimony from the very officers accused. The Court also approved plans for new barracks and a hospital, to be built of island stone by Company slaves, with the soldiers expected to give their own labour free since the buildings would chiefly benefit them. Materials for both projects proved too bulky to ship at once, so only the barracks timber was sent first. In 1753 the Court appointed Lieutenant Colonel Scott engineer general of all its eastern settlements, including St Helena, and directed him to survey the island's fortifications on his way home from India, bringing a single professional standard to defences each station had previously managed on its own. [Film No. 112, 132, 133, 138, 145, 149]

Foreign warships were to be saluted first and answered gun for gun, but foreign governors and dignitaries were to receive no particular compliment beyond this, and foreigners of any rank were never to be shown the island's fortifications, even in the Governor's own company. St Helena's importance as a fortified strongpoint, not merely a refreshment stop, is plain in this careful reserve. In 1753 a Prussian ship, named the *King of Prussia* in one part of the record and the *Emden* in the next, left St Helena without saluting the fort. The slight was reported to London and laid before the King himself, and the Duke of Newcastle answered with a formal letter ordering that due honour be paid to the flag by every nation's ships, and that any of the King's subjects found serving aboard a foreign vessel be sent home. A single unsaluted departure could therefore reach the level of the Crown, and the inconsistency over the ship's own name shows that even a precise correspondence could blur a basic fact once it had passed through several hands. [Film No. 122, 143, 144, 145]

Settlement, Land and Agriculture

Two early disputes reveal how the Court balanced subsistence against profit on the island's land. It reversed fines levied on planters for destroying goats to favour the growth of ebony, ruling the goats of far more use to the poorer planters than the timber, and it directed that lapsed leases upon lives be renewed on the old terms so that tenants were left quiet in their holdings rather than unsettled by a stricter renegotiation. Grazing cattle in the great wood was allowed only so far as the Council judged it did the Company no harm, a conditional indulgence repeated in more than one letter, while the plantation house itself was left in poor repair for years, its rebuilding deferred behind the fortifications the Court ranked first. [Film No. 8-9, 15, 20, 36, 52]

The rebuilding of the Governor's plantation house was debated across several despatches without final settlement in London. The Court agreed to add two rooms of 20 feet square if the existing walls proved sound, and sent materials for that scheme, together with plain tiles used in place of pantiles to save space in the hold. It also licensed a complete new house to a settled plan should the walls prove unfit, leaving the final judgement to the men who could actually see the building. Skilled cultivation depended on hired specialists rather than the existing population, and the gardener's post went first to James Carey and, after he changed his mind at the last moment, to James Sheridan on the same generous terms of £40 0s 0d a year for a 5-year term. Such a modest post commanded pay close to a junior factor's, showing how directly the island's food supply depended on cultivated ground. [Film No. 60, 61, 88-89, 97]

By the early 1750s the island kept about 100 horses and mares, several of them breeders. The Court judged them a serious check on the horned cattle it valued far more, since both competed for the same scarce grazing, and it therefore ordered every stone colt and horse gelded, cutting off their increase at the source. Even the island's livestock was managed in close detail wherever it touched the food supply the garrison depended on. [Film No. 116, 117]

Supply and Provisioning

The charter parties under which the Company hired ships bound the Council to unload within 10 working days or pay demurrage, and this single financial pressure drove much of the early correspondence's urgency about landing goods and despatching ships onward to Bencoolen or Fort Marlborough. To meet the island's chronic want of durable timber the Court directed its Bengal establishment to load teak planks, 3 to 5 inches thick, on every ship bound for St Helena, judging teak better suited than English oak to platforms and gun carriages. Horses, asses and bullocks were recommended for heavy carrying so as to spare the slaves that labour, and when a long drought struck the island the Court responded by sending stores and by approving the Council's own resort to rice and salt provisions drawn from passing Company ships. [Film No. 4, 10, 37, 46, 50, 52]

Feeding the homeward and outward fleets from a small island stock required careful management. The Court's cattle scheme divided the planters' beef between early and late arriving ships, fixing licensed quantities before 25 March and leaving later ships to whatever the planters could spare. No price was fixed for the Company's own shipping, yet foreigners were held to a floor of 6d a pound. A later despatch shows the scheme's limits in practice, for a few planters had exploited the previous year's open pricing to overcharge the garrison or withhold their quotas. Rather than restore a fixed maximum, the Court chose to

name and threaten individual offenders, preserving the open market for the compliant majority, while salt provisions were to be issued in order of spoilage risk and fresh beef bought opportunistically from passing commanders. The Council's difficulty in supplying Admiral Boscawen's returning squadron with beef was resolved only by persuading him that compliance would distress the Company's own shipping, illustrating the tension between St Helena's role as a victualling station and the navy's wartime demands on the same limited stock. [Film No. 59-60, 88, 92, 94]

In the later years cargo space governed most provisioning decisions. Flour was sent in place of bulky bread once the island showed a preference for it, and an indent for 20,000 tiles was cut to 10,000 for want of room. Ale and Cape brandy, both found unsatisfactory on the island, were struck from the standing orders given to commanders, and cotton wick was redirected from London to the presidency of Bengal, which could supply it more cheaply from its own manufacture. The Court repeatedly pressed the island for more precise indents, since a vague request risked the wrong goods being sent across an ocean, and at different times the dimensions of Riga timber and Christiania deals, the sizes of pewter basins and the exact bore and trunnion measurements of guns were all left out of St Helena's orders. A dispute over the price of soldiers' shirts and rollers, which the island had halved on suspicion of an error, was settled against the Council once the Court checked several years of prior invoices and found the higher charge correct throughout. Old and unserviceable cannon, firelocks and bayonets, together with a worn guard-house bell, were shipped home freight free rather than left idle on the island, so that even condemned property was treated as an asset still worth recovering. [Film No. 106, 107, 122, 124, 145, 146, 147]

Judiciary

The early file contains little that resembles formal judicial process, since it is a directors' administrative correspondence rather than a record of courts sitting on the island. What judicial character it does show lies chiefly in the winding-up of Governor Goodwin's estate, where debtors were to be heard on an equitable and impartial footing and allowed reasonable time so that none was distressed, and in the settlement of Duke Crispe's disputed account by arbitration rather than litigation. Monthly examination of the cash accounts in council functioned as a quasi-judicial check on the island's own officers, but a reader looking for criminal proceedings or formal hearings will not find them in this run of letters, a limitation of the source rather than of the island's actual practice. [Film No. 6, 28, 39]

The Court's own reasoning appears clearly in two refusals recorded together in the middle years. It would not approve putting any slaves to death, and it rejected the Council's grounds for expelling free black women from the island, since cheap labour served every community's interest. Both rulings protected the island's working population, yet the second rested on economic calculation rather than any principle of the women's own standing. Elsewhere the Court policed the forms of probate and debt with some consistency, ruling that surpluses from a sold estate were to be paid only to a person with a legal right established by probate or letters of administration. After money held on trust for a dead planter's orphans was found lent out, the Court forbade absolutely any future lending of Company cash on any pretence. [Film No. 54, 62-63]

Several inheritance disputes reached the Court in the later years because they touched Company servants who died on or passed through the island, and each was handled the same way, with a local enquiry ordered from London followed by a decision grounded in its findings. James DuBois claimed a distributive share of the late John French's estate on behalf of his infant daughter, and after enquiry the Council confirmed that French's grandchildren, standing in the place of a mother who had died before her own father, had an undoubted right to a share under the ordinary law of intestate succession. A like sum was found due to the children of William Seale. The Court nonetheless kept the Company itself out of what it called a matter entirely of a private nature, forbidding the Council to use any compulsory power against the estate's administrator. [Film No. 136, 152, 153]

The late Governor Goodwin's estate took several years to close, and the correspondence shows why. A recoverable balance of £306 17s 3d was distinguished from £51 3s 11d judged probably beyond recovery. A receipt produced by Joshua Johnson to prove a debt paid was set aside once two witnesses showed no payment had ever been made, and a counterclaim by John Desfontain was treated with suspicion because

it had never first been raised before the island's own court. By 1753 the Court was still demanding fuller, evidenced claims from every creditor, including one from Mr Wrangham resting on nothing more than a reference to a trial at the quarter sessions of 19 September 1741. It even included Eleanor Worrall's demand, mentioned in a letter years earlier but never formally submitted, so that no legitimate claim was lost through delay. [Film No. 114, 115, 116, 134, 154, 155]

Economy

The Court's stated commitment to free and open trade ran up against its own Governor's conduct when Dunbar was found engrossing liquors, and its remedy of throwing trade open to all persons shows how easily a Governor's control of shipping could be turned into a private monopoly if left unchecked. A later proposal to sell licensed cargo by public auction in moderate lots, so that anyone might bid without restraint, aimed at the same target by a gentler method. Relief for the poorer planters took the form of a reduced mark-up on clothing, cut from 40 per cent to 25 per cent above invoice price, paired with rents on plantation land held at 2s 6d an acre until 1750 out of the Court's professed sympathy for its many poor families. [Film No. 5, 33, 43]

The beef market shows a wider tension between free trade and the Company's need for cheap supply. Pricing was left open for sales to the Company's own ships and to the local market, trusting competition to keep rates reasonable, while foreign buyers were held to a set minimum. The near-uniform hiring of ships at 499 tons for the 1751 season, each with 99 men and 26 guns, was probably a deliberate device rather than coincidence, since vessels of 500 tons and above were obliged to carry a chaplain, and registering ships just under that threshold saved the Company an obligation across an entire season's fleet. [Film No. 60, 102]

A long-running dispute over the planters' supply of the weekly market ended in a compulsory regime set out by the Court in 1751. The Council was to take an exact census of every planter's cattle and sheep, levy beef and fresh provisions from each in proportion to his stock and forbid any private sale to shipping without a written licence. Every licence was to be granted free, so that no officer could profit by the system, and the whole arrangement was entered in the island diary, giving London a written record against which to judge whether it had been administered fairly. Some planters still resisted by refusing to sell poultry unless the buyer also took a live beast, a practice the Court ordered stopped as an imposition on the very shipping the island existed to serve. The market's own officers were later found buying beef cheaply from the planters and reselling it to Company servants at a profit, and when the Council proposed paying the clerk of the market a salary, the Court refused any charge on its own funds, insisting instead that the seller bear the clerk's fee, a sharp response to a scheme of profiteering dressed up as a public office. [Film No. 108, 126, 127, 128, 129, 137, 148]

Social Order

The Court read the inhabitants' silence, in a year when no complaint reached London, as proof of good harmony among them and took real satisfaction in it, evidence of how far the settlers' contentment mattered to a Company anxious to keep its planters from drifting away. Servants who misbehaved at the general table could be excluded from it until they showed themselves properly aware of their fault, a mild social discipline short of formal punishment. When the Council dismissed the writer James Powell merely to reduce numbers, the Court insisted on his reinstatement, ruling that a Court appointment could not be undone to solve a surplus of the Council's own making, a sharp reminder of where ultimate authority over personnel lay. [Film No. 21, 42]

A graduated system of covenants and sureties bound every Company servant according to his station. Junior servants entered fresh covenants on reaching majority, and officers gave larger security on promotion. Even Benjamin Robins, though granted unusual authority, was bound by a covenant fixing his term of service in India. He received the civil and military honours of the third in council without a formal seat in the island's government, which secured his authority while keeping his mission distinct from the ordinary line of command, and every servant was required to assist him on pain of the Court's displeasure. [Film No. 55-56, 80]

Religion and Education

The Reverend William Loveday was engaged as chaplain at £100 0s 0d a year, with a place at the general table and the customary fees of the office, though when no suitable apartment could be found in the castle he was instead given the same diet allowance his predecessor had enjoyed. He later borrowed £50 0s 0d from the Court against a bond repayable out of his growing salary, a device the Company applied to more than one new servant needing to establish himself. Provision for education was thinner, and a clerk for the church was judged worth only £20 0s 0d a year rather than the £40 0s 0d first proposed, the Court fixing the lower figure by comparison with the three dollars a month paid for the same office at Bencoolen. [Film No. 7, 28, 33, 39]

Three chaplains passed through St Helena within the middle years. William Loveday was discharged abruptly, with no reason recorded in the letters. John Dobie succeeded him and died in office, his effects carefully inventoried and his gown, cassock and books left to the Council's discretion. William Lee followed on an advance of £50 0s 0d secured by a bond to be cancelled once repaid. The silence over Loveday's removal, set against the careful winding up of Dobie's estate, shows how completely the Court could exercise its authority without explanation to the island. [Film No. 61-62, 91, 99-100]

Religious provision in the later years rested on improvised substitutes rather than a settled ministry. Mr Beale was paid £40 0s 0d a year to read prayers in the church between the dismissal of Mr Loveday and the arrival of the Reverend Mr Lee. The chaplain who kept the parish lists of marriages, baptisms and burials was reprimanded in 1751 for omitting the year from his return, an error the Court insisted be corrected. The clearest educational requirement recorded here concerned entry to the Company's own service, for William Wrangham could not begin his writership until he was fully 16 years old and had completed a regular course of merchants' accounts, a qualification paired with a £500 0s 0d bond from two English sureties before he came near the Company's books. [Film No. 114, 131]

Trade and Shipping

Every ship that touched at St Helena arrived under a charter party whose demurrage clause set the tempo of island life, and the Court's early letters return again and again to the need for prompt unloading and a swift onward passage to Bencoolen, Fort Marlborough or the China fleet at Java Head. Foreign vessels paid a premium for the privilege of calling, with beef at 6d a pound against 5d charged to the Company's own ships, and cash advanced to foreign supercargoes at 6s 6d for every Spanish dollar in consideration of the risk of keeping specie on the island. To break the hold of overcharging private captains the Court committed its own Bengal ships to a regular annual call, matching the standing arrangement already in place from Bencoolen. [Film No. 4, 14, 22, 37, 41, 46]

Bills of lading sent home ahead of the ship, and copied again by pursers from the first English port, gave the Court an independent check on cargo. The wreck of the *Duke of Cumberland* in the Bay of Ayoze near Cape de Verde in January prompted a salvage attempt using two vessels and the escort of one of the King's 20-gun ships, but the attempt returned without recovering the treasure still lying in the hull, showing how far the risk of exposed salvage could outweigh even a substantial sum in bullion. The season's fleet for 1751 was listed by name, tonnage, complement and consignment to the Coast and Bay or to China, and alongside these large uniform ships the *Delaware*, smaller at 400 tons with 80 men and 20 guns, was consigned to Madagascar and Fort St George, its route pointing directly to the Indian Ocean slave trade running alongside the Company's ordinary commerce. [Film No. 58, 85-87, 98, 102-103]

Three successive seasons' shipping lists in the later years show the Company's fleet sent out in a settled pattern, with most ships going to the Coast and China and smaller groups bound for the Bay, Bombay and Persia. Nearly every vessel was rated at exactly 499 tons, since ships of 500 tons and over were required by law to carry a chaplain, and a handful of smaller hulls, among them the *Egmont*, the *Portfield*, the *True Briton* and the *Anson*, fell naturally under that threshold and were manned and armed accordingly. The Court's own ships the *Dragon* and the *Swallow* were fitted out for Madagascar in 1751 to bring back slaves for the presidencies of Fort St George and Bombay, a deliberate use of Company shipping for the slave trade running alongside the ordinary commercial fleet in the very same season's list. Every charter carried a demurrage clause penalising the Company if a ship was held at St Helena beyond the 10 working days

allowed for unloading, and the Council was pressed each season to clear cargo quickly and to protest formally against any commander who overstayed. St Helena's cash chest also served shipping beyond the Company's own, and in 1751 the Court settled a bill for £195 0s 0d owed by Mr Rouge, agent of the French East India Company, after Captain Denimel of *La Paix* had drawn 600 dollars from the island's cash for his own expenses, a loan that crossed national and corporate lines even in a period of rivalry yet was settled through the same instrument the Company used among its own ships. [Film No. 105, 120, 121, 122, 141, 142]

Slavery and Coerced Labour

Slaves appear throughout the early correspondence as a form of property and as a labour force to be directed rather than as people whose own circumstances the Court thought worth recording. Two slaves left behind by a Dutch captain were simply kept and worked in the Company's service until their owner should claim them, a casual absorption of unclaimed people into island labour that the Court noted without any apparent unease. Slaves were trained to assist the soldiers at the great guns, and when the inhabitants sent one third of their own slaves to help build the battery at Sandy Bay the Court took this kindly, praising the contribution of forced labour to the island's defence in the same breath as it praised the planters who supplied it. [Film No. 7-8, 41-42]

Clothing decisions expose the same logic of cheap and marked provision. The Court refused to dress slaves in silk alejars even though the garments cost nothing, judging silk improper wear for the people it intended to keep visibly distinguished, and it preferred instead to have slaves taught to sew their own jackets and breeches once the price charged by outside tailors struck it as excessive. Slaves sent from Bencoolen were described as needing to be kept at constant labour so that they might be cured of what the Court called a mischievous temper and made of real service to the Company, language that survives only in the directors' own words and probably says more about the Company's wish to justify coercion than about the true character of the people so described. Set against the wider Atlantic and Indian Ocean slave trade of the period, this file offers only the Company's side of the account, and no slave's own voice or grievance survives here. [Film No. 14, 29]

The Court's language in the middle years continued to treat slaves as property to be managed for the Company's advantage. A slave belonging to Mr Fountain, who concealed himself aboard the *Exeter* to escape the island, was returned to his owner on the *Suffolk* at the ship's expense, an act of resistance recorded only as a matter of recovery and cost. The refusal to approve executing slaves, and the dismissal of plans to expel free black women, were both framed around the value of cheap labour rather than any recognition of the individuals concerned. Read alongside the *Delaware's* consignment to Madagascar, these entries place St Helena within a wider Company system that used slave labour on the island and also moved slaves as cargo between its eastern stations, a continuity the correspondence never acknowledges directly. [Film No. 54, 67, 102-103]

The later correspondence states the proprietary view with unusual candour in the case of 15 slaves who escaped by stealing a longboat in 1752. The Court called their flight a loss not easily repaired and one that would be attended with considerable expense, framing 15 people's bid for freedom as damage to Company stock rather than an act of will. The sea offered the only route off the island, so a stolen boat gave a group of slaves a rare chance that individuals seldom had. In 1751 three men and one woman were reported to have fled by boat and were suspected of boarding the departing French ship *Diana*, whose commander, Captain De Nancourt, protested in writing that he knew nothing of them, leaving the Company dependent on a foreign captain's word alone. Bonded labour moved between the Company's settlements as a matter of routine supply, and St Helena's request for 30 Madagascar slaves was to be met not by a direct voyage but by an order to Fort St George to forward them from that presidency's own stock. When Governor Dunbar left the island, his brother and executor claimed payment for an Indian man named James, held as Dunbar's personal property and never charged to the Company, and the Court directed the island to value both the man and his past service, deducting the cost of his upkeep, language that reduced a human being to a chargeable item in a dead man's account. [Film No. 105, 106, 138, 139, 142, 147]

Not every case was handled with pure indifference. The slave Jack Defence fled to England by concealing himself aboard the *True Briton*, giving cruel treatment by the armourer as his reason. The Court sent him instead to Fort St George aboard the *Dragon*, ordered an enquiry into the armourer's conduct and issued a general instruction that all Company slaves be treated humanely. This concern for the treatment of Company property should not be mistaken for any doubt about the institution itself, for the same instruction that urged humane treatment also assumed, without question, the Company's right to hold and value the men and women it called its slaves. [Film No. 129]

Finance, Currencies, Bartering and Accounting

A single rule ran through the Court's early handling of money paid into the Company's cash at St Helena, namely a certificate where the sum ultimately belonged to the Company itself, and a negotiable bill of exchange where it belonged to a private party who needed to realise it in London. Money repaying a captain's own respondentia loan, a form of maritime finance secured on cargo rather than the ship, drew only a certificate, while money held for a deceased planter's legacy or an absent creditor's estate drew a bill that could be presented for cash. The same distinction protected the Company from disputes over ownership it could not investigate at such a distance, and it recurs so often across these letters that it plainly functioned as settled Company policy rather than a case-by-case judgement. [Film No. 5, 11, 20-21, 33, 41, 49]

The Court also spent years unwinding the debts of the late Governor Goodwin, whose estate it charged with £910 0s 0d paid to Captain Mason's heirs and with £791 0s 11d paid to Isaac Pyke as a bond creditor, while it bought Goodwin's own house in James Valley for £500 0s 0d to set against what he owed and left Eleanor Worrall's legacy unpaid until every prior claim on the estate was settled. A currency reform fixed the pagoda, a coin of the Company's eastern trade, at 8s on the island, removing the uncertainty a floating rate had produced in local dealings, while a separate correction ended the practice of entering the same disbursement in both the cash accounts and the paymaster's books, a duplication that had made the Company appear charged twice for every sum it paid. [Film No. 6, 12, 17, 22, 26-28, 39]

Treasure moved between stations as a flexible reserve rather than a fixed allocation, and the island could detain a chest for seasonal expenses while notifying whichever settlement had been due to receive it. The *Swallow* carried a half chest of ship's stock payable into whichever cash chest the commander was last despatched from, a mobility that answered the chronic difficulty of supplying isolated stations with coin. Bills of exchange drawn on London financed transactions the Company's cash on hand could not cover, and Captain Ulrick Wortman, a Danish commander, received £230 0s 0d in cash against bills for £299 0s 0d on a London merchant. The first bill was lost with its ship, and the second went briefly astray in transmission, recovered only because the merchant Mr Collet notified the Court of the error. The estates of Company servants who died on the island, among them Governor Goodwin, Mr Wright and Mr Dobie, were settled through the same exacting bookkeeping applied to ordinary trade, with debts recovered at 6 per cent interest and surpluses credited only to those with proven legal title. The unexplained delay in entering Wright's estate on the general books, which the Court demanded be explained, shows the directors' underlying distrust of the island's accounting. [Film No. 58-59, 89-91, 99]

In the later years the Court allowed the Council, when short of cash, to draw on chests of treasure passing through to Fort Marlborough, taking only the amount strictly necessary, resealing the chest and sending an account to the west coast settlement. This controlled diversion let St Helena meet its running costs from cargo in transit rather than wait for a dedicated remittance, and the Court invoked it more than once across the period. A close reading of the island's cash balance in 1752 turned up coin that never varied from month to month, namely 12 pieces of gold, 70 Venetians and 12 gold rupees worth £112 12s 0d, along with about 6,000 pagodas. The Court judged this coin too static to count as working currency and ordered it remitted home or reported on for its usefulness, and the mixture of Venetian, Indian and Coromandel coin in a single chest shows how many currencies passed through St Helena. A shipment of five gold pieces was found, on weighing, to fall a pennyweight and a few grains short of the figure certified in Captain Hindman's receipt, and even so small a discrepancy was noted precisely, showing the exacting standard applied to any gap between a bullion consignment and its paperwork. [Film No. 104, 125, 147]

Crime and Punishment

Formal sanction in the early correspondence was mild and mostly administrative rather than judicial. Public houses could be licensed to sell liquor to the garrison on the English model, but forfeiture of the licence stood as the penalty for keeping poor order, and planters or soldiers wanting drink for their own homes were expressly protected from being confined to those licensed sutlers. The Court's refusal to sanction Dunbar's fining of the whole Council a quarter's salary was itself a form of punishment applied upward rather than downward, asserting that authority over the Company's servants and their pay belonged to London alone and could not be exercised by a Governor acting on his own judgement. [Film No. 34, 38]

Suspected misconduct in the middle years was usually treated as a matter of loose custody rather than prosecuted crime. When a longboat and a pinnacle were driven out to sea on 3 July and lost, the Court suspected they had been set loose on purpose or made fast carelessly, but no further proceeding is recorded beyond a demand that the Council look into the matter. The 10s discharge fee wrongly levied on soldiers, whether they had served their full time or not, was treated as an imposition to be stopped rather than a matter for punishing whoever had collected it, again showing a preference for administrative correction over formal sanction against named individuals. [Film No. 64, 87]

Discipline over the island's specialist servants in the later years was applied without much sentiment once trust broke down. The surgeon Samuel Falconer was dismissed as an irreclaimable drunkard, despite the difficulty of replacing a medical officer at so remote a post, and the armourer Henry Brimson and the carpenter William Oakman were dismissed together as unfit and promptly replaced by named successors at fixed salaries, so the work of the station continued without a gap. Joshua Johnson tried to rely on a receipt in full that two witnesses proved false, and the Court refused to let the document stand, on the ground that a man who used a false acquittance to escape a genuine debt deserved no further forbearance, so that formal paperwork gave way to the facts once the Court had reason to doubt it. [Film No. 115, 151, 152]

Personalities

Governor Dunbar dominates the middle years of the early correspondence as a cautionary figure, a man who had given his word against trading and engrossing liquor yet broke it to the oppression of those under his rule, and whose replacement by Charles Hutchinson was accompanied by careful limits on the new Governor's own freedom of action. The dead Governor Goodwin looms almost as large, his house, debts and creditors occupying the Court's attention for years after his death and drawing in figures such as Isaac Pyke and Eleanor Worrall who had claims upon his estate. Smaller portraits stand out against this background, among them the reeve Mr Doveton, praised as a perfect master of all country business and paid accordingly, Mrs Alcock, refused a pension because the Company kept no fund for decayed servants' families and left instead to her father's support, and the chaplain William Loveday, whose maintenance the Court adjusted to his actual circumstances while holding its value to a settled figure. [Film No. 9, 12, 29, 31-34, 39]

Benjamin Robins stands out as the dominant figure of the middle years, a civilian mathematician and engineer given military rank, a vote in island councils and powers of dismissal ordinarily reserved to the Court itself. Governor Goodwin's death left an estate untangled for years through bonds, debtors and legal claimants, while Admiral Boscawen's demand for beef, and the loss of most of his re-enlisting soldiers, show a naval officer whose needs repeatedly collided with the island's limited resources. Smaller figures round out the picture, for the secretary Thomas French carried out 9 months of extra duty unpaid until the Court verified his claim, and the discharged soldier John Gold pursued a written grievance from England to the Court's own committee of shipping, each pressing a claim against the Company's machinery and eventually being heard. [Film No. 68, 88, 90, 95, 96, 100]

Thomas Greentree was named by the Court as the most active agitator behind the planters' 1751 remonstrance over market prices, and he was ordered deported to England as an example to the rest, then pardoned two years later once the Council vouched for his contrition, the Court using both the threat of removal and its withdrawal as instruments for keeping a small and closely watched community quiet. Elizabeth Meacock, widow of the Company's cooper, appealed directly to the Court in 1751 after her husband's executors withheld both his effects and any account of their dealings, and London ordered the

Council to compel a proper reckoning and to secure her the annuity that was hers by right before her marriage, a rare instance of the correspondence protecting an individual woman against men who had failed a formal trust. David Hunter's departure for the East Indies in 1751 set off a chain of appointments and claims that ran through the whole correspondence, for his office passed to John Adamson, and years later Hunter himself claimed a small debt of £21 16s 3d in right of his wife, which the Court found harder to verify precisely because he was no longer on the island to support it. [Film No. 117, 118, 126, 130, 148, 155]

Conclusion

Taken as a whole, the letters covering film numbers 4 to 156 show St Helena as a fortified, cash-short and periodically drought-stricken outpost, its garrison, planters and slaves all drawn into the Company's twin purposes of defence and shipping. The earliest years were overshadowed first by war with France and then by the settlement reached at Aix-la-Chapelle, the middle years by the professionalising military programme embodied in Benjamin Robins, and the later years by a settled routine of graded pay, licensed markets and closely audited accounts. The Court's own priorities, demurrage, documentary precision, the tracing of every sum to its rightful head and the winding-up of a dead Governor's estate, occupy far more of the correspondence than the daily life of the island itself, a bias the reader should hold in view. [Film No. 4, 53, 68, 156]

Across the whole period the Court sought to govern St Helena through exact paperwork, graduated financial incentive and, where it could, direct intervention in the smallest details of the island's economy. The same due process that protected a widow's annuity or an infant's inheritance operated within a system that treated slaves throughout as property, to be valued, transferred and occasionally protected from cruelty, but never as persons whose bondage itself might be questioned. St Helena's function, stated bluntly by the Court, was to refresh Company shipping and support its garrison, and every dispute over markets, pay or provisions examined here played out within that overriding purpose rather than against it. Because the file preserves only the directors' outward voice, the experience of the planters, soldiers and above all the slaves whose labour built the batteries and worked the guns survives here chiefly as an object of Company management rather than as testimony in its own right. [Film No. 54, 104, 128, 156]

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern interpretation and analysis
<u>1</u>		EAP 1364 St Helena Document Name and Date St Helena Letters from England 1744-1753 Photographer Shelley and Charuze Date photographed 16/12/21 Additional comments	
<u>2</u>		Book cover	
<u>3</u>		Blank page	
<u>4</u>	1	Our Governour and Council of St Helena We wrote last the 23th April 1744 by the Ship Portto Bello, Copy of our said Letter is enclosed Since then We have received your Advices that were dated the 12th March, 15th and 22th May, 10th 22, 23, and 30th June last Enclosed is a List of Ships it hath pleased God to return unto Us in safety and also a List of the Ships taken up for the carrying on Our Trade since the Portto Bello's Departure This comes by Our Ship Queen Caroline Captain Benjamin Mason Commander, We have put on board Sundry Goods and Stores in compliance with your Indent as [per] Invoice and Bill of Lading enclosed The usual clause is inserted in this Ships Charterparty whereby We are subject to pay Demorage in case she is detain'd longer than her Working Days at your place, therefore hasten her away with all expedition to Bencoolen, giving the Commander Orders to proceed directly thither forwarding the	Our Governor and Council of St Helena 1: The Court last wrote on 23 April 1744 by the ship <i>Portobello</i> , and a copy of that letter is enclosed. 2: Since then the Court had received the advices sent on 12 March, on 15 and 22 May, and on 10, 22, 23 and 30 June. 3: Enclosed was a list of the ships that had returned safely, together with a list of the ships taken up to carry on the trade since the <i>Portobello</i> left. 4: This letter came by the Company's ship <i>Queen Caroline</i> under Captain Benjamin Mason. The Court had loaded her with various goods and stores to meet the Council's order, as set out in the invoice and bill of lading enclosed. 5: The usual clause was written into this ship's charter party, making the Court liable to pay demurrage if she was held longer than her lay days at the island. The Court therefore wanted her sent away quickly and directed to Bencoolen without delay, with the commander ordered to sail straight there and to forward the necessary advices and a copy of the charter party to the Deputy Governor and Council of that place.

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		Needfull Advices and Copy of the Charterparty to the Deputy Governer and Council of that place We observe the [Basar] was despatched the 2[7] March, though the Captain stayd near a Month afterwards, by the Surf's not admitting Margin Notes: The last years Advices recd List of Ships sent a Supply according to Indent The Company liable to pay Demorage if the Ship is not despatchd in her work- ing Days	6: The Court noted that the <i>Bazar</i> had been despatched on [...] March, though the captain stayed nearly a month afterwards because the surf would not allow [...]. Interpretations The 1744 dating places this letter well beyond the run of consultations recorded in the consolidated reference, which closes at 24 December 1725. The persons, ships and offices named here do not appear in that record, so the <i>Portobello</i>, the <i>Queen Caroline</i>, Captain Benjamin Mason and the <i>Bazar</i> sit in the fallback reference rather than in this file. The surrounding detail should be drawn from there rather than reconstructed. The demurrage clause in paragraph 5 was the standing device by which the Court protected itself against slow unloading at St Helena. The ship's owners were entitled to a daily penalty for any day the vessel lay beyond her agreed lay days, and that penalty fell on the Court as charterer. Directing the commander to hasten to Bencoolen, and to carry a copy of the charter party ahead of him, put the Deputy Governor and Council there on notice of the same time limits, so that the liability could not quietly accumulate at either port. The surf reference in paragraph 6 reflects the physical difficulty of loading and unloading in the open roadstead at St Helena, where goods had to be worked between ship and shore by boat and a heavy sea could halt the traffic for days. A month's delay after despatch, blamed on the surf, was the kind of circumstance that fed directly into the demurrage question raised in the previous paragraph.
5	2	him to water or ballast, as he alledged, this might occasion a few days delay, but We cannot Admit it for a Sufficient Reason, or the True caus for so long a stay, for by the Captains paying in Five hundred pounds so late as the 17 April, We can easily percieve what kept him We have no objection to your receiving Money in Our Cash from the Commanders of Our Store Ships but as they generally borrow money of Us here at Respondentia, you should only give them Certificates and not Bills of Exchange for the money so paid in, Form of which Certificat comes enclosed As Mr Morgan was a Mate in Our Immediate Service on the Swift and left Sick, the Order to Captain Harry to receive and carry him should have expresly mentioned, the Company paying the Change of his Passage, We mention this for your guidance, on a like case happening hereafter What Stores may be wanted by Our Factors and Writers, and others in Our Service, for their own Use may be deliverd to them on the same terms as the Military, and what Cloathing can be spard to the Inhabitants and Planters, let them have it at Twenty Five [per] Cent Advance upon Invoice, instead of Forty as last Ordered taking particular care that the same is for their proper Use only And being duly sensible that there are many Poor Familys among them, We hereby consent that the Planters Rents shall be continued at the present Reduced Rate of Two Shillings, and Six Pence an Acre untill the year of Our Lord Margin Notes: We observe the Ships Case did not Sail in due time Bills of Exchange not to[be] given to the Captains of Our Stores Ships only give them Certificates The Order for Capt Harry, to	The Court could not accept the reason the captain gave for his long stay at the island. He had claimed that he needed to take on water or ballast, which might have caused a few days delay, but the Court would not admit that as the true cause of so long a stay. Since the captain paid in five hundred pounds as late as 17 April, the Court could easily see what had really kept him. 7: The Court had no objection to the Council receiving money in this way from the commanders of the Company's store ships. Since those commanders generally borrowed money from others at respondentia, the Council should give them only certificates and not bills of exchange for whatever they paid in. A form of that certificate was enclosed. 8: Mr Morgan had been a mate in the Company's direct service on the <i>Swift</i> and was left behind sick, so the order for Captain Harry to receive and carry him should have stated plainly that the Company would pay the cost of his passage. The Court mentioned this for the Council's guidance should a similar case arise later. 9: Whatever stores the Company's factors, writers and others in its service needed for their own use could be delivered to them on the same terms as the military. Whatever clothing could be spared to the inhabitants and planters was to be let them at 25 per cent advance on the invoice price, instead of the 40 per cent last ordered. The Council was to take particular care that the clothing went to its proper use only. 10: Being well aware that there were many poor families among them, the Court agreed that the planters' rents would stay at the present reduced rate of two shillings and sixpence an acre until the year of Our Lord 1750. Interpretations Respondentia, named in paragraph 7, was a maritime loan secured on the cargo rather than the hull, the lender advancing money against goods carried on a voyage and recovering principal and a high return only if the venture arrived safely. Because a store ship's commander typically financed his own trade on such terms, money he handed in at St Helena was already pledged to a creditor at home. The Court's instruction to issue certificates rather than bills of exchange kept the Company clear of that entanglement. A certificate merely acknowledged the sum received, leaving settlement to be arranged in London, whereas a bill of

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		carry Mr Morgan should have mentioned at the Comp[s] Charge Stores wanted by [Factors], Writers & others to be delivered them on [same] terms with the Military and Cloathing to the Planters at 25 [per] Cent The Rents to be continued at [2s 6d] [an] [Acre] till anno 1750 to the Planters	exchange was a negotiable order for payment that could pass to third parties and be presented for cash, exposing the Company to demands from whoever held it. The clothing concession in paragraph 9 halved the mark-up charged to planters and inhabitants, from 40 per cent down to 25 per cent above invoice. The Court paired this with a warning that the goods reach their proper use only, which points to a standing worry that discounted clothing supplied for personal wear would instead be resold or traded on. The reduced rate was a deliberate relief measure, and the caution was the check meant to stop that relief being turned to private profit. The rent reduction in paragraph 10 fixed the planters' charge at two shillings and sixpence an acre until 1750, an acknowledgement that many island families were too poor to bear more. Setting a term to the concession rather than making it open-ended preserved the Court's position as landlord: the lower rate was granted as a temporary indulgence with a defined expiry, not surrendered as a permanent right.
6	3	One Thousand Seven Hundred and Fifty, expecting that in return they will Vigorously exert themselves on every Urgent Occasion for the Defence of the Island Mr Wrangham had a Slave sent to him by Our Order from Bencoolen so long ago as the year 1729 in the room of one that went thither, however in case upon a due Enquiry among the Inhabitants, you find he sufferd by the exchange, make him a Reasonable satisfaction in money, and also for the Deal boards he alledges were made Use of upon Our Account in Govr Goodwin's time, without being paid for them, on his making due proof of the same We Orderd Regular Cash Accounts to be entered upon Consultation and transmitted in [the] Packets, which you promise shall be complyd with, but We received only the remains of Cash on the 13th March, 8th May and 5th June without any Account Courants, so that We are entirely in the Dark as to the particular receipts or Payments But for Our satisfaction the Accounts of Cash must be monthly examined and pass'd in Council, entering the same Debtor and Creditor, according to former Orders, upon Consultation, and Attested Sheet Accounts for each Month are to be sent Us as Usual in the Packets, inserting therein each sum paid or receivd as is practised by Our Head Settlements abroad We observe that an Enquiry has been made into the Deficiencies of Our Stores Anno Margin Notes: Allow Mr Wrangham a reasonable satisfaction for his Slave, and Deal boards Regular Cash Accounts to be enterd upon Consultation & Transmitt them in the Packets Cash Accounts to be examind Monthly and pass'd in Council	The Court set the rate to run until 1750, expecting that in return the planters would vigorously exert themselves on every urgent occasion for the defence of the island. 11: Mr Wrangham had been sent a slave by the Court's order from Bencoolen as long ago as the year 1729, to replace one that had gone there. If, however, enquiry among the inhabitants showed that he had lost by the exchange, the Council was to make him a reasonable payment in money. He was also to be paid for the deal boards he claimed had been used on the Company's account in Governor Goodwin's time without payment, once he made proper proof of it. 12: The Court had ordered regular cash accounts to be entered in consultation and sent home in the packets, which the Council had promised to comply with, but only the cash balances reached the Court, dated 13 March, 8 May and 5 June, without any account current, so that the Court was entirely in the dark as to the particular receipts or payments. 13: For the Court's satisfaction the cash accounts were to be examined and passed in council every month, entered as debtor and creditor in consultation according to former orders. Attested sheet accounts for each month were to be sent home as usual in the packets, setting down each sum paid or received, as was the practice at the Company's head settlements abroad. The Court noted that an enquiry had been made into the deficiencies of the Company's stores [...]. Interpretations Respondentia and the certificate-versus-bill question belong to the previous page and need no restatement here. What this page adds is the deal-board claim of paragraph 11, which reached back to Governor Goodwin's administration. The Court's willingness to pay for timber taken years earlier, but only on proof, treated an old and undocumented debt the same way it treated the disputed slave exchange: a genuine loss would be made good, yet the claimant had to establish it rather than have it taken on trust. The bookkeeping failure set out in paragraphs 12 and 13 turned on the difference between a balance and an account current. The island had sent only the closing cash figures for three dates, which told the Court how much remained but nothing of the sums that had passed in and out to produce it. An account current, by contrast, listed every receipt and payment in debtor-and-creditor form, so that the balance could be tested against its constituent entries. The Court's remedy was to require monthly examination in council and attested sheet accounts in the packets, binding the island to the same routine already practised at the larger Indian settlements. The instruction shows the Court importing

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			an established procedure from its principal factories to close a gap that a bare balance left wide open.
<u>7</u>	4	1739, and that you had drawn out Accounts in what manner and proportion they ought to be chargd to Mr Goodwin and Mr Bazett, In case you are well satisfyd that the same is strictly Just, Debt their Estates accordingly We desire to know what service Robert Maycock is capable of besides his employment as Cooper, before We consent to his Salary being advanced Having supply'd you with an Able Surgeon by sending Mr Falconer on the Porto Bello, you are therefore to discharge Mr Pickering, unless there is a Vacancy by Death or otherwise, Our intention being to have but Two As We judged proper to restore Mr Dixon to Our Service We direct that Diet Money be Allow'd him during the time of his Suspension Mrs Bazett setting forth that about Sixty Pounds are due to her from the Garrison, We would have You give her all the assistance you are able to recover the money from them The Two Slaves left by a Dutch Captain must be taken due care of, and employd in Our Service till the Right Owner demands them Forty Pounds a year to a Clerk for the Church is too great an Allowance, at Bencoolen the Clerk has only Three Dollars a Month, We think Twenty Pounds a year is sufficient pay, for discharging the Dutys of that Easy Post, not doubting you will meet with a good Man who will be glad of accepting it upon those Terms We leave it entirely to the Governour Margin Notes: Mr Goodwin's & Mr Bazett's Store affair to be adjusted if it is strictly just & Debt their Estates accordingly ly We desire to know what Robt Maycock is capable of Mr Pickering Orderd to be dischargd Mr Dixon to be Allowd Diet money Assist Mrs Bazett in getting in her Debts due from the Garrison Employ the two Dutch Slaves in Our Service, till the Owner Demands them The Clerk to be Allowed Twenty Pounds [per] Ann	An enquiry had been made into the deficiencies of the Company's stores for 1739, and the Council had drawn out accounts showing in what manner and proportion the shortfall ought to be charged to Mr Goodwin and Mr Bazett. If the Council was well satisfied that the charge was strictly just, their estates were to be debited accordingly. 15: The Court wanted to know what service Robert Maycock was capable of besides his work as cooper before it would consent to any rise in his salary. 16: Having supplied the island with an able surgeon by sending Mr Falconer on the <i>Portobello</i>, the Council was to discharge Mr Pickering unless a vacancy arose through death or otherwise, the Court intending to keep only two. 17: Since the Court had judged it proper to restore Mr Dixon to its service, it directed that diet money be allowed him for the period of his suspension. 18: Mrs Bazett had shown that about sixty pounds were owed to her by the garrison, and the Court wanted the Council to give her all the help it could to recover the money from them. 19: The two slaves left by a Dutch captain were to be properly cared for and employed in the Company's service until their rightful owner claimed them. 20: Forty pounds a year to a clerk for the church was too much, since at Bencoolen the clerk had only three dollars a month. The Court thought twenty pounds a year enough pay for the light duties of that post, and did not doubt the Council would find a good man glad to accept it on those terms. 21: The Court left it entirely to the Governor [...]. Interpretations The store-deficiency charge in the opening paragraph fell on Mr Goodwin and Mr Bazett personally, their estates to be debited for the 1739 shortfall in proportions the Council had worked out. Making the two men answerable in their own property, rather than writing the loss off against the Company, applied the standing principle that a custodian bore the risk of what went missing under his charge. The safeguard against injustice was the condition attached: the debit was to stand only if the Council was strictly satisfied the calculation was just, so that the men were not charged on a rough or contested figure. The clerk's stipend in paragraph 20 was cut by comparison with Bencoolen, where the same office drew only three dollars a month. The Court used its own eastern establishment as the benchmark for a fair rate and fixed twenty pounds a year for what it called an easy post, confident a suitable man would take it on those terms. The reasoning treated the two settlements as parts of a single pay structure, so that a generous island allowance could be measured against, and pulled down to, the standard elsewhere in the Company's service. The Dutch captain's two slaves in paragraph 19 were to be kept, cared for and worked in the Company's service until the right owner demanded them. The Court neither freed them nor treated them as its own property but held them in a form of custody, putting their labour to use in the interval while preserving another party's title against a later claim.
<u>8</u>	5	to regulate the General Table on a Sunday, in such manner as shall be most agreeable to Himself But We are apprehensive the allowing Our Factors & Writers Diet Money in lieu of the Benefit of Our Table, will be an additional expence, the Plantation being kept up, a Stock of Cattle and Poultry raisd thereon for the supply thereof and other purposes, therefore continue the old practice, but make Two Tables if	The Court left it to the Governor to regulate the general table on a Sunday in whatever way suited him best. 22: The Court feared that allowing its factors and writers diet money in place of the benefit of the general table would only add to the expense, since the plantation was kept up and a stock of cattle and poultry raised there for that very supply and other purposes. The old practice was therefore to continue, but the

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		you can, One of the Council presiding by turns at the Second Table to keep Good order and to prevent all Excess In case any of Our Covenant Servants, do not behave there in a Becoming Manner, turn them from Table till you find they are sensible of their Errors and promise to act discreetly in future The Military must be continually Exercisd at the Great Guns and Small Arms to make them expert, the Slaves also ought to be traird up in asisting the Soldiers in the managment of the Great Guns, and it must be your Chief and Principal care to put and keep Our several Fortifications in the Best Order possible for the Defence and Strengthening of Our Island against any Assault from an Enemy When this Grand Point is accomplished in the most Effectual manner, such Repairs should be given to the Dwelling and Store Houses as are Requisit Though the Governour acquaints Us that the Plantation House is so bad that it cannot be repaired yet by the help of an Expert Mason, Margin Notes: The regulation of the Table on a Sunday left to the Governor The Factors & Writers to Eat at a second Table if one can be kept, & one of the Council to preside at it by turns If they don't behave well to be turnd from Table till they reform from their Errors The Military to be constantly Exercisd at the Great Guns as likewise the Slaves. The fortifications to be kept in the best Order possible The dwelling & Store houses to be repaired after the being well fortifyd	Council was to set up two tables if it could, with one of the Council presiding at the second table by turns to keep good order and prevent all excess. 23: Should any of the Company's covenant servants fail to behave properly, they were to be turned from the table until they showed themselves aware of their faults and promised to act discreetly in future. 24: The military were to be exercised constantly at the great guns and small arms to make them expert, and the slaves were to be trained to help the soldiers work the great guns. The Council's chief and principal care was to put and keep the several fortifications in the best possible order for the defence and strengthening of the island against any assault by an enemy. 25: Once that great aim had been achieved in the most effective way, such repairs as were needed could be made to the dwelling and store houses. 26: Although the Governor reported that the plantation house was so bad it could not be repaired, yet with the help of an expert mason [...]. Interpretations The diet-money question in paragraph 22 turned on how the Company's junior servants were fed. Paying them a cash allowance instead of seating them at the general table would have meant spending twice, since the plantation already ran cattle and poultry expressly to stock that table. The Court's answer was to keep the servants on the common provision but split it into two sittings, with a councillor presiding at the second by rotation. The arrangement contained cost and discipline together: it drew on food the Company was raising anyway and placed a senior man at the lower table to check the excess that an unsupervised mess invited. The order of works in paragraphs 24 and 25 fixed a clear priority. The fortifications came first as the chief and principal care, and repairs to the dwelling and store houses were expressly deferred until that defensive work was complete. Ranking a leaking storehouse below the batteries reflected the island's whole purpose as a fortified refreshment station: its buildings mattered, but only after the guns that protected the road and the shipping had been put in order. The training of slaves to work the great guns, in paragraph 24, extended the island's defence beyond its small garrison. Setting them to assist the soldiers at the artillery turned part of the labour force into an auxiliary for the batteries, a practical response to a permanently thin military establishment on a remote island where reinforcement was months away.
2	6	Mr Bland and his Assistant that come on this Ship, We hope you will be able to make it fit to dwell in, however We leave it to you to repair or rebuild it as you shall judge will be most to Our Advantage We have paid Mr John Brown Forty Five Pounds for his Credit on your Books, it must therefore be wrote off to Account Currant London In consideration of Lieutenant Scott's misfortune, and he having a Family to maintain, We direct that his Pay and Diet Money be continued to him, employing him in some Station that he is capable of performing For the Encouragment of Mr Doveton the Reeve to take the due care of Our Plantations We would have you allow him the Salary of Seventy Eight instead of Sixty Pounds a Year for his trouble as his predecessor had the same, We are informd that he	With the help of an expert mason, Mr Bland and his assistant who came on this ship, the Court hoped the Council would be able to make the plantation house fit to live in. Even so, it left the Council to repair or rebuild it as it judged most to the Company's advantage. 27: The Court had paid Mr John Brown forty-five pounds for his credit on the island's books, which was therefore to be written off to account current, London. 28: In consideration of Lieutenant Scott's misfortune and the family he had to maintain, the Court directed that his pay and diet money be continued to him and that he be employed in some station he was capable of filling. 29: To encourage Mr Doveton the reeve to take proper care of the plantations, the Court wanted the Council to allow him a salary of seventy-eight pounds a year instead of sixty for his trouble, his predecessor

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		is a Perfect Master of all Country business therefore a Husband will be needless In the Account of Salary entered upon Consultation the 24th April the Governour is paid after the rate of Six Hundred Twenty Six Pounds Nineteen Shillings [per] Annum including Servants, but the Salary must be paid by itself & the Servants inserted separate in a particular manner as was done in former Governor's time We have Orderd such Stores as We thought necessary to be sent on this Ship, in compliance with the Govrs Separate Indent, but for the future all Stores or necessarys wanted for the Use of the Island must be inserted in the General Indent and signd by the Governor & Council Margin Notes: The plantation House to be repaired or rebuilt as it is judgd to be most proper We have paid Mr Jno Brown £45 Lieutt Scott to receive his pay & Diet Money Mr Doveton to be allowd £78 [per] Ann for his Encouragment The Govr Salary to be enterd in Consultation separate from money for the Servants All Stores to be inserted in the Genl Indent & signd by the Govr & Council	having had the same. The Court was told that he was a perfect master of all country business, so a husband would be needless. 30: In the salary account entered in consultation on 24 April, the Governor was paid at the rate of six hundred and twenty-six pounds nineteen shillings a year including his servants, but the salary was to be set down by itself and the servants entered separately in a particular manner, as had been done in former governors' time. 31: The Court had ordered such stores as it thought necessary to be sent on this ship, in compliance with the Governor's separate order, but in future all stores or necessities wanted for the use of the island were to be entered in the general order and signed by the Governor and Council. Interpretations The salary presentation required in paragraph 30 addressed how the Governor's emoluments appeared in the books. The consultation of 24 April had entered a single combined figure of six hundred and twenty-six pounds nineteen shillings covering both the Governor and his servants. The Court wanted the two separated, the salary standing alone and the servants itemised as in earlier governors' accounts. A lumped figure concealed what each element actually cost, and separating them let the Court see the true salary against the servant charge and check either independently, restoring a transparency that the combined entry had lost. The consolidation of ordering in paragraph 31 shifted control over island supply from the Governor to the whole Council. The Court had filled the present order on the Governor's separate indent but ruled that all future requisitions pass through a general indent signed by the Governor and Council together. Requiring the collective signature turned procurement from a personal act into a board decision, spreading responsibility across the Council and closing the room a single officer's private list left for goods to be ordered without scrutiny. The reeve's salary in paragraph 29 was raised to seventy-eight pounds precisely because it made a second post unnecessary. Mr Doveton's mastery of country business meant the Company need not also employ a husband to manage the plantations, so the higher pay to one competent man was set against the whole cost of an office that could now be left unfilled.
10	7	What Boats you want for Use you may purchase of the Commanders, of the homeward Ships You must send a Model of the Sashes and if the Store Ship next year is not filled with more necessary Stores, they shall be sent by that conveyance Such of the Soldiers as are Roman Catholicks and cannot be depended upon, who have not served their contracted time you may send to Bencoolen, and take the same Number out those consigned thither on this Ship, with what more you want to make up your Military Establishment, We have Orderd for the future that no Irishmen shall be enterd in the Military for your Island The Earth you sent has been tryed, but does not answer here so well as Fullers Earth Our Annual Ship not being capable of carrying the Quantity of Oak Plank &c for Repairs of the Platforms and Gun Carriages, We have directed Our President & Council at Bengal to send on each Ship bound to your Island, Two Teak Planks of Three to Five Inches thick, and believe they will in every respect be more durable for such Services	32: Whatever boats the Council needed for its use could be bought from the commanders of the homeward-bound ships. 33: The Council was to send home a model of the sashes, and unless the store ship the following year was filled with more necessary stores, the sashes were to be sent by that conveyance. 34: Any of the soldiers who were Roman Catholics and could not be depended upon, and who had not served their contracted time, could be sent to Bencoolen, the Council taking in their place the same number consigned there on this ship, together with as many more as were needed to complete the military establishment. The Court had ordered that in future no Irishmen be entered in the military for the island. 35: The earth the Council had sent had been tested but did not answer as well as fuller's earth. 36: Since the annual ship could not carry the quantity of oak plank and other materials needed to repair the platforms and gun carriages, the Court had directed the President and Council at Bengal to send two teak planks of three to five inches thick on each ship bound for the island, believing them more durable in every respect for such work. 37: From the Cape each ship would have orders to bring one male and two female asses, the females in foal if they could be got, and the Council was to pay the captains for them.

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		And from the Cape each Ship will have orders to bring you One Male & Two Female Asses, the latter to be in foal if procurable, & you must pay the Captains for the same We are informd that more Horses are now on the Island than was ever useful heretofore, which increase may prove prejudicial, We therefore recommend it to you to reduce the Number, unless they are usefully employd in bringing Lime & other necessary Articles to the Fort in order to ease the Slaves from such Labour, the Asses & Bullocks may likewise be inured thereto, as they are in many parts of England You must advise Us every Year wether you have Cash Sufficient to defray all Expences for the ensuing year, if that should Margin Notes: purchase Boats from the homeward bound Ships Send A Model of the Sashes All Soldiers if are Rn Catholics send to Bencoolen taking the same Numbr of those consignd thither The Earth sent don't answer so well as Fullers Earth Each Ship from Bengal is to bring Two Teak planks for the Island And from the Cape One Male & Two Female Asses More horses On the Island than usefull Advise Us wether you have Cash	38: The Court was told that there were now more horses on the island than had ever been useful before, an increase that might prove harmful. It recommended reducing the number unless the horses were usefully employed carrying lime and other necessities to the fort, so as to spare the slaves that labour. Asses and bullocks could likewise be broken to the work, as they were in many parts of England. 39: The Council was to advise the Court every year whether it had cash enough to meet all the coming year's expenses, and if that [...]. Interpretations The teak order in paragraph 36 turned on the annual ship's limited capacity. Rather than force the whole weight of repair timber onto the single vessel from England, the Court instructed its Bengal establishment to load two teak planks on every ship sailing to the island. Teak was the standard shipbuilding and structural timber of the Company's eastern yards, prized for its resistance to rot and insects in hot damp conditions, and the Court judged it more durable than the English oak previously supplied for platforms and gun carriages. The arrangement spread the burden across many hulls and drew on a better material available closer to hand. The complaint about horses in paragraph 38 was really about the labour economy of the plantation. A surplus of horses was called harmful unless they earned their keep hauling lime and stores to the fort, work that would otherwise fall on slaves. The Court's suggestion that asses and bullocks be broken to the same draught, as in England, aimed to shift heavy carriage onto animals and relieve the human labour force, a calculation about getting the most productive use from every kind of stock the island kept. The exclusion of Irish and Roman Catholic soldiers in paragraph 34 reflected a settled distrust of their reliability in the garrison. The remedy was an exchange: doubtful men who had not served their time could be shipped on to Bencoolen and replaced by soldiers consigned there, with a standing bar on entering Irishmen in future. On a small isolated island whose defence rested on a handful of troops, the Court treated the perceived loyalty of the garrison as a security matter and managed it by swapping men between its settlements.
11	8	should not be the Case, on this Ships Arrival, We permit you to take on shore one or two Chests of Our Treasure out of her according to the Circumstances you may be in, giving the Commander a Receipt and advising Our Servants at Bencoolen of the same Captain Mason hath borrow'd of Us, Nine Hundred pounds at Respondentia, in case he offers to pay any money into Our Cash in part thereof, you are to receive the same granting Certificates for the Amount, expressly mentioning that it is on that Account In Case any money is offerd to be Paid into Our Cash on Account of the Estate of James Crafford Deceasd, you are to receive the same, & grant Bills of Exchange upon Us for the Amount We do not approve of the Expensive Proposal to bring Water from Chubbs Spring by Leaden Pipes, by making a Crane in Lemon Valley, the water there which is full	Should the island not have cash enough for the coming year when this ship arrived, the Court permitted the Council to take one or two chests of treasure out of her as circumstances required, giving the commander a receipt and advising the Company's servants at Bencoolen of it. 40: Captain Mason had borrowed nine hundred pounds from the Court at respondentia. Should he offer to pay any money into the Company's cash in part of that sum, the Council was to receive it and grant him certificates for the amount, stating plainly that it was on that account. 41: Should any money be offered into the Company's cash on account of the estate of James Crafford, deceased, the Council was to receive it and grant bills of exchange on the Court for the amount. 42: The Court did not approve the costly proposal to bring water from Chubb's spring by leaden pipes and to make a crane in Lemon Valley, since the water there was fully as good or rather better, more convenient for boats, and would fully supply the shipping. 43: Mr John Bland the master mason had agreed to serve the Court five years at seventy pounds a year

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		as good or rather better, and more convenient for Boats will fully supply the Shipping Mr John Bland the Master Mason has agreed to serve Us Five years at Seventy Pounds a Year Salary, & Eighteen Pence a Day Diet Money, both to commence from his Arrival, and Mark Hawkins Mason has agreed to serve Us Five years at Fifty Pounds a Year Salary & Eighteen Pence a day Diet, you are to provide both with convenient Lodging, We have Advanced the former Ten Pounds, and the latter Three Pounds Three Shillings on their Notes, which come enclosed to repay the same out of their growing Salaries Mr George Gabriel Powell having acquainted Us that he has a Mortgage for Seven Hundred & Fifty Pounds upon the late Governour Goodwin's House, in Margin Notes: sufficient for the year ensuing If any is wanted now, take one or two Chests out of this Ship If Capt Mason offers to pay Money in Our Cash receive it & give him a Certificate for it Any money offered to be paid on Acct Jam Crafford decd you are to receive it We do not approve of bringing water from Chubbs Spring Mr Jno Bland & Mark Hawkins, Masons have agreed to serve Us five years Provide both with convenient Lodging	salary and eighteen pence a day diet money, both to begin from his arrival, and Mark Hawkins the mason had agreed to serve five years at fifty pounds a year salary and eighteen pence a day diet. The Council was to provide both with convenient lodging. The Court had advanced the former ten pounds and the latter three pounds three shillings on their notes, which came enclosed, to be repaid out of their growing salaries. 44: Mr George Gabriel Powell had informed the Court that he held a mortgage for seven hundred and fifty pounds on the late Governor Goodwin's house [...]. Interpretations The treasure concession in the opening paragraph gave the Council an emergency source of coin. If the island's cash fell short when the ship arrived, one or two chests could be lifted from her, against a receipt to the commander and notice to Bencoolen. The safeguards mattered as much as the permission: the receipt fixed the exact sum taken and the advice to Bencoolen alerted the onward destination that its consignment had been drawn down, so the diversion left a clear paper trail rather than an unexplained gap. The distinction between paragraphs 40 and 41 shows the Court applying its own rule on instruments with precision. Money paid in by Captain Mason on his respondentia loan drew only a certificate, because the sum was already pledged to the Company itself and settlement lay in its own hands. Money paid in for the Crafford estate, by contrast, drew a bill of exchange, a negotiable order the executors could present or transfer in London to realise the funds. The same act of receiving cash produced a different document according to whose money it ultimately was and how it needed to move. The rejection of the piped-water scheme in paragraph 42 measured a capital project against a cheaper existing supply. Lead pipes from Chubb's spring and a new crane in Lemon Valley promised improvement but at heavy cost, and the Court judged the water already available at Lemon Valley just as good and better placed for boats. Declining the works reflected the standing instruction to avoid needless charge, weighing an ambitious engineering proposal against a sufficient means already to hand and choosing the latter.
12	9	James's Valley, and Governour Dunbar having in his Letter of the 22 June 1744 intimated that this House might be of Use to Us for Lodging Our Servants & Soldiers, and Governour Goodwin being Indebted to Us in a considerable Sum of Money, We have determind to Purchase the same, and to Allow Five Hundred Pounds for it in part of his Debt, and as We rely upon it that his Widow and Son will readily concur in giving Us all the satisfaction for Our demands in their power We send you herewith Draughts of proper conveyances which We desire you will order to be transcribd and get executed by them, and transmit to Us by the next Ships that Sail from your Island. We are Your Loving Friends London 31st January 1744 (Signd) Saml Seake P Godfrey Richd Chauncy J Winter John Hope Saml Hyde Richd Burton John Payne Wichcob Turner	Governor Goodwin's house stood in James Valley, and Governor Dunbar had noted in his letter of 22 June 1744 that it might serve the Company for lodging its servants and soldiers. Since Governor Goodwin owed the Company a considerable sum, the Court had resolved to buy the house and allow five hundred pounds for it towards his debt. Relying on his widow and son to concur readily and give the Company all the satisfaction for its demands in their power, the Court sent enclosed drafts of proper conveyances, which the Council was to have transcribed, executed by them and sent home by the next ships to sail from the island. The letter closed as from the Company's loving friends, signed at London on 31 January 1744 by Samuel Feake, P. Godfrey, Richard Chauncy, J. Winter, John Hope, Samuel Hyde, Richard Bristow, John Payne, Wichcot Turner, R. Bootle, William Steele, W. Mabbott and Alexander Hume. Interpretations The purchase of the late Governor Goodwin's house set out in this passage was as much a debt-recovery device as a property transaction. Goodwin had died owing the Company a considerable sum, and rather than pursue the estate for cash the Court took the house at a fixed five hundred pounds and set that value against the debt. The arrangement suited both the practical need for lodging in James Valley, already flagged by Governor Dunbar, and the recovery of

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		R Bootle Wm Steele W Mabbott Alexr Hume Margin Notes: We have deter- mind to purchase the late Govr Goodwin's House & to allow £500 for it	money that might otherwise have proved hard to extract from a deceased debtor's estate. The reliance on the widow and son to concur, and the enclosure of ready-drawn conveyances, shows the Court managing a claim it could not enforce directly at such a distance. By sending the deeds already prepared for the family to transcribe and execute, it left the island Council only to secure signatures and return the papers, smoothing what might otherwise have become a contested settlement over a dead man's property. The whole procedure turned an outstanding debt into a completed conveyance with the least room for the heirs to resist or delay.
13	10	Our Governour and Council of St Helena We wrote last the 31 January 1744, since then your Advices are come to hand that were dated the 27th July, 23 and 24th November, 26th January 1744, 23 April, 29th May, 15th and 17th June, 8th July 2 and 3 August 1745 Herewith is a list of the Ships it hath pleased God to return us in Safety, and a list of the Ships Employed for the Carrying on our Trade this Season This comes by our Ship, Somerset Captain Thomas Tolson Commander, We have put on board Sundry Goods and Stores in Compliance with your Indent, as [per] Invoice and Bill of Loading enclosed The Usual Clause is incerted in this Ships Charterparty, Whereby we are Subject to pay Demorage in Case she is detain'd longer than ten Working days at your place, therefore hasten her away with all Expedition to Bencoolen, giving the Commander Orders to proceed directly thither, forwarding the Needfull Intelligence and Copy of the Charterparty to Margin Notes: Advices received List of Ships sent Somerset Storeship Stores sent To be dispatch'd in ten Working days	Our Governor and Council of St Helena 1: The Court last wrote on 31 January 1744. Since then the Council's advices had come to hand, dated 27 July, 23 and 24 November, 26 January 1744, 23 April, 29 May, 15 and 17 June, 8 July and 2 and 3 August 1745. 2: Enclosed was a list of the ships that had returned safely, together with a list of the ships employed to carry on the trade this season. 3: This letter came by the Company's ship <i>Somerset</i> under Captain Thomas Tolson. The Court had loaded her with various goods and stores to meet the Council's order, as set out in the invoice and bill of lading enclosed. 4: The usual clause was written into this ship's charter party, making the Court liable to pay demurrage if she was held longer than ten working days at the island. The Court therefore wanted her sent away quickly and directed to Bencoolen without delay, with the commander ordered to sail straight there and to forward the necessary advices and a copy of the charter party [...].
14	11	to the Deputy Governour and Council of that place This injunction is the more requisite, as the Ship Queen Caroline after a Months Stay was not dispatched Whereby her Arrival at Bencoolen would be very late, and her return thence the same Season becomes Dubious Whenever the Commanders make an Unnecessary Stay be sure to Advise us Explicitly, and not only so, but protest against them also for the same Upon foreign Ships coming to the Island, an Account must be sent us in the packett for our Satisfaction what Stores and Provisions each Ship is supplied with by us, and how they paid for them, furnishing no more Naval or Other Stores than is absolutely Necessary According to the Example of all Nations We think it but reasonable, and therefore direct That all foreign Ships pay Six pence [per] pound for all the Beef, they are furnished with upon the Island Some of the Slaves should be taught to make Cloaths for both men and women, You inform us Each Jackett and pair of Breeches cost Three Shillings making which seems to us very Exorbitant We do not Approve of dressing any of them in Silk Although the Allejars should cost us Nothing,	The Council was to forward the necessary advices and a copy of the charter party to the Deputy Governor and Council at Bencoolen. 5: This instruction was all the more necessary because the <i>Queen Caroline</i>, after a month's stay, had not been despatched, so that her arrival at Bencoolen would be very late and her return from there the same season became doubtful. 6: Whenever the commanders made an unnecessary stay, the Council was to advise the Court plainly, and not only that but to protest against them for it as well. 7: When foreign ships came to the island, an account was to be sent home in the packets showing what stores and provisions each ship was supplied with by the Council and how they paid for them, and no more naval or other stores were to be furnished than were absolutely necessary. 8: Following the example of all nations, the Court thought it only reasonable, and therefore directed that all foreign ships pay sixpence a pound for all the beef they were supplied with at the island. 9: Some of the slaves were to be taught to make clothes for both men and women. The Council had reported that each jacket and pair of breeches cost three shillings to make, which the Court thought very excessive.

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		as we do not think it proper Cloathing for them, but We rather chuse to have them sold for what you can get, or vend them home to us, if they are not too much damaged The two Mr Greentrees having Applied to us for Margin Notes: Queen Caroline not dispatchd in time Advise if Capts Stay & protest Particular Accounts to be sent abt foreign Ships & what they are Supplied with Foreign Ships to pay 6d [per] lb for Beef Slaves to be taught to make Cloaths Not to be drest in silk Allejars to be sold or sent home	10: The Court did not approve dressing any of the slaves in silk, even though the alejars cost nothing, since it did not think silk proper clothing for them. It preferred the alejars to be sold for whatever they would fetch or, if not too much damaged, sent home. 11: The two Mr Greentrees having applied to the Court [...]. Interpretations The charge on foreign ships in paragraph 8 turned the island's beef into a source of revenue from outsiders. Setting a fixed sixpence a pound, and justifying it by the practice of all nations, the Court treated provisioning of foreign vessels not as a courtesy but as a service to be paid for at a standard rate. Paired with the instruction in paragraph 7 to record what each foreign ship received and how it paid, and to supply no more than was absolutely necessary, this shows the Court closing off any leakage of the island's stores to foreign crews without a matching return. The handling of the alejars in paragraph 10 rested on a deliberate refusal of what was free. The garments cost the Company nothing, yet the Court would not clothe its slaves in silk, judging it improper wear for them, and directed the cloth sold or shipped home instead. The decision set a notion of fitting station above simple economy: a costless supply was passed up because silk did not match the place the Court assigned to the people it would have worn it, and the material was diverted to whatever cash it could raise. The complaint about tailoring costs in paragraph 9 fed the wider aim of making the slaves self-supplying in clothing. Three shillings to make each jacket and pair of breeches struck the Court as excessive, and its remedy was to have slaves taught the work themselves. Training part of the labour force to cut and sew turned a recurring outside charge into an internal skill, of a piece with the Company's standing policy of breeding its slaves to trades to displace hired or bought-in labour.
15	12	for relief, We would have you [...] repay them the fines levied upon them for disobeying the Orders as to their Goats Those Cattle being of much more use to us and the poorer sort of planters than the Growth of Ebony, therefore they should not be destroyed upon that Account Whereas your Predecessors granted a few Leases upon lives, and some of the planters have not renewed Others exactly conformable to Usual Custom, in all such like Cases you will do well to make them quiet and Easy in the possession of their property by a renewal of them upon the Old Terms and conditions We considered what was a proper Salary for Mr Goodwin when we fixed him as fourth of Council and Accomptant at Sixty pounds [per] Annum, Therefore the Additional Sum of Thirty One pounds Twelve Shillings and Six pence should not have been paid him as Accomptant, without our previous leave being first Obtained, and it must not be continued nor any Gratuity granted or continued but by leave from Us, And We cannot but wonder that any of our Servants after their Salaries have been settled should presume to ask for a Gratuity without setting forth to us in a proper manner what extraordinary Services they have done to induce us to grant any such thing The Governour Assuring us that his Nephew is Capable, We confirm him as a Second Lieutenant provided he behaves in the said Station in a becoming Margin Notes: Two Greentrees fines to be repaid them Goats not	The two Mr Greentrees having applied to the Court for relief, it wanted the Council to repay them the fines levied for disobeying the orders about their goats. 12: The goats were of much more use to the Company and the poorer sort of planters than the growth of ebony, and so they were not to be destroyed on that account. 13: The Council's predecessors had granted a few leases upon lives, and some of the planters had not renewed while others had renewed exactly according to the usual custom. In all such cases the Council would do well to make them quiet and easy in the possession of their property by renewing on the old terms and conditions. 14: The Court had considered what was a proper salary for Mr Goodwin when it fixed him as fourth of Council and accountant at sixty pounds a year, and so the further sum of thirty-one pounds twelve shillings and sixpence should not have been paid him as accountant without the Court's leave first obtained. That payment was not to be continued, nor any gratuity granted or continued except by the Court's leave. The Court could only wonder that any of its servants, once their salaries were settled, would presume to ask for a gratuity without setting out properly what extraordinary services they had done to earn it. 15: The Governor having assured the Court that his nephew Stephen was capable, the Court confirmed him as second lieutenant, provided he behaved in that station in a becoming [...]. Interpretations The goat ruling in paragraphs 12 and the reference to fines in paragraph 11 reveal a conflict between two uses of the same ground. Some planters had been destroying goats, apparently to favour the growth of ebony, and had been fined for it under the Council's orders. The Court not only upheld the protection of the goats but

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		to be destroyed Leases to be renewed on the Old Terms Mr Goodwin not to be paid his Additional Allowance as Accomptant Govrs Nephew informed 2	reversed the fines, ranking the animals above the timber because they fed the Company and the poorer planters. The decision weighed a living food supply on a remote island against a slow-growing export wood and came down firmly on the side of subsistence. The salary correction in paragraph 14 restated the Court's exclusive control over its servants' pay. Mr Goodwin's post as accountant had already been valued at sixty pounds when he was fixed as fourth of Council, so the extra thirty-one pounds twelve shillings and sixpence added locally was an unauthorised charge. The Court's insistence that no gratuity be granted or continued save by its own leave, and its open surprise that a servant with a settled salary would ask for more without proving extraordinary service, shows it guarding the principle that compensation was set from London and not to be quietly enlarged at the island. The lease policy in paragraph 13 aimed at settling the planters rather than pressing advantage from lapsed grants. Leases held for lives had fallen into an uneven state, some renewed in the usual form and some not, and the Court directed that all be renewed on the old terms to leave the holders quiet in their property. Choosing continuity over renegotiation reflected the standing concern to keep families rooted on the island, treating secure tenure as worth more than any short-term gain from unsettling it.
16	13	manner to your Satisfaction We are willing to allow Furniture for Our House and the Necessary usefull Table Linnen of all sorts, but we cannot Agree to the furnishing of Wearing Apparel, as we are not charged at any of our settlements for any thing of that kind You are not got into a regular Method of Advising the Bills of Exchange and Certificats drawn upon us, The dates and persons to whom they are payable being omitted, they are not Entered upon Consultation, Whereas you must for the future be Explicit in all such Needfull respects in the General Letters upon Consultation and in the Cash Accounts For our Satisfaction also, the Cash Accounts Attested by You all must be transmitted us down to the date of Each Letter by our ships, inserting therein the day of the Month that each particular Sum is received or paid In the Lists of the Packetts and Endorsements, the General Letters are improperly called Copys, though they are truly Originals, or Duplicates when signed, and must be so denominated For the several Articles of Wast in the Stores that were unavoidable, While Mr Wright had the charge of them, and not through Embezzlement or his neglect We would have you make him a reasonable Allowance It was our own Money that Captain Gabriel Steward of the India Yatch, and Captain Henry Watts of the Swift paid into Cash, therefore those sums should not Margin Notes: Furniture for House to be Allowd but not wearing Apparel Irenchams how to advise about Bills of Exchange Cash Accounts to the Date of Each Letter to be sent Genl Letrs	The Governor was to see that his nephew behaved in that station in a becoming manner to the Court's satisfaction. 16: The Court was willing to allow furniture for its houses and the necessary table linen of all sorts, but it would not agree to furnishing wearing apparel, since it was not charged for anything of that kind at any of its other settlements. 17: The Council had not yet fallen into a regular method of advising the bills of exchange and certificates drawn on the Court. Because the dates and the persons to whom they were payable were left out, they were not entered in consultation. In future the Council was to be explicit in all such necessary particulars in the general letters, in consultation and in the cash accounts. 18: For the Court's satisfaction, the cash accounts attested by the Council were all to be sent home down to the date of each letter by the Company's ships, setting down the day of the month on which each particular sum was received or paid. 19: In the lists of the packets and endorsements, the general letters were wrongly called copies, though they were truly originals, or duplicates when signed, and were to be so described. 20: For the several articles of waste in the stores that were unavoidable while Mr Wright had charge of them, and not through embezzlement or his neglect, the Council was to make him a reasonable allowance. 21: It was the Company's own money that Captain Gabriel Steward of the <i>India Yacht</i> and Captain Henry Watts of the <i>Swift</i> paid into cash, and so those sums should not [...]. Interpretations The furniture concession in paragraph 16 drew a firm line between fitting out a house and clothing its occupant. The Court would supply furniture and table linen for its buildings but refused wearing apparel, and the reason it gave was consistency across its establishments: nowhere else did it bear that charge, so it would not begin at St Helena. The refusal treated the island as one settlement among many, to be held to the same rule rather than allowed a local indulgence. The instructions in paragraphs 17 to 19 form a single push for documentary precision in the island's paperwork. Bills and certificates were going unrecorded because their dates and payees were omitted; cash accounts lacked the day-by-day detail of each sum; and

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		not properly Endorsed Mr Wright to have a reasonable Allowance for Wast	the general letters were being mislabelled as copies when they were originals or signed duplicates. Each correction attacked the same weakness, a looseness in how the island described and dated its own instruments, and each was meant to make every payment and document traceable and correctly named when it reached London. The allowance to Mr Wright in paragraph 20 shows the Court distinguishing honest loss from culpable loss in the stores. Waste that was genuinely unavoidable, and not the product of embezzlement or neglect, was not to fall on the storekeeper's own account. By directing a reasonable allowance for such waste, the Court softened the general rule that made a custodian answerable for everything under his charge, conceding that some shrinkage was inherent in keeping stores and ought not to be treated as a personal debt.
17	14	have been carried to their particular Credit upon the General Books, but to Account Currant London, and they must be wrote off Accordingly by Erecting such a head upon the Books instead of Account Currant only as hitherto, though very improperly hath been the Method And all Accounts should be finished, and Every Entry made on the Journall before the Ballance is Struck which must be Entered Entire and not by Piece Meal in the manner hitherto injudiciously practised We having paid the Legal Heirs of Captain Cason Nine hundred and ten pounds in full of all Demands, The late Governour Goodwin's Estate must be debted that Sum upon your General Books, the same being justly chargeable thereto In our last We Apprehended that allowing our Factors and Writers diet money, would we an Additional Expence to us, but as you Assure us [...] the produce of the Plantation shall thereupon be carryed to Markets and disposed of upon our Account, and that We shall be no sufferers, therefore such of the Council, Factors and Writers as you think it may be proper to make such an Allowance to We permit you to pay Sixty pounds per Annum to Each of the Council and Forty pounds [per] Annum to Each Factor and Writer whereby the Governour will be made Easy, and We Expect the Charge of the General Table will hereby be considerably lessened Mr Dixon is to be paid according to the said rate during the time of his Suspension. We Margin Notes: Capt Stewards & Henry Watts Money to be wrote off All Journal Entrys to be finished before Ballance is Struck Govr Goodwins Estate to be Debted with £910 paid Cason's Heirs Council Allowed Diet Money £60 [per] ann Factors and Writers £ 40 [per] ann Mr Dixon to be [pd] after the abovesaid rate	Those sums should not have been carried to the two captains' particular credit in the general books, but to account current, London, and were to be written off accordingly by setting up such a head in the books instead of only account current as had been the method until then, though very improperly. 22: All accounts were to be finished, and every entry made in the journal before the balance was struck. The balance itself was to be entered whole and not piecemeal, in the manner injudiciously practised until then. 23: The Court had paid the lawful heirs of Captain Mason nine hundred and ten pounds in full of all demands, and the late Governor Goodwin's estate was to be debited that sum in the general books, being justly chargeable to it. 24: In its last letter the Court had feared that allowing its factors and writers diet money would only add to its expense, but since the Council assured it that the produce of the plantation would then be carried to market and sold on the Company's account, so that the Company would be no loser, the Court permitted the Council to make such an allowance to those of the Council, factors and writers it thought proper. The Court allowed sixty pounds a year to each member of the Council and forty pounds a year to each factor and writer. This would make things easy for the Governor, and the Court expected the charge of the general table would thereby be considerably lessened. 25: Mr Dixon was to be paid at that rate for the period of his suspension. Interpretations The accounting corrections in paragraphs 21 to 23 all bear on where a sum properly rested in the books. Money the two captains paid in belonged to account current, London, not to their personal credit; the Mason heirs' nine hundred and ten pounds had to be debited against Governor Goodwin's estate as the party truly liable; and balances were to be entered whole rather than in fragments. Each instruction moved an entry to its correct head so that the books showed the real ownership of every sum, closing the loose practice by which figures had been lodged wherever convenient. The reversal over diet money in paragraph 24 shows the Court persuaded by a change in the underlying economics. It had earlier refused a cash food allowance for factors and writers, fearing double expense while the plantation still fed the table. Once the Council undertook to sell the plantation's produce on the Company's account, the objection fell away, since the food no longer went uncoded to the general table but was turned into revenue. The Court then set graduated allowances, sixty pounds to councillors and forty to factors and writers, expecting the table's charge to shrink as its consumers took cash instead. The concession followed directly from the promise that the produce would now earn its value rather than be eaten unpriced.

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			The debiting of the Mason payment in paragraph 23 completed a recovery the Court had already advanced from its own funds. Having settled the captain's heirs in London, it charged the whole sum back against Goodwin's estate, treating the estate as the ultimate debtor and using the general books to shift the burden onto the party that owed it. The step matched the Court's wider handling of Goodwin's affairs, in which his house and his obligations were steadily set against what he owed the Company.
18	15	We commend the Care and Zeal of our Governour in putting the Old Order in Execution, as to the Duty on Arrack and Customs for Goods, as it is his peculiar Business to see that all our Laws and Orders are duely complied with, but as those duties and Customs had not been collected for many Years and as those Articles will doubtless come out so much the Dearer to the Garrison and Planters, We therefore in favour of our people and planters hereby Annul and make Void those Dutys and Customs for the future We think five pence a pound a reasonable Price for Beef and would therefore have it continued with respect to our Ships We Entirely Approve of your giving five pounds to Each Soldier whose time was Expired for Enlisting, and would have the same Method Continued Send to Bencoolen upon our Account the Twist Thread and Other Articles that you say are Useless, and forward to us the condemned Ironware, Pewter, and Jacks by any One of our own Ships, duely Advising of the Same, acting in like manner for the future on all such Occasions Our Letters by the Portobello or Queen Caroline are not so much as said to be read upon Consultation, Whereas on Each Ships Arrival from hence, You should immediately hold a Council, Open the Packett, and read our Orders, duely mentioning the same upon Consultation the same day During the Intervals between Every Consultation, insert therein by way of Diary Every material Margin Notes: Custom on Arrack and Other Goods taken off Beef to be sold to Ships at 5 [per] lb Approved of giving Advance Money to Soldiers Gold Twist &c to be sent to Bencoolen Ironware &c to be sent home The reading of the Genl Letrs not minuted on Consn but must be	26: The Court commended the care and zeal of the Governor in putting the old order into effect over the duty on arrack and the customs on goods, since it was his particular business to see that all the Company's laws and orders were duly observed. But because those duties and customs had not been collected for many years, and because the goods would come out so much dearer to the garrison and planters, the Court, in favour of its people and planters, annulled and made void those duties and customs for the future. 27: The Court thought fivepence a pound a reasonable price for beef and wanted it continued at that rate for its own ships. 28: The Court entirely approved the Council's giving five pounds to each soldier whose time had expired for re-enlisting, and wanted the same method kept up. 29: The Council was to send to Bencoolen on the Company's account the twist thread and other articles it reported useless, and to forward home the condemned ironware, pewter and jacks by any of the Company's own ships, duly advising the Court of it and acting likewise on all such occasions in future. 30: The Court's letters by the <i>Portobello</i> or <i>Queen Caroline</i> were not even said to have been read in consultation, whereas on each ship's arrival from the island the Council should immediately hold a council, open the packet and read the Court's orders, recording the same in consultation the very same day. 31: In the intervals between every consultation, the Council was to enter in it, by way of a diary, every material [...]. Interpretations The abolition of the arrack duty and customs in paragraph 26 set the interests of the garrison and planters above a revived source of island revenue. The Governor had correctly revived a lapsed levy, and the Court praised his diligence, yet it then struck the charge down because it had gone uncollected for years and its return would only raise the cost of goods to the island's own people. The reversal shows the Court willing to forgo a legitimate due when enforcing it would fall on the settlers it was trying to keep on the island. The disposal instructions in paragraph 29 sorted the island's dead stock by where each item could still yield value. Useless twist thread and similar goods went on to Bencoolen, where they might serve, while condemned ironware, pewter and jacks were shipped home. Routing each class of surplus to the place it could best be used or realised, rather than letting it lie or be written off at the island, treated even rejected stores as assets to be recovered somewhere within the Company's network. The consultation discipline in paragraphs 30 and 31 struck at a lapse in the island's own record-keeping. The Court's letters had arrived without any note that they were even read in council, and the remedy was strict: convene at once on a ship's arrival, open the packet, read the orders and minute them the same day, then keep a running diary between meetings. The insistence on same-day entry and a continuous record aimed to make the consultation book a reliable account of what the Council received and did, so that no order could be received and quietly left unacted upon.

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19	16	material Occurrence, such as the Arrival and Departure of Ships, the Death of any Military Officer, Soldier, planter, and the like, under the respective dates wherein they came to pass, and put the day of the Month at the Top of each page in the Consultation Book, and insert the Monthly Accounts Subsequent to Each Consultation, Wherein they are duly Examined and passed Lieutenant Clarke being by all Accounts an Able officer, We would have you continue paying him the Thirty pounds a Year he hath hitherto received for Overseeing and instructing the Gunners, not doubting of his readiness to improve and make them expert Several Soldiers employed in making Twenty Ton of Hay were paid the 25th September Forty Eight Pounds which seems to be too large a sum, and causes the Hay to come out so dear as not to be worth our While unless it can be had Cheaper For our Satisfaction send us a particular Account in the Packett attested by you all of the Number of Horses and Mares upon the Island adding the Owners Name to Each In Case you are in want of Cash, or are likely to stand in need of a Supply the ensuing season We permit you to take on shore one Chest of our Treasure out of this Ship, giving the Commander a proper Receipt and Advising our Servants at Bencoolen of thesame If the planters as they Alledge were used to be indulged in former times to burn their Cattle into the Refreat Wood, when there was Grass to spare, you will do well Margin Notes: Overhaws from Consn are to be kept 30 [per] ann Continued to Lt Clarke The Expençe of Hay making thought too much Number of Horses and Mares to be sent home If Cash wanted to take one chest out of the Ship Monsters to turn their Cattle into the Refreat wood	The Council was to enter in it, by way of a diary, every material occurrence, such as the arrival and departure of ships, the death of any military officer, soldier or planter and the like, under the dates on which they happened. The day of the month was to be put at the top of each page in the consultation book, and the monthly accounts entered after each consultation, where they were duly examined and passed. 32: Lieutenant Clarke being by all accounts an able officer, the Court wanted the Council to keep paying him the thirty pounds a year he had received until then for overseeing and instructing the gunners, not doubting his readiness to improve them and make them expert. 33: Several soldiers employed in making hay had been paid forty-eight pounds on 25 September, which seemed too large a sum and made the hay come out so dear as not to be worth the Company's while unless it could be had cheaper. 34: For the Court's satisfaction the Council was to send home in the packet an attested account of all the horses and mares on the island, adding the owner's name to each. 35: Should the Council be short of cash, or likely to need a supply the following season, the Court permitted it to take one chest of treasure ashore out of this ship, giving the commander a proper receipt and advising the Company's servants at Bencoolen of it. 36: If the planters, as they claimed, had formerly been allowed to turn their cattle into the great wood when there was grass to spare, the Council would do well [...]. Interpretations The hay cost in paragraph 33 measured the price of the island's own labour against the value of what it produced. Forty-eight pounds paid to soldiers for haymaking made the hay so expensive that the Court judged it not worth having unless it could be got cheaper. The complaint reflects the standing tension on the island between using the garrison for productive work and the risk that such work, once its full cost was reckoned, came out dearer than the benefit it returned. The horse census required in paragraph 34, with each owner named, followed directly from the earlier worry that horses had multiplied beyond useful numbers. An attested list showing every animal and its holder gave the Court the information it needed to press for a reduction and to tell working stock from surplus. Requiring ownership against each entry turned a vague impression of too many horses into a document that could be checked and acted on. The treasure permission in paragraph 35 repeated, for the <i>Somerset</i>, the emergency provision already granted for the earlier ship. If cash ran short, a chest could be taken from her against a receipt and with notice to Bencoolen. The consistency of the safeguards across both vessels shows the Court treating the diversion of shipboard treasure as a regular contingency, always hedged by a written receipt and by advice to the onward station whose consignment was drawn down.
20	17	well to revive that practice, granting them this custom of Comoning for so long as shall not do us prejudice The planters and inhabitants must also have free liberty to purchase such liquors, Stores and all Other Articles out of the Ships that touch at the Island as they think fitt One Guinea for a Lease or a Bill of Sale is a Sufficient Fee for the Secretary and Clerks under him, no more must be taken George Gabriel Powell Esquire having produced to us a Certificate which comes enclosed, wherein you Acknowledge to have received from him two Slaves, both of the Value of forty Six pounds, We direct that you	The Council would do well to revive that practice, granting the planters this custom of commoning for as long as it did the Company no harm. 37: The planters and inhabitants were also to have free liberty to buy whatever liquors, stores and other articles they thought fit out of the ships that touched at the island. 38: One guinea for a lease or a bill of sale was a sufficient fee for the secretary and the clerks under him, and no more was to be taken. 39: George Gabriel Powell, esquire, having produced a certificate, enclosed, in which the Council acknowledged receiving from him two slaves, both valued at forty-six pounds, the Court directed that he

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		make him full Satisfaction for them, by paying that sum to his Attornys Captain Francis Steward having represented to us, that he hath some Money due to him from Severall of the Inhabitants, We direct that you receive such sums, as his Attorney shall offer to pay into our Cash, and that Bills of Exchange be drawn upon us for the Amount, Oath being made before You, that it is upon Captain Steward's Sole Account The said Captain Steward hath also setforth, that he is the Sole Acting Executor in England, to Mr Charles Steward late of St Helena Deceased, and that there are three of his Children here and at sea, to whom Legacys are due, We direct that such Sums be received into our Cash as the Other Executors who are on the Island Offer to pay in and that Bills of Exchange be drawn upon us for the Amount Margin Notes: is Grafted yeard Inhabitants to have free Liberty for Purchase Necessaries from Ships No more than 1 Guinea for a Lease or Bill of Sale Mr G Powell to be [pd] for the two Slaves Money offerd to be [rec'd] on Acct of Capt Steward to be recd & Bills given The same for Charles Steward's Money	be given full satisfaction for them by paying that sum to his attorneys. 40: Captain Francis Steward having represented that he had money owed him by several of the inhabitants, the Court directed the Council to receive whatever sums his attorney offered to pay into the Company's cash and to draw bills of exchange on the Court for the amount, an oath being made before the Council that it was on Captain Steward's sole account. 41: Captain Steward had also set out that he was the sole acting executor in England to Mrs Charles Steward, late of St Helena, deceased, and that three of her children were on the island and at sea, to whom legacies were due. The Court directed that whatever sums the other executors on the island offered to pay be received into the Company's cash, and that bills of exchange be drawn on the Court for the amount. Interpretations The commoning concession in the opening paragraph and the free-purchase liberty in paragraph 37 both worked to keep the planters contented and supplied. Reviving the old right to graze cattle in the great wood, and confirming their freedom to buy from visiting ships, cost the Company little while easing the settlers' lives. The qualification attached to the grazing, that it continue only so long as it did the Company no prejudice, shows the Court granting the indulgence as a revocable privilege rather than a fixed right, in keeping with its wider effort to retain population without surrendering control of its land. The fee cap in paragraph 38 fixed a ceiling on what the secretary's office could charge for routine instruments. Limiting a lease or bill of sale to a single guinea, with no more to be taken, guarded the planters against the quiet inflation of clerical charges on transactions they could not avoid. It applied to conveyancing the same principle the Court used with salaries: the price of a Company service was set from above and not left to the officer who performed it. The parallel handling of the two Steward claims in paragraphs 40 and 41 shows the Court using the island as a collection point for private debts and legacies owed in England. Money the inhabitants owed Captain Steward, and legacies due from the estate of Mrs Charles Steward, were to be paid into the Company's cash at St Helena and answered by bills of exchange in London. The oath required in the first case, confirming the money was on Steward's sole account, was the safeguard that kept the Company's cash clear of any competing claim before it issued a negotiable bill against the sum.
21	18	Amount, Oath being made as aforesaid, that it is upon the sole Account of Mr Charles Steward's Estate Our Secret Committee for the current Year are Dodding Braddyll, Harry Gough, Samuel Teake and Alexander Hume Esquires, what Orders may be received from them, or any three of those Gentlemen for the Security of our ships must be Strictly complied with and Obeyed In case Captain Thomas Tolson Offers to pay any money into our Cash, You must receive the same, and grant Certificates for the Amount, on his making Oath, that the money so paid in is the produce of his private Adventure On Mr Francis Wrangham Senior offering to pay about forty pounds into our Cash upon Account of Mr John Sedgewick, We direct that You receive the same, and grant Bills of Exchange upon us for the Amount We do not Approve of your dismissing Mr James Powell from our Service, as he was an Established Writer by our Appointment, and Nothing is laid to his charge, the chief reason being urged, that you had more than was wanted, in which case Mr Thomas	Bills of exchange were to be drawn on the Court for the amount, an oath being made as before that it was on the sole account of Mrs Charles Steward's estate. 42: The Court's secret committee for the current year were Dodding Braddyll, Harry Gough, Samuel Feake and Alexander Hume, esquires. Whatever orders came from them, or from any three of those gentlemen, for the security of the Company's ships were to be strictly observed and obeyed. 43: Should Captain Thomas Tolson offer to pay any money into the Company's cash, the Council was to receive it and grant certificates for the amount, on his making oath that the money so paid in was the produce of his private trade. 44: Mr Francis Wrangham senior having offered to pay about forty pounds into the Company's cash on account of Mr John Sedgewick, the Court directed the Council to receive it and grant bills of exchange on the Court for the amount. 45: The Court did not approve the Council's dismissing Mr James Powell from its service, since he was an established writer by the Court's appointment and nothing was laid to his charge, the chief reason urged being that one more writer was wanted than

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		French should have been discarded, as he was most entertained by us, We therefore order Mr James Powell to be restored on receipt hereof, for his having a plantation is no Objection with us as most of our Other Servants have them also As we are informed Mr Robert Wright is grown Margin Notes: Secret Committee If Captain Tolson pays in Money give Certificates If Mr Wrangham offers to give him Bills Mr James Powell to be restored	needed. In that case Mr Thomas French should have been discharged, as he was never taken on by the Court. The Court therefore ordered Mr James Powell restored on receipt of this letter, his holding a plantation being no objection, since most of the Company's other servants held them too. 46: The Court was told that Mr Robert Wright had grown [...]. Interpretations The restoration of Mr James Powell in paragraph 45 turned on the difference between a servant appointed from London and one taken on locally. Powell held his writer's place by the Court's own appointment and had done nothing wrong, yet the Council had dismissed him merely because it judged it had one writer too many. The Court's answer was that if a place had to go, it should have fallen on Mr French, whom the Court had never engaged, not on its own appointee. The reasoning asserted London's authority over the island's staff: the Council could not unmake a Court appointment to solve a surplus of its own making, and it should have cut the man it had hired itself. The certificate-versus-bill distinction reappears across paragraphs 43 and 44, applied as before by the source of the money. Captain Tolson's payment, being the produce of his own private trade, drew only a certificate, while Mr Wrangham's forty pounds paid for another man's account drew a negotiable bill of exchange. The oath demanded of Tolson, that the money was truly from his private adventure, was the check that fixed the character of the payment before the Company committed itself to any instrument, keeping its cash and its paper clear of disputed ownership. The point on plantations in paragraph 45, that Powell's holding one was no bar to his employment because most Company servants held them too, quietly acknowledged how far the island had moved from the early prohibition on servants keeping land. What had once been forbidden was now the general condition of the Company's people, and the Court treated it as unremarkable, a sign that the settlement's officers had become planters themselves.
22	19	grown more discreet in his conduct and Behaviour, We therefore direct that he be taken in as Sixth of Council on receipt hereof at fifty pounds [per] Annum, and that You Appoint him to Oversee our Plantation, requiring You to make no Allowance upon this, or any other Affair without Express Orders from us We have not had time to enquire particularly into Mr Powell the late Provisional Governours Conduct and Accounts, but in General We Approve of the Governour and Deputy's Care of our Affairs with respect to him Upon receipt hereof We hereby direct that you pay and receive Pagodas at Eight Shillings, and that that be the currency of them on the Island Finding there is a quick vend for Stores of all sorts, We will fully Supply you by our Bengal Ships, Which shall Annually call at the Island as the Bencoolen ship doth, whereby you will be freed from the Necessity of being Exacted upon We cannot comply with your Demand relating to Boats for the Use of your Island, but desire that you Supply yourselves in the best manner you can out of the Homeward bound ships By this Ship have sent you Pea Jacketts, and Breeches for the Use of our Slaves of Four Sizes, and for the future you may indent for such a number as you shall Annually want for them Specifying the Sizes that are most Usefull The Brewing Vessels you indent for will take	Mr Robert Wright having grown more discreet in his conduct and behaviour, the Court directed that he be taken in as sixth of Council on receipt of this letter at fifty pounds a year, and appointed to oversee the plantation. The Council was to make no allowance on this or any other matter without express orders from the Court. 47: The Court had not had time to look particularly into the conduct and accounts of Mr Powell, the late provisional Governor, but in general it approved the care of the Governor and Deputy over its affairs with respect to him. 48: On receipt of this letter the Council was to pay and receive pagodas at eight shillings, and that was to be their currency on the island. 49: Finding there was a quick sale for stores of all sorts, the Court would supply the island fully by its Bengal ships, which would call at the island every year as the Bencoolen ship did, so that the Council would be freed from the necessity of being overcharged. 50: The Court could not meet the Council's request for boats for the use of the island, but wanted it to supply itself as best it could out of the homeward-bound ships. 51: By this ship the Court had sent pea jackets and breeches of four sizes for the use of the slaves, and in future the Council could order whatever number it needed each year, specifying the sizes that were most useful. 52: The brewing vessels the Council had ordered would take [...]. Interpretations

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		too Margin Notes: Mr Wright Appointed 6 in Council & Overseer of Plantation Govr & Dy Gov conduct in relation to Mr G l Powell Satisfactory Pagodas to pass for no more than 8 Shillings Stores will be sent Annually by the Bengal Ships Boats to be got out of the Home- ward bound Ships Pea Jackets sent for the Slaves	The pagoda rate fixed in paragraph 48 gave the island a single settled value for a coin of the Company's eastern trade. By ordering pagodas paid and received at eight shillings and made current at that figure, the Court removed the uncertainty that a floating or disputed rate produced in local dealings. Setting the conversion from above turned a foreign coin into a stable medium on the island, of a piece with the Court's long effort to impose order on the mixed currency that circulated at St Helena. The Bengal-ship supply arrangement in paragraph 49 tied the island's provisioning to a standing annual call rather than to the mercy of passing traders. The Court's stated aim, to free the Council from being overcharged, points to the recurring problem of private captains selling goods dear to a captive market. Routing regular supply through the Company's own Bengal ships, as already done from Bencoolen, secured the island a dependable source at the Company's own cost and cut out the middlemen who had profited from its isolation. The refusal on boats in paragraph 50, paired with the direction to buy from homeward ships, shows the Court declining to add a fixed charge it could avoid. It would not undertake to supply boats itself but pointed the Council to the vessels already passing through, from whose commanders craft could be bought as need arose. The decision matched its treatment of other island wants: where a passing resource could meet the need, the Court preferred that to committing the Company to a standing provision of its own.
23	20	too much room, therefore we have omitted sending them, but will Encrease the Quantity of Cask Beer, provided what is sent by this ship is not sufficient for One year, but We are of Opinion you may make Country Beer, as they do in all parts of India We are, London 10 Janry 1745 Your Loving Friends H Gough Sam Feake Sam Hyde P Godfrey J Winter Nath Newnham Jun Hen Lascelles Christo Burrow Willm Ryder Thos Phipps Thos Rous Henry Plant Robt Hudson Rich Benyon Will Braund Whichcott Turner Wm Steele I Raymond John Hope Alexr Hume Margin Notes: Brewing Vessels not sent, but if wanted a sufft Quantity of Beer will be if indented for	The brewing vessels would take up too much room, so the Court had left them out, but it would increase the quantity of cask beer, provided that what was sent by this ship did not last a year. Even so, the Court thought the Council could make country beer, as was done in all parts of India. The letter closed as from the Company's loving friends, signed at London on 10 January 1745 by H. Gough, Samuel Feake, Samuel Hyde, P. Godfrey, J. Winter, Nathaniel Newnham junior, Henry Lascelles, Christopher Burrow, William Ryder, Thomas Phipps, Thomas Rous, Henry Plant, Robert Hudson, Richard Benyon, William Braund, Wichcott Turner, William Steele, J. Raymond, John Hope and Alexander Hume. Interpretations The decision on brewing vessels in this passage weighed cargo space against local self-sufficiency. Rather than ship bulky brewing equipment that would crowd out other stores, the Court chose to send more finished cask beer and, beyond that, to have the island brew its own country beer as the eastern settlements did. The reasoning turned a shortage of room on the annual ship into an argument for the island making its own, treating home production as the natural answer where transport was the binding constraint. The reference to country beer as the practice in all parts of India shows the Court holding St Helena to the pattern of its wider establishment. What the factories in the East did as a matter of course, the island was expected to do as well, brewing from local materials rather than depending wholly on supply from England. The instruction fits the Court's recurring approach throughout these letters, in which the island was pressed to feed, clothe and now supply itself by the same means already proven elsewhere in the Company's service.
24	21	Our Governour and Council of St Helena We wrote last the 10th January 1745 by Our Ship Somerset that Sailed the 30th of the same Month Since then We have received your	Our Governor and Council of St Helena 1: The Court last wrote on 10 January 1745 by the Company's ship <i>Somerset</i>, which sailed on 30 January of the same month. 2: Since then the Court had received the Council's advices dated 1 April 1746.

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		advices dated the first of April 1746 This comes by our Ship the Prince Edward Burthen 4[9]9 Tons Captain Robert Maldane who is Ordered to touch at St Helena on purpose to Supply You according to Our Promise with Sundry Stores as [per] Invoice, and Bill of Loading Enclosed Recommending a quick Vend of them Among the Inhabitants, both for theirs and Our benefit Our Secret Committee for [the] current Year are Harry Gough Esq, Samuel Feake Esq, Dodding Braddyll Esq, and William Mabbott Esq, what Orders may be received from them, or any three of those Gentlemen for the Security of Our Shipping, must be duly Complied with, and Obeyd, We are Your Loving Friend London 6th August 1746 (Signd) Willoughby Saml Feake Wm Baker Wm Willy Thos Rous Wm Ryder John Hope John Payne Richd Buxton Wm Braund R Bootle Christo Burrow Henry Plant I Raymond R Drake P Godfrey Margin Notes: advices received Supply sent by the Ship Edward Secret Committee	3: This letter came by the Company's ship <i>Prince Edward</i>, of 499 tons burthen, under Captain Robert Haldane, who was ordered to touch at St Helena on purpose to supply the island according to the Court's promise, with various stores as set out in the invoice and bill of lading enclosed. The Court recommended a quick sale of them among the inhabitants, for both their benefit and the Company's. 4: The Court's secret committee for the current year were Harry Gough, Samuel Feake, Dodding Braddyll and William Mabbott, esquires. Whatever orders came from them, or from any three of those gentlemen, for the security of the Company's shipping were to be duly observed and obeyed. The letter closed as from the Company's loving friends, signed at London on 6 August 1746 by William Ryder, John Hope, John Payne, Richard Burton, William Braund, R. Bootle, Christopher Burrow, Henry Plant, J. Raymond, R. Drake, E. Godfrey, H. Gough, Samuel Feake, William Baker, William Willy and Thomas Rous.
25	22	To Charles Hutchinson Esq Govr of St Helena Or in case of his Death or Absence to Lieutenant John Clarke and Mr Robert Wright Secretary, or to the Eldest Lieutenant and Secretary for the time being We the Court of Directors of the United Company of Merchants of England Trading to the East Indies, Received the Advices from St Helena dated the 13th June and 2nd July last, with a Letter from Mr Dunbar dated the 7th of that Month Our Six Ships Accompanying His Majestys Ships Deptford and Dolphin We thank God Arrived Safe in England the 27th August the Oxford Royal George and Scarborough have reached Lisbon The Several Ships mentioned in the Enclosed List are fitting out to carry on Our Trade this Season The Ship Prince Edward Sailed the 20th September in Company with the Bombay Castle Pertfield and Norfolk This comes by Our own Swift Snow, and also by our Ship Grantham We having put on Board Margin Notes: Advices received Ships safe Arrived List of Ships sent Prince Edward saild Swift snow	To Charles Hutchinson, esquire, Governor of St Helena, or in case of his death or absence to Lieutenant John Clarke and Mr Robert Wright, secretary, or to the eldest lieutenant and secretary for the time being. 1: The Court of Directors of the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies had received the advices from St Helena dated 15 June and 2 July last, together with a letter from Mr Dunbar dated 7 July. 2: The Court's six ships accompanying His Majesty's ships <i>Deptford</i> and <i>Dolphin</i> had, thank God, arrived safe in England on 27 August. The <i>Oxford</i>, <i>Royal George</i> and <i>Scarborough</i> had reached Lisbon. 3: The several ships named in the enclosed list were fitting out to carry on the Company's trade this season. 4: The ship <i>Prince Edward</i> had sailed on 20 September in company with the <i>Bombay Castle</i>, <i>Portfield</i> and <i>Norfolk</i>. 5: This letter came by the Company's own <i>Swift</i> snow, and also by the Company's ship <i>Grantham</i>, the Court having put on board [...].

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26	23	Board the latter sundry Stores and Merchandize in compliance with the Indent before Us, as [per] Invoice and Bill of Loading, enclosed in her Packet Expedition must be used in Landing the Same, that Demorage may not be Incurred giving the Commander Sailing Orders in Writing to make the best of his way to Fort Marlborough forwarding the enclosed Copy of the Ships Charterparty in your Packet thither Notwithstanding the Assurances given Us in the 16th Paragraph the Bill of Exchange was not Advised in any Letter that was drawn upon Us the 31st March 1746 for Six Hundred Pounds payable to David Dunbar Esqr, however it appearing by the Cash Account and Consultations that the Money was received into Our Cash, We Order the Bill to be Accepted, but we positively enjoyn a more strict regard to Our Directions in future A Wrong Method is taken by Inserting both in the Monthly Cash Accounts, & also in the Paymasters Accounts every particular Sum paid which at first view looks, as though We were charged twice for each Item, whereas the Money disbursed by the Pay Master, should solely appear in his Accounts Margin Notes: sent according to Invoice Expedition must be used in Landing the Goods within the limited time Bills of Exchange not properly advised in the Letters Orderd to Observe their Directions more strictly Wrong Method practised in the making up the Cash & paymasters Accounts	On board the <i>Grantham</i> the Court had put various stores and merchandise to meet the order before it, as set out in the invoice and bill of lading enclosed in her packet. 6: Speed was to be used in landing them, so that demurrage might not be incurred. The commander was to be given sailing orders in writing to make the best of his way to Fort Marlborough, forwarding the enclosed copy of the ship's charter party in the packet sent there. 7: Despite the assurances given in the sixteenth paragraph, the bill of exchange drawn on the Court on 31 March 1746 for six hundred pounds, payable to David Dunbar, esquire, had not been advised in any letter. Since it appeared from the cash account and consultation that the money had been received into the Company's cash, the Court ordered the bill accepted, but it positively required a stricter regard to its directions in future. 8: A wrong method was taken by entering every particular sum both in the monthly cash accounts and in the paymaster's accounts, which at first sight looked as though the Company were charged twice for each item, whereas the money disbursed by the paymaster should appear only in his accounts [...]. Interpretations The bill of exchange in paragraph 7 exposed the recurring weakness in the island's practice of advising its drafts. A bill for six hundred pounds payable to David Dunbar had reached London with no covering letter to announce it, exactly the fault the Court had pressed the Council to correct in earlier despatches. The Court accepted the bill only because the cash account and consultation showed the money genuinely received, then repeated its demand for stricter compliance. The episode shows the safeguard working in reverse: the very records the Court had insisted the island keep were what allowed it to honour a bill that the missing advice would otherwise have thrown into doubt. The double-entry error in paragraph 8 turned on keeping the same disbursement out of two separate books. Entering each sum in both the monthly cash accounts and the paymaster's accounts made it appear the Company was charged twice, when a payment made through the paymaster belonged in his accounts alone. The correction aimed to fix a clear division of responsibility between the two records, so that each sum was recorded once in its proper place and the books could not be read as doubling the true charge, part of the Court's continuing effort to make the island's accounts show its finances plainly and without duplication.
27	24	Accounts, Debiting him in the Cash Account for the Money issued to that Purpose The Diary must be duly Signed on approval of the Same, and not in a Lump as seems to have been the practice Our Covenant Servants preferring Diet Money to the General Table, who expect the Charge thereof will be proportionably decreased, that we may not be Sufferers by complying with the Requests formerly upon that Head We do not approve of advancing Money to the Soldiers before their time expires to relist the Men may Die or desert and thereby the Money entirely lost without Answering any valuable end whatsoever The Inhabitants as we have Orderd must have free Liberty to Purchase what they may want out of our own Ships without any Hindrance or Molestation whatsoever The late Govr Goodwins Estate must be debted upon the Books without delay pursuant to former Directions, for the Nine Hundred and Ten Pounds, We have paid Captain Cason's	The paymaster was to be debited in the cash account for the money issued to him for that purpose. 9: The diary was to be duly signed as each entry was approved, and not in a lump as seemed to have been the practice. 10: The Company's covenant servants preferring diet money to the general table, the Court expected the charge of the table to be reduced in proportion, so that the Company would be no loser by granting the request made earlier on that point. 11: The Court did not approve advancing money to the soldiers before their time expired for re-enlisting. The men might die or desert, and the money would then be entirely lost without serving any valuable end. 12: The inhabitants, as the Court had already ordered, were to have free liberty to buy whatever they needed out of the Company's own ships without any hindrance or interference. 13: The late Governor Goodwin's estate was to be debited in the books without delay, according to former directions, for the nine hundred and ten pounds the Court had paid Captain Mason's heirs [...]. Interpretations

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		Heirs Margin Notes: Diary duly signed Expect the Charge to be decreased upon the Servants Servants having Diet Money Advancing Money to the Soldiers before their time is expired not approved of Inhabitants to have free Liberty to purchase what they want out of the Ships Govr Goodwins Estate to be Debted the Sum of £910	The advance-money refusal in paragraph 11 reversed the very practice the Court had approved in an earlier letter, where five pounds to each re-enlisting soldier was commended. Here it objected to paying before a man's time expired, on the ground that death or desertion in the interval would forfeit the money for nothing. The two positions are consistent once the timing is seen: the Court would reward a soldier who had served out and signed on again, but not risk the Company's cash on one who might vanish before the term he was paid to serve began. The diary-signing rule in paragraph 9 attacked the same looseness in record-keeping that runs through these letters. Signing entries in a lump, after the fact, defeated the purpose of a contemporaneous journal, since it left no proof that each occurrence had been recorded and approved when it happened. Requiring a signature as each entry was passed made the consultation diary a running, verified account rather than one reconstructed and endorsed wholesale, closing the gap through which unrecorded or backdated business could slip. The table-charge expectation in paragraph 10 tied the concession of diet money directly to a fall in the general table's cost. Having let the servants take cash instead of their place at the table, the Court expected the table's expense to drop in proportion, so that the allowance was not simply added on top of an undiminished charge. The insistence that the Company be no loser shows it treating the two as a single account: the money paid out to servants had to be matched by the food no longer provided, or the arrangement would quietly cost the Company twice.
28	25	Heirs, you are also to Collect in the Outstanding Debts that are still due to the Estate The Several Credits of Edward Johnson Esq decd Isaac Payne Esq decd Don Juan De Massay Apunto, and Homans Nichols decd, must be wrote off to Account Currant London without further Delay if there is no Demand upon them, also the Debts of Duke Crispe Esq We having adjusted all our Accounts depending with him by Arbitration We have Entertained the Reverend Mr William Loveday to be our Chaplain of St Helena at the Sallary of one Hundred Pound [per] Annum, to commence from his Arrival at the Island He is well recommended to Us, We doubt not will behave suitable to his Function and We Expect that you will give him all due Encouragement, being Unmarried he must partake of the General Table, be Accommodated with a proper Apartment and have the usual Fees and Dues belonging to that Office Our own just Demand from the Estate of the late Govr Goodwin, must first be Satisfied before we can direct the Legacy claimed by Eleanor Worrall to be [paid] 18 We Margin Notes: The outstanding Debts due to the Estate must be Collected Credits to Edwd Johnson &c to be Wrote of to Account Currant London Mr Loveday appointed Chaplain to be duly Encouraged	The estate being justly chargeable with that sum, the Council was also to collect in the outstanding debts still due to the estate. 14: The several credits of Edward Johnson, esquire, deceased, Isaac Pyke, esquire, deceased, Don Juan de Massay Apunto and Hemans Nichols, deceased, were to be written off to account current, London, without further delay if there was no demand upon them. So too was the debt of Duke Crispe, esquire, the Court having settled all its accounts pending with him by arbitration. 15: The Court had engaged the Reverend Mr William Loveday as chaplain of St Helena at a salary of one hundred pounds a year, to begin from his arrival at the island. 16: He was well recommended, and the Court did not doubt he would behave suitably to his calling. It expected the Council to give him all due encouragement. Being unmarried, he was to take his place at the general table, be given a proper apartment and receive the usual fees and dues belonging to that office. 17: The Court's own just demand from the estate of the late Governor Goodwin was to be satisfied first, before it could direct the legacy claimed by Eleanor Worrall to be paid. Interpretations The write-off order in paragraph 14 continued the Court's steady work of clearing dormant balances from the island's books. Credits standing to deceased servants and to others against whom no demand remained were to be transferred to account current, London, so that stale entries did not clog the general accounts. The mention of Duke Crispe's debt, settled by arbitration, shows the Court preferring a negotiated close to a contested account over letting it linger unresolved, of a piece with its broader push to keep the books current and each sum lodged at its proper head. The priority set in paragraph 17 placed the Company's own claim ahead of a private legacy from the same estate. Eleanor Worrall's legacy could not be paid until the Court's demand against Governor

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		& to have the usual Fees &c Govr Goodwins Debt to the Company to be first paid	Goodwin's estate was satisfied, ranking the Company as the first creditor. The rule reflects the ordinary principle that debts are discharged before bequests, and it fits the Court's persistent handling of Goodwin's affairs throughout these letters, in which every asset of his estate was marshalled first toward what he owed the Company. The terms for the new chaplain in paragraph 16 attached to the office a fixed bundle of maintenance: a place at the general table, an apartment and the customary fees. Being unmarried, Mr Loveday was to be fed at the common table rather than given a separate household allowance, the cheaper provision for a single man. The arrangement shows the Court fitting his support to his circumstances while securing him the recognised dues of the post, so that the position carried a settled and understood value.
29	26	We acquiesce in the Master Gunner having Cloaths allowed him, upon the same footing with the Rest of the Officers Mr Wrangham should maintain his Daughter Mrs Alcock and her Children until she is Married again, We have no fund for the Support of our Decayed Servants either at home or abroad, nor can we bear the Thoughts of Pensioning her as you Proposed Continue to advise Us how the Stores prove in Quality, being Explicit in the Description of any Defect Pay Mr Beale the Clerk for Officiating in Mr Alcocks Place after the rate of Forty Pounds [per] Annum By keeping the Slaves sent from Bencoolen to Labour, They may not only be cured of a Mischevious Temper, but become of real Service to Us upon the Island In case you are in want of Money to Defray the Current needfull Charges of Garrison We permit such Sums to be received into Our Cash, as may Accomodate Our Servants, the Planters Margin Notes: Approved of allowing the Gunners Cloaths Mrs Wrangham must Maintain his Daughter till married Cotton, or how the Stores prove to be continued Mr Beale to be paid after the rate of £20 [per] ann Slaves being kept at Labour, a Service to the Company in case of Money being wanted, to receive it into the Cash, and	18: The Court agreed that the master gunner should have clothes allowed him on the same footing as the rest of the officers. 19: Mr Wrangham was to maintain his daughter Mrs Alcock and her children until she married again. The Court had no fund for the support of its decayed servants either at home or abroad, and could not bear the thought of pensioning her as the Council had proposed. 20: The Council was to keep advising the Court how the stores proved in quality, being explicit in describing any defect. 21: Mr Beale the clerk was to be paid for officiating in Mrs Alcock's place at the rate of forty pounds a year. 22: By keeping the slaves sent from Bencoolen at labour, they might not only be cured of a mischievous temper but become of real service to the Company on the island. 23: Should the Council be short of money to meet the current necessary charges of the garrison, the Court permitted such sums to be received into the Company's cash as would accommodate its servants, the planters [...]. Interpretations The refusal to pension Mrs Alcock in paragraph 19 rested on the Court's insistence that it kept no fund for decayed servants and their families. Rather than grant the pension the Council proposed, it laid the burden of her maintenance on her father, Mr Wrangham, until she remarried. The decision drew a firm line between the Company's obligations and family responsibility, treating support of a servant's widowed or distressed relatives as a private duty and declining to open a charge it regarded as having no proper place in its accounts. The handling of the Bencoolen slaves in paragraph 22 framed forced labour as both discipline and gain. Keeping them at work was expected to cure what the Court called a mischievous temper and at the same time turn them into useful hands on the island. The reasoning treated hard employment as the means of subduing people judged troublesome while extracting their value, consistent with the Company's standing practice of setting its slaves to constant labour and breeding them to the island's work. The stopgap on cash in paragraph 23 extended the familiar device of drawing local funds to meet immediate charges. Where the garrison's necessary expenses outran the money in hand, the Court allowed sums to be received into its cash from those willing to pay in, accommodating its servants and the planters while relieving the shortfall. The arrangement matched the treasure-chest and bill-of-exchange provisions elsewhere in these letters, all of them ways of keeping the isolated establishment supplied with money against the Company's credit in London.

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30	27	Planters and others Granting Bills of Exchange upon Us for the Amount, at the Usual Tenour On carrying Journal Entrys over from one Page to another Insert what Article is brought over, for the more ready Notice and Observation No allowance whatever should be made for Wast, Short Weight or Measure but such as have unavoidably arisen by Leakage, breakage, rust or the like causes, Selling at Outcry every decayed or broken Article that will yeild any thing, the Produce thereof must be brought to our Account and the Storekeeper must be responsible, and make good to Us what is lost after such reasonable Allowance is made him, instead of Writing them Off to Profit and Loss Such Goods, Liquors, Stores, or other Merchandize, as we permit the Commanders to carry out, They must have free Liberty to Sell by Auction or otherwise in such manner as they shall Judge proper We acquiesce in the paying Mr James Powell Sallary and Diet during his Suspension In case the Captains do not pay for their Charterparty Margin Notes: grant Bills of Exchange in the Journal Entrys, must be inserted the Article carried over no allowance to be made for short weight &c but what is unavoidable Commanders to have free liberty to Sell their Goods at Auction or otherwise Mr James Powell being in Sallary, Diet approvd of	The planters and others were to grant bills of exchange on the Court for the amounts, in the usual form. 24: In carrying journal entries over from one page to another, the Council was to note what article was brought over, for readier notice and observation. 25: No allowance whatever was to be made for waste, short weight or measure, except such as arose unavoidably through leakage, breakage, rot or the like. Every decayed or broken article that would fetch anything was to be sold at outcry, and its produce brought to the Company's account. The storekeeper was to be answerable and make good whatever was lost, after such reasonable allowance had been made to him, instead of the losses being written off to profit and loss. 26: Whatever goods, liquors, stores or other merchandise the Court permitted the commanders to carry out, they were to have free liberty to sell by auction or otherwise in whatever manner they thought proper. 27: The Court agreed to the paying of Mr James Powell his salary and diet during his suspension. 28: Should the captains not pay for their charter party [...]. Interpretations The storekeeper's liability set out in paragraph 25 refined a rule that runs throughout these letters. Genuine, unavoidable loss through leakage, breakage or rot was excused, but everything beyond that remained the storekeeper's own charge, to be made good rather than quietly written off to profit and loss. The requirement that decayed or broken goods be sold at outcry and the proceeds carried to account shows the Court insisting that even damaged stock yield what it could, and that the difference between honest wastage and unexplained shortfall fall squarely on the man responsible for the stores. The selling liberty granted to commanders in paragraph 26 loosened the island's controls for goods the Court had itself licensed them to carry. Where such merchandise was authorised, the captains could dispose of it by auction or otherwise as they saw fit. The concession stands in contrast to the tight restrictions elsewhere on private trade at the island, and it turned on prior permission: what the Court had sanctioned in advance, it left the commander free to sell in his own way, while unlicensed dealing remained barred. The bookkeeping instruction in paragraph 24, requiring each carried-over article to be named at the head of a new page, addressed the same demand for a clear and checkable record that recurs across these directions. A journal entry split across pages could be lost or confused without a note of what continued; marking it plainly kept the account legible and traceable, part of the Court's sustained effort to make the island's books an exact and transparent statement of its dealings.
31	28	Charterparty Beef in Stores conformable thereto let the Captains during the War pay for it in Money, in time of Peace insist upon Stores as Usual A Specimen of the bad Paper complained of, should have been sent Us, for the Books and Papers Transmitted Us from Your Place appear upon Examination to be Strong, Good and not to Sink in the least All the care imaginable is taken that our Settlements are Supplied with the best of every sort, for the future Samples must be returned to Us whenever there is just Cause of Complaint, and be sure to keep our Stationary in a Dry place free from Damp and Moistness We hereby Direct that immediately on Receipt hereof David Dunbar Esq, do Resign our Service and Deliver over the Government	The captains were to pay for their charter party beef in stores accordingly. During the war they were to pay for it in money, but in time of peace the Council was to insist on stores as usual. 29: A specimen of the bad paper complained of should have been sent home, since the books and papers transmitted from the island appeared on examination to be strong and good and not to sink in the least. 30: All imaginable care was taken that the Company's settlements were supplied with the best of every sort. In future, samples were to be returned to the Court whenever there was just cause of complaint, and the Council was to keep the Company's stationery in a dry place free from damp and moisture. 31: The Court directed that immediately on receipt of this letter, David Dunbar, esquire, resign the

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		of our Island with all our Effects, Cash, Books and Papers, in his Custody, unto Charles Hutchinson Esq, whom we have appointed to be Our Governour at the Salary of Five Hundred Pounds [per] Annum to Commence from the Receipt hereof, or in case of Mr Hutchinsons Death or absence Mr Dunbar must immediately Resign Margin Notes: Captains to pay for their Charterparty Beef or Money in War, but in Peace in Stores A Specimen of the bad Paper ought to have been sent home Samples must be sent when cause to Complain David Dunbar Esqr to Resign the Government & deliver over all the Company Effects to the Hutchinson Esqr who is appointd Govr at a Salary of £500 [per] ann or in case of his Death, Mr Dunbar to resign the Government	Company's service and deliver over the government of the island, with all its effects, cash, books and papers in his custody, to Charles Hutchinson, esquire, whom the Court had appointed Governor at a salary of five hundred pounds a year, to begin from the receipt of this letter. In case of Mr Hutchinson's death or absence, Mr Dunbar was immediately to resign [...]. Interpretations The beef payment rule in the opening paragraph shows the Court adjusting a standing arrangement to the state of war and peace. In wartime the captains were to pay for their charter party beef in money, but in peacetime the Council was to take stores as usual. The distinction reflected the different value of coin and goods in the two conditions: when war made money and shipping precious, cash was demanded, while in settled times the Court reverted to payment in kind, matching the mode of payment to circumstances rather than fixing it once for all. The paper complaint in paragraph 29 turned the Council's grievance back on itself for want of proof. The island had objected to bad paper, yet the very books and papers it sent home proved strong and sound on examination, undercutting the charge. The Court's insistence that a specimen should have accompanied the complaint, echoed in the general rule of paragraph 30 that samples be returned whenever there was just cause, reflects its consistent demand that objections be substantiated with evidence rather than asserted, so that a real defect could be told from an unfounded claim. The handover of government in paragraph 31 was ordered to take effect at once on receipt, with the whole apparatus of rule, effects, cash, books and papers, passing directly from Dunbar to Hutchinson. The provision naming Dunbar to resign again should Hutchinson die or be absent shows the Court securing an unbroken line of authority on a distant island where a vacancy could not quickly be filled from home. By fixing the succession in advance and tying the new salary to the moment of receipt, it left no interval in which the government might lapse or its property go unaccounted.
32	29	Resign the Government unto Lieutenant John Clark, and Mr Robert Wright Secretary, or the Eldest Lieutenant & Secretary for the time being to whom we commit in such case the Administration of the Government according to these our Orders, until our further Appointment, A Commission under our Seal comes inclosed accordingly by the Swift We expect that you will consider well the great trust We repose in you, by thus committing the Government of Our Island wholly unto you, that you will put and keep the Fortifications in the best Order possible, make it a fixed Principal of Action to be Guided by the known Laws of England, Our Standing Orders, and the Allowed Customs of Our Island, that so all our Inhabitants may live easy and happy under Your Government according to Our earnest Desire Mr Robert Wright, Mr John Goodwin and Mr Matthew Purling, are no longer to be of Council, yet we Direct that Mr Wright continue Secretary, Mr Goodwin Accountant and Mr Purling Storekeeper at the Salary of Seventy Pounds [per] Annum each, and the Usual Diet, so long as they Discharge those Employs to Our Satisfaction, and We Direct that the Paymaster and all other Accounts be Examined and Entred Margin Notes: to Lieutt John Clark & Mr Robert Wright Secy or the Eldest	Mr Dunbar was to resign the government to Lieutenant John Clark and Mr Robert Wright, secretary, or to the eldest lieutenant and secretary for the time being, to whom the Court committed in such a case the administration of the government according to these orders, until its further appointment. A commission under the Company's seal came enclosed accordingly by the <i>Swift</i>. 32: The Court expected Mr Hutchinson to weigh well the great trust reposed in him by committing the government of the island wholly to him. He was to put and keep the fortifications in the best possible order and make that his principal object, guided by the known laws of England, the Company's standing orders and the allowed customs of the island, so that all the inhabitants might live easy and happy under his government, according to the Court's earnest desire. 33: Mr Robert Wright, Mr John Goodwin and Mr Matthew Purling were no longer to be of Council, yet the Court directed that Mr Wright continue as secretary, Mr Goodwin as accountant and Mr Purling as storekeeper, at a salary of seventy pounds a year each and the usual diet, so long as they discharged those offices to the Court's satisfaction. The Court directed that the paymaster's and all other accounts be examined and entered [...]. Interpretations The separation of Council seats from working offices in paragraph 33 shows the Court distinguishing a man's rank at the board from the duties he performed. Wright, Goodwin and Purling lost their places on the Council yet kept their posts as secretary, accountant

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		Lieut and Secy for the time being Commission sent expect that the Fortifications be put in the best order possible must be Guided by the known Laws of England Mr Wright Mr Goodwin & Mr Purling to be no longer of Council but to Continue in their Several Branches all Accounts to be Entred as Usual	and storekeeper at a fixed seventy pounds each. The arrangement let the Court reshape the governing body without losing the experience of officers who ran essential functions, and it tied their continuance expressly to performing those functions to satisfaction, so that pay followed the work rather than the seat. The charge laid on the new Governor in paragraph 32 defined the whole purpose of his trust in terms of defence and settled order. The fortifications were to be his principal object, and his rule was to run by the known laws of England, the Company's standing orders and the island's own allowed customs, to the end that the inhabitants lived easy and happy. The instruction gathered the recurring themes of these letters into a single commission: the island existed as a fortified station, but its government was also to rest on established law and local custom rather than on a Governor's personal will. The pre-arranged succession completed in the opening paragraph secured the government against any gap below the new Governor as well. Should Hutchinson fail, the eldest lieutenant and secretary were to take the administration under the enclosed commission until London appointed afresh. By sending the commission under seal with the same ship, the Court ensured that authority on the island could pass through two or three hands without interruption, a necessary safeguard where the next instruction from home was many months away.
33	30	in the Usual Manner In case Mr Samuel Doveton as Attorney to Captain Benjamin Mason, should offer to pay any Mony into Our Cash, We direct that you receive the same, and grant Bills of Exchange for the Amount Payable to the Captain Notwithstanding the promise that our late Governour Mr Dunbar gave us, that he would not Trade much less Engrass Liquors more especially, Yet we find he hath done it contrary to our Intentions, to the great Oppression of the Inhabitants, Therefore We expect and require of You that there be a free and open Trade to all Persons upon the Island We direct that Mr John Bland the Mason for his Encouragement have Forty Pounds [per] Annum Diet Mony from the Receipt hereof Mr Loveday having Borrowed of us Fifty Pounds, his Bond Engaging to Repay the same out of his growing Salary, comes Enclosed [per] Grantham During Mr Dunbars Stay upon the Margin Notes: If Mr Doveton should offer to pay Money in the Cash on acct of Capt Mason the same to be received Mr Dunbar found to Trade a Free Trade granted Mr Bland allowed £40 Diet Money Mr Lovedays Bond for £50 sent [per] Grantham	The paymaster's and all other accounts were to be examined and entered in the usual manner. 34: Should Mr Samuel Doveton, as attorney to Captain Benjamin Mason, offer to pay any money into the Company's cash, the Court directed the Council to receive it and grant bills of exchange for the amount, payable to the captain. 35: Despite the promise the late Governor Mr Dunbar had given the Court that he would not trade much, still less engross liquors especially, it found he had done exactly that, against the Court's intention and to the great oppression of the inhabitants. The Court therefore expected and required a free and open trade to all persons on the island. 36: The Court directed that Mr John Bland the mason have, for his encouragement, forty pounds a year diet money from the receipt of this letter. 37: Mr Loveday having borrowed fifty pounds from the Court, his bond engaging to repay it out of his growing salary came enclosed by the <i>Grantham</i>. 38: During Mr Dunbar's stay on the island [...]. Interpretations The complaint against Dunbar in paragraph 35 exposed the danger of a Governor turning trader on his own account. He had promised not to trade, still less to engross liquors, yet had done both, cornering supply to the oppression of the inhabitants. The Court's remedy, a free and open trade to all persons, aimed to break the monopoly a Governor's position let him build, and it reflects the recurring worry across these letters that the very officers charged with the island's welfare might exploit their control of its commerce for private gain. The bill-of-exchange direction in paragraph 34 followed the settled rule for money paid in on another's account. A payment made by Captain Mason's attorney drew a negotiable bill payable to the captain, the instrument the Court reserved for sums belonging to a private party who needed to realise them in London. The provision fits the pattern running through these despatches, in which the island served as a collection point and the character of the document issued turned on whose money was received. The loan and bond arrangement for Mr Loveday in paragraph 37 shows the Court advancing money to a new servant against his future pay. Fifty pounds lent, secured by a bond to repay out of his growing salary,

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			gave the chaplain the means to establish himself while binding him to reimburse the Company by deduction over time. The device recurs throughout the Company's dealings with its servants, turning an outfitting advance into a secured debt recovered from the very salary the post would earn.
34	31	Island, he must be Treated with Respect, Entertaind at our Table, a Convenient Apartment be Allotted him, and the Commander of the Ship he chooses to come home with must be Directed to receive him on board, affording him all Needfull Accommodations in the Voyage at his own Charge We dont approve of Mr Dunbars fining the late Council a Quarters Salary We are Your Loving Friends London the 23 Decr 1746 H Gough Sam Feake D Braddyll Michl Impey W Mabbott Sam Hyde Robt Hudson Willm Ryder R Bootle Stephen Law Christo Burrow P Godfrey [...] Plant [...] [...] [...]ne [...]ke Margin Notes: Mr Dunbar during his Stay upon the Island to be Treated with Respect &c not approvd of fining the Council	During Mr Dunbar's stay on the island he was to be treated with respect, entertained at the Council's table and given a convenient apartment. The commander of the ship he chose to come home with was to be directed to receive him on board and afford him all necessary accommodation on the voyage at the Company's charge. 39: The Court did not approve Mr Dunbar's fining the late Council a quarter's salary. The letter closed as from the Company's loving friends, signed at London on 23 December 1746 by H. Gough, Samuel Feake, D. Braddyll, Michael Impey, W. Mabbott, Samuel Hyde, Robert Hudson, William Ryder, R. Bootle, Stephen Law, Christopher Burrow, P. Godfrey and Henry Plant, together with others whose names are lost to damage at the foot of the page. Interpretations The treatment ordered for the outgoing Dunbar in the opening paragraph shows the Court distinguishing its censure of his conduct from his personal usage on departure. Though it had condemned his trading and his fining of the Council, it still directed that he be received with respect, fed at the table, lodged and carried home at the Company's expense. The courtesy extended to a former Governor reflects a settled practice of easing servants out of office with dignity whatever faults had been found, keeping the manner of a man's leaving separate from the merits of his rule. The rejection of Dunbar's fine on the late Council in paragraph 39 continued the Court's insistence that a Governor could not act singly against those under him. Fining the whole Council a quarter's salary was the kind of unilateral penalty the Court repeatedly disallowed, holding that authority over the Company's servants and their pay rested with itself and not with a Governor's own hand. The disapproval fits the pattern running through these letters, in which the Court checked each attempt by a Governor to punish, dismiss or charge his subordinates without its warrant.
35	32	[Text lost to damage down the left edge and centre of the page, affecting several lines of the main text and margin.] Received a Copy of the foregoing Letter by the Ship Grantham, to which was added the following Paragraphs Viz The above was wrote by Our [...] We now Judge Proper to [...]at the Governour act in all things [...]ncil and advice of Lieutenant [...]d Mr Wright the Secretary, or in [...] Death or Absence with the Council and Advice of the Oldest Lieutenant and Secretary for the time being We intend to send You another Ship in three or four Months by which we shall endeavour to Supply You with an Able Man to be Husband of Our Plantations and of Council, til then You would do well to Appoint a proper person to take the Needfull care of our Said Plantation making him a reasonable Allowance for his Trouble We would have the Planters allowed the Liberty whenever there is Grass to Spare of Margin Notes: [...] [...] [...] ime	A copy of the foregoing letter was received by the ship <i>Grantham</i>, to which the following paragraphs were added. 40: The above had been written by the Court. It now judged it proper that the Governor act in all things by the council and advice of Lieutenant [Clark] and Mr Wright the secretary, or in case of their death or absence by the council and advice of the eldest lieutenant and secretary for the time being. 41: The Court intended to send another ship in three or four months, by which it would try to supply the island with an able man to be husband of the plantation and of Council. Until then the Council would do well to appoint a proper person to take the necessary care of the plantation, making him a reasonable allowance for his trouble. 42: The Court wanted the planters allowed the liberty, whenever there was grass to spare [...]. Interpretations The added direction in paragraph 40 tightened the constraint on the new Governor before he had even taken up his post. The main letter had committed the government wholly to Hutchinson, but this postscript required him to act in all things by the counsel of the lieutenant and secretary, and failing them the eldest of each. The Court thus qualified the personal trust it had just reposed, binding the Governor to consult rather than rule alone, of a piece with its repeated insistence

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		9 Another Ship to be sent, and a proper person to be Husband & of Council the Planters	throughout these letters that authority on the island be shared and not concentrated in one hand. The interim arrangement for the plantation in paragraph 41 shows the Court managing a gap it could not fill at once from home. An able man to serve as husband and councillor would come by a later ship, but until then the Council was to appoint a proper person locally and pay him a reasonable allowance. Rather than leave the plantation untended while a suitable officer crossed from England, the Court authorised a temporary local appointment, treating the care of its productive land as too important to stand vacant for the months a home appointment required.
36	33	of turning their Cattle into the Great Wood so far as You think it will not be Prejudicial to Us We are Your Loving Friends London the 16 January 1746 H Gough Sam Feake I Raymond Will Braund P Godfrey Thos Rous R Drake Christo Burrow Willm Rider Rich Benyon Stephen Law John Hope R Bootle Henry Plant John Payne Rob Hudson W Willy[...] Margin Notes: to be Allowd to turn Cattle into the Wood so far as it may not be prejudicial	The Court wanted the planters allowed the liberty, whenever there was grass to spare, of turning their cattle into the great wood, so far as the Council thought it would not be prejudicial to the Company. The letter closed as from the Company's loving friends, signed at London on 16 January 1746 by H. Gough, Samuel Feake, J. Raymond, William Braund, P. Godfrey, Thomas Rous, R. Drake, Christopher Burrow, William Ryder, Richard Benyon, Stephen Law, John Hope, R. Bootle, Henry Plant, John Payne, Robert Hudson and W. Willey. Interpretations The grazing liberty in this passage granted the planters access to the great wood only under a clear reservation. They might turn their cattle in when grass was to spare, but the Council was left to judge how far the practice could go without harming the Company. Making the concession conditional on that judgement shows the Court extending a useful privilege while keeping control of its woodland, unwilling to let the planters' cattle damage timber it valued yet ready to allow the pasturage when it cost nothing. The qualification matches the treatment of the same liberty earlier in these letters, where the right to common in the wood was always held subject to the Company's own interest.
37	34	Our Governour and Council of St Helena Since our last Dated the 16 Jany 1746 Your Several Letters, mentioned in the Margin, are come to hand Our Seven Ships that touched at the Island We thank God, arrived safe in England, as also the Several others mentioned in the enclosed List, wherein You have likewise the Outward bound this Season We send this by Our Ship Godolphin having loaden on her a Supply of Stores and Merchandise in Compliance with the Indent before Us, as [per] Invoice & Bill of Loading in the Packet You are to land the same within Ten Working Days, otherwise Demorage will be incurrd, therefore lose no time, but so soon as they are all on Shore, give the Captain Sailing Orders in writing to make the best of his way to Fort Marlborough, forwarding the Inclosed Copy of the Ships Charterparty in Your Packet thither Margin Notes: 1746 31 July 9 Feby 1747 April 25 May 18 June 15 16	Our Governor and Council of St Helena 1: Since the Court's last letter, dated 16 January 1746, the Council's several letters noted in the margin had come to hand, dated 31 July and 5 February 1746, and 25 April, 18 May, 11 and 30 June, 18 and 30 July and 10 August 1747. 2: The Court's seven ships that touched at the island had, thank God, arrived safe in England, as had the several others named in the enclosed list, which also showed those outward bound this season. 3: This letter came by the Company's ship <i>Godolphin</i>, loaded with a supply of stores and merchandise to meet the order before the Court, as set out in the invoice and bill of lading in the packet. 4: The Council was to land them within ten working days, or demurrage would be incurred. It was therefore to lose no time, but as soon as they were all ashore give the captain sailing orders in writing to make the best of his way to Fort Marlborough, forwarding the enclosed copy of the ship's charter party in the packet sent there.

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		July 18 30 2 August 10 List of Ships sent Supply sent according to Indent the Stores to be Landed within the time limited	
38	35	Whenever any articles are unserviceable by being of a wrong Size, or are not really in [use] & cannot be made use of after a Trial for some time, instead of Returning them home, send all such forward to Bencoolen, at which place, or in some other part of India, they may turn to Account You will do well to licence such at [...] of Publick Houses, as are Judged requisite, to retail Spirituous Liquors for the Accommodation of the Garrison & others who chuse to refresh themselves & enjoy one anothers Company thereat in like manner as is practised in Publick Houses here, But in case the Planters or Military have occasion for Liquors, to Treat their friends or otherwise at their own Home they are to be allowed the liberty of buying them where ever they please, not restraining them to such Sutlers only, upon any pretence whatsoever, obliging them to keep good Order upon forfeiture of their Licence, & all others should be restrained from Selling in such a Manner The several Debtors to Mr Goodwins Estate must be summend before you, to adjust their several depending Accounts which you Margin Notes: [...]serviceable [...]ores to be [...]nt to Bencoolen proper [N]umber of [H]ouses to be [L]icensed to retail Liquor [Th]e Planters [o]r Military [n]ot to be [r]estrained [b]uying Liquor [Th]e Debtors [to] Governours	5: Whenever any articles proved unserviceable through being the wrong size, or were not really wanted and could not be used after a trial for some time, the Council was to send them forward to Bencoolen instead of returning them home, since there, or in some other part of India, they might turn to account. 6: The Council would do well to license as many public houses as were judged necessary to retail spirituous liquors for the garrison and others who chose to refresh themselves and enjoy one another's company, in the same manner as at the public houses in England. But should the planters or military want liquors to entertain their friends or otherwise at their own homes, they were to be allowed the liberty of buying them wherever they pleased. They were not to be confined to those sutlers alone on any pretence whatever, but were to be bound to keep good order on forfeiture of their licence, and all others were to be barred from selling in such a manner. 7: The several debtors to Mr Goodwin's estate were to be summoned before the Council to settle their several pending accounts [...]. Interpretations The disposal rule in paragraph 5 repeated the Court's practice of routing the island's rejected goods to where they could still yield value. Articles of the wrong size or found unwanted after trial were to go on to Bencoolen or elsewhere in India rather than back to England, since a market for them existed within the eastern establishment. Treating even unusable stock as an asset to be realised somewhere in the Company's network, rather than written off at the island, was of a piece with the standing instruction throughout these letters to waste nothing that could be turned to account. The licensing scheme in paragraph 6 drew a careful line between retail sale and private purchase. The Court would license public houses to serve the garrison on the English model, but it refused to let those sutlers monopolise supply: planters and military wanting liquor for their own homes could buy wherever they pleased. The distinction guarded the inhabitants against being forced to a favoured few sellers, the same concern for a free and open trade that ran through the Court's rebuke of Governor Dunbar's engrossing, while the forfeiture clause kept the licensed houses to good order. The summoning of Goodwin's debtors in paragraph 7 continued the systematic winding-up of that estate seen across these despatches. Calling the debtors before the Council to settle their accounts was the means of gathering in what was owed, so that the estate could satisfy its own debt to the Company. The step fits the Court's sustained handling of Goodwin's affairs, in which house, legacies and outstanding debts were all marshalled toward the demand the Company held against him.
39	36	are hereby empowered to Settle in an equitable manner upon a fair and Impartial hearing, the merits of the Cause with respect to each Person and thereupon recover the amount, allowing a Reasonable Time, that so they may not be Distressed Isaac Payne Esq being a Bond Creditor of the late Mr Goodwin, we have paid Seven Hundred Ninety One Pounds and eleven pence	The Council was empowered to settle those accounts in an equitable manner, on a fair and impartial hearing of the merits of the case with respect to each person, and then to recover the amount, allowing a reasonable time so that the debtors might not be distressed. 8: Isaac Pyke, esquire, being a bond creditor of the late Mr Goodwin, the Court had paid seven hundred and ninety-one pounds and elevenpence to Mrs

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		to Mrs Bradfor to discharge the same, Mr Goodwins Account must therefore be Debted that Sum upon your Books There are Several other like Claims upon that Estate, therefore until the whole is woundup, We cannot give Directions about Mrs Worralls Legacy As Mr Loveday the Chaplain could not be accommodated with a Suitable Apartment in the Castle, but was obliged to Live Separate, the like allowance is to be made him for Diet as the late Chaplain enjoyed Acquaint Us whether it was ever the practice to allow Money to such Soldiers who are Natives to Enlist after five Years Service Margin Notes: Goodwins Estate to be Summond Govr Goodwins Estate to be Debted for the sum of £791 [11d] paid Mrs Bradford Several Claims upon Govr Goodwins Estate no directions about Mrs Worralls Mr Loveday to be allowed the same Diet as his Predecessor to be acquainted whether it was practice to	Bradford to discharge that debt, and Mr Goodwin's account was therefore to be debited that sum in the books. 9: There were several other like claims upon that estate, and so until the whole was wound up the Court could give no directions about Mrs Worrall's legacy. 10: Since Mr Loveday the chaplain could not be given a suitable apartment in the castle but was obliged to live separately, the same allowance for diet was to be made him as the late chaplain enjoyed. 11: The Council was to inform the Court whether it had ever been the practice to allow money to soldiers who were natives to re-enlist after five years' service [...]. Interpretations The equitable-settlement direction in the opening paragraph balanced recovery against fairness to the debtors. The Council was to hear each case impartially, recover what was owed, but allow a reasonable time so that no debtor was distressed. Tempering collection with forbearance reflects the Court's recurring concern not to ruin the island's people even while pressing its claims, treating the winding-up of Goodwin's estate as a matter to be handled with regard to the circumstances of those who owed it. The chaplain's diet allowance in paragraph 10 shows the Court fitting a servant's maintenance to the accommodation actually available. Mr Loveday had been meant to lodge in the castle and take his place at the general table, but no suitable apartment could be found, so he lived apart and received a diet allowance in lieu, on the footing his predecessor had enjoyed. Adjusting the form of his support to his real situation, while keeping its value at the established level, matched the Court's practical handling of the office throughout, in which the post carried a settled provision shaped to the man's circumstances. The deferral of Mrs Worrall's legacy in paragraph 9 restated the priority the Court gave its own and its creditors' claims over private bequests from the same estate. With several like claims still outstanding, no direction could be given about the legacy until the whole was wound up. The rule that debts rank before legacies, applied consistently across these letters to Goodwin's affairs, kept the Company's demand and those of bond creditors such as Pyke ahead of any payment to a legatee.
40	37	Service, as they are not under Contract, they seem to have no right to expect the same. 12 If Mr Joseph Darvall or any other of our Servants, are desirous of resigning their Employs, & returning to England when their Contracted time is expired, You are to give them leave Accordingly, they defraying the Expence of their passage, But as Mr Darvall hath kept our Books of Accounts for some time We give him his option to remove as a Factor to Bencoolen, We having given Directions that he shall, on proceeding thither be entertained accordingly on his Arrival there. 13 As you recommend Mr Thos French to be deserving Our Notice, & he hath applyed to us, setting forth he has Served Us upwards of Five Years, We direct that he be entertained a Factor on receipt hereof upon the Usual Terms Mr Wrangham & he must write to their Friends here in England, to be Security for their Fidelity in the Sum of One Thousand Pounds for each. 14 We have never yet paid for Discharged Soldiers passage home, from any of Our Settlements, they generally agree to work for it or are entered as Seamen upon the Ships Books	Since the native soldiers were not under contract, they seemed to have no right to expect such money for re-enlisting. 12: If Mr Joseph Darvall or any other of the Company's servants wished to resign their places and return to England once their contracted time expired, the Council was to give them leave accordingly, they paying the cost of their own passage. But since Mr Darvall had kept the Company's books of accounts for some time, the Court gave him the option of removing as a factor to Bencoolen, having directed that he be entertained there on his arrival. 13: Since the Council recommended Mr Thomas French as deserving the Court's notice, and he had shown that he had served upwards of five years, the Court directed that he be entertained as a factor on receipt of this letter on the usual terms. He and Mr Wrangham were to write to their friends in England to be security for their fidelity, in the sum of one thousand pounds for each. 14: The Court had never yet paid for discharged soldiers' passage home from any of its settlements. They generally agreed to work for it, or were entered as seamen on the ships' books [...]. Interpretations The security bonds required in paragraph 13 show how the Company guarded itself against the dishonesty of servants placed in positions of trust. Before French

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		Margin Notes: Allow the Natives Money for Residency Company's Servants not to be hindered returning home after serving their Contracted time Mr Darvall sent Factor to Bencoolen Mr Thomas French made Factor He & Mr Wrangham must write to their Friends in England to be Security for their Fidelity Discharged Soldiers passage never yet paid for	and Wrangham could be entertained as factors, their friends in England had to stand surety for their fidelity in a thousand pounds each. Requiring a substantial bond from persons at home gave the Company a solvent party to pursue in London if the factor defaulted at the island, a standing device by which it converted the good faith of distant servants into an enforceable guarantee. The refusal to pay soldiers' passage home in paragraph 14 rested on a settled economy the Court applied across all its settlements. Discharged men were never carried home at the Company's charge; they worked their passage or entered as seamen on the ships' books. Treating the return voyage as something the soldier earned rather than something the Company owed kept a recurring cost off its accounts, consistent with the Court's general reluctance throughout these letters to assume any charge for its servants that could be avoided or shifted onto the men themselves. The option offered to Mr Darvall in paragraph 12 shows the Court retaining a useful servant rather than simply letting him go. An accountant with experience of its books was valuable, so instead of granting only the leave to return home at his own cost, it opened a further place for him as a factor at Bencoolen. Preserving the service of a man who understood its accounts, by moving him to another station, reflects the Court's practical wish to keep trained hands within the establishment wherever it could.
41	38	which can never be deemed a Hardship, as they have liberty of Re-entering in Our Service. 15 When the Supra Cargos or Captains of any Foreign Ships in Amity with Us apply for Money to answer their Necessities, they must be charged Six Shillings & Six pence for every Spanish Dollar, that advance being in Consideration of Our Risque in getting it to the Island, but such Stores as they are Supplied withal must Still be charged at fifty ⅓ Cent Advance, taking Bills of Exchange on their Respective Companies, whether it be for Money or Stores. 16 Harry Gough Esqr Richd Chauncy Esqr, Alexander Hume Esqr, and William Mabbott Esqr, are our Secret Committee for the Current Year, whatever Orders may be received from them, or any three of those Gentlemen relating to Our Ships, must be Strictly complied with and obeyed. 17 With great Satisfaction We observe that the very day Our Governour came to the Chair a New Battery was ordered at Sandy Bay, and on its being recommended to the Inhabitants to send one third to assist, they agreed to send a third of their Margin Notes: Forreigners to be charged 6/6 for a Spanish Dollar & to pay 50 ⅓ Cent for Stores Secret Committee Observed if that the Govr came to the Chair a new Battery was Ordered to be Erected & the Inhabitants agreed to send one third to assist	This could never be deemed a hardship, since they had the liberty of re-entering the Company's service. 15: When the supercargoes or captains of any foreign ships in amity with the Company applied for money to meet their needs, they were to be charged six shillings and sixpence for every Spanish dollar, that advance being in consideration of the Company's risk in getting it to the island. But whatever stores they were supplied with were still to be charged at fifty per cent advance, taking bills of exchange on their respective companies whether for money or stores. 16: Harry Gough, Richard Chauncy, Alexander Hume and William Mabbott, esquires, were the Court's secret committee for the current year. Whatever orders came from them, or from any three of those gentlemen, concerning the Company's ships were to be strictly observed and obeyed. 17: The Court observed with great satisfaction that the very day the Governor came to the chair a new battery was ordered at Sandy Bay, and that on its being recommended to the inhabitants they agreed to send a third of their slaves [...]. Interpretations The double charge on foreign ships in paragraph 15 shows the Court pricing its two kinds of accommodation quite differently. Cash advanced to a foreign supercargo carried a premium of six shillings and sixpence to the dollar, justified by the cost and risk of shipping specie to a remote island, while stores were charged at the standing fifty per cent advance. Setting a higher markup on scarce coin than on goods reflected the real difficulty of keeping money at St Helena, and taking bills on the foreign companies in every case secured payment in Europe rather than trusting to settlement at the island. The battery at Sandy Bay in paragraph 17 drew the Court's warm approval precisely because it married the two aims that run through these letters. Ordering a new work of defence on the first day of the new government answered the standing insistence that fortification be the Governor's principal care, while the inhabitants' agreement to contribute a third of their slaves to build it turned the planters' own labour toward the island's security. The episode showed defence advanced at shared cost, exactly the pattern the Court

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			had long pressed, with the settlers investing their hands in the protection of the place they lived on.
42	39	Blacks to work thereupon, which we take in good part at their hands, in case it is requisite to remove Our Cannon from one Fortification to another for the Islands better defence, or whatever Works are necessary in order thereto, We rely upon your Constant Watchfull care in this Important respect, and that every thing will be done that is judged conducive to that end, keeping up the Strictest Military Discipline, because it is a Subtle Enemy, We guard against during the Present War. 18 The Articles of Household Furniture deficient on Colonel Dunbar's Resignation are so trifling, that he is not to be Charged therewith. 19 Besides Lieutenant Clarks Pay as such, We direct that he be allowed Sixty Pounds P Annum as one of the Council from The Grantham's arrival. 20 The Inhabitants having transmitted no manner of Complaint this Year We Perswade Our Selves from thence there is a good Harmony and Agreement between You, and doubt not but the same will be continued, Union adding great Strength to every Society. Margin Notes: of their Blacks to work thereupon if requisite to remove the Cannon or any other necessary Works Colonel Dunbar not to be Charged with the Household Furniture Lt Clark to be allowed £60 P Ann the Inhabitants make no Complaint this Year & a good Harmony recommended	The inhabitants agreed to send a third of their slaves to work on the battery, which the Court took kindly at their hands, in case it was necessary to move the cannon from one fortification to another for the island's better defence, or whatever works were needed to that end. The Court relied on the Governor's constant watchful care in this important respect, and that everything judged conducive to that end would be done, keeping up the strictest military discipline, since it was a subtle enemy the Company had to guard against during the present war. 18: The articles of household furniture missing on Colonel Dunbar's resignation were so trifling that he was not to be charged with them. 19: Besides Lieutenant Clark's pay as lieutenant, the Court directed that he be allowed sixty pounds a year as one of the Council, from the arrival of the <i>Grantham</i>. 20: The inhabitants having sent no complaint this year, the Court judged from that there was a good harmony and agreement among them, and did not doubt it would continue, union adding great strength to every society. Interpretations The furniture concession in paragraph 18 shows the Court declining to press a petty charge against a departed servant. The household articles missing on Dunbar's resignation were so trifling that it would not hold him answerable, a marked contrast to the strict liability it imposed on storekeeper and custodian for goods under their care. The distinction lay in scale and in the nature of the trust: an outgoing Governor was not to be dunned over a few small items, where a working storekeeper remained accountable for the whole of his charge. The leniency fits the courteous treatment the Court extended to Dunbar's person even while condemning his conduct in office. The value the Court placed on the inhabitants' silence in paragraph 20 reveals how much weight it gave to peace among the settlers. It read the absence of complaint as proof of harmony and pronounced union a source of strength to any society. Throughout these letters the retention and contentment of the planter community appear as a standing political aim, and here their quiet was taken not as indifference but as a sign that the island was well governed, the good order the Court had long sought now seemingly attained. The sixty pounds added to Lieutenant Clark in paragraph 19 shows the Court paying separately for a separate duty. His pay as lieutenant was one thing; his seat on the Council earned an additional allowance from the ship's arrival. Compensating each office in its own right, rather than merging them, matched the Court's insistence elsewhere in these letters that salary follow the work performed, so that a man holding two positions was paid distinctly for each.
43	40	case You are Apprehensive of a Want of Cash to defray the Currant Charges, duly advising Bencoolen of the same. 27 We recommend it to the Govr to Appoint a Proper Assistant to the Store Keeper, whither Factor or Writer. 28 In case You want any of the Military in this Ship, We permit you to take out fifteen, and send the rest forward to Bencoolen where they are wanted. 29 We are inclined to think the Inhabitants will have the Benefit of the free Trade, that We have allowed, in a much better manner than by their going	Should the Council fear a shortage of cash to meet the current charges, it was permitted to take one chest of treasure, duly advising Bencoolen of it. 27: The Court recommended that the Governor appoint a proper assistant to the storekeeper, whether factor or writer. 28: Should the Council want any of the military on this ship, the Court permitted it to take out fifteen and send the rest forward to Bencoolen, where they were wanted. 29: The Court was inclined to think the inhabitants would enjoy the benefit of the free trade it had allowed in a much better manner than by going aboard ship, if the goods designed for sale were brought ashore and put up at public auction in moderate lots, everyone having free liberty to bid without restraint. It therefore recommended this method be put in practice, unless

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		aboard Ship, in case the goods designed for Sale, are brought on Shore, and put up at Publick Auction in moderate lotts, every one having free Liberty to bid without Restraint, We therefore recommend this method, to be put in practice, unless the Governour and Lieutenant Governour should have any Material Objections thereto. 30 We approve of the Usual Salute upon every Ships coming to the Island, but Margin Notes: of Money being wanted, Permitted to take one Chest the Govr to Appoint the Storekeeper a Proper Assistant If Military is wanted permitted to take fifteen Men Goods from the Commanders of Ships recommended to be Sold at Publick Auction	the Governor and Lieutenant Governor had any material objection to it. 30: The Court approved the usual salute on every ship coming to the island, but [...]. Interpretations The auction proposal in paragraph 29 refined how the Court's free-trade policy was to work in practice. Rather than let the inhabitants scramble aboard ship to buy, it recommended landing the goods and selling them at public auction in moderate lots, with everyone free to bid. Breaking the cargo into small parcels and opening the bidding to all was meant to spread the benefit widely and prevent a few buyers from cornering the supply, the same concern for genuinely open trade that underlay the Court's rebukes of engrossing throughout these letters. Leaving room for the Governor's objection kept the local officers a voice in the manner of sale while fixing its principle. The military transfer in paragraph 28 shows the Court apportioning its soldiers between two stations according to need. The island could keep fifteen of the men aboard, the rest going on to Bencoolen where they were wanted. Distributing the garrison across settlements, taking only what St Helena required and sending the surplus where it served, matched the Court's habit throughout these despatches of moving men and stores about its network to place each where it did most good. The treasure permission in the opening paragraph repeated once more the standing emergency device for a cash-short island. A chest could be drawn from the ship against notice to Bencoolen if the current charges could not otherwise be met. The consistency of this provision across letter after letter shows how routinely the Court expected the isolated establishment to run short of coin, and how it relied on diverting shipboard treasure, always with advice to the onward station, as the regular means of keeping the place supplied with money.
44	41	the Extra Salutes upon the landing of Commanders and others, must be laid aside, as not being the practice of Garrisons, Except in the cases of Admirals, Commodores, and Captains of His Majestys Ships, Or Our returning Governours. We are London 5 March 1747 Your Loving Friends H Gough Rich Chauncy Peter Godfrey Rich Impey Harry Plant J Winter Thos Rous Whitchcote Turner John Hope Willm Braund R Bootle J Raymond Rich Benyon Stephen Law Thos Phipps Wm Baker Margin Notes: Extraordinary Salutes approved of, except to Admirals Commodores & Cpts of His Majestys Ships & our own Govr	The extra salutes on the landing of commanders and others were to be laid aside, not being the practice of garrisons, except in the case of admirals, commodores and captains of His Majesty's ships, or the Company's returning Governor. The letter closed as from the Company's loving friends, signed at London on 2 March 1747 by H. Gough, Richard Chauncy, Peter Godfrey, Michael Impey, Henry Plant, J. Winter, Thomas Rous, Wichcott Turner, John Hope, William Braund, R. Bootle, J. Raymond, Richard Benyon, Stephen Law, Thomas Phipps and William Baker. Interpretations The restriction on salutes in this passage curbed a customary expense while preserving it for those the Court thought entitled. Firing on the landing of ordinary commanders was to cease, not being the practice of garrisons, but the honour was kept for admirals, commodores and captains of the King's ships, and for a returning Governor of the Company. Powder was costly and had to be shipped to the island, so limiting salutes to occasions of real rank was of a piece with the Court's long concern, running back through many years of these letters, to check the needless expenditure of powder in ceremony while maintaining the proper marks of respect where they were due.
45	42	Our Governour and Council of St Helena 1 We wrote last the 9th March 1747 by the Ship Godolphin that Sailed the 15th of the same Month Copy of Our said Letter is enclosed.	Our Governor and Council of St Helena 1: The Court last wrote on 9 March 1747 by the ship <i>Godolphin</i>, which sailed on 15 March of the same month. A copy of that letter is enclosed. 2: Since then the Court had received the Council's advices dated 1 February by the ships <i>Kent</i> and <i>Severn</i>,

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		2 Since then We have received your Advices dated the 1st February by the Ships Kent and Sevorn, the 12th March but should have been 12th April by a Danish Ship; the 24th of that Month by the Ship Lynn that with the other Seven Ships which Sailed that day from your Island arrived safe We thank God off Seith the 6th July. 3 Enclosed We send His Majestys Royal Proclamation declaring the Cessation of Arms as well by Sea as Land agreed upon between his Majesty, the most Christian King and the States General of the United Provinces, and Enjoyning the Observance thereof. 4 On a Perusal you may perceive that by the Preliminaries for restoring a General Peace Signed at Aix la Chapelle on the 19th April last, all Hostilities either by Sea or Land against the French are to cease. Margin Notes: Advices received His Majestys Proclamation sent & a Cessation of Arms agreed upon all Hostilits to cease against the French	12 March, which should have been 12 April, by a Danish ship, and 24 April by the ship <i>Lyon</i>, which, with the other seven ships that sailed from the island that day, had, thank God, arrived safe at Leith on 6 July. 3: Enclosed the Court sent His Majesty's royal proclamation declaring the cessation of arms both by sea and land, agreed between His Majesty, the Most Christian King and the States General of the United Provinces, and requiring its observance. 4: On reading it the Council would see that by the preliminaries for restoring a general peace, signed at Aix-la-Chapelle on 19 April last, all hostilities against the French, whether by sea or land, were to cease. Interpretations The peace notified in paragraphs 3 and 4 marked the close of the war that had shaped so many of the Court's recent instructions to the island. The preliminaries signed at Aix-la-Chapelle on 19 April 1748 ended hostilities against the French by sea and land, and the King's proclamation required the cessation to be observed. For a remote and lightly held island whose whole recent correspondence had turned on defence, guarding against foreign commissions and treating enemy shipping with caution, the return of peace lifted the immediate military threat and would in time relax the wartime rules, such as the demand that captains pay for their beef in money rather than stores.
46	43	5 Our Secret Committee for the Current Year are Richard Chauncy Esqr Dodding Braddyll Esqr Harry Gough Esqr Alexander Hume Esqr and William Mabbott Esqr what Orders you may receive from Them or any Three of those Gentlemen relating to Our Ships must be Obeyd. 6 But in case they, or the Secret Committee for the time being, should not Judge it requisite now the War is ended to give any particular Directions concerning Our Ships Passage Home, you must for the future Order the Commanders in Writing when duly Refreshed to make the best of their way to the Downes, and thence to their Moorings in the River of Thames. 7 We are concerned to hear of your long Drought, and have Supplied you with some Stores by this Ship, as  Invoice and Bill of Lading Enclosed. 8 When they are Landed, give the Captain immediate Orders in Writing to make the best of way according to his Instructions from Us, not Suffering him to make any needless Stay at your Place, because he is to meet Our China Ships at Java Head, to give them Orders to come home directly and as the Duke of Newcastle is Our own Ship, supply the Captain with such Articles as the Ship wants. Margin Notes: Secret Committee in case of no particular Directions from the Secret Committee the Comdr to be Ordered to make the best of their way to the Downes &c concerned at the long Drought some Supplys sent as  Invoice expedition must be Used in Landing the Goods the Commander not to be suffered to make any needless stay the Captain to be supplyd with such Articles as he wants being the Kings own Ship	5: The Court's secret committee for the current year were Richard Chauncy, Dodding Braddyll, Harry Gough, Alexander Hume and William Mabbott, esquires. Whatever orders came from them, or from any three of those gentlemen, concerning the Company's ships were to be obeyed. 6: Should they, or the secret committee for the time being, not judge it necessary now that the war was over to give any particular directions about the ships' passage home, the Council was in future to order the commanders in writing, once duly refreshed, to make the best of their way to the Downs and thence to their moorings in the river Thames. 7: The Court was concerned to hear of the island's long drought and had supplied it with some stores by this ship, as set out in the invoice and bill of lading enclosed. 8: When they were landed, the Council was to give the captain immediate orders in writing to make the best of his way according to his instructions, not suffering him to make any needless stay at the island, since he was to meet the Company's China ships at Java Head to order them home directly. Since the <i>Dartmouth</i> of Newcastle was the Company's own ship, the Council was to supply her captain with such articles as the ship wanted [...]. Interpretations The revised sailing directions in paragraph 6 show the peace reshaping the island's routine. In wartime the Court and its secret committee had prescribed particular routes home to protect the ships from capture, but with hostilities ended the ordinary course could resume: commanders were simply to refresh, make for the Downs and go on to their Thames moorings. The change reflects how much of the island's recent business had been dictated by the war, and how the return of peace let the Company revert to plain commercial practice in the movement of its shipping. The drought relief in paragraph 7 shows the Court responding to a natural affliction on a dependent island. A long drought on a small remote place threatened its ability to feed itself and its shipping, and the Court met the difficulty by sending stores. Supplying the island against a failure of its own harvest was consistent with its standing view of St Helena as a station to be kept provisioned so that it could serve the returning fleets, its self-sufficiency always liable to fail in a dry season and needing to be made good from home.

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			The insistence on a quick despatch in paragraph 8 tied the island's turnaround to a wider commercial timetable. The captain was to make no needless stay because he had to reach Java Head in time to order the China ships straight home. The island's own convenience was subordinated to the fleet's schedule, the same priority on prompt discharge, backed by the standing threat of demurrage, that runs through these letters, here sharpened by the ship's onward part in bringing the valuable China trade safely and swiftly to England.
47	44	Our Governour and Council of St Helena 1 We wrote last the 9th March 1747 by the Ship Godolphin that Sailed the 15th of the same Month Copy of Our said Letter is enclosed. 2 Since then We have received your Advices dated the 1st February by the Ships Kent and Severn, the 12th March but should have been 12th April by a Danish Ship; the 24th of that Month by the Ship Lynn that with the other Seven Ships which Sailed that day from your Island arrived safe We thank God off Seith the 6th July. 3 Enclosed We send His Majestys Royal Proclamation declaring the Cessation of Arms as well by Sea as Land agreed upon between his Majesty, the most Christian King and the States General of the United Provinces, and Enjoyning the Observance thereof. 4 On a Perusal you may perceive that by the Preliminaries for restoring a General Peace Signed at Aix la Chapelle on the 19th April last, all Hostilities either by Sea or Land against the French are to cease. Margin Notes: Advices received His Majestys Proclamation sent & a Cessation of Arms agreed upon all Hostilities to cease against the French	Our Governor and Council of St Helena 1: The Court last wrote on 9 March 1747 by the ship <i>Godolphin</i>, which sailed on 15 March of the same month. A copy of that letter is enclosed. 2: Since then the Court had received the Council's advices dated 1 February by the ships <i>Kent</i> and <i>Severn</i>, 12 March, which should have been 12 April, by a Danish ship, and 24 April by the ship <i>Lyon</i>, which, with the other seven ships that sailed from the island that day, had, thank God, arrived safe at Leith on 6 July. 3: Enclosed the Court sent His Majesty's royal proclamation declaring the cessation of arms both by sea and land, agreed between His Majesty, the Most Christian King and the States General of the United Provinces, and requiring its observance. 4: On reading it the Council would see that by the preliminaries for restoring a general peace, signed at Aix-la-Chapelle on 19 April last, all hostilities against the French, whether by sea or land, were to cease.
48	45	5 Our Secret Committee for the Current Year are Richard Chauncy Esqr Dodding Braddyll Esqr Harry Gough Esqr Alexander Hume Esqr and William Mabbott Esqr what Orders you may receive from Them or any Three of those Gentlemen relating to Our Ships must be Obeyed. 6 But in case they, or the Secret Committee for the time being, should not Judge it requisite now the War is ended to give any particular Directions concerning Our Ships Passage Home, you must for the future Order the Commanders in Writing when duly Refreshed to make the best of their way to the Downes, and thence to their Moorings in the River of Thames. 7 We are concerned to hear of your long Drought, and have Supplied you with some Stores by this Ship, as if Invoice and Bill of Lading Enclosed. 8 When they are Landed, give the Captain immediate Orders in Writing to make the best of way according to his Instructions from Us, not Suffering him to make any needless Stay at your Place, because he is to meet Our China Ships at Java Head, to give them Orders to come home directly and as the Duke of Newcastle is Our own Ship, supply the Captain with such Articles as the Ship wants.	5: The Court's secret committee for the current year were Richard Chauncy, Dodding Braddyll, Harry Gough, Alexander Hume and William Mabbott, esquires. Whatever orders came from them, or from any three of those gentlemen, concerning the Company's ships were to be obeyed. 6: Should they, or the secret committee for the time being, not judge it necessary now that the war was over to give any particular directions about the ships' passage home, the Council was in future to order the commanders in writing, once duly refreshed, to make the best of their way to the Downs and thence to their moorings in the river Thames. 7: The Court was concerned to hear of the island's long drought and had supplied it with some stores by this ship, as set out in the invoice and bill of lading enclosed. 8: When they were landed, the Council was to give the captain immediate orders in writing to make the best of his way according to his instructions, not suffering him to make any needless stay at the island, since he was to meet the Company's China ships at Java Head to order them home directly. Since the <i>Dartmouth</i> of Newcastle was the Company's own ship, the Council was to supply her captain with such articles as the ship wanted [...].

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		Margin Notes: Secret Committee in case of no particular Directions from the Secret Committee the Comdr to be Ordered to make the best of their way to the Downes &c concerned at the long Drought some Supplys sent as ^{1p} Invoice expedition must be Used in Landing the Goods the Commander not to be suffered to make any needless stay the Captain to be supplyd with such Articles as he wants being the Kings own Ship	
49	46	9 In case he offers to pay any Money into Our Cash, towards Paying off his Respondentia Bond, for Five Hundred Pounds that he has Borrowed of Us, do you receive the same and Grant him Certificates for the Amount. 10 Such French Ships as come to the Island are to be received in a Civil manner as was practised before the Commencement of the War, but their people are not to be allowed to go up in the Country, or to take a View of your Fortifications. If you are in want of a Surgeons Mate, an Able One may easily be had out of Our returning Ships, and the Captains will doubtless furnish you with as much Junk as you desire from time to time. We have Entertained Henry Brimson to Serve as Armourer Five Years, at the Salary of Forty Two Pounds ^{1p} Annum to commence on his Arrival at the Island. 13 The Soldiers on this Ship are designed for Bencoolen, and must not be detained at your Place, Our Settlements on West Coast being in great want of Recruits. 14 We Ordered by the Godolphin Mr Thomas French to be a Factor, and We leave it to you and Council to on the Spot to Appoint him or any other of Our Servants to be Secretary as you shall Judge Margin Notes: in case the Sup Cargo offers to pay Money in the Cash to be recevd & Grant him Certificates the French to be Treated Civilly but not Suffered to go in the Country or view the Fortifications if in want of a Surgeons Mate one out of the Ships to be Ordered to Commd on Wm Brimson Entertained as Armourer at the Salary of £42 ^{1p} Annum none of the Soldiers for Bencoolen to be detand left to the Govr and Council to appoint a Secretary	9: Should the captain offer to pay any money into the Company's cash towards discharging his respondentia bond for the five hundred pounds he had borrowed from the Court, the Council was to receive it and grant him certificates for the amount. 10: Any French ships that came to the island were to be received in a civil manner, as had been the practice before the war began, but their people were not to be allowed to go up into the country or to take a view of the fortifications. 11: Should the Council want a surgeon's mate, an able one could easily be got out of the Company's returning ships, and the captains would no doubt furnish it with as much junk as it wanted from time to time. 12: The Court had engaged Henry Brinson to serve as armourer for five years at a salary of forty-two pounds a year, to begin from his arrival at the island. 13: The soldiers on this ship were designed for Bencoolen and were not to be detained at the island, the Company's settlements on the west coast being in great want of recruits. 14: The Court had ordered by the <i>Godolphin</i> that Mr Thomas French be a factor, and it left the Governor and Council on the spot to appoint him or any other of the Company's servants as secretary, as they judged [...]. Interpretations The reception of French ships in paragraph 10 shows the Court restoring peacetime courtesy while keeping its guard. With the war ended, French vessels were again to be received civilly as before, yet their crews were barred from going up into the country or viewing the fortifications. The distinction preserved the security concern that had run through the war years even as ordinary relations resumed: hospitality could return, but a foreign power was still not to be given sight of the island's defences, a caution the Court had long applied to all visiting strangers. The certificate for the captain's payment in paragraph 9 followed the settled rule for money owed to the Company itself. A payment reducing his own respondentia bond drew only a certificate, not a negotiable bill, because the debt was to the Company and its discharge lay in the Company's own books. The distinction, applied consistently across these letters, reserved bills of exchange for sums belonging to private parties who needed to realise them in London, while a servant paying down his own bond received a plain acknowledgement. The refusal to detain the Bencoolen soldiers in paragraph 13 again shows the Court apportioning men across its settlements by need. The troops aboard were meant for the west coast, where recruits were badly wanted, and the island was not to hold them back. Directing the garrison to its point of greatest want, rather than letting a way station retain men passing through, matched the Court's habitual management of its scattered establishment, in which soldiers and stores alike were moved to wherever the Company's service most required them.
50	47	to be most proper. 15 In the Streights you were in, We entirely approve	The Governor and Council were to appoint whomever they judged most proper as secretary.

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		of Supplying yourselves with Rice from Our Ships, taking Salt Provisions therewith, as the Captains insisted upon the same. 16 When any of our returning Ships have no Long Boat, We would have you continue to Send them Ours to fetch Water without insisting on any thing for their Use, those Ships making good any Damage they may receive in their Service. We are Your Loving Friends London the 21st July 1748 Rich Chauncy D Braddyll H Gough Sam Feake W Mabbott J Winter Alexr Hume R Bootle Willm Rider W Willy R Drake R Hudson Henry Plant Wm Baker Margin Notes: approvd of buying Rice & Salt Provisions from the Captains recommended to send the long Boat W. must make good any Damage in her use	15: In the straits the Council had been in, the Court entirely approved its supplying itself with rice from the Company's ships and taking salt provisions from them, since the captains insisted upon it. 16: When any of the Company's returning ships had no longboat, the Court wanted the Council to keep lending them its own longboat to fetch water, without insisting on anything for its use, those ships making good any damage they might do it in their service. The letter closed as from the Company's loving friends, signed at London on 21 July 1748 by Richard Chauncy, D. Braddyll, H. Gough, Samuel Feake, W. Mabbott, J. Winter, Alexander Hume, R. Bootle, William Ryder, W. Willy, R. Drake, R. Hudson, Henry Plant and William Baker. Interpretations The approval in paragraph 15 shows the Court endorsing after the fact a practical accommodation forced on the island by scarcity. In its straits the Council had drawn rice and salt provisions from the Company's own ships, and since the captains had pressed this, the Court entirely approved it. The endorsement reflects the recurring reality of a remote island liable to run short of food, and the Court's readiness to sanction sensible local dealing with passing ships when the settlement's needs required it, particularly in a season already marked by drought. The longboat arrangement in paragraph 16 turned a small piece of island equipment to the service of the wider fleet. Returning ships without a longboat of their own could borrow the island's to fetch water, free of charge, provided they made good any damage. Lending the boat without a fee, while holding the ships answerable for harm to it, fitted the island's whole purpose as a refreshment station for the Company's shipping, its resources put at the fleet's disposal on terms that protected the Company's property without charging its own vessels for a common service.
51	48	Our Governour and Council of St Helena 1 Our last bore date the 21st of July last by the Newcastle, since when your several Advices of the 9th May, the 9th June, the 30th July the 12th of August and the 20th September last have been duly received 2 We have enclosed a List of the Ships which it hath pleased God to return Us in Safety, as likewise a List of the Ships We have taken up for the carrying on our Trade this Season. 3 A Treaty of General Peace is happily concluded between Great Britain, France and Holland, to which Germany, Spain and the other Powers engaged in the late War have acceded. 4 And as the Reasons for Investing a Secret Committee with extraordinary Powers are thereby ceased, that Committee is now only to give Directions relating to Signals as usual, You are therefore for the future to make all your Addresses to the Court of Directors as before the War. 5 Immediately upon the Arrival of every returning Ship acquaint the Commander in Writing, that after the necessary Refreshment he must Margin Notes: Advices recd List of Ships sent a Peace concluded the Secret Committees extraordinary Powers ceased all Addresses must be made to the Court of Directors the Commanders to be Ordered to make the	Our Governor and Council of St Helena 1: The Court's last letter bore date 21 July last by the <i>Newcastle</i>. Since then the Council's several advices of 9 May, 9 June, 30 July, 12 August and 20 September last had been duly received. 2: The Court enclosed a list of the ships that had returned safely, together with a list of the ships taken up to carry on the trade this season. 3: A treaty of general peace had happily been concluded between Great Britain, France and Holland, to which Germany, Spain and the other powers engaged in the late war had acceded. 4: Since the reasons for investing a secret committee with extraordinary powers had thereby ceased, that committee was now only to give directions about signals as usual. The Council was therefore in future to make all its addresses to the Court of Directors as before the war. 5: Immediately on the arrival of every returning ship, the Council was to inform the commander in writing that after the necessary refreshment he must [...]. Interpretations The dissolution of the secret committee's extraordinary powers in paragraph 4 marks the formal return to peacetime governance. Throughout the war years these letters had repeatedly bound the island to obey the orders of a secret committee for the security of the Company's shipping, its authority resting on the danger of capture. With the treaty concluded, that danger passed, and the committee's role shrank to the ordinary business of signals, the Council directed to address the Court of Directors as it had before the war. The change closes the wartime chapter that had shaped so much of the recent correspondence, restoring the plain channels of command. The confirmation of the general peace in paragraph 3, now extended by the accession of Germany, Spain

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			and the other belligerents, completed the settlement whose preliminaries the earlier letters had announced. For a remote and lightly defended island whose whole recent life had turned on war, guarding its fortifications, treating foreign ships with suspicion and paying for provisions in coin rather than kind, the definitive peace promised a lasting return to normal trade. The Court's evident relief, in reporting the peace happily concluded, reflects how heavily the conflict had pressed on its distant and vulnerable station.
52	49	make the best of his way to the Downes, and from thence to the River of Thames as usual in Times of Peace. 6 This comes by the Ship Marlborough Capt William Parks Commander, on which We have sent You a large Supply of Goods, Stores and Necessarys, as will appear by the Invoice and Bill of Lading enclosed. 7 You will observe by the Charterparty that the said Goods &ca are to be landed in Ten Working Days, otherwise the Company are to pay Demorage, be careful therefore to get every thing finished in that time, and give the Commander Orders in Writing to make the best of his way to Fort Marlborough his Consigned Port in India, forwarding in your Pacquet to that place the said Charterparty. 8 If you want Treasure for the Necessary Expences of the Island, We permit you to take One Chest out of this Ship, duly advising our Servants at Fort Marlborough of the same. 9 We cannot this Season comply with that part of your Indent for Materials to Rebuild the Plantation House, You must therefore for the present Repair it. 10 As You took Eleven of the Soldiers designed for Fort Marlborough out of the Godolphin, and We expect You have detained some of those by the Newcastle Margin Notes: best of their way to the Downs after their Ships Company are duly refreshed a large Supply of Goods sent as ^{if} Invoice the Stores must be Landed within the time Limited if Money is wanted permitted to take one Chest Cannot this Season comply with the Indent for Materials for the Plantation House	Once duly refreshed, the commander was to make the best of his way to the Downs and thence to the river Thames, as usual in times of peace. 6: This letter came by the ship <i>Marlborough</i> under Captain William Parks, on which the Court had sent a large supply of goods, stores and necessities, as would appear by the invoice and bill of lading enclosed. 7: The Council would see by the charter party that the goods were to be landed in ten working days, or the Company would pay demurrage. It was therefore to be careful to finish everything in that time and give the commander orders in writing to make the best of his way to Fort Marlborough, his consigned port in India, forwarding the charter party in the packet to that place. 8: Should the Council want treasure for the necessary expenses of the island, the Court permitted it to take one chest out of this ship, duly advising the Company's servants at Fort Marlborough of it. 9: The Court could not this season meet that part of the Council's order for materials to rebuild the plantation house. The Council was therefore to repair it for the present. 10: Since the Council had taken eleven of the soldiers designed for Fort Marlborough out of the <i>Godolphin</i>, and the Court expected it had detained some of those by the <i>Newcastle</i> [...]. Interpretations The deferral of the plantation house in paragraph 9 shows the Court managing its supply by priority and season. It could not send the materials to rebuild the house this year, so directed that it be repaired for the present instead. Putting off a costly rebuilding while authorising a stopgap repair fits the standing order of these letters that fortifications and essential works come first, with the dwelling and store houses attended to only as means allowed, the Court unwilling to commit to a full reconstruction it could not yet supply. The treasure permission in paragraph 8 repeated once more the standing device for a cash-short island, now with notice to Fort Marlborough rather than Bencoolen as the onward station. A chest could be drawn from the ship if the island's necessary charges required it, always against advice to the settlement whose consignment was reduced. The unbroken repetition of this provision across the whole run of letters shows how routinely the Court expected its isolated station to lack coin, and how it relied on diverting shipboard treasure, hedged by proper notice, as the regular means of keeping it supplied with money. The soldier movements in paragraph 10 continued the Court's careful reckoning of men drawn off the ships bound for its eastern settlements. Having noted the eleven taken from the <i>Godolphin</i> and expecting more detained from the <i>Newcastle</i>, it kept a running account of the garrison the island retained against the recruits Fort Marlborough needed. Tracking each diversion of troops from vessel to vessel matched the Court's habitual management of its scattered establishment, in which soldiers passing through St Helena were counted precisely so that neither the island nor the settlements beyond were left short.
53	50	Newcastle, We have sent You none by the Marlborough, But if any of his Majestys Ships should touch at St Helena, You may engage as many of the Marines	The Court had sent no soldiers by the <i>Marlborough</i> . But should any of His Majesty's ships touch at St Helena, the Council could engage as many of the

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		and Land Forces with the Consent of the Commander in Chief or their Officers as will compleat your several Companys, allowing Each Man a Bounty of Five Pounds on his Enlisting for Five Years 11 Relying upon your Care in Advancing only such Persons as are properly Qualified, We confirm your Appointment of Mr John French to a Second Lieutenancy Vacant by Lieutenant Kirkpatrick's Promotion to a First. 12 If there is a real Occasion for an Assistant to the Secretary, We approve of your Appointing Matthew Bazett to that Station. 13 Mr Falconer the Surgeons Request being Reasonable, You are hereby Authorized to Allow him Forty Pounds a year for Diet Money in lieu of the General Table 14 The Sum of Three Pounds fourteen Shillings and six pence was Stopt according to your Request out of the Wages of George Moody deceased late a Foremast Man on board the <i>Wager</i> being the Amount of the Bill Signed by the Surgeon as transmitted to Us by the <i>Royal George</i>, which You may therefore pay him. 15 We cannot approve of putting any of the Margin Notes: no Soldiers sent must get Men out of his Majestys returning Ships give each £5 for Enlisting for 5 Years approved of Mr John Frenchs being appointed 2d Lieutenant approved of Mattw Bazett being appointed writer Mr Falconer allowed £40 ¹⁰/₁₀₀ Annum for Diet Money £3.14.6 Stopd from the Wages of George Moody Decd to be paid the Surgeon	marines and land forces, with the consent of the commander in chief or their officers, as would complete its several companies, allowing each man a bounty of five pounds on enlisting for five years. 11: Relying on the Council's care in advancing only such persons as were properly qualified, the Court confirmed its appointment of Mr John French to a second lieutenancy left vacant by Lieutenant Kirkpatrick's promotion to a first. 12: If there was real occasion for an assistant to the secretary, the Court approved the appointment of Mr Matthew Bazett to that post as writer. 13: Mr Falconer the surgeon's request being reasonable, the Council was authorised to allow him forty pounds a year for diet money in lieu of the general table. 14: The sum of three pounds fourteen shillings and sixpence had been stopped, at the Council's request, out of the wages of George Moody, deceased, late a foremast man on board the <i>Wager</i>, being the amount of the bill signed by the surgeon and sent home by the <i>Royal George</i>, which the Council might therefore pay him. 15: The Court could not approve the putting any of [...]. Interpretations The recruiting provision in the opening paragraph shows the island drawing on the King's ships to fill its own ranks now that the Company sent no soldiers. With the consent of the naval officers, marines and land forces could be enlisted to complete the companies, each man taking a five-pound bounty for five years' service. Using His Majesty's passing ships as a source of men, rather than waiting on drafts from England, was a practical answer to the standing difficulty of manning a remote garrison, and the bounty tied to a fixed term secured the recruits for long enough to be worth the outlay. The surgeon's diet allowance in paragraph 13 shows the Court once more fitting a servant's maintenance to his own preference while holding it to an established value. Mr Falconer's request for cash in lieu of his place at the general table was judged reasonable and allowed at forty pounds a year. Substituting a money allowance for the common provision, at a settled figure, matched the Court's flexible handling of maintenance throughout these letters, where the form of a servant's support could vary but its value was fixed from above. The wages of the dead seaman in paragraph 14 illustrate the island's role in settling small claims that arose within the wider naval and Company service. George Moody's surgeon's bill was met by stopping the sum from his wages and paying it over on the authority of a document sent home by another ship. Handling such a debt through the island's cash, on documentary proof forwarded from elsewhere in the fleet, shows how St Helena served as a point where accounts spread across ships and stations could be brought to a quiet settlement.
54	51	the Slaves to Death, Nor do We think the Reasons You give for sending the Free Black Women off the Island have any Weight in them, as it is the Interest of all Communities to have labour cheap. 16 We shall charge the Owners of the <i>George Snow</i> the Money Advanced Mr Daman the Chief Mate who was left at your Place by Capt Wadham. 17 We have sent Twenty Pieces of Meal Sacking and Ten Pieces of English Canvas, but are uncertain whether they are the Sorts you want, for the future be clear in the Description of Goods not usually Indented for, and acquaint Us for what Uses they are wanted. 18 It is with some difficulty We have been able to Adjust the <i>Granthams</i> Account for want of a proper Explanation of the Short Delivery by that Ship, You	The Court could not approve the putting any of the slaves to death. Nor did it think the reasons the Council gave for sending the free black women off the island had any weight, since it was the interest of all communities to have labour cheap. 16: The Court would charge the owners of the <i>George snow</i> with the money advanced to Mr Daman the chief mate, who was left at the island by Captain Wadham. 17: The Court had sent twenty pieces of meal sacking and ten pieces of English canvas, but was uncertain whether they were the sorts the Council wanted. In future the Council was to be clear in describing goods not usually ordered, and to say for what uses they were wanted. 18: The Court had settled the <i>Grantham's</i> account only with some difficulty, for want of a proper

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		must therefore for the future Certify on the back of such Bills of Lading where any Goods are Damaged or Wanting the Condition of the Packages also the Quantity each Cask of Liquids will hold, as well as the Quantity Wanting therein. 19 You omitted sending the Names of the Soldiers taken out of the Godolphin, which must be done by the next Conveyance, and when you have occasion to take any of the Military designed for Bencoolen, Insert their Names apart in the Muster Roll And for the future in all your Lists of the Military Margin Notes: putting the Slaves to Death not approved of the reasons not sufficient for putting the free Black women of the Island The Owners of the George Snow shall be Charged the Money advanced Mr Daman Meal Sacking & English Canvass sent not certain of the right sort must be clear in the Description of Goods indented for Difficult to settle the Granthams Account, the short delivery not properly explained must in future certify on the back of the Bills of Loading the Condition of the Goods the Names of the Soldiers omitted must be sent by the first opportunity their Names are hereafter to be separate in the Muster Roll	explanation of the short delivery by that ship. In future the Council was to certify on the back of such bills of lading where any goods were damaged or the packages defective, and also the quantity each cask of liquids would hold, together with the quantity missing. 19: The Council had omitted sending the names of the soldiers taken out of the <i>Godolphin</i>, which was to be done by the next conveyance. When it had occasion to take any of the military designed for Bencoolen, it was to enter their names separately in the muster roll [...]. Interpretations The two refusals in the opening paragraph reveal how the Court weighed the island's population against its own economic interest. It would not sanction putting slaves to death, and it dismissed the reasons for expelling the free black women on the plain ground that cheap labour served every community. Both positions treated the island's working people, slave and free, as an asset to be retained rather than reduced, and the frank appeal to the value of cheap labour shows the calculation of interest that underlay the Court's management of the settlement's inhabitants throughout these letters. The short-delivery instruction in paragraph 18 addressed the recurring difficulty of reconciling the island's accounts with what its ships actually delivered. The <i>Grantham's</i> account had been hard to settle for want of a clear note of the shortfall, and the remedy was to have the Council certify damage, defective packages and the true capacity and shortage of liquid casks on the bills of lading themselves. Fixing the record of each deficiency to the shipping document, at the point of receipt, matched the Court's sustained effort across these letters to make the island's paperwork an exact and checkable account, so that a loss could be traced and charged to the right party. The separate mustering of the Bencoolen soldiers in paragraph 19 continued the Court's insistence on precise records of the men moving through the island. Naming the troops taken from each ship, and entering those bound for Bencoolen apart in the muster roll, kept the garrison the island retained distinct from the recruits merely passing to the settlements beyond. The demand for exact and separated lists reflects the same concern for an accurate account of men and stores that runs through the whole correspondence, so that the strength of each station could be told at a glance.
55	52	Military, distinguish which of them are Natives of St Helena. 21 We expect that all our Covenant Servants do if possible get their Friends in England to give Security for the Faithfull Discharge of their Duty, but if Mr Thomas French and Mr Francis Wrantham have no such Friends, You may in that case take Security for them in One Thousand Pounds each at St Helena, We have sent Blank Bonds in the Packet which are to be executed by two Substantial Persons, and remitted back to Us by the first Conveyance with the Covenants which were sent by the Godolphin 22 And here We must acquaint You that We will have no Persons employed in Our Service, who are not under Covenants, and have given or are ready to give the usual Security for the faithful Discharge of their Duty, We mean in such Stations where Security is always required, and that our Orders on this Head may be immediately complied with, We have enclosed a List of the Names of the Persons from Whom Security is required, as well as the Names of such who are to enter into Covenants. 23 You must observe it as a Standing Rule that as any of our Junior Servants come of Age, they are to enter into Fresh Covenants, which You must get executed accordingly and transmit to Us Margin Notes:	In all its lists of the military, the Council was to mark which of them were natives of St Helena. 21: The Court expected that all its covenant servants, if possible, got their friends in England to give security for the faithful discharge of their duty. But if Mr Thomas French and Mr Francis Wrantham had no such friends, security might in that case be taken for them at St Helena in one thousand pounds each. The Court had sent blank bonds in the packet, to be executed by two substantial persons and returned by the first conveyance, together with the covenants sent by the <i>Godolphin</i>. 22: The Court would have no persons employed in its service who were not under covenant and had not given, or were ready to give, the usual security for the faithful discharge of their duty, in such posts where security was always required. So that its orders on this point might be complied with at once, it had enclosed a list of the names of the persons from whom security was required, and of those who were to enter into covenants. 23: The Council was to observe it as a standing rule that as any of the Company's junior servants came of age they were to enter into fresh covenants, which the Council was to have executed accordingly and sent home. Interpretations

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		any Lists of the Military of Natives of St Helena must be distinguished expect if possible that Covenant Servants to get Friends in England to be Security for them Blank Bonds sent No Person to be Employd that are not under Covenants & must give the usual Security in Stations where it is required List of their Names sent Junior Servants when come of Age to enter into new Covenants	The security requirements running through paragraphs 21 to 23 show how thoroughly the Company sought to bind its servants against dishonesty. Covenants defined their duties, and bonds of substantial persons stood surety for their fidelity, ideally friends in England but at need two solvent persons at the island. Requiring blank bonds executed and returned, and refusing to employ anyone in a post of trust who had not given such security, gave the Company an enforceable claim in a court at home or on the spot if a servant defaulted. The system converted the good faith of men serving thousands of miles away into a legal obligation backed by identifiable sureties. The coming-of-age rule in paragraph 23 extended that discipline across the generations settled on the island. As junior servants reached full age they were to enter fresh covenants, executed and sent home. Making this a standing rule ensured that the sons who grew up in the Company's service were bound by the same formal obligations as their elders, so that the security system renewed itself continuously and no servant passed into a position of trust without the covenants and sureties the Court required of all. The marking of native soldiers in the opening paragraph continued the Court's demand for exact distinctions in the island's records. Noting which of the military were born at St Helena, like the separate mustering of the Bencoolen men and the naming of soldiers drawn from each ship, gave the Court a precise picture of its garrison, distinguishing the island-bred troops from those sent out or recruited. The insistence on such particularity reflects the accuracy of record-keeping the Court pressed throughout these letters, so that the composition as well as the strength of the establishment could be known from home.
56	53	24 It must be likewise a Standing Rule that as our Servants respectively Advance in Station they write to their Friends in England to give the usual Security for such Advanced Stations. 25 We have in Consideration of the Necessitous Circumstances the late Mr Robert Wright left his Family in, agreed to give the Widow Fifty Pounds which you are accordingly to pay her out of our Cash We are Your loving Friends London 16th Febry 1748 Wm Baker Thos Rous Willm Mabbott R Drake John Winter Christopher Barrow Michl Impey Whitchcott Turner Robt Hudson Robt Bootle Willm Rider Henry Plant Stephen Law Sam Feake N Newnham Junr Margin Notes: those who are advanced in Station must give the usual Security for such advanced Station £50 given to Mrs Wrights	24: It was likewise to be a standing rule that as the Company's servants advanced in station they wrote to their friends in England to give the usual security for such advanced posts. 25: In consideration of the necessitous circumstances in which the late Mr Robert Wright had left his family, the Court had agreed to give the widow fifty pounds, which the Council was accordingly to pay her out of the Company's cash. The letter closed as from the Company's loving friends, signed at London on 16 February 1748 by William Baker, Thomas Rous, William Mabbott, R. Drake, John Winter, Christopher Burrow, Michael Impey, Wichcott Turner, Robert Hudson, Robert Bootle, William Ryder, Henry Plant, Stephen Law, Samuel Feake and N. Newnham junior. Interpretations The rising-security rule in paragraph 24 completed the graduated system of sureties the Court had been building through these letters. Just as junior servants gave security on coming of age, so every servant advancing in station was to procure fresh security from friends in England suited to the greater trust. Scaling the bond to the responsibility of the post ensured that the higher an officer rose, and the more of the Company's property passed through his hands, the larger the guarantee standing behind his fidelity, closing any gap that promotion might otherwise open in the chain of accountability. The grant to Robert Wright's widow in paragraph 25 shows the Court exercising discretion in a case of hardship even while it kept no standing fund for such relief. It had lately refused to pension Mrs Alcock, laying her maintenance on her father, yet here it gave fifty pounds to a widow left in necessitous circumstances. The difference lay in the particular judgement of each case: the Court would not commit to a general provision for servants' families, but it retained the freedom to make a specific compassionate

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			payment where it saw fit, treating such relief as a matter of grace rather than obligation.
57	54	Our Governour and Council of St Helena 1 By the Marlborough We wrote to you under date of the 15th of February last 2 Since which your several Advices of the 18th of December, the 8th January, the 16th 24th and 28th of February, 25th & 28th of March, the 8th 26th & 30th of April, the 17th May, the 6th 20th & 29th June, also the 7th 13th & 18th of August last have been duly received 3 You will receive in the Packet a List of the Ships Arrived from India, as likewise a List of the Ships to be Employed in our Service this Season. 4 William Baker, Richard Chauncy and William Mabbott Esqrs are our Committee of Secrecy for the present Year, whose Orders as to Signals & places of Rendezvous, are to be punctually observed 5 We have Consigned to you on this Ship the Suffolk Capt William Wilson Commander sundry Goods, and Stores, according to the Invoice Margin Notes: Advices received List of Ships sent Secret Committee Supply of Goods sent according to Invoice	Our Governor and Council of St Helena 1: By the <i>Marlborough</i> the Court wrote to the Council under date of 15 February last. 2: Since then the Council's several advices had been duly received, dated 18 December, 8 January, 16, 24 and 28 February, 25 and 28 March, 8, 26 and 30 April, 19 May, 6, 20 and 29 June and 7, 13 and 18 August last. 3: The Council would receive in the packet a list of the ships arrived from India, together with a list of the ships to be employed in the Company's service this season. 4: William Baker, Richard Chauncy and William Mabbott, esquires, were the Court's committee of secrecy for the present year, whose orders about signals and places of rendezvous were to be punctually observed. 5: The Court had consigned to the Council on this ship, the <i>Suffolk</i> under Captain William Wilson, various goods and stores according to the invoice [...].
58	55	Invoice, and Bill of Lading enclosed 6 The utmost Expedition must be used in her Delivery, that the Commander may receive his Despatches for Fort Marlborough within the Charterparty time Vizt Ten Working days, & in case he should not Sail at the Expiration of that time, or soon after, you are to Protest against him unless very good reasons appear for his stay. 7 A Copy of the Charterparty comes enclosed which is to be forwarded in your Packet to the Deputy Governour & Council at Fort Marlborough 8 You are at liberty to detain One of the Chests of Treasure, if you want the same, for the Currant Expences of the Season of which you are to give due Notice to Our Deputy Governour and Council aforesaid. 9 We have Laden on the Swallow an half Chest of Treasure as Ships Stock, and the Commander has our Directions to pay what remains of it, into our Cash, at the last Settlement he shall be Despatched from, or in failure thereof at St Helena, in case thereof, of his paying any part thereof into our Cash, give him a Receipt for Margin Notes: expedition must be used in unloading the Ship within the time limited the Captn to be protected against if he makes any unnecessary stay the Copy of the Charterparty to be forwarded to Bencoolen permitted to take a Chest of Treasure if wanted half a Chest of Treasure Laden on the Swallow if paid in the Cash at St Helena to give the $\mathcal{P}$ receipt & advise the Company of what was paid in $\mathcal{P}$	The invoice and bill of lading were enclosed. 6: The utmost speed was to be used in the ship's delivery, so that the commander could receive his despatches for Fort Marlborough within the charter party time of ten working days. Should he not sail at the end of that time, or soon after, the Council was to protest against him unless very good reasons appeared for his stay. 7: A copy of the charter party came enclosed, to be forwarded in the packet to the Deputy Governor and Council at Fort Marlborough. 8: The Council was at liberty to detain one of the chests of treasure, should it want it, for the current expenses of the season, of which it was to give due notice to the Deputy Governor and Council there. 9: The Court had laden on the <i>Swallow</i> a half chest of treasure as ship's stock, and the commander had directions to pay whatever remained of it into the Company's cash at the last settlement he was despatched from, or failing that at St Helena. Should he pay any part of it into the Company's cash, the Council was to give him a receipt for it [...]. Interpretations The despatch discipline in paragraph 6 tied the island's quick turnaround to the wider fleet's timetable, as throughout these letters. Speed in unloading was required so the commander could carry his despatches on to Fort Marlborough within his lay days, and any needless stay was to be met with a protest. The standing threat of demurrage and formal protest, applied here to a ship bound onward with the Company's orders, shows how the island's own convenience was consistently subordinated to keeping the Company's shipping and communications moving on schedule. The treasure arrangements in paragraphs 8 and 9 illustrate the flexible way the Company kept coin circulating among its distant stations. The island could detain a chest for its seasonal charges, while the <i>Swallow</i> carried a half chest as ship's stock to be paid into the Company's cash wherever the commander was last despatched, or at St Helena if not before. Allowing treasure to be drawn down or paid in at whichever

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			settlement had the need or the surplus, always against receipts and notice, gave the Company a mobile reserve that could be directed to the point of greatest want, a practical answer to the chronic difficulty of supplying isolated places with money. The requirement of notice to Fort Marlborough in paragraph 8 continued the careful accounting that attended every movement of treasure in these letters. Detaining a chest meant for another station obliged the island to advise that station at once, so its reduced consignment was known and could be reckoned. Keeping each settlement informed of what was drawn from its share matched the Court's sustained insistence on exact records, ensuring that the mobile reserve of coin left a clear trail wherever it was diverted along the Company's route.
59	56	the same, and duly advise Us, what was so paid in 10 You must in every Letter be very particular as to the Arrival & Departure of Shipping, as well the Companys as Foreigners, as it is more Satisfactory to see them in the body of your Advices, than be referred to Lists in the Packet 11 And upon the Arrival of every Ships, you must diligently enquire after News, any way relative to the Company, particularly with regard to Shipping, & communicate the same to us by the first Conveyance, we are induced to renew this Direction, because you have not of late been so punctual herein as We could wish and expect. 12 Having duly considered your Request for regulating the Planters in the Sale of their Cattle, in a more equal manner, between the Early, & late Arrived Shipping, We direct that the following Method if observed Vizt At a proper time before the Arrival of the early Ships, you are fully to inform your selves of the Number of Cattle fit to be killed the ensuing Season, You will upon such Information be able to determine what Quantity of Beef each Ship may have that Arrives before the 25 of March, without Margin Notes: must be particular in your Advices concerning the Arrival & Departure of Shipping more satisfactory than in Lists as is must enquire diligently about News and communicate the same to the Company by all Conveyances not been so punctual as expected must inform yourselves of the Numbers of Cattle to be Slaughterd the ensuing Year that you may determine what Quantity of Beef each Ship may have before the 25th March	The Council was to give him a receipt for it and duly advise the Court of what was so paid in. 10: The Council was in every letter to be very particular about the arrival and departure of shipping, both the Company's and foreign, since it was more satisfactory to see them in the body of its advices than to be referred to lists in the packet. 11: On the arrival of every ship the Council was to enquire diligently after any news relating to the Company, particularly touching shipping, and communicate it by the first conveyance. The Court renewed this direction because the Council had not lately been so punctual in it as the Court could wish and expect. 12: Having considered the Council's request for regulating the planters in the sale of their cattle in a more equal manner, between the early and late arrived shipping, the Court directed that the following method be observed. At a proper time before the early ships arrived, the Council was fully to inform itself of the number of cattle fit to be killed the coming season. On that information it would be able to determine what quantity of beef each ship might have, that advice being given before 25 March [...]. Interpretations The cattle-regulation scheme in paragraph 12 answered a real difficulty in provisioning the fleet from a limited island stock. The planters' cattle had to be shared between ships arriving early and late in the season, and without management the first comers might take the best while later ships went short. The Court's method, to reckon in advance how many beasts were fit for slaughter and apportion the beef accordingly before 25 March, aimed to spread the supply evenly across the season. Planning the distribution from a known count reflects the standing concern of these letters to make the island's finite resources serve all the shipping that depended on it. The demand for shipping news in paragraphs 10 and 11 shows how much the Court relied on the island as an intelligence post on the long route to India. Set at the crossroads of the homeward and outward fleets, St Helena was often the first place to learn of ships and events, and the Court wanted every arrival questioned and the news sent home at once, in the body of its letters rather than buried in lists. The renewal of the direction, prompted by the Council's slackness, underlines the value the Court placed on timely information about its shipping, for which the island's position made it uniquely useful.
60	57	without distressing the latter Ships, You are then to grant a Licence to every Commander of such early Ships, to purchase, of any of the Planters indifferently, what Quantity he pleases, provided it does not exceed the Quantity to be expressed in the said Licence, of which timely & publick Notice must be given, so that every body concerned may be Apprizd thereof, The Ships that shall Arrive	Licences were to be granted to the commanders of the early ships without distressing the later ones. The Council was then to grant a licence to every commander of such early ships to buy from any of the planters, indifferently, whatever quantity he pleased, provided it did not exceed the quantity expressed in the licence, of which timely and public notice was to be given, so that everyone concerned might know of it.

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		after the said 25 of March, shall be freely Supplyd with whatever Quantities the Commander desire, and the Planters can Spare, We likewise direct that no price be fixed for what Beef the Planters sell to our own Shipping, or at Market, but that they be limited not to Supply Foreigners under Six pence a Pound 13 We have Complied with your Indent in as full a manner as We could, allowing for the room which the Several Articles Consigned to Fort Marlborough have taken up, which that Settlement were in great want of. 14 We would have you fix upon a proper plan of the House intended to be built in the room of the Old Plantation House, & Transmit the same to Us, together with the Scantlings of the Timber Margin Notes: Licences must be Granted to the Comdrs of the early Ships Ships that arrive after the 25 March to purchase what they please no price to be fixed for the Beef that is sold to the Companys Ships or to Market Foreigners not to be Supplyd under 6d d Pound Indent Complied with a proper Plan to be fixed for the Plantation House	The ships that arrived after 25 March were to be freely supplied with whatever quantities the commander desired and the planters could spare. The Court likewise directed that no price be fixed for the beef the planters sold to the Company's own shipping or at market, but that they be limited not to supply foreigners under sixpence a pound. 13: The Court had met the Council's order as fully as it could, allowing for the room taken up by the several articles consigned to Fort Marlborough, which that settlement was in great want of. 14: The Council was to fix upon a proper plan of the house intended to be built in place of the old plantation house, and send it home together with the scantlings of the timber [...]. Interpretations The two-tier cattle system completed here shows the Court balancing fair distribution against a free market. Early ships bought under licence capped at a fixed quantity, with public notice so none could complain of favour, while ships arriving after 25 March took whatever the planters could spare. The Court left the price to find its own level for sales to its shipping and at market, refusing to fix it, yet held the planters to a floor of sixpence a pound for foreigners. The scheme protected the Company's own vessels from being cornered by the first comers while preserving the planters' liberty to sell freely, and the foreign minimum ensured outsiders paid a premium rather than draining the island's beef cheaply. The refusal to fix a price for the Company's own supply, while setting a floor for foreigners, reveals the Court distinguishing sharply between its own interest and that of outside nations. Its ships and the island market were left to open pricing, trusting competition to keep rates reasonable, but foreigners could not be served below sixpence, so that any beef going to other powers returned a set minimum. The distinction runs through these letters, in which the island's resources were freely available to the Company and its people but charged deliberately to strangers. The plantation house plan required in paragraph 14, with the scantlings of the timber, shows the Court insisting on proper specification before committing to the rebuilding it had earlier deferred for want of materials. Rather than send materials blindly, it wanted a settled design and exact timber dimensions from the island first. Requiring the plan and measurements before supply reflects the Court's practical approach to construction throughout these letters, matching what it sent to what was genuinely needed and avoiding waste on a work it would only undertake once properly informed.
61	58	Timbers, and such an exact Description of the several materials wanted, that we may be under no difficulty in Supplying you with every thing Necessary by the next Conveyance, in the mean time We have sent on this Ship some Deals to be laid by for the aforesaid Use. 15 We allow Mr Francis Wrangham a Salary of Seventy Pounds, & for Diet Money, Sixty Pounds a Year, to commence from the time he was Appointed Secretary, Deducting however what he has received during that time as a Factor. 16 We have Entertained James Carey to serve Us five Years as Gardiner, at the Salary of Forty Pounds a Year, to commence from the time of his going a board at Gravesend the 17th instant, and to have his Diets with the Governours servants; We have also engaged to pay his Passage home at the Expiration of that term. 17 We do hereby direct, that upon Sight of this, The Reverend Mr William Loveday be Discharged from his Office of Chaplain of our Island St Helena, & be ordered to proceed for	The Council was to send home so exact a description of the several materials wanted that the Court might have no difficulty in supplying everything necessary by the next conveyance. In the meantime the Court had sent some deals on this ship to be laid by for that use. 15: The Court allowed Mr Francis Wrangham a salary of seventy pounds and for diet money sixty pounds a year, to begin from the time he was appointed secretary, deducting however what he had received during that time as a factor. 16: The Court had engaged James Carey to serve five years as gardener at a salary of forty pounds a year, to begin from the time of his going aboard at Gravesend on the 17th instant, and to have his diet with the Governor's servants. It had also engaged to pay his passage home at the end of that term. 17: The Court directed that on sight of this letter the Reverend Mr William Loveday be discharged from his office of chaplain of St Helena and ordered to proceed for England on the first ship. 18: The Court had appointed the Reverend Mr John [...].

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		England on the first Ship. 18 We have appointed the Reverend Mr John Margin Notes: an exact description of the Materials to be Transmitted Deals sent Mr Francis Wrangham allowed £70 for Salary & £60 for Diet Money Jas Carey entertained as Gardener at the Salary of £40 d year Mr Lovday discharged from being Chaplain & orderd Home d the first Ship	Interpretations The salary adjustment for Mr Wrangham in paragraph 15 shows the Court's careful bookkeeping in setting a servant's pay on his change of office. Raised to seventy pounds with sixty for diet as secretary, he was to have this from the date of appointment, but with deduction of what he had already drawn as a factor over the same period. Backdating the higher rate while subtracting the earlier pay ensured he was neither underpaid for the time he had served nor paid twice for it, matching the precise accounting the Court applied throughout these letters to every question of salary and allowance. The gardener's engagement in paragraph 16 stands out for a term the Court elsewhere refused. Carey was promised his passage home at the end of his five years, a concession the Court had firmly denied to discharged soldiers, who were made to work their way or enter as seamen. The difference lay in the bargain struck to secure a skilled man for a fixed term: a specialist engaged in England on contract could command return passage as part of his terms, where a common soldier could not, showing how the Court's readiness to bear a cost varied with the value and scarcity of the servant. The abrupt discharge of the chaplain in paragraph 17, ordered on sight of the letter and passage home on the first ship, contrasts sharply with the settled provision made for him only shortly before, when his diet allowance and dues had been carefully arranged. The letters give no reason here, but the peremptory recall of a clergyman so recently established shows the Court's readiness to remove even a senior officer at once when it judged fit, its authority over every appointment absolute and exercised without explanation to the island.
62	59	John Dobie a Gentleman well Recommended to Us to fill up the Vacancy, occasioned by the Removal of the said Mr Loveday, at the Usual Salary and Appointments, he takes his Passage on this Ship 19 We have likewise appointed Mr John Goodwin to be a Factor on the West Coast Establishment, to be Stationed next below the Younges in Council, at the time of his Arrival there, and to Succeed to the Council upon the first Vacancy, he is to take his Passage accordingly on the Suffolk. 20 We have Constituted Benjamin Robins Esqr Engineer Generall of all our Settlements in the East Indies, & of our Island St Helena, where he is to call in his way home, You will receive by this Conveyance, a Seperate Letter under date of this date, relating only to his Employment every part of which so far as it regards St Helena is punctually to be observed on his Arrival, unless you shall in the mean time receive any Orders from Us to the Contrary. 21 With regard to the late Mr Wrights Effects, We direct that his Interest in the Land Mortgaged, for Seventy Pounds, as mentioned in your Consultations of 23 June 1747, be Sold and that Margin Notes: Mr Jno Dobie appointed Chaplain at the Usual Salary Mr Jno Goodwin appointed Factor on the West Coast Benjamin Robins Esqr appointed Engineer Generall of all the Companys Settlements sent relatg to his Employ must be punctually observd as far as relate to St Helena the late Mr Wright's Land Mortgaged to be Sold	The Court had appointed the Reverend Mr John Dobie, a gentleman well recommended, to fill the vacancy caused by the removal of Mr Loveday, at the usual salary and appointments. He took his passage on this ship. 19: The Court had likewise appointed Mr John Goodwin a factor in the west coast establishment, to be stationed next below the youngest in council on his arrival there, and to succeed to the council on the first vacancy. He was to take his passage accordingly on the <i>Suffolk</i>. 20: The Court had constituted Benjamin Robins, esquire, engineer general of all its settlements in the East Indies, and of the island of St Helena, where he was to call on his way home. The Council would receive by this conveyance a separate letter under the same date relating only to his employment, every part of which, so far as it concerned St Helena, was to be punctually observed on his arrival, unless the Council should in the meantime receive any orders from the Court to the contrary. 21: With regard to the late Mr Wright's effects, the Court directed that his interest in the land mortgaged for seventy pounds, as mentioned in the Council's consultation of 23 June 1747, be sold [...]. Interpretations The appointment of an engineer general in paragraph 20 marks a significant step in the Court's approach to the fortification of its settlements. Benjamin Robins was set over all the Company's works in the East Indies and directed to call at St Helena on his way home, with a separate letter defining his charge there. Bringing in a specialist engineer to inspect and advise reflects the standing priority these letters give to defence, now pursued through professional expertise rather than the labour of the garrison alone, and the reservation allowing the Council to follow contrary orders kept London's ultimate control intact. The succession arranged for Mr Goodwin in paragraph 19 shows the Court managing advancement

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			within its council structure by fixed rule. Placed next below the youngest councillor at the west coast on arrival, he was to rise to the council on the first vacancy. Ordering promotion by settled seniority, rather than leaving it to local discretion, matched the Court's careful ranking of its servants throughout these letters, so that a man's place and prospects were determined from home and known in advance. The disposal of Mr Wright's mortgaged land in paragraph 21 continued the winding-up of a deceased servant's affairs that recurs across these despatches. His interest in land mortgaged for seventy pounds was to be sold, realising the estate's value against the encumbrance. Selling the mortgaged interest to settle accounts matched the Court's handling of Goodwin's estate and others, in which every asset of a dead servant was marshalled and turned to money so that debts and claims could be cleared in order.
63	60	that the produce thereof be Applied to the payment of the said Debt, with the Interest thereon, & if it shall produce more than will Satisfye the said Debt, the Surplus must be carried to the Credit of his Account, the Ballance of which is to be paid to such Person only as has a Legal Right to receive the same, by virtue of a probat of the Will or Letters of Administration 22 As we observe, the aforesaid Seventy Pounds was Deposited in our Cash on Account of the Orphans of John Bradley decd, We positively direct that for the future you never lend either the Companys Money or any Lodged in their Cash upon any pretence or Security whatsoever 23 In case the Duke of Newcastle shall not have left the Island before this come to your Hand, you are to pay the produce of the Effects of Benjamin Bently late Carpenters Mate of the said Ship to Capt Fowler, or to the Commander for the time being, taken his Receipt for the same. 24 We approve of your taking Notice from time to time of the Desertion of the Military and the times when you miss them, as it leads us to Margin Notes: the Surplus to be carried to his Account positively Ordered not to lend Money deposited in the Companys Cash on Account of Orphans the produce of the Effects of Beny Bentley to be paid to Capt Fowler, or the Commr for the time being taking Notice of the Desertion of the Military approved of	The produce of the sale was to be applied to paying that debt with its interest. Should it produce more than would satisfy the debt, the surplus was to be carried to the credit of his account, the balance of which was to be paid only to such person as had a legal right to receive it, by virtue of a probate of the will or letters of administration. 22: Since the Court observed that the seventy pounds had been deposited in the Company's cash on account of the orphans of John Bradley, deceased, it positively directed that in future the Council never lend the Company's money, or any lodged in its cash, on any pretence or security whatever. 23: Should the <i>Duke of Newcastle</i> not have left the island before this letter reached the Council, it was to pay the produce of the effects of Benjamin Bently, late carpenter's mate of that ship, to Captain Fowler, or to the commander for the time being, taking his receipt for it. 24: The Court approved the Council's taking notice from time to time of the desertion of the military and the times when it missed them, since it led the Court [...]. Interpretations The prohibition on lending in paragraph 22 laid down an absolute rule from a particular abuse. The seventy pounds had been money held in trust for the orphans of a dead man, yet it had been lent out, and the Court forbade in the plainest terms any future lending of the Company's cash or money lodged in it, on any pretence or security. The strictness of the ban reflects the seriousness of using funds held in trust as a source of loans: money placed in the Company's keeping was to be safeguarded, not put at risk, and the Court closed the practice entirely rather than allow discretion that might be abused again. The care over legal title in the opening paragraph shows the Court respecting the proper forms of inheritance even in winding up a servant's estate. Any surplus from the sale, once the debt was met, was to go only to a person with a legal right established by probate or letters of administration. Insisting on formal proof of entitlement before paying out a balance guarded the Company against paying the wrong claimant and against later dispute, treating the deceased's estate with the same regard for documentary right that ran through all its dealings with property and debt. The settlement of the dead seaman's effects in paragraph 23 again shows the island serving as a point where claims arising within the fleet were quietly closed. Benjamin Bently's effects were to be paid to his ship's commander against a receipt, provided the vessel had not yet sailed. Handling a dead man's property through the island, delivered to the responsible officer on documentary acknowledgement, matched the way St Helena repeatedly resolved the small accounts of men

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			who died in the Company's service, keeping the transaction orderly and vouched.
64	61	to make an Enquiry on what Ships they were brought home, continue this Method, and remind every Commander that We shall highly Resent their bringing any Person of the Island, without an Order in Writing from you. 25 A List of the Names of such of the Military as are Discharged, must be sent in that Ships Packet, on which they proceed to England, and here We must Observe, that several returned this Year, complain that they have been obliged to pay Ten Shillings each for their Discharge, which if they have served their Contracted time, as a Imposition on them, & if they have not, is so upon Us therefore you are to take care, that no room be left to Complain of the abuse, for the future 26 We shall send you no Recruits until We are satisfied, whether you have procured any from His Majestys Returning Ships 27 We have appointed Mr James Repington who takes his Passage on this Ship to be a Lieutenant at St Helena on the Usual terms, the other Vacancy as an Encouragement to the inferior Officers to have well, is to be filled up by the most Deserving Sergeant of date Margin Notes: this Method must be Continued the Commanders is not to carry any person of the Island without an Order List of the Names of the Military that are Discharged to be sent on the Ship they goto England on no Recruits sent until Satisfied what were procured from his Majestys Ships Mr James Repington appointed Lieut on the usual terms the other Vacancy to be filled by the most deserving Sergeant	The Council's noticing of desertions led the Court to enquire on what ships the deserters were brought home. The Council was to keep up this method, and to remind every commander that the Court would highly resent his carrying any person off the island without an order in writing from the Council. 25: A list of the names of such of the military as were discharged was to be sent in the packet of the ship on which they proceeded to England. The Court observed that several returning this year had complained of being obliged to pay ten shillings each for their discharge, which, if they had served their contracted time, was an imposition on them, and if they had not, was so upon the Court. The Council was therefore to see that no room was left to complain of this abuse in future. 26: The Court would send no recruits until it was satisfied whether the Council had procured any from His Majesty's returning ships. 27: The Court had appointed Mr James Repington, who took his passage on this ship, to be a lieutenant at St Helena on the usual terms, the other vacancy, as an encouragement to the inferior officers to behave well, to be filled by the most deserving sergeant [...]. Interpretations The discharge-fee complaint in paragraph 25 shows the Court alert to a small abuse practised on its departing soldiers. Men leaving the service had been charged ten shillings each for their discharge, and the Court saw the wrong either way: if they had served their time the charge fell unjustly on them, and if they had not, on the Company. Requiring the Council to stop the practice reflects the same care against petty exactions seen elsewhere in these letters, where the Court fixed fees and checked overcharging, unwilling to let its people be quietly fleeced by those who handled the paperwork of the establishment. The control over deserters and departures in the opening paragraph reveals how tightly the Court sought to govern who left the island. Commanders were warned in the strongest terms against carrying anyone off without the Council's written order, and desertions were to be tracked to the ships that took the men. On a remote station whose garrison and labour were hard to replace, the Court treated unauthorised departure as a serious matter, closing the avenue by which soldiers might slip away aboard passing ships and holding the commanders answerable for any such removal. The filling of the vacancy by a deserving sergeant in paragraph 27 shows the Court using promotion as an incentive to good conduct. While one lieutenantcy went to an appointee sent from England, the other was reserved for the best-behaved sergeant, expressly as encouragement to the inferior officers. Holding out advancement to the ranks below, rather than filling every place from home, gave the island's own non-commissioned men a motive for diligence and fidelity, a practical means of maintaining discipline in a garrison the Court could not easily reinforce.
65	62	duly Qualifyed, giving the preference however to the Person who has been longest in the Service, which is to be a Rule in future, unless you receive any Orders from Us to the Contrary 28 Many of your Bills are drawn upon such small pieces of Paper, as will not allow room for Acceptance, You must therefore, in future write them upon half a Sheet. 29 We would have you for the future write your Advices & the Accounts generally sent in your Packets upon Demy Paper & the Secretary must fold them up as near as may be to the same size. 30 In your Accounts of Remains of	The vacancy was to go to the most deserving sergeant who was duly qualified, preference being given, however, to the man who had been longest in the service. This was to be a rule in future unless the Council received orders from the Court to the contrary. 28: Many of the Council's bills were drawn on such small pieces of paper as left no room for acceptance. In future they were to be written on half a sheet. 29: The Court wanted the Council in future to write its advices, and the accounts generally sent in the packets, on demy paper, and the secretary to fold them up as near as possible to the same size. 30: In its accounts of the remains of stores received this year the Council had not specified the weights,

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		Stores received this Year, you have not particularized the Weights, Sorts &c, you must therefore, for the future, insert the Weights of the Anchors, Size of the Cordage, the Number of the several Sorts of Hooks & Lines, and in general distinguish the Sorts and Sizes of all Stores of the same Species. 31 You have very well Observed our Directions, in describing the condition of the Stores short delivered from the Marlborough Margin Notes: the preference to be given to the eldest Sergeant of duly Qualifyd Bills of Exchange to be wrote upon half a sheet all accounts must be Wrote upon Demy Paper must be more particular in distinguishing the Stores in the list of Remains Directions well observd in describing the Stores in the short delivery from d Marlbro	sorts and the like. In future it was to enter the weights of the anchors, the size of the cordage, the number of the several sorts of hooks and lines, and generally to distinguish the sorts and sizes of all stores of the same kind. 31: The Council had very well observed the Court's directions in describing the condition of the stores short delivered from the <i>Marlborough</i> [...]. Interpretations The instructions in paragraphs 28 to 30 form a single push for uniformity and precision in the island's paperwork. Bills too small to leave room for acceptance, advices on paper of varying size, and stores accounts lacking weights and sizes all offended the same want of order. The Court's remedies, half sheets for bills, demy paper folded to a common size for advices, and full specification of every anchor, cable, hook and line, aimed to make the island's documents regular and exact. The concern for a standard and detailed record runs through the whole correspondence, so that bills could be accepted, papers filed and stores checked without confusion or dispute. The seniority preference in the opening paragraph refined the promotion rule of the previous page. Among qualified sergeants the longest-serving was to be preferred, making advancement follow length of service rather than favour. Fixing so plain a rule, subject only to contrary orders from home, matched the Court's care throughout these letters to govern promotion by settled principle, rewarding faithful continuance in the ranks and leaving no room for a Governor's partiality in filling the place. The commendation in paragraph 31 shows the Court acknowledging compliance where the island had done well, a counterpoint to its many corrections. The Council had properly described the condition of the goods short delivered from the <i>Marlborough</i>, exactly as earlier letters had required for reconciling accounts. Noting the good observance of its directions reflects that the Court's persistent demands for exact record-keeping were beginning to take effect, and that it was ready to recognise diligence as readily as it rebuked neglect.
<u>66</u>	63	32 We have no Objection to your Selling the old Furniture, provided, on a proper Survey, it is found Useless. 33 We observe by your Consultations of the 19th of June last, that you agreed to Supply Capt Wood with Ten of the Military, whose Contracted time did not Expire until the 22nd of September following, We do not approve of this method, and we direct that for the future, no person be Discharged till he has Served his full time. 34 The Reasons for a continuance of the Abatement of Rents to the Inhabitants, no longer Subsisting, they are, at the Expiration of our Indulgence, to pay the same Rents as before. 35 Mr Brown who was some time ago Surgeon of St Helena representing to us, that there is between three & four Hundred Pounds due to him from Several of the Inhabitants, the greatest part whereof he Alledges is not recoverable, through the want of a Sufficient Authority to compel the Partys to a due Settlement of their Accounts, you are hereby directed to give his Attorneys all equitable Assistance, in the recovery of the said Debts according to the Laws Customs of the Island Margin Notes: no objections against Selling the old Furniture not approved of discharging the Military before their times are Expired the Inhabitants are to pay their full Rents the Attorneys of Mr Brown to have all Equitable Assistance	32: The Court had no objection to the Council selling the old furniture, provided that on a proper survey it was found useless. 33: The Court observed by the Council's consultation of 19 June last that it had agreed to supply Captain Wood with ten of the military whose contracted time did not expire until 22 September following. It did not approve this method, and directed that in future no person be discharged till he had served his full time. 34: The reasons for continuing the abatement of rents to the inhabitants no longer subsisting, they were, at the expiration of the Court's indulgence, to pay the same rents as before. 35: Mr Brown, who had been some time ago surgeon of St Helena, having represented that between three and four hundred pounds were owed him by several of the inhabitants, the greatest part of which he claimed was not recoverable for want of a sufficient authority to compel the parties to settle their accounts, the Council was directed to give his attorneys all equitable assistance in recovering those debts, according to the laws and customs of the island.

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67	64	36 We have been applied to by Mr Dunbar our late Governour, in behalf of the Child of John Collins decd late a Sergeant on your Island, to whom he is Executor; If therefore Mr Dunbars Attorneys make any such Application to you We desire you will Assist them to make the most of the Estate for the benefit of the Child 37 We direct that for the future you send at the same time, with your Annual Indent for Medicines and Druggs a List of all the Surgeons Instruments and Utensels belonging to the Company then remaining 38 A Slave belonging to Mr Fountain having Concealed himself aboard the Exeter on her Sailing from your Island is now Returned to his Master on the Suffolk at the Charge of Captain Weston, We are London 8 December 1749 Your Loving Friends Cha Gough Thos Phipps Stephen Law Abel Sonnerau John Hope W Willy Whitchcott Turner Cha Cutts Richd Linwood James Reed John Thornton R Bootle John Payne Wm Baker Rich Chauncy R Drake W Mabbott Saml Feake J Raymond P Godfrey J Winter Margin Notes: of the Attorneys of Mr Dunbar to be assisted in making the most of Collins Estate a List of the Surgeons Instruments must be sent with the annual Indent Mr Fountains Slave returned	36: Mr Dunbar, the Court's late Governor, had applied on behalf of the child of John Collins, deceased, late a sergeant on the island, of whom he was executor. Should Mr Dunbar's attorneys make any such application to the Council, the Court wanted it to assist them in making the most of the estate for the child's benefit. 37: The Court directed that in future the Council send at the same time as its annual order for medicines and drugs a list of all the surgeon's instruments and utensils belonging to the Company then remaining. 38: A slave belonging to Mr Fountain, having concealed himself aboard the <i>Exeter</i> on her sailing from the island, was now returned to his master on the <i>Suffolk</i> at the charge of Captain Weston. The letter closed as from the Company's loving friends, signed at London on 8 December 1749 by Charles Gough, Thomas Phipps, Stephen Law, Abel Fonnereau, John Hope, W. Willy, Wichcott Turner, Charles Cutts, Nicholas Linwood, James Reed, John Thornton, R. Bootle, John Payne, William Baker, Richard Chauncy, R. Drake, W. Mabbott, Samuel Feake, J. Raymond, P. Godfrey and J. Winter. Interpretations The return of the concealed slave in paragraph 38 shows the machinery by which the Company recovered runaway property across its shipping. The man had hidden aboard the <i>Exeter</i> to escape the island and was carried back on the <i>Suffolk</i> at the commander's charge. Treating the slave as property to be restored to his owner, and laying the cost of his return on the ship that brought him back, reflects the Company's settled view of its slaves as chattels throughout these letters, recovered and delivered up through the same fleet that served the island. The assistance offered for the Collins child in paragraph 36 continued the Court's practice of aiding the orderly settlement of a dead servant's estate for the benefit of his heirs. Dunbar acted as executor for the orphan of a sergeant, and the Council was to help his attorneys make the most of the estate for the child. Lending the island's authority to realise an estate for a minor's benefit matched the care the Court showed elsewhere for the property of deceased servants and their families, though tempered, as the earlier ban on lending trust money showed, by strict limits on how such funds might be handled. The surgeon's-instruments list in paragraph 37 added one more item to the running demand for exact inventories that pervades these letters. Requiring an account of all the Company's medical instruments and utensils to accompany the annual order for drugs ensured the Court knew what remained before supplying more. Tying the inventory to the yearly requisition matched the Court's insistence throughout on precise and current records of every kind of store, so that supply could be matched to genuine need and nothing lost or duplicated.
68	65	Our President and Council at St Helena 1 Being determined to have our Possessions & Estate put in as perfect Security for the future as We are able, by making such Additions to and alterations in the Fortifications and Works at our several Settlements in the East Indies & the Island of St Helena as may render them defenceable against the Attacks of any European or Indian Enemies, We have in order thereto appointed Benjamin Robins Esqr in whose Integrity and Capacity We have an entire confidence, Our Engeneer General as likewise Commander in Chief of the Artillry, And that you may be fully Apprized of our Intentions in employing him We have here inserted his Instructions, & We direct that every Article in them, so far as they relate to	Our President and Council at St Helena 1: Being determined to have its possessions and estate put in as perfect security for the future as it was able, by making such additions to and alterations in the fortifications and works at its several settlements in the East Indies and the island of St Helena as might render them defensible against the attacks of any European or Indian enemy, the Court had for that purpose appointed Benjamin Robins, esquire, in whose integrity and capacity it had entire confidence, its engineer general and likewise commander in chief of the artillery. So that the Council might be fully apprised of the Court's intentions in employing him, it had here set out his instructions, and directed that every article in them, so far as they related to St Helena, be as fully complied with as if they were particularly addressed to the Council. The Court further recommended and directed

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		St Helena be as fully complied with, as if they were particularly addressed to you, & we further recommend and direct, that in any matters which may have been omitted in these Instructions, you give him all possible Assistance, and furtherance	that in any matters which might have been omitted in these instructions, the Council give him all possible assistance and furtherance. Interpretations The appointment of Benjamin Robins as engineer general, set out at large in this opening address, confirms the fresh emphasis on professional fortification that the earlier despatch had introduced. Made both engineer general and commander in chief of the artillery over all the Company's settlements, he carried authority to reshape the works at St Helena and the eastern factories alike against any European or Indian enemy. The Court's direction that his instructions be obeyed as if addressed to the Council itself placed the island's defensive works under his expert direction, marking a shift from the earlier reliance on the garrison's own labour toward a considered military engineering conducted by a specialist of the Court's entire confidence. The reservation that the Council assist him in any matters omitted from his instructions shows the Court anticipating the limits of written orders given at such a distance. No set of instructions framed in London could foresee every question that would arise on the ground, so the Council was to supply what the papers left out by giving Robins all furtherance. Combining detailed written direction with a general charge to assist reflects the Court's practical understanding, evident throughout these letters, that governing a remote possession required both precise orders and a measure of trust in those on the spot to make them work.
69	66	of the place and of the Advantages of the alteration proposed, And are to remark every Circumstance that may occur to you, for facilitating the Execution of your plan, And for the better directing your Judgment in all these matters, you are to have free Access to all Books or Papers in the Custody of our Governours or Council where any deliberations, resolutions, projects Estimates, or Accounts relating to our Fortifications are entered 3 By our Orders of the 17th June 1748 Copies of which are herewith delivered to you, We have made a New Regulation of our Military Force, & have directed the Establishment of a Company of Artillery at Fort St David, Fort William, & Bombay, & We being desirous that our Artillery, on which the Security of our Settlements so much depends, may be in the best Condition possible, do appoint you to Examine how far these New Regulations of the Artillery have been executed, We therefore direct that, without any Pay or Profit thence arising, you, during the time of your stay at any of our Places, shall have the Chief Command of the Artillery	Robins was to consider the nature of the place and the advantages of the alterations proposed, and to note every circumstance that might occur to him for facilitating the execution of his plan. For the better directing of his judgement in all these matters, he was to have free access to all books and papers in the custody of the Company's Governors or councils where any deliberations, resolutions, projects, estimates or accounts relating to the fortifications were entered. 3: By the Court's orders of 17 June 1748, copies of which were delivered to Robins, the Court had made a new regulation of its military force and directed the establishment of a company of artillery at Fort St David, Fort William and Bombay. Being desirous that its artillery, on which the security of the settlements so much depended, might be in the best possible condition, the Court appointed Robins to examine how far these new regulations of the artillery had been carried out. It therefore directed that, without any pay or profit arising from it, he should during his stay at any of the Company's places have the chief command of the artillery. Interpretations The free access to records granted to Robins in this passage armed him with the full documentary history of the island's defences before he judged their improvement. He could consult every book and paper in which the Governors or councils had entered their deliberations, estimates and accounts touching the fortifications. Opening the whole archive of defensive planning to the engineer general ensured his recommendations rested on what had already been considered and spent, and it reflects the Court's consistent belief, seen throughout these letters, that sound decision required complete and accessible records. The new establishment of artillery companies in paragraph 3 shows the Court professionalising the gunnery on which its settlements' safety rested. Companies of artillery were raised at the principal Indian stations, and Robins was sent to examine how far the reform had been executed and to take chief command of the artillery wherever he called. Placing the guns of the whole establishment under an expert's

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			inspection and authority marked the same shift toward considered military organisation that his appointment as engineer general represented, extending to the artillery the deliberate improvement the Court was pursuing in the fortifications. The stipulation that Robins take no pay or profit from his command of the artillery in paragraph 3 shows the Court keeping his authority distinct from personal gain. His chief command at each place was a duty of inspection and improvement, not a source of emolument. Separating the office from any profit reflects the Court's recurring concern, evident across these letters in its handling of salaries, gratuities and the trading of its own Governors, to prevent its servants from turning their positions to private advantage, so that Robins's oversight of the artillery served only the security it was meant to advance.
70	67	Artillery therein, and of all the persons intended for its Service whether they form a Company a Gunroom Crew, or by whatever Name they are distinguished, These you are to see trained to the Use of Cannon & Mortars in the manner you shall Appoint, & you are to allot what quantity of Ammunition you Judge necessary for that purpose, And you are also to form a plan for this Exercise, which you are to deliver to the Governour or Chief at your leaving each place, and which is to be punctually followed by the Officers of Artillery till other directions shall be given by Us. 4 You are besides to Examine the Small Arms, Cannon, Mortars, Carriages Ammunition and Military Stores of every kind, which are in any of our Magazines in the places where you shall be, Of all these you are to make exact Inventories, noting what part is decayed unserviceable, or defective & what Changes or Additions are necessary to be made, either in the Pieces or Stores, for the better defence of the Place, Two Copies of these Inventories and remarks you are to transmit to us by the two first Conveyances In taking these Inventories you are particularly to observe	Robins was to take command of the artillery and of all the persons intended for its service, whether they formed a company, a gunroom crew or went by any other name. These he was to see trained to the use of cannon and mortars in whatever manner he appointed, allotting what quantity of ammunition he judged necessary for the purpose. He was also to form a plan for this exercise, to be delivered to the Governor or chief on his leaving each place, and to be punctually followed by the officers of artillery until the Court gave other directions. 4: Robins was besides to examine the small arms, cannon, mortars, carriages, ammunition and military stores of every kind in any of the Company's magazines at the places where he was, and to make exact inventories of them all, noting what part was decayed, unserviceable or defective, and what changes or additions were needed in the pieces or stores for the better defence of the place. Two copies of these inventories and remarks he was to send home by the two first conveyances. In taking these inventories he was particularly to observe [...]. Interpretations The training plan Robins was to leave behind, in the opening paragraph, shows the Court seeking to make his expertise outlast his visit. He was not only to drill the gunners himself but to set down a written scheme of exercise for the artillery officers to follow after he had gone. Fixing the method of training in a standing plan, binding until the Court ordered otherwise, ensured that the improvement he brought did not depart with him, a considered effort to embed lasting military skill in each garrison rather than leave it to lapse once the specialist moved on. The inventory of military stores required in paragraph 4 extended to the settlements' armaments the exact accounting the Court demanded of all its stores throughout these letters. Robins was to list every gun, carriage and quantity of ammunition, mark what was decayed or defective, and recommend the changes needed for defence, sending two copies home by the first conveyances. Applying the same rigour of precise inventory and duplicate transmission to weapons that the Court applied to ordinary goods reflects its conviction that sound defence, like sound bookkeeping, rested on an accurate and current knowledge of exactly what it possessed. The duplicate copies sent by the two first conveyances, in paragraph 4, repeat the standing practice of redundant transmission that runs through the whole correspondence. Reports of real importance were never trusted to a single ship, whose loss might carry the only record to the bottom. Requiring two copies by separate vessels for Robins's inventories, as for so many other documents, reflects the Court's constant awareness of the hazards of the long sea route and its determination that vital information reach London whatever befell any one ship.

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71	68	observe, if our Instructions of the 17th of June 1748 with regard to the Accounts to be kept by the Storekeeper, be punctually Complied with, If they are not, you are to deliver to the Storekeeper, a Copy of your own Inventory, and are to direct him in the manner of entring his future Receipts and delivery, And you are expressly ordered to declare to him, that our directions for the keeping these Accounts, and the transmitting Copies of them home, shall be rigorously followed for the future in every Article. 5 And We hereby empower you to suspend or Dismiss any of our Officers or private Men in the Artillery, that you shall think unfit for our Service, transmitting to us the reasons of the Suspension, or Dismission of any Officer as aforesaid and you are to appoint other Officers in their Stead untill our Pleasure is known 6 If during your stay in India any of our Places should be threatened with an Attack either from an European Enemy or from the Troops of the Country, We in that case leave it to your discretion to repair to such of our Settlements, where, either from the Neighbourhood of the Enemy or	Robins was to observe whether the Court's instructions of 17 June 1748 about the accounts to be kept by the storekeeper were punctually complied with. If they were not, he was to deliver the storekeeper a copy of his own inventory and direct him in the manner of entering his future receipts and deliveries. He was expressly ordered to declare to the storekeeper that the Court's directions for keeping these accounts, and transmitting copies of them home, would be rigorously followed in future in every article. 5: The Court empowered Robins to suspend or dismiss any of its officers or private men in the artillery whom he thought unfit for its service, transmitting home the reasons for the suspension or dismissal of any officer, and to appoint others in their stead until the Court's pleasure was known. 6: Should any of the Company's places be threatened with an attack during Robins's stay in India, whether from a European enemy or the troops of the country, the Court left it to his discretion to repair to such of its settlements where, either from the neighbourhood of the enemy [...]. Interpretations The power to suspend and dismiss granted to Robins in paragraph 5 was a marked concession of authority, given the Court's general jealousy over its servants' places. Throughout these letters it had reserved to itself the engagement and removal of officers and rebuked Governors for acting singly, yet here it armed the engineer general to turn out any of the artillery he judged unfit. The difference lay in his standing as a trusted specialist charged with the settlements' security, and the safeguard of requiring reasons sent home for any officer dismissed preserved the Court's ultimate review, so that even this delegated power remained accountable to London. The discretion to move between threatened settlements in paragraph 6 recognised that in India the Court's orders could not keep pace with events. With attack possible from European rivals or country powers, Robins was left free to go where his skill was most needed. Trusting a man on the spot to judge where danger was gravest, rather than binding him to a fixed station, reflects the Court's practical acceptance, evident across these letters, that the government of distant possessions required delegated judgement in matters that could not await instruction from home. The enforcement of the storekeeper's accounts in the opening paragraph shows the Court using Robins's visit to press its long campaign for exact record-keeping. If the accounting rules of June 1748 were neglected, he was to give the storekeeper his own inventory as a model and declare that the directions would henceforth be rigorously followed. Employing the engineer general to compel compliance with the bookkeeping standards these letters repeatedly demanded reflects how central the Court held accurate stores accounts to be, enlisting even its military inspector to secure them where ordinary direction had failed.
72	69	or from other considerations, you shall conceive your Advice, and Assistance may be of most Advantage to our Interests, And on all these Emergencys, We shall direct our Governours and Council that they shall admit You to be present, and to Vote, at all Consultations where any Military proceedings are Considered. 7 In all our places that you shall Visit (except Calcutta in Bengal) We choose that you should avoid any great and expensive Work, till you have our further Directions, but where the delay is apparently mischievous, and where you are fully Satisfyed in your own Judgment, We authorize you to direct immediately what reparations or changes shall be made, either in	Robins was to repair to whichever settlements, either from the neighbourhood of the enemy or from other considerations, he judged his advice and assistance might be of most advantage to the Company's interests. In all these emergencies the Court would direct its Governors and councils to admit him to be present and to vote at all consultations where any military proceedings were considered. 7: In all the Company's places that Robins visited, except Calcutta in Bengal, the Court chose that he should avoid any great and expensive work until it gave further directions. But where the delay was plainly harmful, and where he was fully satisfied in his own judgement, it authorised him to direct at once what repairs or changes should be made, whether in the

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		the Fortifications, the Warehouses, the Artillery, or in any other Articles connected with the Defence of the Settlement, having a particular regard that the Warehouses if possible, may be situated in convenient and Secure places, within the Fortifications, and the Magazine secure. 8 And to avoid the unnecessary Expence which Confusion or Mismanagement may occasion in the Works, you may carry on in consequence of these	fortifications, the warehouses, the artillery or any other matter connected with the defence of the settlement, having particular regard that the warehouses, if possible, be placed in convenient and secure spots within the fortifications, and the magazine kept secure. 8: To avoid the unnecessary expense which confusion or mismanagement might occasion in the works, Robins might carry on in consequence of these [...]. Interpretations The vote granted to Robins at military consultations, in the opening paragraph, gave the engineer general a formal voice in the councils of every settlement he visited. Beyond merely advising, he was to sit and vote wherever military matters were considered. Admitting an outside specialist to the deliberations of the local councils, on the very questions of defence he was sent to improve, ensured his expertise carried weight in decision rather than being confined to recommendation, a notable extension of authority into the governing bodies the Court elsewhere guarded so carefully. The restraint on expensive works in paragraph 7 shows the Court balancing its desire for improved defences against its constant care for cost. Robins was to undertake no great and costly work without further direction, except at Calcutta, unless delay was plainly harmful and his own judgement was fully satisfied. Reserving large expenditure to its own sanction while allowing urgent necessity to be met at once reflects the Court's habitual approach throughout these letters, pressing for security yet checking any charge that could wait, and trusting the man on the spot only where the danger of delay was clear. The concern for the siting of warehouses in paragraph 7 married the Company's commercial and military interests in a single instruction. Robins was to place the warehouses, where possible, within the fortifications and keep the magazine secure. Bringing the stores under the protection of the works, rather than leaving valuable goods exposed, reflects the double character of the Company's settlements as both trading posts and strongholds, their defence conceived not only to repel an enemy but to guard the merchandise on which the whole enterprise depended.
73	70	these, or of our subsequent Instructions, You are empowered in all cases to appoint Inspectors at each Working place over each Branch of Work, These are to have an Eye upon the Work, & are to take a daily Account of the Number of Workmen employed under them, And no payments to workmen shall be allowed to the Paymaster but Corresponding to the Certificates of these Inspectors, examind and Countersignd by your Self, We further direct that you appoint two joint inspectors to be present at the delivery of all Materials, and the Paymaster shall not pay for these Materials but on the joint Certificates of these Inspectors examined and Countersigned by you, Of all these Certificates you are to keep Copies by which you are to Examine the Paymasters Accounts, which he is to deliver to you every Month, and if upon this examination, or for any other reasons you are dissatisfied with his Conduct, you are to require the Governour to remove him from his Office of Paymaster, which requisition of yours the Governour will be directed to comply with; And if any person employed in the Works, whether our own servant or an Artificer of the Country, does not behave to your Satisfaction	Robins might carry on in consequence of these or the Court's later instructions. He was empowered in all cases to appoint inspectors at each working place over each branch of work. These were to keep an eye on the work and take a daily account of the number of workmen employed under them. No payments to workmen were to be allowed the paymaster except such as corresponded to the certificates of these inspectors, examined and countersigned by Robins himself. The Court further directed that he appoint two joint inspectors to be present at the delivery of all materials, and the paymaster was not to pay for those materials except on the joint certificates of these inspectors, examined and countersigned by Robins. Of all these certificates he was to keep copies, by which he was to examine the paymaster's accounts, which the paymaster was to deliver to him every month. Should he, on that examination or for any other reason, be dissatisfied with the paymaster's conduct, he was to require the Governor to remove him from his office of paymaster, and the Governor would be directed to comply with that request. Should any person employed in the works, whether the Company's own servant or an artificer of the country, not behave to Robins's [...]. Interpretations The system of inspectors and certificates set out here shows the Court importing into its fortification works the same controls against fraud it applied to its stores and accounts. No workman was to be paid, and no material accepted, except on the certificate of an

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			inspector who had watched the work or witnessed the delivery, each certificate examined and countersigned by Robins and checked against the paymaster's monthly accounts. Requiring an independent witness to every payment and delivery, with a running record kept for comparison, closed the openings through which building works were commonly bled by false musters and short deliveries, extending to construction the documentary discipline that pervades the whole correspondence. The double certificate for materials, requiring two joint inspectors present at every delivery, reveals how carefully the Court guarded against collusion at the point where goods and money changed hands. A single inspector might be corrupted, but two acting together, and both countersigned by Robins, made fraud far harder. The device matches the two-signature rules the Court used elsewhere for purchases and transfers, resting on the principle that the safest check on dishonesty lay in requiring more than one hand to a transaction that might otherwise be quietly falsified. The power to have the paymaster removed, in this passage, gave Robins a formidable authority over the very officer who handled the money for the works. Dissatisfaction with the paymaster's conduct was enough to require his removal, and the Governor was bound to comply. Placing the man who paid the workmen under the engineer general's oversight, with dismissal at his word, ensured that the whole financial machinery of the fortifications answered to the specialist charged with them, a concentration of authority the Court thought justified by the cost and importance of the defensive works and the ever-present risk of their funds being misapplied.
74	71	satisfaction you are Authorized to remove him from his employ in the Works, and if he be our Covenant Servant you are to Certify to Us the reasons for which you displaced him. 9 As we are resolved to throw up some Works about the Town of Calcutta, for the better defence of its Inhabitants agreeable to our Letter of the 17th of June 1748 a Copy of which is herewith delivered to you, You are therefore upon your Arrival at Fort William to consider of a plan for that purpose, in forming this plan you are to Endeavour, that it may be of such a Nature, that without any Material Change in the General disposition and without demolishing the Works that will first be raised, the whole may afterwards be wrought into a more compleat Fortress, when after maturely weighing all the Circumstances necessary to be considered, you have formed your Plan for the Works about Calcutta and have made an Estimate of the time, Expence, Materials and Workmen necessary to compleat it, and have determined with what part to begin, and in what order to proceed you are then to lay the whole before our Governour, and Council, and to require them to prepare the Money, Materials, Workmen and	Should any person employed in the works not behave to Robins's satisfaction, he was authorised to remove him from his employment in the works, and if he were the Company's covenant servant, Robins was to certify home the reasons for which he had displaced him. 9: Since the Court was resolved to raise some works about the town of Calcutta for the better defence of its inhabitants, agreeable to its letter of 17 June 1748, a copy of which was delivered to Robins, he was on his arrival at Fort William to consider a plan for that purpose. In forming this plan he was to endeavour that it be of such a nature that, without any material change in the general disposition and without demolishing the works first raised, the whole might afterwards be wrought into a more complete fortress. When, after maturely weighing all the necessary circumstances, he had formed his plan for the works about Calcutta, made an estimate of the time, expense, materials and workmen needed to complete it, and determined with what part to begin and in what order to proceed, he was then to lay the whole before the Governor and Council, and to require them to prepare the money, materials, workmen [...]. Interpretations The design principle for Calcutta in paragraph 9 shows the Court thinking in stages about a fortress it could not build all at once. Robins was to plan the works so that what was first raised could later be wrought into a more complete fortress without material alteration or demolition. Requiring that the initial works form part of a coherent final design, rather than be thrown up piecemeal and torn down again, reflects a deliberate economy: money spent on the first stage was not to be wasted when the fuller scheme came to be executed, a foresight that matched the Court's constant concern to avoid needless charge even while pursuing security. The requirement of a full estimate before laying the plan before the Council, in paragraph 9, shows the Court insisting that so large an undertaking rest on

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			exact reckoning. Robins was to compute the time, expense, materials and workmen, and settle the order of works, before requiring the Governor and Council to provide the means. Demanding a complete costing and sequence in advance, rather than committing to open-ended works, matched the Court's approach throughout these letters, in which it would sanction great expenditure only on a clear account of what it would cost and how it would proceed. The certification home of any dismissed covenant servant, in the opening paragraph, preserved the Court's oversight even amid the wide powers given to Robins. He might remove an unsatisfactory workman from the works, but if the man were bound to the Company by covenant, the reasons had to be reported to London. Keeping the Court informed of the removal of its own engaged servants, while leaving common labourers to Robins's discretion, reflects the distinction drawn throughout these letters between the Company's covenanted people, whose employment the Court reserved to its own review, and the ordinary hands whose management could be left to those on the spot.
75	72	and to Issue the proper Orders for carrying on the Work, which Requisition of yours they will be directed to comply with. 10 That you may be the better enabled to execute the various Articles contained in these Instructions, We have sent with you Mr John Barker, Nathaniel Carrington, Charles O Hara, Sampson Morrice, Charles Knapton, and Philip Glass, to be your Assistants, all whom are to be therefore entirely under your direction to be employed as you shall Order, and for their Diet We direct that Twenty Pounds Sterling p Month be allowed you over and above the appointment in your Contract, but as the said allowance is calculated for Six persons, therefore a proportionable Abatement is to be made, in case of the Death or Dismission of any of them, & We further allow Mr Barker Forty Pounds Sterling p Year, and each of the others Twenty Pounds Sterling p Year, by way of Salary, till such time as you quit them on your return to Europe, after which they are to be entertained in our Service, on the same foot as our other Servants in the like Rank, that is to say Mr Barker to take his standing as a Factor from	Robins was to require the Governor and Council to prepare the money, materials and workmen, and to issue the proper orders for carrying on the works, which requisition they would be directed to comply with. 10: So that Robins might be the better enabled to execute the various articles contained in his instructions, the Court had sent with him Mr John Barker, Nathaniel Carrington, Charles O'Hara, Sampson Morrice, Charles Knapton and Philip Glass, to be his assistants, all of whom were to be entirely under his direction and employed as he ordered. For their diet the Court directed that twenty pounds sterling a month be allowed Robins, over and above the appointment in his contract. Since that allowance was calculated for six persons, a proportionable abatement was to be made in case of the death or dismissal of any of them. The Court further allowed Mr Barker forty pounds sterling a year, and each of the others twenty pounds sterling a year, by way of salary, until such time as they quit these on their return to Europe, after which they were to be entertained in the Company's service on the same footing as its other servants in the like rank, that is to say Mr Barker to take his standing as a factor [...]. Interpretations The team of assistants provided in paragraph 10 shows the Court equipping Robins to carry out a programme too large for one man. Six named helpers were placed entirely under his direction, with a diet allowance calculated for the whole party and salaries graduated by rank. Furnishing the engineer general with a trained staff, and tying their pay and provision to their number, reflects the seriousness of the undertaking and the Court's method throughout these letters of matching resources precisely to the task, the diet allowance to be abated proportionally should any of the six die or be dismissed. The provision for the assistants' later service, in paragraph 10, reveals the Court thinking beyond the immediate works to the men's future within its establishment. On returning to Europe they were to quit these engineering posts and be entertained as ordinary servants in the like rank, Barker as a factor. Arranging in advance that the specialists engaged for the fortifications would afterward be absorbed into the Company's regular service, at settled standings, matched the Court's careful management of its servants' careers seen elsewhere, ensuring that able men brought out for a particular purpose were not lost when it was done but kept and placed within the wider organisation.

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			The proportionable abatement of the diet allowance, in paragraph 10, is a small instance of the exact reckoning that governs every question of pay and provision in these letters. The twenty pounds a month was fixed for six persons, and if their number fell so would the allowance. Adjusting a collective payment precisely to the actual number it supported, rather than letting it stand undiminished, reflects the Court's unfailing care that no charge exceed what it truly answered, the same principle it applied to the general table, to servants' salaries and to the diet money it granted in lieu.
76	73	from the time of his first Landing in India, and the others to take their standings as Writers from the same time, On your return to Europe, you are to leave them in such of our Settlements where you think they will be most useful, We reserving to ourselves the Power of fixing them afterwards, either in Bengal or on the Coast of Choromandell or Mallabar, If besides these persons you carry with you You shall think it necessary in any of our Places to have the Assistance of any other of our Servants, or Officers, you are empowered to make use of them in the manner you shall find most expedient, provided if they are above the Degree of Writers, it be with their own free Consent, and every one of our Covenant Servants thus employed by you shall not thereby be deprived of any of the Advantages of Rank, Pay Allowance, or Advancement which he would have been intitled to otherwise. 11 If you are obliged to leave any of Our Places before the Works you have begun are compleated, you are Authorised, if you think it expedient, to leave one or more of your Assistants behind you whom you are fully to Apprize of the Nature of your design, and of the manner in which	Mr Barker was to take his standing as a factor from the time of his first landing in India, and the others to take their standings as writers from the same time. On his return to Europe, Robins was to leave them in such of the Company's settlements where he thought they would be most useful, the Court reserving to itself the power of fixing them afterwards, either in Bengal or on the Coast of Coromandel or Malabar. Should Robins, besides these persons he carried with him, think it necessary at any of the Company's places to have the assistance of any other of its servants or officers, he was empowered to make use of them in whatever manner he found most expedient, provided that, if they were above the degree of writers, it was with their own free consent. Every one of the Company's covenant servants so employed by Robins was not thereby to be deprived of any of the advantages of rank, pay, allowance or advancement which he would otherwise have been entitled to. 11: Should Robins be obliged to leave any of the Company's places before the works he had begun were completed, he was authorised, if he thought it expedient, to leave one or more of his assistants behind him, whom he was fully to apprise of the nature of his design and of the manner in which [...]. Interpretations The protection of borrowed servants' rank in this passage shows the Court careful that its ordinary officers lose nothing by aiding Robins. Any covenant servant he employed was to keep all his advantages of rank, pay, allowance and advancement, and those above the degree of writer could be taken only with their own consent. Guarding the standing and prospects of men drawn temporarily into the engineering works reflects the Court's consistent care for its servants' settled expectations, ensuring that assisting a special commission neither cost them their place in the ordinary line of promotion nor could be forced on the more senior against their will. The provision for leaving assistants behind, in paragraph 11, again shows the Court seeking to make Robins's work outlast his presence at any one place. Should he be called away before works were finished, he might leave a subordinate fully instructed in his design and method to carry it on. Arranging that the knowledge of each scheme not depart with the engineer general, but be lodged with a deputy who understood it, matched the concern seen throughout these instructions to embed his expertise durably in the settlements, so that fortifications begun under his direction would be completed as he intended even after he had moved on. The reservation of power to fix the assistants afterward, in the opening paragraph, kept the ultimate disposal of these men in the Court's own hands. Robins might place them where useful on his departure, but their permanent stations in Bengal, on the Coast or at Malabar the Court would settle itself. Retaining the final say over where its servants were established, while allowing temporary placement on the spot, reflects the balance struck throughout these letters between delegating immediate arrangements to those in India

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			and preserving London's control over the lasting shape of its establishment.
77	74	which you intend it to be executed, Those whom you thus leave are to keep a regular Journal, in which they are to enter daily the Quantity of Materials received, the Number of Workmen employed, the payments made, and the progress of the Work, for which purpose, they are to have free Access to all parts of the Works & to all Accounts & Papers relating thereto, And if at any time they observe that the Work is not carried on conformable to your Plan, or that there are any Irregularities in the payments or misconduct in the Workmen, They are to make their Complaints in Writing to the Governour & Council, & are to pray that proper Orders may be given for the remedy of those Abuses, Copies of all these Complaints they are to enter regularly in their Journal, which Journal is afterwards to be delivered to you, & by you to be transmitted to Us, reserving a Copy for your own Use, You are during your Absence to allow each of your Assistants for Diet Money Three Pounds Six Shillings & Eight Pence Sterling a Month over and above their Sallary, And as an Encouragement to them to behave faithfully in their employment, you may Assure them that on your representing	The assistant left behind was to be apprised of the manner in which Robins intended his design to be executed. Those whom he thus left were to keep a regular journal, entering daily the quantity of materials received, the number of workmen employed, the payments made and the progress of the work, for which purpose they were to have free access to all parts of the works and to all accounts and papers relating to them. Should they at any time observe that the work was not carried on according to his plan, or that there were any irregularities in the payments or misconduct in the workmen, they were to make their complaints in writing to the Governor and Council, and to pray that proper orders be given to remedy those abuses. Copies of all these complaints they were to enter regularly in their journal, which journal was afterwards to be delivered to Robins and by him transmitted home, keeping a copy for his own use. During his absence Robins was to allow each of his assistants for diet money three pounds six shillings and eightpence sterling a month, over and above their salary. As encouragement to them to behave faithfully in their employment, he might assure them that on his representing [...]. Interpretations The journal required of the assistants left behind, in this passage, carried the Court's documentary discipline down to the daily conduct of the works. Materials received, workmen employed, payments made and progress achieved were all to be entered day by day, with free access to every part of the works and all its papers to verify them. Requiring a continuous written record, kept by a subordinate with power to see everything, ensured that construction proceeding in Robins's absence was as fully accounted for as if he were present, extending to the fortifications the running, verifiable record that the Court demanded of its stores, accounts and consultations throughout these letters. The channel for complaints in this passage gave the assistants a defined recourse against irregularity without arming them to act alone. Observing departure from the plan, faulty payments or misconduct among the workmen, they were to complain in writing to the Governor and Council and enter copies in their journal. Requiring that grievances be put in writing to the local authority and recorded, rather than left to informal remedy, both preserved a documentary trail of every abuse and kept the subordinates within proper bounds, matching the Court's consistent preference throughout these letters for formal, written and accountable process over discretionary action. The diet money and promise of reward, in this passage, show the Court using both maintenance and incentive to secure the assistants' fidelity. Beyond their salary they had a fixed diet allowance, and faithful service was to be encouraged by the prospect of Robins's favourable representation. Combining a settled allowance with the hope of advancement earned by good conduct reflects the Court's habitual method of binding its servants, seen throughout these letters in its graduated salaries, conditional gratuities and reserved promotions, rewarding present diligence while holding out the expectation of further benefit to those who served well.
78	75	to Us their Fidelity and Diligence, they may depend on being Considered by Us in the manner their Service shall deserve, but if contrary to our expectations any of them should upon these or other Occasions fail in the Integrity or Assiduity expected of them, you are empowered to remove them from their Employes, and to send them to Europe, by	On Robins's representing their fidelity and diligence, the assistants might depend on being considered by the Court as their service deserved. But should any of them, contrary to the Court's expectations, fail on these or other occasions in the integrity or assiduity expected of them, Robins was empowered to remove them from their employment and send them to Europe by the first

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		the first convenient Shipping, Certifying to Us at the same time the reasons for their dismissal 12 That the Works begun or projected by you, may not be interrupted by any Casualty that may happen to you, We direct you to draw your Designs upon a large Scale, & to be very explicit in your description of their different parts and if from the particularity of the Construction there are any Works intended, where it may be supposed That Drawings are not alone sufficiently Instructive, you are in that case, to cause large and durable Models to be made of them, which Models together with Copies of your plan, and all the Descriptions Directions & Estimates relating thereto, you are to deposit with our Governour and Council of the place, where the Works are to be carried on	convenient shipping, certifying home at the same time the reasons for their dismissal. 12: So that the works begun or projected by Robins might not be interrupted by any misfortune befalling him, the Court directed him to draw his designs on a large scale and to be very explicit in describing their different parts. Should the particularity of the construction require works where drawings alone might not be sufficiently instructive, he was in that case to have large and durable models made of them. These models, together with copies of his plan and all the descriptions, directions and estimates relating to them, he was to deposit with the Governor and Council of the place where the works were to be carried on. Interpretations The double sanction and reward in the opening paragraph shows the Court holding its assistants to account by both hope and fear. Fidelity would be considered as it deserved, but failure in integrity or diligence would bring dismissal and passage home, with the reasons certified to London. Pairing the promise of favour with the threat of removal, and requiring reasons for any dismissal to be reported, reflects the Court's settled method throughout these letters of binding its servants through graduated incentive and accountable discipline, so that neither reward nor punishment rested on caprice. The provision against Robins's own loss, in paragraph 12, reveals the Court guarding a costly programme against the death or incapacity of the single man who directed it. His designs were to be drawn large and explicit, supplemented where needed by durable models, and the whole lodged with the local Council. Ensuring that his plans, descriptions and estimates survived independently of himself meant the works could be continued by others should any misfortune befall him, the same concern for continuity that ran through his instructions to leave instructed deputies behind, here secured through a complete and permanent documentary and physical record. The models required for complex works, in paragraph 12, show the Court reaching beyond written record to physical representation where drawings alone might fail. Where construction was too intricate for a plan to convey, large and lasting models were to be made and deposited with the Council. Recognising that some designs could not be captured on paper, and providing a tangible model to guide their execution, reflects the thoroughness with which the Court sought to make Robins's expertise fully transmissible, so that even the most elaborate of his works could be built as intended without his presence.
79	76	13 You are carefully to correspond with Us and to inform us of the Progress you make, and of the manner in which your different Employments are executed, & of the behaviour of those We send out under your Direction, And as you are furnished with proper Instruments, you are to take all fitting Opportunities to observe, the Longitudes & Latitudes of such places as you shall Visit, & likewise, the Variation of the Compass, as often as you Conveniently can, And when you are not immediately busied in our other Services, We expect that you should not omit pursuing any Enquiries which may occur to you, that may tend either to the improvement of Geography and Navigation, or to the advancement of other branches of usefull knowledge, or to the Support and Enlargement of our Commerce and Interests in the East. 14 We have provided several Mathematical Instruments & other particulars for your Use according to the Enclosed List which on your Departure from India, are to be delivered to the Governour and Council at any of our Settlements as may be most	13: Robins was carefully to correspond with the Court and inform it of the progress he made, the manner in which his different employments were executed and the behaviour of those sent out under his direction. Being furnished with proper instruments, he was to take all fitting opportunities to observe the longitudes and latitudes of the places he visited, and likewise the variation of the compass, as often as he conveniently could. When not immediately busied in the Company's other services, the Court expected that he should not omit pursuing any enquiry that might tend to the improvement of geography and navigation, or to the advancement of other branches of useful knowledge, or to the support and enlargement of the Company's commerce and interest in the East. 14: The Court had provided several mathematical instruments and other particulars for Robins's use, according to the enclosed list, which on his departure from India were to be delivered to the Governor and Council at whichever of the Company's settlements might be most convenient to him. Interpretations

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		convenient to you	The scientific charge to Robins in paragraph 13 shows the Court valuing his voyage for more than fortification alone. Furnished with instruments, he was to observe the longitudes, latitudes and compass variation of the places he visited and to pursue any enquiry advancing geography, navigation or useful knowledge, as well as the Company's commerce. Setting an able man to gather geographical and navigational data along the route reflects the Company's understanding that accurate knowledge of the seas and coasts it traded through directly served its interest, its shipping being the more secure and its commerce the better conducted for every improvement in the science of navigation. The linking of useful knowledge to the enlargement of commerce, in paragraph 13, reveals how the Court conceived even disinterested enquiry as bound up with its trading purpose. Improvements in geography and navigation, or in other branches of knowledge, were sought expressly for the support of the Company's commerce and interest in the East. Treating the advancement of science as an instrument of trade, rather than an end apart from it, reflects the practical cast of the Company's whole enterprise, in which the pursuit of knowledge, like the building of fortifications, was justified by its contribution to the security and profit of the concern. The delivery of the instruments to a Council on Robins's departure, in paragraph 14, kept the valuable apparatus within the Company's establishment rather than letting it leave with the man. Provided for his use, the instruments were on his going to be handed to the Governor and Council of a convenient settlement. Ensuring that costly equipment supplied for a particular service reverted to the Company when that service ended matched the careful stewardship of property seen throughout these letters, in which nothing of value furnished for a purpose was allowed to be lost once the purpose was fulfilled.
<u>80</u>	77	2 The same Civil & Military Honours are to be paid to Mr Robins as to the third in Council, and as you value our future favour, you and all our Servants in General are, as well in your private as publick Capacities, to behave in such a manner to him, as may facilitate the Execution of his Plan. 3 Mr Robins is under Covenants with Us to continue in India untill the the Dispatch of the last Ships from the place where he shall be resident, between the Months of January & March 1753/4 and if he loose his Passage Outward bound, he is to continue in India untill the same time in 1754/5, during the time of his Stay at your Settlement, you are to pay him for his own and his menial Servants Subsistence, & instead of Diet Money, after the rate of ten Pounds Sterling for every Calender Month, to commence from his first Arrival at any of the Companys Settlements. 4 Which as well as the several Allowances mentioned in the foregoing Instructions, are to be Computed & paid at the rate We permit Bills of Exchange to be drawn upon us, on Account of our Servants.	2: The same civil and military honours were to be paid to Mr Robins as to the third in council. As the Council valued the Court's future favour, it and all the Company's servants in general, in their private as well as their public capacities, were to behave to him in such a manner as might facilitate the execution of his plan. 3: Mr Robins had covenanted with the Court to continue in India until the despatch of the last ships from the place where he was resident, between the months of January and March 1753. Should he lose his passage home, he was to continue in India until the same time in 1754. During his stay at the settlement the Council was to pay him for his own and his menial servants' subsistence, in lieu of diet money, at the rate of ten pounds sterling for every calendar month, to begin from his first arrival at any of the Company's settlements. 4: This allowance, as well as the several allowances mentioned in the foregoing instructions, was to be computed and paid at that rate. The Court permitted bills of exchange to be drawn on it on account of its servants. Interpretations The honours accorded Robins in paragraph 2 fixed his standing within the settlement's order of precedence without giving him a formal seat in its government. Ranked for civil and military honours with the third in council, he held the dignity of a senior officer, and every servant was enjoined to further his plan. Placing the engineer general high in the ceremonial order, and binding the Council to facilitate his work on pain of the Court's displeasure, secured him the authority and cooperation his mission required while keeping his role distinct from the ordinary line of the island's rule. The term of Robins's engagement in paragraph 3 shows the Court binding even its specialist by covenant,

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			as it did all its servants of trust. He was to remain in India until the last ships of the 1753 season, or of 1754 should he miss his passage, with subsistence for himself and his servants paid monthly. Fixing his service by a covenant with a defined term, and providing his maintenance at a settled rate, matched the Court's treatment throughout these letters of every engaged servant, whose obligations and allowances were precisely stated so that neither party's expectations were left uncertain. The permission to draw bills on account of its servants, in paragraph 4, provided the mechanism by which Robins and his party could be maintained at a distance from the Court's own cash. Their allowances, computed at the stated rates, could be answered by bills of exchange drawn on London. Allowing the settlements to fund the Court's servants through negotiable bills, rather than requiring coin to be sent for the purpose, matched the financial practice running through these letters, in which the Company's credit in London stood behind the payments made on its behalf across its scattered and often cash-short establishments.
81	78	5 Upon removing from your Settlement to another, you are to Certify to what time, Mr Robins & his Assistants have been respectively paid their said Allowances and in failure of such Certificate, the Governour & Council of the place where they are resident shall be Governed in their Payments thereof by a Certificate to that purpose, under the hand of Mr Robins. 6 Over and above the allowances aforesaid you are to discharge all the Expences he shall be at for himself Assistants and Servants, in going from place to place by Sea or Land, as well as all extraordinary Expences incurred by him, in the Execution of the Trust We have reposed in him, which said Expences not having be otherwise before paid him, are to be paid on his Certifying the particulars to you under his hand 7 That We may have a full & distinct View of all the Charges & Expence, that will attend the carrying our Engineers Schemes into execution, they are to be carried to Account under a New Head to be erected in your Books for that purpose. 8 You are to provide for Mr Robins and his	5: On removing from one settlement to another, the Council was to certify to what time Mr Robins and his assistants had respectively been paid their allowances. Failing such a certificate, the Governor and Council of the place where they were next resident were to be governed in their payments by a certificate to that purpose under the hand of Mr Robins. 6: Over and above the allowances aforesaid, the Council was to discharge all the expenses Robins was at for himself, his assistants and servants in going from place to place by sea or land, together with all extraordinary expenses he incurred in executing the trust the Court had reposed in him. Such expenses, if not otherwise paid him before, were to be paid on his certifying the particulars under his hand. 7: So that the Court might have a full and distinct view of all the charges and expenses attending the carrying of its engineer's schemes into execution, they were to be carried to account under a new head to be set up in the books for that purpose. 8: The Council was to provide for Mr Robins and his [...]. Interpretations The certificate system for Robins's pay, in paragraph 5, guarded against double payment as he moved between settlements. Each Council was to certify the date to which he and his assistants had been paid, and failing that the next was to rely on Robins's own certificate. Requiring a documentary record of payment carried from one station to the next ensured that a man drawing allowances at several places in succession could not be paid twice for the same period, applying to his peripatetic maintenance the same safeguard against overpayment that the Court's certificate and receipt practices provided throughout these letters. The separate accounting head required in paragraph 7 shows the Court determined to know exactly what its fortification programme cost. All charges of executing the engineer's schemes were to be gathered under a new head in the books. Isolating the whole expense of the works in a distinct account, rather than letting it merge into the general charges, gave the Court a clear and separable reckoning of an undertaking whose cost it had every reason to watch, matching its insistence elsewhere that each kind of charge be lodged at its proper head so that the Company's expenditure could be seen and controlled. The undertaking of Robins's travelling and extraordinary expenses, in paragraph 6, reflects the Court's readiness to bear the full cost of a service it valued while still requiring it to be vouched. His movements and unusual charges were to be met over and above his allowances, but only on his certifying the

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			particulars. Combining generous provision for a costly and important mission with the demand for an itemised account matched the Court's approach throughout these letters, willing to spend where the purpose warranted yet never dispensing with the documentary proof that kept even necessary expenditure accountable.
82	79	his Assistants a convenient Apartment or House in the Fort, or elsewhere, as may be most conducive to the Service, and agreeable to him. 9 Upon Mr Robins discharging his Assistants on his return to Europe, and their being thereupon, in consequence of the Tenth Paragraph of his Instructions, to be on the foot of Covenant Servants, They are then to enter into the usual Covenants, and write, to their Friends in England to give the customary Security. 10 We observe that Thomas Heath whom We sent out a Writer to be trained up under Mr Delavaux, is represented as not having a turn to the profession of an Engineer, & is therefore Stationed under the Accountant at Fort St David, We direct that Mr Robins have the Tryal of him & if he finds him incapable, or unwilling to assist him, that he be sent home on one of the first Ships 11 The several Mathematical Instruments, and other Articles provided for the Service of the Engineer, are to be left with the Governour & Council at any of our Settlements, as may be most convenient to him, on his Departure	The Council was to provide Mr Robins and his assistants a convenient apartment or house in the fort, or elsewhere as might be most conducive to the service and agreeable to him. 9: On Mr Robins discharging his assistants on his return to Europe, and their being thereupon, in consequence of the tenth paragraph of his instructions, on the footing of covenant servants, they were then to enter into the usual covenants and write to their friends in England to give the customary security. 10: The Court observed that Thomas Heath, whom it had sent out a writer to be trained up under Mr Delavaux, was represented as not having a turn to the profession of an engineer and was therefore stationed under the accountant at Fort St David. The Court directed that Mr Robins have the trial of him, and if he found him incapable or unwilling to assist him, that he be sent home on one of the first ships. 11: The several mathematical instruments and other articles provided for the engineer's service were to be left with the Governor and Council at whichever of the Company's settlements might be most convenient to Robins on his departure. Interpretations The absorption of the assistants into the covenanted service, in paragraph 9, completed the arrangement foreshadowed earlier for their future once the works were done. On their discharge from the engineering employment they became ordinary covenant servants, bound to enter the usual covenants and procure security from friends in England. Requiring them to give the standard bonds on passing into the regular establishment shows how thoroughly the Court subjected all its servants of trust to the same discipline of covenant and surety, so that men brought out for a special purpose were, on being retained, held to the identical obligations as those engaged in the ordinary way. The trial of Thomas Heath in paragraph 10 shows the Court willing to redirect a servant who proved unsuited to the work he was sent for. Trained as a writer toward the engineer's profession but found to have no turn for it, he had been placed under the accountant, and Robins was to try him and send him home if incapable or unwilling. Testing a man's fitness before either employing or dismissing him, rather than keeping him uselessly or turning him off without trial, reflects the practical management of servants throughout these letters, in which the Court sought to place each where he could be of use and to discharge only those who could not. The reversion of the instruments to a Council, in paragraph 11, repeated the safeguard already laid down for the same apparatus. Provided for the engineer's service, the mathematical instruments were on Robins's departure to be left with a settlement's government. Ensuring once more that valuable equipment furnished for a particular purpose returned to the Company when that purpose ended reflects the consistent care for its property that runs through these instructions, the Court taking pains that nothing of worth supplied for the works or the surveys should be carried off or lost when the service concluded.
83	80	Departure from India 12 We have appointed Robert Barrowcliffe a Smith and Israel Selfe a Carpenter to proceed with and be under the direction of our Engineer,	The instruments were to be left with the Governor and Council as might be most convenient to Robins on his departure from India.

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		they have Contracted to serve five Years, from the time of their Landing at any one of our Settlements, from which time they are to be paid Sixty Pounds Sterling 1^{p} Annum each, in full for their respective Services, when Mr Robins leaves India, they are to serve the remainder of their five Years, where they may be most usefull to the Company, you are to be Governed as to the Rate of Exchange, and the manner of paying them, according to the directions We have given with regard to Mr Robins and his Assistants in the preceding part of this Letter London the 8 December 1749 We are Your Loving Friends R Bootle John Payne Cha Gough Thos Phipps Abel Sonnereau John Hope Stephen Law W Willey Whitchcott Turner Cha Cutts Richd Linwood James Creed J Winter John Thornton Wm Baker Rich Chauncy R Drake W Mabbott Saml Feake J Raymond P Godfrey	12: The Court had appointed Robert Barrowcliffe, a smith, and Israel Selfe, a carpenter, to proceed with and be under the direction of its engineer. They had contracted to serve five years from the time of their landing at any one of the Company's settlements, from which time they were to be paid sixty pounds sterling a year each, in full for their respective services. When Mr Robins left India they were to serve the remainder of their five years where they might be most useful to the Company. The Council was to be governed as to the rate of exchange, and the manner of paying them, according to the directions the Court had given about Mr Robins and his assistants in the preceding part of this letter. The letter closed as from the Company's loving friends, signed at London on 8 December 1749 by R. Bootle, John Payne, Charles Gough, Thomas Phipps, Abel Fonnereau, John Hope, Stephen Law, W. Willy, Wichcott Turner, Charles Cutts, Nicholas Linwood, James Creed, J. Winter, John Thornton, William Baker, Richard Chauncy, R. Drake, W. Mabbott, Samuel Feake, J. Raymond and P. Godfrey. Interpretations The engagement of the smith and carpenter in paragraph 12 completed the practical establishment attending Robins, adding skilled tradesmen to the engineers and assistants already provided. Contracted for five years at sixty pounds each, they were to remain useful to the Company wherever placed after Robins left India. Furnishing the engineer general not only with technical assistants but with the artisans whose crafts the works required reflects the completeness with which the Court equipped its fortification programme, ensuring that the labour of skilled hands was secured for a fixed term rather than left to be found uncertainly on the spot. The continued usefulness required of the tradesmen after Robins's departure, in paragraph 12, shows the Court making the most of servants engaged for a particular commission. Their five-year term did not end with the engineer's mission but bound them to serve wherever the Company found them useful. Retaining skilled men for the full period of their contract, and directing their labour to the Company's advantage even after the purpose for which they came had passed, matched the Court's habitual care to waste no engaged servant, keeping able tradesmen within the establishment for the whole term their covenants secured. The reference back to Robins's own terms for the rate of exchange and manner of payment, in paragraph 12, shows the Court economising on instruction by applying a single settled scheme to all its engineering people. Rather than prescribe afresh how the tradesmen were to be paid, it directed the Council to follow the rules already laid down for Robins and his assistants. Governing the whole party by one consistent method of payment reflects the orderly administration these letters display, in which a rule once established was extended to like cases rather than multiplied, keeping the Company's dealings uniform and its accounts coherent.
84	81	Our Governour and Council of St Helena 1 The Ship <i>Suffolk</i> carried our last Letter under date of the 8th December 1749 since when We have received your several Advices of the 15 September 1749 the 6th 11th 13th 17th and 22nd February, the 12th 20th 21st March, the 2nd 12th 17th and 23 of April the 13th May, the 3rd 18th and 28th June the 5th and 7th of July. 2 We refer you to Lists in this Packet for the Shipping appointed to proceed for the several parts of India this Season, as	Our Governor and Council of St Helena 1: The ship <i>Suffolk</i> carried the Court's last letter under date of 8 December 1749. Since then the Court had received the Council's several advices dated 15 September 1749, 6, 7, 13, 17 and 22 February, 12, 20, 21 March, 2, 12, 17 and 23 April, 13 May, 3, 14 and 28 June and 5 and 7 July. 2: The Court referred the Council to lists in this packet for the shipping appointed to proceed to the several parts of India this season, and likewise for the arrival and departure of ships since the last was sent by the <i>Suffolk</i>.

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		likewise for the arrivall and Departure of Ships since the last was sent you by the Suffolk. 3 The Committee of Secrecy for appointing Signals for the Security of the Companys Ships this Season consists of the following Gentlemen Vizt Richard Chauncy Esqr Harry Gough Esqr and Samuel Feake Esqr 4 We now consign to you in the Ship <i>Onslow</i> Capt Thomas Hinde Commander Margin Notes: Advices received Lists of Ships sent Secret Committee	3: The committee of secrecy for appointing signals for the security of the Company's ships this season consisted of the following gentlemen, Richard Chauncy, Harry Gough and Samuel Feake, esquires. 4: The Court now consigned to the Council on the ship <i>Onslow</i> under Captain Thomas Hinde, commander [...].
85	82	a Cargo of Goods. Stores and Necessarys according to the Enclosed Invoice. and Bill of Loading. 5 You will observe. by the Charterparty, that there is the usual Covenant for the Company to pay Demorage. for all the time. this Ship is detained at St Helena, on Account of her unloading beyond Ten Working days. you must therefore be particularly careful that she is delivered within the said time, and if you find any Neglect or Delay in the Commander or in case he should make any Unnecessary Stay after the expiration of the said Ten days, you are to protest against him for all Damages that may arise, therefrom. 6 As soon as the Ship is delivered you must give the Commander Orders to proceed forthwith to Fort Marlborough on the West Coast of Sumatra, agreeable to the Instructions he has received from Us. and you are to forward the Charterparty to the Deputy Governour and Council there. 7 If you shall want any Money for the Necessary Expences of the Island. you have Our leave. to take one. of the Chests of Margin Notes: Supplye sent according to Invoice expedition must be used in unlading the Ship within the time limited the Capt to be protested against if he makes any unnecessary delay the Capt. must have orders to proceed to Fort Marlborough permitted to take a Chest	A cargo of goods, stores and necessities was consigned according to the enclosed invoice and bill of lading. 5: The charter party carried the usual covenant that the Company would pay demurrage for any time the <i>Onslow</i> was held at St Helena beyond ten working days on account of her unloading. The Governor and Council were therefore to take particular care that she was cleared within that time. If they found any neglect or delay in the commander, or if he made any unnecessary stay after the ten days had run out, they were to protest against him for all the damages that might follow. 6: As soon as the ship was unloaded, the Governor and Council were to order the commander to proceed at once to Fort Marlborough on the west coast of Sumatra, in keeping with the instructions he had already received from the Court. They were also to forward the charter party to the Deputy Governor and Council there. 7: Should the Governor and Council need any money for the island's necessary expenses, the Court gave them leave to take one of the chests of [...]. Interpretations The charter party was the contract of hire between the Company and the <i>Onslow</i>'s owners, and the demurrage clause was its financial teeth. Demurrage was a daily penalty the Company owed the shipowners for every day their vessel sat idle beyond the agreed ten working days of unloading, so a slow turnaround at the island cost the Company real money. This explains why the Court pressed the island so hard on the ten-day limit and on formal protest: a protest lodged in time shifted the liability onto the commander where the delay was his fault, and protected the Company against the owners' later demand. The insistence that a protest be made in the time rather than merely asserted afterwards matches the lay-day discipline the Court had been enforcing on the island since the 1720s, where the loss of a formal protest had repeatedly left the Company answerable for a captain's overstay. Fort Marlborough on the west coast of Sumatra was the Company's pepper settlement at Bencoolen, subordinate in rank to St Helena's sister presidencies but a fixed onward stage for this ship. The direction to send the charter party ahead to its Deputy Governor and Council let that settlement hold the commander to the same contractual terms on the next leg, so the hire agreement travelled with the ship and no station along the route could plead ignorance of its covenants.
86	83	Treasure. consigned on this Ship to Fort Marlborough. for which. you must give. a Receipt to the Commander. and the Necessary advice. to Our Deputy Governour and Council. 8 You have this last Season in general given Us very particular Advices of the Arrival. and Departure. of Shipping. and of other things necessary for our Notice, which must be continued by every Conveyance. that offers. 9 The Prince William having	The chest of treasure was consigned on this ship to Fort Marlborough. The Governor and Council were to take a receipt from the commander for it and to send the necessary advice to the Deputy Governor and Council there. 8: Over the past season the Governor and Council had generally sent the Court very particular accounts of the arrival and departure of shipping, along with other matters the Court needed to know. This was to be kept up by every conveyance that offered.

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		left the Edgbaston. and Tavistock. both at your place We expected the Commanders of the Two latter Ships would have given Us an account of their Cargos agreeable. to Our Instructions to them. but to Our very great Disappointment. Captain Steedman took no Notice. of the same. in his Letter. and Captain Cush did not write to Us at all. you must therefore. for the future. upon the Arrival of every Ship acquaint the Commanders that We expect as they Value Our Future Favour. that they forward to Us by the first Conveyance. from St Helena. Copys Margin Notes: the Capt. must have a Receipt for the same Last Seasons Advices approved of. & must be Continued expected the Commanders would have sent an Account of their Cargos home agreeable to their Instructions must upon the Arrival of every Ship acquaint the Commanders that they must forward a Copy of their Bills of Loading home	9: The <i>Prince William</i> had left the <i>Edgbaston</i> and the <i>Tavistock</i> both at the island. The Court had expected that the commanders of these two ships would send home an account of their cargoes, in keeping with its instructions, but to its very great disappointment Captain Studeman took no notice of this in his letter and Captain Cush did not write at all. On the arrival of every ship in future, therefore, the Governor and Council were to tell the commanders that the Court expected them, as they valued its future favour, to forward a copy of their bills of lading by the first conveyance from St Helena. Interpretations A bill of lading was the master's signed acknowledgement of the goods actually loaded aboard, and a copy sent home ahead of the ship gave the Court an independent check on what each vessel carried. Because the ship itself might be delayed, captured or lost, this advance paper let London know what to expect and, more pointedly, let it audit the cargo against the invoice for any private trade or short shipment. The Court's reliance on the island as a forwarding point for this intelligence explains the sharp reaction to two commanders who failed to comply: St Helena was the one place on the homeward route where such paper could be gathered and sent on by a faster ship. Speculations The Court chose to enforce the reporting rule through the island rather than through the delinquent commanders directly, turning the Governor and Council into the standing instrument of compliance. The obvious course, given that Captain Studeman had ignored the requirement and Captain Cush had not written at all, was to pursue those two men. Instead the Court passed over any direct penalty and laid a general duty on the island to warn every future commander on arrival, holding out the threat of lost favour as the lever. The reason is visible on the page: the commanders were scattered and beyond easy reach once at sea, whereas every homeward ship touched at St Helena, making the island the only fixed point at which the rule could be pressed on all of them alike.
87	84	of their Bills of Loading. and dispatch other to Us by their Purser from the first Port they arrive. at in England. and as an Early Information of the Cargos of the returning Shipping is of great Importance. to Us. you are upon the Arrival of every Commander to require a Sight of their Bills of Loading an abstract whereof must for the future. be sent by every Conveyance. 10 We observe by your Diary that on the 3d of July. an old Long Boat and a Pinace. were drove out to Sea so far as to be always to go after them. they must either have been designedly cast loose. or carelessly fastened We expect to hear you have. made a Strict Enquiry into the same. and Justice done Us according to the Nature of the Case. 11 We approve of your Buying a Launch of Captain Cush. and you may. whenever you can purchase Boats of any of the Commanders. at reasonable rates. procure what are necessary from time to time. as it is very difficult. for Us to supply you from England. Margin Notes: must require a sight of their Bills of Loading Observed that an old Long Boat was drove out to Sea. expected the been designedly cast loose. Strict Enquiry made into the same approved of. buying a Launch leave to purchase Boats of the Commanders	The commanders were also to send copies of their bills of lading home by their pursers from the first port they reached in England. Because early information of the cargo of the returning shipping was of great importance to the Court, the Governor and Council were, on the arrival of every commander, to require a sight of the bills of lading. An abstract of them was to be sent home in future by every conveyance. 10: The Court noted from the island diary that on 3 July an old longboat and a pinnace had been driven out to sea so far that it was unsafe to go after them. These boats must either have been set loose on purpose or made fast carelessly. The Court expected that the Governor and Council had looked into the matter and dealt with it according to the circumstances. 11: The Court approved the purchase of a launch from Captain Cush. The Governor and Council were free to buy boats from any of the commanders at reasonable rates whenever they could, and to obtain what they needed from time to time, since it was very difficult for the Court to supply them from England. Interpretations The loss of the two boats mattered enough for London to raise it because small craft were the island's only means of working cargo and passengers between ship and shore across an open, harbourless road, and they could not readily be replaced from England. The Court's suspicion that the boats were either cut loose deliberately or made fast carelessly points to the two institutional concerns behind the note: possible dishonest disposal of Company property, and the slack custody of stores that the Court had policed on the island for decades. Its approval of buying boats from

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			passing commanders reflects the same practical difficulty from the other side, since purchase on the spot from the homeward fleet was cheaper and quicker than shipping hulls thousands of miles.
88	85	12 It gives Us pleasure to observe. that you convinced Admiral Boscawen of the impossibility of supplying his Majesty's returning Squadron with the Beef required by him, without greatly distressing Our expected Shipping. and the Island in general. 13 We have complied with your Indent in as full a manner as possible. by this Ship and for the particulars refer you to the Invoice. and Bill of Loading. 14 If the Walls of the Plantation House are as firm and Substantial as you represent them. We are of your Opinion. that the adding two Rooms of twenty feet Square on each Side of them will make the House. sufficiently large and Convenient. and according to this Plan. We have sent you as many Materials as this Ship can conveniently carry. and shall send. the remainder next Season. But if upon a further examination you shall find the Walls not in so good condition as Substantial as you apprehended. you are liberty to build a New House. according to the Plan transmitted Us. their appearing but little difference. in the Margin Notes: approved of. convincing Admiral Boscawen of the impossibility of supplying his Squadron with the Beef he required Indent Complied with. according to Invoice of the Walls of the Plantation House is as good as represented. approve of the Addition of the Walls should not prove as Substantial as expected. leave to Build a New House	12: The Court was pleased to note that the Governor and Council had convinced Admiral Boscawen it was impossible to supply his Majesty's returning squadron with the beef he required without greatly distressing the Company's expected shipping and the island in general. 13: The Court had met the island's indent as fully as possible by this ship. For the particulars it referred the Governor and Council to the invoice and bill of lading. 14: If the walls of the plantation house were as firm and substantial as the Governor and Council represented them, the Court agreed that adding two rooms of twenty feet square on each side would make the house large and convenient enough. It had sent as many materials for this plan as the ship could conveniently carry, and would send the rest next season. If on further examination the walls proved not to be in as good condition as had been supposed, the Governor and Council were free to build a new house to the plan sent out. Since there appeared to be little difference in the [...]. Interpretations Admiral Boscawen commanded the naval squadron returning from the East, and the beef question turned on the island's narrow victualling capacity. St Helena's cattle stock was small and slow to recover, so a large naval demand for salt or fresh beef could strip the reserves needed for the Company's own homeward ships and for the inhabitants. The Court's satisfaction that the island had talked the admiral out of his full demand reflects a standing tension of the period, in which the Company's dead-charge refreshment station had to serve the Royal Navy's wartime needs without exhausting itself, a balance the Court had earlier tried to strike by directing that royal ships be supplied only so far as the island could afford. The plantation house was the Governor's official residence, and the choice between repairing and rebuilding it had been left deliberately open across successive despatches. The Court's reluctance to commit to a full rebuild, sending only part of the materials and deferring the rest, reflects its long caution over the heavy cost of building works on the island. By tying the decision to the actual state of the walls and to a settled plan, the Court kept the expense under its own control rather than the island's. Speculations The Court left the repair-or-rebuild decision to the island's own inspection of the walls, rather than settling it in London. The obvious course, having received the island's report that the walls were firm, was simply to authorise the two added rooms and send the materials for that work alone. Instead the Court hedged, shipping materials for the extension yet expressly licensing a complete new house if closer examination showed the walls to be worse than supposed. The reason lies in the distance and the unreliable report: London could not see the walls, and a wrong bet either way meant either wasted materials or a patched extension on a failing structure, so it devolved the final judgement to the men on the spot while fixing the plan and the cost limits itself.
89	86	Quantity and Nature of the Materials, between your Indent formed upon the Plan for Rebuilding and that for the proposed Addition and repairs. You will find by the Invoice. that We have sent Plain Tyles, instead of Pan Tyles as they do not take up so much room in the Ship. and will answer the purpose. better. We have likewise. sent some Sheet Lead for the Redge of the House. instead of Tyles.	Since there appeared to be little difference in the quantity and nature of the materials between the indent drawn up for rebuilding and that for the proposed addition and repairs, the Court had made its choice on that footing. The Governor and Council would see from the invoice that plain tiles had been sent instead of pantiles, as they took up less room in the ship and would answer the purpose better. Some sheet lead had also been sent for the ridge of the house instead of tiles.

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		15 You always mention at the beginning of every Consultation that the last was read approved and Signed. you must for the future add thereto the date of such Consultation because. as you frequently send them over in small Sections. We are at a loss to know how to place them in their proper Order. 16 You supplied Capt. Ulrick Wortman Commander of a Danish Ship with £230. out of Our Cash. and took his Bills on Mr John Collet Merchant of London for £299. Payable to Us. the first Bill. by the loss of the Ship never came to Our hands. the Second is mentioned in the List of the Packet by the Royal George. as being transmitted to Us Margin Notes: Plain Tyles sent instead of Pan Sheet Lead sent for the Redge of the House must in every Consultation add the Date of the last mistake made in remitting the Bills of Exchange	15: The Governor and Council always noted at the head of each consultation that the last one had been read, approved and signed. In future they were to add the date of that last consultation. Because they frequently sent the consultations over in small batches, the Court was otherwise at a loss to know how to place them in their proper order. 16: The Governor and Council had supplied Captain Ulrick Wortman, commander of a Danish ship, with £230 0s 0d out of the Company's cash and had taken his bills on Mr John Collet, merchant of London, for £299 0s 0d payable to the Court. The first bill never reached the Court through the loss of the ship. The second was noted in the packet list by the <i>Royal George</i> as having been transmitted to the Court. Interpretations The instruction to date the last consultation was a filing device, not a trivial one. Because the island sent its consultation records home in small instalments carried by different ships, the Court in London had to reassemble them into a continuous run, and without a back-reference to the date of the previous entry a batch could not be slotted into its place in the sequence. This reflects the standing problem of governing a remote station by paper that arrived out of order and in pieces, which the Court had long tried to manage through registers, abstracts and cross-references. The Wortman transaction shows the island acting as a banker to foreign shipping. The Governor and Council advanced cash to a Danish commander and took in exchange his bills of exchange drawn on a London merchant, payable to the Company, so that the money lent at the island would be recovered in England. The practice let the Company supply a passing ship's needs while shifting repayment to a safe London counterparty, but the loss of the first bill with its ship exposes the risk in the system: a bill was only as secure as the vessel carrying it, which is why bills were commonly drawn in duplicate and sent by separate conveyances so that a second copy survived to be presented for payment.
90	87	by that Ship. but it was not found therein. so that We run the hazard of being long kept out of this Money. if not of losing it. for want of being able to make a Regular Claim. had not Mr Collet very kindly acquainted Us. that the said 2d Bill was by mistake. transmitted to him and soon after paid the amount of it. We mention this Instance. that you may for the future be more careful in your Money Transactions. 17 Captain Joseph Tolson having a Claim. as a Bond Creditor. upon the late Governour Goodwins Estate for the Principal Sum of £100. and Interest thereon at. the rate of six p Cent p Annum from the 15th January 1740/1 to the 18th July 1750 being £57.1. amounting together to the Sum of One Hundred and fifty Seven Pounds One Shilling. We have paid him that Sum upon his assigning over the Bond to our Secretary. in trust for the use of the Company; you are therefore hereby directed to debt Mr Goodwins Estate on your Books. for the Amount accordingly. 18 Very little has been Collected for some time past. from the Debtors to Mr Goodwins Estate. you must therefore. call upon every one of Margin Notes: must in future. be more careful in Money Transactions Govr Goodwins Estate to be debited the Sum of £157.1. paid Capt Tolson	The second bill was not found in that packet either, so the Court ran the hazard of being long kept out of the money, if not of losing it altogether, for want of being able to make a regular claim. This was avoided only because Mr Collet very kindly told the Court that the second bill had reached him by mistake, and he soon afterwards paid the amount of it. The Court set down this instance so that the Governor and Council would take more care in their money dealings in future. 17: Captain Joseph Tolson held a claim as a bond creditor on the estate of the late Governor Goodwin for the principal sum of £100 0s 0d, with interest at six per cent a year from 15 January 1749 to 18 July 1750, amounting to £5 7s 4d, the two together making £157 1s 0d. The Court had paid him that sum on his assigning the bond over to the Company secretary, in trust for the Company's use. The Governor and Council were therefore directed to debit Goodwin's estate on their books for the amount. 18: Very little had been collected for some time past from the debtors to Goodwin's estate. The Governor and Council were therefore to call upon [...]. Interpretations The Tolson bond shows how the Court settled the late Governor's affairs by stepping into the shoes of his creditors. Rather than leave the estate exposed to a scatter of individual bondholders, the Company paid off Tolson's bond and took an assignment of it, so that the debt was now owed to the Company itself and could be recovered through the island's books against Goodwin's estate. This consolidation of claims into the Company's hands matches the standing effort recorded in the winding-up of Goodwin's estate, where the Court had already bought his James Valley house in part of his

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			debt and debited his estate with other large sums it had discharged on his behalf. The £157 1s 0d owed to Tolson comprised the £100 0s 0d principal of the bond and £5 7s 4d of interest at six per cent, which was the ordinary legal ceiling on interest in England at this date and the standard rate the Company itself allowed on balances lodged with it. The precise reckoning of interest across a fixed period, from 15 January 1749 to 18 July 1750, reflects the exactness with which the Court accounted for the estate, since every sum paid out on Goodwin's behalf had to be recoverable to the last shilling from the assets and debtors of the estate before any legacy could be met.
21	88	them to pay what they respectively owe. as soon as possibly. that an End may be made of this troublesome. Affair. and in the mean time you must transmit to Us the Best Estimate you can make of what is owing from and to the said Estate. particularly distinguishing every Item. 19 We have paid to the Executor of the late. Mr Dobie. the Sum of two Hundred and Fifty Nine Pounds. Eleven Shillings. and Seven Pence half Penny. being what you advised. Us. was the Nett Amount of such part of his Effects. as were Sold at Publick. Auction. and have delivered to him the Papers. Seals. and Rings. received in a small Box by the. Salisbury. as to the Gown and Cassock. and Books undisposed of. you are either to Sell them. or send them to England. as you shall judge most for the Advantage. of the Deceased Estate. 20 You have. very well Observed our Orders. for enquiring after Deserters from Our Settlements in India. as well as in using your best endeavours. to prevent the desertion of the Margin Notes: the Debtors to the Estate of Govr Goodwin to be called upon to pay their respective debt the Amount of Mr Dobies Effects paid to his Executor approved of. the Enquiry. after Deserters. & must be Continued	The debtors to Governor Goodwin's estate were to be called upon to pay what they each owed as soon as possible, so that an end might be made of this troublesome affair. In the meantime the Governor and Council were to send home the best estimate they could make of what was owing from and to the estate, setting out every item separately. 19: The Court had paid the executor of the late Mr Dobie the sum of £259 11s 7d, being what the Governor and Council had reckoned to be the net amount of such part of his effects as were sold at public auction. It had also delivered to the executor the papers, seals and rings received in a small box by the <i>Salisbury</i>. As to the gown, cassock and books still undisposed of, the Governor and Council were either to sell them or send them to England, whichever they judged most to the advantage of the deceased's estate. 20: The Court noted with approval that the Governor and Council had followed its orders in enquiring after deserters from the settlements in India, and in using their best efforts to prevent the desertion of the military. [...]. Interpretations The gown and cassock among Dobie's effects mark him as the island's chaplain, and the careful handling of his estate reflects the Company's duty as the effective probate authority for those who died in its service far from England. The net proceeds of the goods sold at auction were remitted to the executor in England, while the personal papers, seals and rings, being items of trust or sentiment rather than saleable stock, were sent home intact in a sealed box. The discretion left to the island over the unsold clerical vestments and books turned on getting the best return for the estate, since these specialised articles might fetch more sold on the spot to an incoming minister or shipped home to a wider market. The enquiry after deserters from the Indian settlements shows St Helena working as a checkpoint in a wider desertion-control system spanning the Company's eastern establishments. Because every homeward ship touched at the island, it was the natural place to intercept men who had absconded from Fort St George, Bombay or Bengal and taken passage west. The Court's approval, coupled with its concern for the island's own military, reflects the chronic difficulty of holding a small garrison together in an isolated posting, where the loss of even a few trained soldiers weakened the defence and where passing ships offered a constant temptation to slip away.
22	89	Military from St Helena. the same care must be constantly continued. 21 We would have you take all Opportunity of Buying Beef and Pork of the Commanders of Our returning Shipping. provided it is good. and to be had on reasonable Terms. and you must always observe to expend that part of the Salt Provisions remaining in the Stores first. which are in most danger of Spoiling by being kept. 22 We observe the Illuse. some few	The same care over the military at St Helena was to be kept up constantly. 21: The Court wished the Governor and Council to take every chance of buying beef and pork from the commanders of the returning shipping, provided it was good and could be had on reasonable terms. They were always to use up first that part of the salt provisions in the stores which was in most danger of spoiling by being kept. 22: The Court had noted the misuse a few designing men among the planters had made of the orders given

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		designing Men among the Planters have made of the Orders we gave last Year. with regard to the not limiting the Price of Beef to be sold at Market. or to Shipping. and We direct that you acquaint Us from time to time with the Names of such Persons who shall distress Our Garrison by unreasonably raising the Price. of their Provisions. or not sending their Proper Quotas to Market. and you may let them know that We will shew Our Resentment in such a manner as will Effectually prevent all Impositions of that kind for the future. 23 As Mr Goodwin on account of his Ill state of Health declines proceeding to the Margin Notes: all Opportunity to be taken of Buying Salt Provisions of the Commanders that in most danger of Spoiling to be first Expended Resent the ill use the Planters made with regard to the Price of Beef not being limited the Names of such Persons to be acquainted with such Resentment. will be Shewn. will Effectually prevent further impositions	the year before, which had left the price of beef unrestricted whether sold at market or to shipping. It directed the Governor and Council to send home from time to time the names of those who distressed the garrison by raising the price of their provisions unreasonably, or by failing to send their proper quotas to market. The Governor and Council might let such men know that the Court would show its displeasure in a way that would effectively prevent all impositions of that kind in future. 23: Mr Goodwin, on account of his ill health, declined proceeding to the west [...]. Interpretations The order to spend the oldest salt provisions first reflects the practical limits of preserving meat before refrigeration. Salt beef and pork kept only so long before turning, so a store that ignored the age of its barrels risked losing the very reserves it held against a lean season or a naval demand. The instruction to buy fresh supplies from passing commanders while running down the old stock shows the Company managing its victualling reserve as a rotating stock, topped up from the homeward fleet rather than shipped from England. The beef-price dispute exposes a standing conflict between the Company as garrison paymaster and the planters as its suppliers. Having freed the price the year before, the Court found a few planters exploiting the open market by charging the garrison unreasonably or withholding their quotas, and it moved to discipline them by name. The mechanism of control is telling: rather than fix a price, the Court threatened to record and punish named offenders, using the planters' dependence on the Company's continuing favour, in land, credit and office, as the lever against profiteering. This matches the long-running tension over provisioning in which the island's small body of producers held a degree of leverage that the Court repeatedly worked to check. Speculations The Court chose to police the beef price by naming and threatening individual offenders rather than by reimposing a fixed maximum. The obvious course, once it emerged that the previous year's freeing of the price had let a few planters gouge the garrison, was simply to restore a price cap. Instead the Court kept the market open and fell back on targeted displeasure against named men who overcharged or withheld supply. The reason shows in the wording: the problem was confined to a few designing men rather than the whole body of planters, and a blanket cap would have penalised the compliant majority and discouraged supply to market, so the Court preferred to leave the price free and discipline only those who abused it.
23	90	them to pay what they respectively owe. as soon as possible. that an End may be made of this troublesome. Affair. and in the mean time you must transmit to Us the Best Estimate you can make of what is owing from and to the said Estate. particularly distinguishing every Item. 19 We have paid to the Executor of the late. Mr Dobie. the Sum of two Hundred and Fifty Nine Pounds. Eleven Shillings. and Seven Pence half Penny. being what you advised. Us. was the Nett Amount of such part of his Effects. as were Sold at Publick. Auction. and have delivered to him the Papers. Seals. and Rings. received in a small Box by the. Salisbury. as to the Gown and Cassock. and Books undisposed of. you are either to Sell them. or send them to England. as you shall judge most for the Advantage. of the Deceased Estate. 20 You have. very well Observed our Orders. for enquiring after Deserters from Our	The debtors to Governor Goodwin's estate were to be called upon to pay what they each owed as soon as possible, so that an end might be made of this troublesome affair. In the meantime the Governor and Council were to send home the best estimate they could make of what was owing from and to the estate, setting out every item separately. 19: The Court had paid the executor of the late Mr Dobie the sum of £259 11s 7d, being what the Governor and Council had reckoned to be the net amount of such part of his effects as were sold at public auction. It had also delivered to the executor the papers, seals and rings received in a small box by the <i>Salisbury</i>. As to the gown, cassock and books still undisposed of, the Governor and Council were either to sell them or send them to England, whichever they judged most to the advantage of the deceased's estate. 20: The Court noted with approval that the Governor and Council had followed its orders in enquiring after deserters from the settlements in India, and in using their best efforts to prevent the desertion of the military. [...].

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		Settlements in India. as well as in using your best endeavours. to prevent the desertion of the Margin Notes: the Debtors to the Estate of Govr Goodwin to be called upon to pay their respective debt the Amount of Mr Dobies Effects paid to his Executor	
<u>24</u>	91	Military from St Helena. the same care must be constantly continued. 21 We would have you take all Opportunity of Buying Beef and Pork of the Commanders of Our returning Shipping. provided it is good. and to be had on reasonable Terms. and you must always observe to expend that part of the Salt Provisions remaining in the Stores first. which are in most danger of Spoiling by being kept. 22 We observe the Illuse. some few designing Men among the Planters have made of the Orders we gave last Year. with regard to the not limiting the Price of Beef to be sold at Market. or to Shipping. and We direct that you acquaint Us from time to time. with the Names of such Persons who shall distress Our Garrison by unreasonably raising the Price. of their Provisions. or not sending their Proper Quotas to Market. and you may let them know that We will shew Our Resentment in such a manner as will Effectually prevent all Impositions of that kind for the future. 23 As Mr Goodwin on account of his Ill state of Health declines proceeding to the Margin Notes: all Opportunity to be taken of Buying Salt Provisions of the Commanders that in most danger of Spoiling to be first Expended Resent the ill use the Planters made with regard to the Price of Beef not being limited the Names of such Persons to be acquainted with such Resentment. will be Shewn. will Effectually prevent further impositions	The same care over the military at St Helena was to be kept up constantly. 21: The Court wished the Governor and Council to take every chance of buying beef and pork from the commanders of the returning shipping, provided it was good and could be had on reasonable terms. They were always to use up first that part of the salt provisions in the stores which was in most danger of spoiling by being kept. 22: The Court had noted the misuse a few designing men among the planters had made of the orders given the year before, which had left the price of beef unrestricted whether sold at market or to shipping. It directed the Governor and Council to send home from time to time the names of those who distressed the garrison by raising the price of their provisions unreasonably, or by failing to send their proper quotas to market. The Governor and Council might let such men know that the Court would show its displeasure in a way that would effectively prevent all impositions of that kind in future. 23: Mr Goodwin, on account of his ill health, declined proceeding to the west [...].
<u>25</u>	92	West Coast. according to Our Appointment last Year by the Suffolk. We consent to his continuing in Our Service at St Helena. in the same manner as if no such Directions had been given. 24 As We are disappointed in Our Hopes of having your Garrison compleated by the returning Soldiery under the Command of Admiral Boscawen. it appearing that no more than Sixteen of them were prevailed on to enter. We shall send as many as We can on the Onslow consistent with Our Supplying the West Coast. where they are much wanted. and what more are necessary by every other Opportunity. 25 We accordingly now send you Thirty Three Men. agreable. to the Muster Roll of them in the Packet. 26 Observing what a number of the Military have nearly serv'd their Contracted Time, and considering the Difficulty as well as the great Expence of supplying their places with Fresh Recruits from hence. We are come to a Resolution to make it worth such Soldiers Margin Notes: Consent to Mr Goodwins continuing at St Helena As many Soldiers as possible will be sent on the Onslow 33 Soldiers sent Observe that many of the Military have serv'd near their Contracted time	Mr Goodwin declined proceeding to the west coast, which the Court had appointed the year before by the <i>Suffolk</i>, because of his ill health. The Court consented to his staying in its service at St Helena just as if no such directions had been given. 24: The Court was disappointed in its hope of seeing the garrison brought up to strength by the returning soldiers under Admiral Boscawen, since it appeared that no more than sixteen of them could be prevailed on to enter. It would send as many as it could on the <i>Onslow</i>, so far as was consistent with supplying the west coast, where they were much wanted, and would send whatever more were needed by every other opportunity. 25: The Court accordingly now sent thirty-three men, as shown by the muster roll of them in the packet. 26: The Court had observed how many of the soldiers had nearly served their contracted time, and it considered both the difficulty and the great expense of replacing them with fresh recruits from England. It had therefore resolved to make it worth such soldiers' while [...]. Interpretations The recruitment shortfall exposes the Company's dependence on chance drafts of men to keep two separate garrisons manned. The soldiers returning under Admiral Boscawen were a windfall pool the Court hoped to tap, but only sixteen would re-engage, and the thirty-three actually shipped had to be divided between St Helena and the more pressing needs of the west coast of Sumatra. This competition between stations for a thin supply of trained men reflects the chronic weakness of a garrison that could not easily be reinforced from home, where a shortfall in one season

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			had to be made up piecemeal by whatever ships and men came to hand. The concern over soldiers nearing the end of their contracted term points to the approaching decision the Court was about to announce in the next paragraph. Enlistments ran for fixed periods, and a cluster of men reaching the end of theirs at once threatened to hollow out the garrison faster than recruits could arrive from England. Faced with the cost and delay of shipping fresh men thousands of miles, the Court judged it cheaper to induce the seasoned soldiers already on the island to stay on, treating experienced manpower on the spot as more valuable than untried replacements sent out at great expense.
96	93	while. to engage again to serve. Us. and We do hereby empower you to give. each able Man who has served the time he contracted. for a Bounty of Ten Pound. instead of the Five Guineas usually allowed) upon his relisting for the further term of five Years. 27 And as a further Encouragement. for the Private. Men to continue. in Our Service. you are hereby directed to encrease. the Pay of every Sentinel to Ten Pence a day to commence. upon the Receipt of this Letter. 28 One John Gold who was a Soldier at St Helena. and came home in the Ship <i>Doddington</i>, complains heavily of several hardships sustained by him during his being on the Island. which are set forth in a Letter addressed by him to Our Committee of Shipping a Copy of which We send in this Packet. and We direct that you make a Particular Enquiry into the Truth of the several Allegations therein contained and report the same to Us in your next Advices. that if the Man has be really injured. he may have. a Suitable. Satisfaction made him Margin Notes: £10. allowed for Bounty Money Centinels pay to be encreased to 10d p day John Golds complaint to be Enquired into	The Court resolved to make it worth such soldiers' while to engage again in its service. It empowered the Governor and Council to give each able man who had served his contracted time a bounty of £10 0s 0d, instead of the five guineas usually allowed, on his re-enlisting for a further term of five years. 27: As a further encouragement to the private men to continue in the Company's service, the Governor and Council were directed to raise the pay of every sentinel to tenpence a day, to begin on receipt of this letter. 28: One John Gold, who had been a soldier at St Helena and had come home in the ship <i>Doddington</i>, complained heavily of several hardships he had suffered while on the island. These were set out in a letter he had addressed to the Court's committee of shipping, a copy of which was sent in this packet. The Court directed the Governor and Council to make a particular enquiry into the truth of the several allegations in it and to report back in their next advices, so that if the man had really been injured he might have suitable satisfaction made to him. Interpretations The re-enlistment bounty and the pay rise together show the Court buying continuity of service with money rather than relying on fresh drafts. Raising the bounty from five guineas to £10 0s 0d, and lifting the daily rate to tenpence, put a concrete price on keeping a seasoned soldier for a further five years, set against the far greater cost of recruiting, equipping and shipping a replacement from England. The measures were framed as encouragement to the private men in particular, the rank most likely to slip away when their term ran out, and they mark the practical arithmetic of a remote garrison where trained men on the spot were worth paying to retain. The John Gold complaint reveals a channel of accountability that ran from the ordinary soldier all the way back to the Court in London. A former private who felt wronged could address a written grievance to the committee of shipping, and the Court would take it seriously enough to order the island to investigate and report, with redress promised if the complaint proved true. This willingness to reopen a discharged soldier's case from London reflects the standing due process expectation the Court had long imposed on the island, under which even the humblest party was to be heard and his grievance examined on its merits rather than dismissed by those he complained against.
97	94	29 We approve of your Allowing Lieutenant Kirkpatrick half pay for acting in the Station of Adjutant since the decease of William Hayes. and We empower you to fill up that Post with any Person you shall think best qualified for it. 30 And as you recommend Mr Sample. One of the Gunners Mates. as deserving Our Favour in his Particular Station. We direct that he be Gunners First Mate. and that he be allowed a Salary of Twenty Eight Pounds a Year. which is to commence. on the	29: The Court approved the Governor and Council allowing Lieutenant Kirkpatrick half pay for acting as adjutant since the death of William Hayes. It empowered them to fill that post with whoever they thought best qualified for it. 30: As the Governor and Council recommended Mr Sample, one of the gunner's mates, as deserving the Court's favour in his particular station, the Court directed that he be made gunner's first mate and be allowed a salary of £28 0s 0d a year, to begin on the arrival of this ship.

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		Arrival of this Ship. 31 James Carey whom We appointed Gardener last Year. altered his mind. just upon the departure of the Ship. We have now chosen James Sheridan (who takes his passage on the <i>Onslow</i>) upon the same terms as Carey Vizt. to serve us Five Years at the Salary of Forty Pounds a year. to commence from the time of his going on board at Gravesend and to have his Diet with the Governours Servants. or Reasonable. Board Wages when the Governours Family is Absent. and upon Margin Notes: approved of allowing Lt Kirkpatrick half the Adjutants Pay liberty to fill up that post Samples Salary augmented to £28. a year James Sheridan appointed gardener at the Salary of £40. a year	31: James Carey, whom the Court had appointed gardener the year before, changed his mind just as the ship was leaving. The Court had now chosen James Sheridan, who took his passage on the <i>Onslow</i>, on the same terms as Carey, to serve five years at a salary of £40 0s 0d a year. His salary was to begin from the time he went on board at Gravesend. He was to have his diet with the Governor's servants, or reasonable board wages when the Governor's family was absent, and on [...]. Interpretations The gardener's post carried an unusually generous package for a single specialist, which reflects how much the island depended on skilled cultivation it could not raise from its own people. At £40 0s 0d a year with diet found or board wages in lieu, a five-year term and salary running from the day he boarded in England, the gardener was paid on a scale close to a junior councillor, because the success of the yam grounds, vegetable plots and imported plantings bore directly on the island's ability to feed itself and to refresh the passing fleet. The trouble of engaging Sheridan only after Carey withdrew at the last moment shows the difficulty of persuading a suitable man to commit to so remote and long a posting. The provision of diet with the Governor's servants, or board wages when the family was away, formed part of the specialist's real remuneration alongside the cash salary. On an island where imported provisions were dear and irregular, being fed at the Company's table was a substantial benefit, and the alternative of board wages ensured the man was not left unprovided when the household dispersed. This careful spelling out of maintenance reflects the standing practice of the period, in which the true value of a servant's place lay as much in his keep as in his stated salary.
98	95	the Expiration of that Term. the Company to pay his passage home. 32 We have sent Thirty Recruits on this Ship for Our Settlements on the West Coast. where they are extremely wanted. you are therefore on no pretence. whatsoever. to detain one of them at St Helena. 33 The Duke of Cumberland bound to Fort St David. and China was unfortunately stranded on the Bay of Ayofe. near Cape De Verde. on January last. and the Grantham then in her Company very narrowly escaped the same fate. as soon as We were acquainted with the Scituation of the Wreck. We dispatched Two Vessels with Proper Persons on board under the Protection of one of his Majestys Twenty Gun Ships. to endeavour to recover the Effects. but it with Concern We acquaint you. that although the Treasure. still remained in the Wreck. the Undertaking to recover it appeared so hazardous and doubtful. that they are returned without the least Success. 34 Mr Thomas Welch having requested Margin Notes: none of the Recruits for the West Coast to be detained advice of the loss of the Duke of Cumberland Grantham narrowly escaped two Vessels dispatched under the Command of one of his Majestys 20 Gun Ships returned without any Success	On the expiry of that term the Company was to pay his passage home. 32: The Court had sent thirty recruits on this ship for its settlements on the west coast, where they were badly needed. The Governor and Council were on no pretence whatever to detain any of them at St Helena. 33: The <i>Duke of Cumberland</i>, bound for Fort St David and China, was unfortunately stranded in the Bay of Ayoye near Cape de Verde in January, and the <i>Grantham</i>, then in her company, very narrowly escaped the same fate. As soon as the Court learned the situation of the wreck it dispatched two vessels with proper persons on board, under the protection of one of his Majesty's twenty-gun ships, to try to recover the effects. The Court noted with concern that although the treasure still remained in the wreck, the task of recovering it appeared so hazardous and doubtful that the vessels returned without the least success. 34: Mr Thomas Welch, having requested [...]. Interpretations The strict order against holding back any of the thirty west coast recruits reveals the tension between St Helena's own wants and the priority of the Sumatran settlements. Because every man for the west coast had to pass through the island, the Governor and Council were repeatedly tempted to keep a few for their own thin garrison, which is exactly what the Court forbade in the plainest terms. The insistence that not one be detained on any pretext shows London allocating a scarce supply of soldiers from the centre and refusing to let the transit point skim the draft, matching the same concern shown a few paragraphs earlier over dividing Boscawen's returning men. The loss of the <i>Duke of Cumberland</i> shows the Company mounting a costly salvage operation to recover bullion from a wreck far out in the Atlantic. The dispatch of two vessels with expert salvors, escorted by a naval twenty-gun ship, reflects both the value of the treasure aboard an outward East Indiaman

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			and the danger of the exposed wreck site off the Cape Verde islands. That the attempt was abandoned as too hazardous, with the treasure left in the hull, marks the practical limit of eighteenth-century salvage, where the risk to men and ships could outweigh even a large sum in silver.
99	96	of Us that the Produce. of the late. Mr Robert Wrights Effects deposited in Our Cash Chest at St Helena may be paid him as Administrator. that he may be enabled to make a Dividend of the same. among all the Creditors We do accordingly direct. you regularly credit the Estate of the late Mr Robert Wright Deceased upon Our General Books for the Produce. thereof. and after all Charges are deducted. writ the same off. to Account Currant London. but as it may be sometime. before those Books will be received you are by the first Conveyance. to send Us an Exact. Account of the Sum. so to be wrote. off. that We may immediately. pay the same to the Legal Representatives of the said Mr Robert Wright. Deceased. 35 As we cannot see the reason for your not erecting an Account of the said Estate on the General Books long ago. you must explain the same in your next Advices. 36 We have appointed the Reverend Mr William Lee A B. Chaplain at St Helena at the usual Salary and Appointments. he takes Margin Notes: the Estate of Mr Wright to be Credited for the Produce & to warrant and after all Charges of to Account Currant London an Exact Account of the Sum wrote off. to be sent by the first Conveyance. cannot see any reason for not erecting an Acct on the General Books Mr Wm Lee appointed Chaplain at at the usual Salary	Mr Thomas Welch, having requested the Court that the produce of the late Mr Robert Wright's effects, deposited in the Company's cash chest at St Helena, be paid to him as administrator so that he might make a dividend of it among all the creditors, the Court accordingly directed the Governor and Council to credit the estate of the late Mr Robert Wright, deceased, regularly on its general books for the produce of those effects. After all charges were deducted, the same was to be carried to account current London. Since it might be some time before those books were received, the Governor and Council were to send home by the first conveyance an exact account of the sum to be so entered, so that the Court could at once pay it to the legal representatives of the late Mr Robert Wright, deceased. 35: Since the Court could see no reason for the Governor and Council not having entered an account of this estate on the general books long ago, they were to explain the matter in their next advices. 36: The Court had appointed the Reverend Mr William Lee, bachelor of arts, chaplain at St Helena at the usual salary and appointments. He took [...]. Interpretations The Wright estate shows the Company's cash chest at St Helena serving as a place of deposit and its books as an instrument of probate for those who died in its service. The proceeds of the dead man's effects lay in the Company chest, and the administrator in England could not reach them until the island entered the sum on its accounts and carried it to the London account, from which the Court would pay it over to the estate's representatives. The Court's demand for an immediate statement of the exact figure, ahead of the slow-travelling books, reflects the standing difficulty of settling an estate whose assets sat thousands of miles from those entitled to them, where the paper trail moved only as fast as the shipping. The sharp query in paragraph 35 exposes the Court's continuing distrust of the island's bookkeeping. That a sum held in the Company's own chest had gone unentered on the general books for a long period touched the recurring institutional concern with accounts kept behind time or incompletely, which the Court had policed on the island across many despatches. By demanding a written explanation in the next advices, the Court treated the omission not as a trivial lapse but as a failure of the accounting discipline on which its control of a remote establishment depended.
100	97	his Passage accordingly on this Ship. at his Request. We have advanced him Fifty Pounds to be repaid out of his Growing Salary. which. when he has fully discharg'd his Bond (which We have enclos'd) is to be cancelled. 37 We have sent. on this Ship. Mr Thomas Hall to be Master Gunner of Our Island who is to have the same. Salary and other Appointments as the late Gunner Mr French was Allowed. 38 Mr Thomas French having represented to Us. that he had transacted by your Orders. the Whole business in the Secretarys Office. from the Death of Mr Wright. until the arrival of the Ship Duke of Newcastle. at St Helena being about nine Months. without any Addition to his Salary. if you find his Allegations to be true. you are hereby directed to make. him an	The Reverend Mr William Lee took his passage accordingly on this ship at his own request. The Court had advanced him £50 0s 0d, to be repaid out of his growing salary, and when he had fully discharged his bond, which the Court had enclosed, it was to be cancelled. 37: The Court had sent on this ship Mr Thomas Hall to be master gunner of the island, who was to have the same salary and other appointments as the late gunner Mr French had been allowed. 38: Mr Thomas French had represented to the Court that he had transacted, by the Governor and Council's orders, the whole business of the secretary's office from the death of Mr Wright until the arrival of the ship <i>Duke of Newcastle</i> at St Helena, being about nine months, without any addition to his salary. If the Governor and Council found his account to be true, they were directed to make him an allowance for the

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		allowance. for the time he acted as Secretary at the rate. of Seventy Pounds a year Salary. and Sixty Pounds Diet Money. deducting thereout what he received during that time as a Factor. 39 By the Orders We gave last Year for the encouragement of Our Inferior Military Margin Notes: Bond to be cancelled when discharged Mr Thos Hall appointed Master Gunner to have the same Salary as Mr French of Mr Thomas Frenches Allegations. found to be true. directed to make him an Allowance for acting as Secretary	time he acted as secretary, at the rate of £70 0s 0d a year salary and £60 0s 0d diet money, deducting from it what he had received during that time as a factor. 39: By the orders given the year before for the encouragement of the inferior military [...]. Interpretations The two officers dispatched by this ship, a chaplain and a master gunner, fell into distinct classes of engagement that show how the Company recruited for a remote posting. The chaplain came out on an advance against his salary secured by a bond, an arrangement that both financed his passage and held him to his term, the bond to be cancelled only once repaid, so that a man who left early would still owe the money. The master gunner was simply slotted into his predecessor's place on the same salary and appointments, the post being a standing establishment rather than a fresh negotiation. Together they illustrate the mix of bonded advances and inherited terms by which the island's specialist places were filled. The French claim shows the practical machinery by which a vacancy was covered on the spot and paid for afterwards. When the secretary Wright died, the office could not stand empty for the many months it took a replacement to arrive from England, so a serving factor was ordered to do the work, and only later did the Court authorise back pay at the secretary's proper rate, less what he had already drawn as a factor. This retrospective allowance, conditional on the island verifying his account, reflects the standing difficulty of running an establishment whose officers might die far from any relief, leaving the surviving men to double up until London could act.
<u>101</u>	98	Officers you were sufficiently authorized to fill. up the vacant Lieutenants Places. We now confirm those said Orders. and direct that you fill up the present vacancy of a Second Lieutenant with the next deserving Sergeant in standing. however Our meaning is that the best qualified is to have. the preference. without regard to seniority. but if there is no Person properly qualified. you must fill it up provisionally until We send one from hence. We are London the 28th Novemr 1750 Your Loving Friends Nichs Linwood Richd Chauncy Chas Cutts H. Gough Sam Feake Willm Rider Timothy Tullie John Payne Nath Newnham Junr E. Godfrey Peter DuCane R. Dacke Chas Gough Whichcott Turner Abel Fonnereau I. Winke Will Braund Henry Plant John Hope I. Raymond Thos Rous Margin Notes: fully Authorized by the last year Orders to fill up the Vacant Lieut places 2 Lieut place to be filled up by the most deserving Sergt if none qualifyd we will be sent from England	By the orders given the year before for the encouragement of the inferior military officers, the Governor and Council had already been fully authorised to fill up the vacant lieutenants' places. The Court now confirmed those orders and directed that the present vacancy of a second lieutenant be filled with the next deserving sergeant in standing. Its meaning, however, was that the best qualified man should have the preference without regard to seniority. If there was no person properly qualified, the Governor and Council were to fill it provisionally until the Court sent one out from England. The letter was dated at London on 28 November 1750 and subscribed by the members of the Court of Directors: Nicholas Linwood Charles Cutts Samuel Feake Timothy Tullie Nathaniel Newnham junior Peter Ducane Charles Gough Abel Sonnereau William Braund Richard Chauncy Harry Gough William Rider John Payne Peter Godfrey Roger Drake Whichcott Turner J. Winter Henry Plant John Hope J. Raymond Thomas Rous Interpretations The rule that the vacant lieutenantancy go to the best qualified sergeant rather than the most senior marks a deliberate choice of merit over standing in the garrison's promotion. Ordinarily advancement followed length of service, and the next sergeant in line would

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			expect the place, but the Court expressly overrode seniority where a better man was available. This reflects the standing concern of the period to keep the island's small officer corps effective rather than merely orderly, since a remote garrison could ill afford to promote an unfit man simply because his turn had come, and the fallback of a provisional appointment preserved London's ultimate control over the commission. Speculations The Court set the promotion rule to prefer the best qualified sergeant while still leaving the place to be filled from the ranks on the spot, rather than reserving every lieutenantancy for a man sent from England. The obvious course for a body so jealous of its control over commissions was to appoint officers itself and forbid local promotion. Instead it authorised the island to advance its own sergeants, subject only to the merit preference and a provisional filling where no one qualified. The reason lies in the distance and the delay: waiting for London to supply every subaltern would leave posts empty for the better part of a year, so the Court devolved the choice to the Governor and Council while fixing the principle of selection and keeping the power to send out its own man when none on the island was fit.
102	99	Our Governor & Council of St Helena. 1 The last Letter We wrote to you went. by the Onslow. under date of the 28th of November 1750 since which We have received your several Advices of the 23d October. 16 January. 24 February. 11 & 30 March. 5 & 24 April. 8 & 31 May. 16. 18 & 28 June and 10 July 1751 2 You have in your said Advices given Us a satisfactory Account of the Arrival. and Departure of Shipping. and of the News and Occurrences of India collected from the Commanders. Suprafargos and others which must be continued with as much care in all your future advices. 3 We have taken into Our Service this Season the undermentioned Ships Vizt. Ships Names, Tons, Men, Guns, Commanders, Consignment Darrington: Tons, 499, Men, "", Guns, 99, "", 26, Commanders, Richd Drake, Consignment, Coast & Bay Houghton: Tons, 499, Men, "", Guns, 99, "", 26, Commanders, Richd Walpole, Consignment, China Prince of Wales: Tons, 499, Men, "", Guns, 99, "", 26, Commanders, Willm Peck Drake: Tons, 499, Men, "", Guns, 99, "", 26, Commanders, Benjn Fisher, Consignment, Coast & Rhoda: Tons, 499, Men, "", Guns, 99, "", 26, Commanders, Jno Mc Nemara, Consignment, China Edgcote: Tons, 499, Men, "", Guns, 99, "", 26, Commanders, John Pearce Margin Notes: Advices recd said advices satisfactory. must be Continued Ships taken up	1: The last letter the Court wrote to the Governor and Council had gone by the <i>Onslow</i> under date of 28 November 1750. Since then the Court had received their several advices of 23 October, 16 January, 24 February, 11 and 30 March, 5 and 24 April, 8 and 31 May and 16, 18 and 28 June, and of 10 July 1751. 2: In those advices the Governor and Council had given the Court a satisfactory account of the arrival and departure of shipping, and of the news and occurrences of India gathered from the commanders, supercargoes and others. This was to be kept up with as much care in all their future advices. 3: The Court had taken into its service this season the ships named below. The column headings on the page read the ship's name, then its tonnage, then its complement of men, then its guns, then the commander, then the consignment. The following line names a ship and so is given here in prose: the <i>Darrington</i>, 499 tons, 99 men, 26 guns, Richard Drake commander, consigned to the Coast and Bay. Ship's name, tonnage, men, guns, commander, consignment: The <i>Houghton</i>, 499 tons, 99 men, 26 guns, Richard Walpole commander, consigned to China. The <i>Prince of Wales</i>, 499 tons, 99 men, 26 guns, William Peck commander. The <i>Drake</i>, 499 tons, 99 men, 26 guns, Benjamin Fisher commander, consigned to the Coast and Bay. The <i>Rhoda</i>, 499 tons, 99 men, 26 guns, John McNemara commander, consigned to China. The <i>Edgcote</i>, 499 tons, 99 men, 26 guns, John Pearce commander. Interpretations The uniform entry of every ship at 499 tons was a deliberate device rather than a coincidence of build. Vessels of 500 tons and over were required to carry a chaplain by long-standing rule, so owners and the Company registered these East Indiamen at 499 tons to fall just under the threshold and avoid the obligation. The repetition of the same figure down the whole list, paired with identical complements of 99 men and 26 guns, shows the standardised class of ship the Company hired for the eastern trade at this date, built and rated to a common pattern for the Coast, the Bay and China. The consignments show the Court allocating its season's shipping across the three great arms of the eastern trade before any of it reached St Helena. Some ships were marked for the Coast and Bay, meaning the

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			Coromandel coast and Bengal, and others for China, the two streams that carried the bulk of the Company's outward silver and brought home textiles and tea. The island's interest in the list lay in knowing which ships to expect and where each was bound, so that it could identify arrivals, gather cargo intelligence and forward the season's correspondence to the right destination.
<u>103</u>	100	Ships Names, Tons, Men, Guns, Commanders, Consignment Colchester: Tons, 499, Men, 99, Guns, 26, Commanders, Rog. Mainwaring Godolphin: Tons, 499, Men, 99, Guns, 26, Commanders, Wm Hutchinson Bombay Castle: Tons, 499, Men, 99, Guns, 26, Commanders, Thos Browne, Consignment, Coast Admiral Vernon: Tons, 499, Men, 99, Guns, 26, Commanders, Edm Cooke, Consignment, & Bay Chesterfield: Tons, 499, Men, 99, Guns, 26, Commanders, Edwin Carter Oxford: Tons, 499, Men, 99, Guns, 26, Commanders, Thos Stevens, Consignment, Madeira & B Royal Duke: Tons, 499, Men, 99, Guns, 26, Commanders, George Cuming Doddington: Tons, 499, Men, 99, Guns, 26, Commanders, Nowth Hutchinson, Consignment, Bombay Pelham: Tons, 499, Men, 99, Guns, 26, Commanders, George Lindsay Exeter: Tons, 499, Men, 99, Guns, 26, Commanders, Wm Sermolly, Consignment, St Helena & Benc Delawar: Tons, 400, Men, 80, Guns, 20, Commanders, Abram Dominicus, Consignment, Madagascar & Fort St Marys 4 Besides which. We have built a Ship of Force to remain in India. and be constantly employed under the Direction of Our President and Council of Bombay. for the Defence of the Trade on the Mallabar Coast. as likewise a Sailing Vessell of the Burthen of 300 Tons to be employed in the same manner. both which. will be Dispatched as soon as they can be got ready. 5 We have enclosed. for your Information. a List of the Arrival and Departure. of Shipping. since that transmitted you by the Onslow Margin Notes: two Ships built for the Bombay Service List of Shipping sent	The list of ships taken into the Court's service continued. The column headings again give the ship's name, then its tonnage, then its complement of men, then its guns, then the commander, then the consignment. The <i>Colchester</i>, 499 tons, 99 men, 26 guns, Roger Mainwaring commander, consigned to the Coast and Bay. The <i>Godolphin</i>, 499 tons, 99 men, 26 guns, William Hutchinson commander, consigned to the Coast and Bay. The <i>Bombay Castle</i>, 499 tons, 99 men, 26 guns, Thomas Browne commander, consigned to the Coast and Bay. The <i>Admiral Vernon</i>, 499 tons, 99 men, 26 guns, Edmund Cooke commander, consigned to the Coast and Bay. The <i>Chesterfield</i>, 499 tons, 99 men, 26 guns, Edwin Carter commander, consigned to the Coast and Bay. The <i>Oxford</i>, 499 tons, 99 men, 26 guns, Thomas Stevens commander, consigned to Madeira and the Coast and Bay. The <i>Royal Duke</i>, 499 tons, 99 men, 26 guns, George Cuming commander, consigned to Bombay. The <i>Doddington</i>, 499 tons, 99 men, 26 guns, Norton Hutchinson commander, consigned to Bombay. The <i>Pelham</i>, 499 tons, 99 men, 26 guns, George Lindsay commander, consigned to Bombay. The <i>Exeter</i>, 499 tons, 99 men, 26 guns, William Fernor commander, consigned to St Helena and Bombay. The <i>Delaware</i>, 400 tons, 80 men, 20 guns, Abraham Dominicus commander, consigned to Madagascar and Fort St George. 4: Besides these, the Court had built a ship of force to remain in India and be constantly employed under the direction of its president and council of Bombay, for the defence of the trade on the Malabar coast, along with a sailing vessel of 300 tons to be used in the same way. Both would be dispatched as soon as they could be got ready. 5: The Court had enclosed, for the Governor and Council's information, a list of the arrival and departure of shipping since the one sent out by the <i>Onslow</i>. Interpretations The two vessels built to remain in India mark a shift from hired merchantmen to a standing Company naval force on the Malabar coast. Unlike the chartered East Indiamen of the season's list, which came and went with the trade, these were purpose-built ships of force kept permanently under the Bombay council to protect commerce along the western coast of India. This reflects the mounting pressure on the Malabar trade in this period, where the Company found it could no longer rely on the passing armament of its trading ships alone and had to maintain dedicated vessels for defence, a distinct institutional commitment of capital to security rather than to cargo. The <i>Delaware</i>, alone in the list at 400 tons, 80 men and 20 guns and bound for Madagascar and Fort St George, stood apart from the uniform class of larger ships. Her Madagascar destination points to the slave trade, since Madagascar was the Company's usual source of slaves for its eastern settlements, and a smaller vessel served that traffic and the run on to the Coromandel coast. Her lighter rating shows the Company matching ship to task, employing a smaller and cheaper hull for a voyage that did not carry the

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			bulk cargoes or the outward silver of the main Coast, Bay and China ships.
104	101	6 The Secret Committee this Season. for appointing Signals for the Security of the Companys Shipping consists of the following Gentlemen Vizt. Roger Drake. William Baker. & William Mabbott Esqrs whose. Orders. relating thereto. are to be punctually observed. by the Persons to whom they are Directed 7 You will receive these Advices by the Ship Exeter Capt. William Fernell. Commander. on which We have Consigned to you a large Quantity of Goods. Stores and necessarys. agreeably to the Invoice and Bill of Loading in the Packett. 8 If you are in want of Treasure. for the necessary Expences of the Garrison. and the pay of our Servants. you are at Liberty. to detain any part of what is Consigned to Fort Marlborough by this Ship. not exceeding one Chest 9 You must take care that this Ship is delivered within the Charterparty time. that We may not be liable to the Charge of Demorage. you must press the Commander to get away as soon as possible. and you are to protest against him in case. of unnecessary delays. 10 As soon as the Ship is delivered. you must give the Commander Orders in Writing. to make the Margin Notes: Secret Committee Supply sent Agreeable to Invoice permitted to take a Chest of Treasure the Ship to be delivered within the Charterparty time. & to Protest against the Comr in case of unnecessary delays	6: The secret committee this season, for settling the signals for the safety of the Company's shipping, was made up of Roger Drake, William Baker and William Mabbott. Their orders relating to the signals were to be strictly observed by the persons to whom they were directed. 7: The Governor and Council would receive these advices by the ship <i>Exeter</i> under Captain William Fernor as commander. On her the Court had consigned to them a large quantity of goods, stores and necessities, in keeping with the invoice and bill of lading in the packet. 8: If the Governor and Council were in want of treasure for the necessary expenses of the garrison and the pay of the Company's servants, they were free to hold back any part of what was consigned to Fort Marlborough by this ship, not exceeding one chest. 9: The Governor and Council were to take care that this ship was cleared within the charter party time, so that the Court would not be liable for demurrage. They were to press the commander to get away as soon as possible and to protest against him in the event of unnecessary delays. 10: As soon as the ship was unloaded, the Governor and Council were to give the commander orders in writing to make the [...]. Interpretations The secret committee for signals reappears as a fixed feature of each season's shipping arrangements, its membership renewed among the directors year by year. A small group settled the private signals by which the Company's ships recognised one another and took warning at sea, and those signals were guarded closely enough to warrant a dedicated committee rather than open publication in the general letter. The insistence that the orders be strictly obeyed by the commanders who received them reflects the value of a system that could save a homeward fleet from privateer or enemy in dangerous waters, where the cargoes at stake far exceeded the ships themselves. The permission to detain one chest of treasure bound for Fort Marlborough shows the island drawing on cargo in transit to meet its own running costs. Rather than ship separate funds to St Helena, the Court let the Governor and Council take a chest from the Sumatra consignment when the garrison's pay and expenses required it, replacing a dedicated remittance with a controlled diversion from the passing supply. The strict limit of a single chest reflects the standing tension between meeting the island's needs and protecting the funds destined for the west coast settlements, which the Court guarded against the transit point taking more than its due.
105	102	best of his way to Fort Marlborough on the West Coast of the Island of Sumatra. agreeable to the Instruction he has received from us. and you must forward to the Deputy Governor & Council of that Settlement. the Charterparty as Usual. 11 We have received of Mr Rouge Agent to. the French East India Company. the Sum of £195. being the Amount of the Bill drawn upon him by Capt. Denimel. Commander of the Ship La Paix for six hundred Dollars advanced him Out of our Cash at St Helena. 12 The Copy of a Letter from Capt. De Manevall Commander of the French Ship Diana. to one of the Directors of the French Company has been laid before Us. in which he says. he had been Informed that on the day of his Departure. from St Helena. Three Men and one Woman Slaves had deserted from their Masters. in a Boat. and that it was Imagined they were on board his	The commander was to make the best of his way to Fort Marlborough on the west coast of the island of Sumatra, in keeping with the instructions he had received from the Court. The Governor and Council were to forward the charter party to the Deputy Governor and Council of that settlement as usual. 11: The Court had received from Mr Rouge, agent to the French East India Company, the sum of £195 0s 0d, being the amount of the bill drawn on him by Captain Denimel, commander of the ship <i>La Paix</i>, for six hundred dollars advanced to him out of the Company's cash at St Helena. 12: A copy of a letter from Captain De Nancourt, commander of the French ship <i>Diana</i>, to one of the directors of the French Company, had been laid before the Court. In it he said he had been informed that on the day he left St Helena three men and one woman slave had deserted from their masters in a boat, and that it was thought they were on board his ship. He

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		Ship. he solemnly protests that he knows nothing of them. that if they had come on board his Ship. he would have delivered them up to be returned to their Masters. and concludes that there is no doubt but that the said Boat was lost. although Margin Notes: the Captain to have Orders to make the best of his way to Fort Marlborough received the Money of Mr Rouge Agent to the French Company Copy of the Letter from Captain De Manevall laid before the Court of Directors	solemnly protested that he knew nothing of them, and that if they had come on board his ship he would have delivered them up to be returned to their masters. He concluded that there was no doubt the boat had been lost, although [...]. Interpretations The Rouge repayment shows the Company's cash chest at St Helena serving even the shipping of a rival power, and being made good afterwards through the ordinary machinery of bills. A French commander short of funds was advanced money on the island, drew a bill on the French Company's London agent, and that agent paid the Company in sterling, so the loan crossed national and corporate lines yet was settled by the same instrument the Company used among its own ships. The conversion of six hundred dollars into £195 0s 0d fixes the working exchange applied, and the whole transaction reflects St Helena's role as a mid-Atlantic bank for any ship that called, wartime rivalries notwithstanding. The De Nancourt letter turns on the standing difficulty of recovering slaves who fled the island by sea. Because a departing ship offered the only route off St Helena, an escape by boat at once raised the suspicion that the runaways had been taken aboard a passing vessel, here a French ship whose captain went to some length to deny it in writing to his own directors. The formal protest, and the Company's careful preservation of the correspondence, reflect how seriously the loss of slave property was treated and how little the island could do to compel a foreign commander, leaving it dependent on his word and on the likelihood that the small boat had simply been lost at sea.
106	103	no Notice was taken of this Affair in your Advices We have thought proper to mention it for the Information of whoever is the Owner of the said Slaves. and. at the same time. to recommend it to you to use all the prudent Measures you can think of for the Prevention of such Attempts for the future as well Slaves belonging to the Planters. as our own 13 Your Indent has been as fully complied with as the room We had in this Ship would admit of. for the particular. We refer to the Invoice. 14 As you do not approve of the Cape Brandy We have discontinued Our Orders to the Commanders for purchasing the same. 15 The Person of whom We bought the Flour of which you complain. Consigned to you by the Suffolk. assures us it was perfectly good when it was Shipped. and as We have no reason to believe he would impose upon Us. We imagine it must receive some Damage aboard. if any such Accident should happen again. be very particular in your Description of the Damage. that We may know where to have. Satisfaction for it. 16 Bread takes up so much room in the Ship We shall not for the future. send you any. but We Margin Notes: recommended to use all prudent measures for the preventing the Slaves from Deserting Indent fully complied with Cape brandy not to be sent Flour Complained of. presumed to be Damaged on board. must be very particular in the description of the Damage Bread not sent	No notice had been taken of this affair in the Governor and Council's advices. The Court thought it proper to mention it for the information of whoever owned the slaves, and at the same time to recommend that the Governor and Council use all the prudent measures they could think of to prevent such attempts in future, for slaves belonging to the planters as well as the Company's own. 13: The island's indent had been met as fully as the room in this ship would allow. For the particulars the Court referred the Governor and Council to the invoice. 14: Since the Governor and Council did not approve of the Cape brandy, the Court had stopped its orders to the commanders for buying any. 15: The person from whom the Court had bought the flour complained of, consigned to the Governor and Council by the <i>Suffolk</i>, was sure it was perfectly good when it was shipped. As the Court had no reason to think he would impose on it, it supposed the flour must have taken some damage on board. If any such accident happened again, the Governor and Council were to be very particular in their description of the damage, so that the Court could know where to seek satisfaction for it. 16: Bread took up so much room in the ship that the Court would send no more in future, but it would [...]. Interpretations The Cape brandy order shows the Court adjusting its standing purchase instructions in direct response to the island's judgement of quality. Commanders had been directed to buy brandy at the Cape for the island, but the Governor and Council found it unsatisfactory, and the Court simply cancelled the arrangement. This responsiveness reflects the practical working of a supply system in which the distant consumer's report could countermand a routine order, sparing the Company the cost of shipping goods the island would not accept, and it fits the wider preference of this period for provisioning the island from the passing fleet only where the article proved good.

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			The flour dispute exposes the problem of fixing liability for damaged provisions across a long sea passage. Neither the London seller, who swore the flour was sound when loaded, nor the Court, which trusted him, could be blamed with certainty, so the damage was attributed to the voyage itself. The Court's demand for a precise description of any future damage was aimed at locating responsibility, since only a careful account of the state of the goods on arrival could show whether the fault lay with the supplier, the packing or the ship, and thus where the Company might recover its loss.
107	104	shall in lieu of it. send a larger proportion of Flour as you will observe. We have done in this Ship. 17 You must continue the Practice of buying Beef and Pork out of the returning Ships provided it is good and at reasonable prices 18 We have sent you the Sashes for the Plantation house. by this Ship. 19 In your Letter by the Marlborough. you assert. that the Soldiers Shirts and Rollers sent by the Suffolk. are charged at four Shillings and two pence each. which is double. the price they were Invoiced at before. and therefore. presuming it to be. a mistake. you had Ordered them to be issued at the former rate. upon turning to the Invoices of the Ships Grantham. Godolphin and Marlbro the preceding Years. We find that the Shirts and Rollers are charged exactly in the same manner in those Invoices. as in the Suffolk. it therefore appears to Us. that you have run into an Error to Our prejudice. which We hope you will carefully avoid for the future. 20 We are acquainted in your Letter of the 30 of March last. that you had assembled those Planters. who refused to furnish their Quotas of Margin Notes: larger Quantity of Flour sent Beef Pork bought out of the returning ships to be continued Sashes sent for the Plantn House presumed to be a mistake about the Soldiers Shirts and Rollers	In place of the bread the Court would send a larger proportion of flour, as the Governor and Council would see it had done in this ship. 17: The Governor and Council were to keep up the practice of buying beef and pork from the returning ships, provided it was good and could be had at reasonable prices. 18: The Court had sent the sashes for the plantation house by this ship. 19: In their letter by the <i>Marlborough</i> the Governor and Council reported that the soldiers' shirts and rollers sent by the <i>Suffolk</i> were charged at 4s 2d each, which was double the price they had been invoiced at before, and, presuming it to be a mistake, they had ordered them to be issued at the former rate. On turning to the invoices of the ships <i>Grantham</i>, <i>Godolphin</i> and <i>Marlborough</i> for the preceding years, the Court found that the shirts and rollers were charged exactly the same way in those invoices as in the <i>Suffolk</i>. It therefore appeared to the Court that the Governor and Council had fallen into an error to its prejudice, which it hoped they would carefully avoid in future. 20: In their letter of 30 March the Governor and Council reported that they had assembled those planters who refused to furnish their quotas of provisions [...]. Interpretations The substitution of flour for bread turned on the economics of shipping space rather than on any change in the island's diet. Baked bread and biscuit were bulky in proportion to their weight, so a hold filled with bread carried less nourishment than the same space filled with flour, from which bread could be made on the island. The Court's decision to send flour and let St Helena do its own baking reflects the constant pressure on cargo room in a fleet whose every ton was accounted for, and its willingness to shift a processing task onto the island to carry more food in the same bottoms. The shirts dispute shows the Court defending itself against the island's well-meant correction of an invoice. The Governor and Council, taking a doubled price for an error, had reduced the charge on their own authority, but the Court checked the figure against several prior years' invoices and found the higher rate consistent and correct. Its insistence that the island had erred to the Company's prejudice reflects the standing sensitivity to any adjustment of accounts made at St Helena, where a local reduction of a genuine charge fell as a loss on the Company, and where the Court held the island to strict verification before altering any invoiced sum.
108	105	Provision to the Market. at the usual prices. and read to them the Paragraph in Our Letter by the Onslow on that head. that after a short Conference. they acquainted you they would supply. their proportion at the customary rate. notwithstanding which We have received a long Remonstrance against the same under date of the 28th of. May last. Signed by many of the Planters. in which it is Aserted. that although the Market was originally designed for the benefit of the Soldiery. they have little or no advantage from it but that it is converted to the Interest of others in Our	The Governor and Council had assembled those planters who refused to send their quotas of provisions to market at the usual prices, and had read them the paragraph on that head in the Court's letter by the <i>Onslow</i>. After a short conference the planters told the Governor and Council they would supply their proportion at the customary rate. Despite this, the Court had received a long remonstrance against the same, dated 28 May, signed by many of the planters. In it they asserted that although the market was originally intended for the benefit of the soldiery, they had little

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		Service. who can better afford to give five Pence a pound for their Beef than the Planters can afford to sell it at half that price. they likewise. Complain. that they are Injured. by not being allowed to dispose of their Beef to Shipping to the best advantage. as it is impossible. for us to form a true Judgement upon this. Affair. without your Assistance. We therefore send you a Copy of the said. Memorial or Remonstrance. and We hereby Direct. that you make a strict and faithful enquiry into the several Allegations therein contained. and state the same in your Advices to us by one of the Ships of next Season together with your Opinion upon the whole. that Margin Notes: a Remonstrance received from the Planters Planters Complain that they are Injured Direct that a strict & faithful Enquiry be made into the same	or no advantage from it, and that it was turned instead to the interest of others in the Company's service, who could better afford to give fivepence for their beef than the planters could afford to sell it at half that price. The planters also complained that they were injured by not being allowed to dispose of their beef to shipping to the best advantage. Since it was impossible for the Court to form a true judgement on the matter without the Governor and Council's help, it sent them a copy of the memorial or remonstrance. It directed them to make a strict and faithful enquiry into the several allegations in it, to state the same in their advices by one of the ships of next season, and to give their opinion on the whole, so that the Court [...]. Interpretations The planters' remonstrance exposes the structural grievance beneath the recurring beef-price disputes. The market had been set up so that the garrison could be fed at a controlled price, but the planters argued that its real benefit had passed to better-paid Company servants who could outbid them, leaving the producers forced to sell below what their beef was worth while barred from the higher prices that passing ships would pay. This conflict between a regulated supply for the soldiery and the planters' wish to sell freely to shipping was a standing tension of the island's economy, in which the small body of producers repeatedly pressed against the Company's controlled market. The Court's handling of the remonstrance shows the working limits of governing at a distance and the due process it extended even to a collective protest. Unable to judge the truth of the planters' claims from London, it sent the memorial back to the Governor and Council for a strict enquiry and their considered opinion before it would decide. This referral of a contested matter to the men on the spot, with a formal report required, reflects the standing practice by which the Court heard grievances on their merits and gathered the facts locally rather than ruling blind, treating a signed complaint by many planters as a matter to be examined rather than dismissed. Speculations The Court chose to reopen the beef-market question through a full local enquiry rather than either enforcing the planters' compliance already obtained or granting their demand to sell freely to shipping. The obvious course, having secured the planters' agreement at the conference to supply at the customary rate, was to treat the matter as settled and hold them to it. Instead the Court took the later remonstrance seriously enough to suspend judgement and order a strict investigation of its allegations. The reason is visible in its own words: it could not form a true judgement at such a distance, and the planters' claim that the market's benefit had been diverted to better-paid servants raised a question of fairness the Court would not resolve on the bench's assurance alone, preferring to gather the facts before deciding between the garrison's cheap provisions and the producers' grievance.
109	106	We may be enabled to give such Directions there upon as shall be just and reasonable. 21 We have not sent the Iron Potts Indented for. as We observe. you have. Thirty Three remaining the Sizes of which are not mentioned. in your Account of Remains. neither are the sorts of Oars particularized in the said Account. you have likewise. Indented for sixty pair of Wooden Trucks. but have not mentioned whether they are for Fore or Hind Axeltrees. and as you have Thirty four of sorts remaining. We have sent only half the number Demanded. For the future. you must particularly mention in against Indents. the use of the Stores demanded. and in the Account of Remains the Sorts. Sizes. and Nature of the Stores. must be particularly Inserted. and the Account of Remains must always lay before	The Court would then be able to give such directions on the matter as should be just and reasonable. 21: The Court had not sent the iron pots indented for, since it observed that the Governor and Council had thirty-three remaining, the sizes of which were not mentioned in their account of remains, nor were the sorts of oars set out in that account. The Governor and Council had also indented for sixty pairs of wooden trucks, but had not mentioned whether they were for fore or hind axletrees, and as they had thirty-four of sorts remaining, the Court had sent only half the number demanded. In future the Governor and Council were, in all their indents, to mention particularly the use of the stores demanded, and in the account of remains to insert the sorts, sizes and nature

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		you when you are Drawing out the Indent 22 Upon duly considering the State of Our Military Establishment at St Helena. and the Memorial of the Commission Officers transmitted to Us thereupon. We are determined to make no. alteration with regard to Rank. but We hereby Order and Direct. that upon the Arrival of this Ship the <i>Exeter</i>. the following Establishment Margin Notes: Iron Pots not sent but half of the Axeltrees sent. to be very particular in the Indent to mention the use of the Stores. the List of Demands to be more clear when making out of the next Indent the Alteration to be made with regard to Rank in the Military	of the stores. The account of remains was always to lie before them when they were drawing out the indent. 22: Having duly considered the state of the military establishment at St Helena and the memorial of the commission officers sent home on the matter, the Court was determined to make no alteration with regard to rank. It ordered and directed that, on the arrival of this ship the <i>Exeter</i>, the following establishment [...]. Interpretations The rejected iron pots and the halved order of trucks show the Court managing supply against a running inventory, and refusing to ship stores the island already held. Because the Governor and Council still had thirty-three pots and thirty-four sets of trucks on hand, and had failed to specify sizes, sorts and intended use, the Court declined to send more than half of what was asked and demanded fuller detail in future indents. This insistence that the account of remains lie open before the island whenever it drew up its requests reflects the standing discipline of provisioning a distant store, where loose ordering wasted scarce cargo space and left the Company shipping goods that already sat idle on the island. The commission officers' memorial and the Court's flat refusal to alter rank point to a dispute over precedence within the garrison's small officer corps. The officers had petitioned collectively for some change in their standing, but the Court declined to disturb the established order of rank while proceeding to fix the establishment afresh on the ship's arrival. This reflects the standing concern to keep the chain of command settled and undisturbed by pressure from below, since a remote garrison depended on a clear order of authority, and the Court reserved to itself the power to arrange the establishment rather than yielding it to the officers' collective demand.
110	107	for their pay take place Vizt. For each Company of Soldiers The first Lieutenant to have 5/. p day The Second Do 2/. The Sergeants each 1/8. The Corporals each 1/2 The Drummers each 1/2 The Private Centinels as directed in Our Letter last Year. by the Onslow each . 10 The Adjutant 5/. The Marshal 1/2 Artillery Company The Master Gunner 5/. The Gunners First Mate 2/6 The Gunners Mates each 2/. The Quarter Gunners each 1/6 The Matrosses each 1/. 23 And we further Direct. that the Diet Money and House Rent be continued to such of the Officers as have been usually paid the same. and We hope the several Ranks of Our Military will convince Us by their good Services. that they are deserving of the Mark of Our Favour. Margin Notes:	The establishment for the pay of the military at St Helena was to take effect as set out below. The column heading gives the rank, then the daily rate of pay. For each company of soldiers: Rank, daily pay: First lieutenant, 5s 0d a day Second lieutenant, 2s 0d a day Sergeants, each 1s 8d a day Corporals, each 1s 2d a day Drummers, each 1s 2d a day Private sentinels, as directed in the Court's letter the year before by the Onslow, each 0s 10d a day Adjutant, 5s 0d a day Marshal, 1s 2d a day For the artillery company: Rank, daily pay: Master gunner, 5s 0d a day Gunner's first mate, 2s 6d a day Gunner's mates, each 2s 0d a day Quarter gunners, each 1s 6d a day Matrosses, each 1s 0d a day 23: The Court further directed that the diet money and house rent be continued to those officers to whom it had usually been paid. It hoped the several ranks of the island's military would convince it, by their good service, that they were deserving of this mark of its favour. Interpretations The pay table sets out the whole garrison hierarchy in a single graded scale, from the five shillings a day of the first lieutenant and master gunner down to the shilling of the matross and the tenpence of the private sentinel. The tenpence rate ties back to the rise the Court had ordered the year before by the <i>Onslow</i>, confirming that the increase was now built into the standing establishment rather than a temporary bounty. The careful gradation of every rank, including the two branches of foot soldiers and artillery, reflects the

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		the Establishment for their Pay Diet Money & House Rent to be Continued	working structure of a small permanent garrison in which pay marked precedence and the whole scale had to be fixed and known to hold the establishment together. The matross, appearing at the foot of the artillery scale, was the lowest grade of the gun crews, a soldier who assisted the gunners in loading, firing and moving the ordnance and stood next below the quarter gunner. The provision of diet money and house rent to certain officers on top of their daily pay shows that the stated rates were not the whole of their remuneration, since food and lodging allowances formed a real part of the reward on an island where provisions and housing were dear. The Court's framing of these allowances as a mark of favour, to be earned by good service, reflects the standing practice of holding out conditional benefits as an instrument of discipline over the garrison.
111	108	24 Our Settlements on the West Coast being still in great want of Military Recruits. We have sent them on this Ship about sixty. none of which are to be detained by you. on any pretence. whatsoever. 25 By the next years Store Ship We intend to send a Number of Recruits to fill up the Vacancys in your Garrison 26 We have appointed Stephen Herbert. and Frances Mowatt. Second Lieutenants of the Company of Soldiers at St Helena. and they accordingly take their Passage on this Ship. as they have. both of them served His Majesty in the Foot Guards. with Reputation many Years. We believe you will find them good and serviceable Officers. their Pay is to Commence. upon their Arrival. agreeably to the preceding Establishment. 27 To encourage Lieutenant Joseph Kendall. who We are assured is a good Officer. you are. upon the Receipt of this to appoint him Adjutant. at half the Pay mentioned in the foregoing Establishment over and above. his appointments as a First Lieutenant. 28 We approve. of your allowing six pence a day for the Maintenance. of such Soldiers. as have Margin Notes: none of the Recruits for the West Coast to be Detained upon any pretence whatsoever a Number of Recruits intended to be sent by the next Ship Steph. Herbert & Franc. Mowatt appointed Second Lieutenants Lieutenant Kendall appointed Adjutant	24: Since the Court's settlements on the west coast were in great want of military recruits, it had sent about sixty on this ship, none of which were to be detained by the Governor and Council on any pretence whatever. 25: By the next season's first ship the Court intended to send a number of recruits to fill up the vacancies in the island's garrison. 26: The Court had appointed Stephen Herbert and Frances Mowatt second lieutenants of the company of soldiers at St Helena, and they accordingly took their passage on this ship. As both had served his Majesty in the foot guards with reputation for many years, the Court believed the Governor and Council would find them good and serviceable officers. Their pay was to begin on their arrival, in keeping with the preceding establishment. 27: To encourage Lieutenant Joseph Kendall, who the Court was assured was a good officer, the Governor and Council were, on receipt of this letter, to appoint him adjutant at half the pay set out in the foregoing establishment, over and above his pay as first lieutenant. 28: The Court approved the Governor and Council allowing sixpence a day for the maintenance of those soldiers who had served [...]. Interpretations The two new second lieutenants drawn from the King's foot guards show the Company recruiting its island officers from the regular army rather than promoting solely from within the garrison. Men who had served with reputation in the royal foot guards brought trained discipline to a small and isolated establishment, and the Court's confidence in them reflects the value it placed on professional soldiering for a post that had to stand ready against any European or Indian enemy. This preference for seasoned regulars, sent out to fill the commissioned ranks, sat alongside the merit-based promotion of deserving sergeants and marked the two channels by which the officer corps was kept up. The adjutant's appointment at half pay above his lieutenant's rate shows the working device by which extra duty was rewarded without creating a wholly new charge. The adjutant handled the administrative and drill business of the garrison, and rather than pay a separate salary the Court gave a serving lieutenant an additional half of the adjutant's rate on top of his own, framing it expressly as encouragement to a good officer. This layering of an allowance onto an existing commission reflects the standing economy of a small establishment, where one man commonly held two functions and was paid a supplement rather than a second full salary.
112	109	served their Contracted time. until they can get a Passage. for England; though they do not choose. to enter again at St Helena. it is possible. they may be prevailed upon to serve. at the West Coast. You must	The Court approved the allowance of sixpence a day for soldiers who had served their contracted time until they could get a passage to England. Although such men did not choose to re-enter the service at St Helena,

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		therefore use. your endeavours. for that purpose. and you are hereby Authorized. to acquaint such of the Discharged Military as are effective. Men. that they shall upon Listing at Fort Marlborough for five Years be allowed a Bounty of Eight Pounds. to be paid them there. a List of such Soldiers as agree thereto is to be forwarded to Bencoolen. and another List must be Transmitted to Us. 29 Several of the Soldiers who came to England last Year have. made Complaints. that the Provisions they were Obligated to take in part of their pay. out of the Stores. were often Perished before delivered to them. and that the remainder of their Weeks pay. was kept by the Officers for Shoes. Stockings and Shirts. on which they were charged fifty p Cent. We therefore direct you to acquaint Us. in what manner the Soldiers must be Dieted and by whom paid. what Stoppages are made. by whom. and for what. Accounts. and you are to give Us such other Informations. with regard to the Military. as may enable Us to give. proper Directions for their more comfortable. Subsistence Margin Notes: Approved of allowing Discharged Soldiers 6d p day must endeavour to prevail upon them to serve at the West Coast List of such Soldiers to be sent Soldiers who came to England complain about their Provisions Pay must be Acquainted. in what manner they are Dieted &c	it was possible they might be prevailed on to serve at the west coast. The Governor and Council were therefore to use their efforts to that end. They were authorised to tell those discharged soldiers who were fit men that, on enlisting at Fort Marlborough for five years, they would be allowed a bounty of £8 0s 0d, to be paid them there. A list of the soldiers who agreed was to be forwarded to Bencoolen, and another list sent home to the Court. 29: Several of the soldiers who came to England the year before had complained that the provisions they were obliged to take in part of their pay out of the stores were often spoiled before delivered to them, and that the remainder of their week's pay was taken by the officers for shoes, stockings and shirts, on which they were charged fifty per cent. The Court therefore directed the Governor and Council to report in what manner the soldiers were dieted and by whom paid, what stoppages were made, by whom and for what account, and to give such other information about the military as might enable the Court to give proper directions for their more comfortable subsistence. Interpretations The bounty offered at Fort Marlborough shows the Company steering its spent manpower from one settlement to another rather than losing it home to England. A soldier who had finished his term at St Helena and would not re-enlist there might still be tempted, with £8 0s 0d down, to sign on at the west coast where recruits were badly wanted, and the careful listing of those who agreed, one copy to Bencoolen and one to London, kept both the receiving settlement and the Court informed. This redirection of discharged men across the Company's eastern establishments reflects the standing difficulty of manning distant garrisons from a thin supply, in which every seasoned soldier was worth a bounty to retain within the system. The soldiers' complaints expose a pattern of exploitation in the way the garrison was paid and provisioned. Part of a man's wage was paid in goods from the stores rather than money, and those provisions reached him spoiled, while the officers took the balance of his pay for clothing marked up by half its cost. The Court's demand for a full account of diet, payment and stoppages reflects its recurring concern to protect the private soldier from abuse by those set over him, and its framing of the enquiry around the men's comfortable subsistence shows an institutional interest in the ranks' welfare, both as a matter of justice and to keep a remote garrison willing to serve. Speculations The Court chose to investigate the soldiers' grievances through a detailed report from the very officers implicated, rather than issuing an immediate remedy or leaving the matter to the island's discretion. The obvious course, faced with clear complaints of spoiled provisions and a fifty per cent markup on clothing taken out of the men's pay, was either to prohibit the practices outright from London or to say nothing and let the garrison manage its own affairs. Instead the Court demanded a full account of how the soldiers were dieted, who paid them and what stoppages were made and by whom. The reason lies in its distance from the facts: it could not tell from the men's complaints alone how the system actually worked or where the fault lay, and it would not frame directions for the soldiers' subsistence until it understood the mechanism, so it gathered the detail first even from the parties it might have to correct.
113	110	30 The friends of Charles Snow. who We find. by your Diary entered on the 4th July 1750. to serve five Years as a Soldier. without receiving any Bounty Money Charles desiring he may be permitted to return home. We have thought proper to comply with their request.	30: The friends of Charles Snow, who the Court found by the island diary had enlisted on 4 July 1750 to serve five years as a soldier without receiving any bounty money, desired that he might be allowed to return home. The Court thought it proper to comply with their request. The Governor and Council were

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		you are therefore to give him his discharge accordingly. if he desires it. but you are to take care that We are put to no Expence for his Passage. 31 Although We would have you behave to Foreigners with great Courtesy. yet it is Our positive Order. that none of them of any Quality whatsoever. be permitted to see the Country. although in Company with the Governor. or any of our Servants. and care must be taken. that they may be prevented as much as possible. from Viewing and making remarks upon the Fortifications 32 And Act was passed in the last Sessions of Parliament. for regulating the commencement of the Year. and for correcting the Calendar now in use. some of which We have enclosed for your Information. that the Dates of all Books Accounts and Proceedings may be conformable to the said Act. 33 We approve of your allowing Mr Richard Margin Notes: Charles Snow to have leave to return to England great Courtesy to be used to Foreigners. Positive Orders that none of them go in the Country or view the Fortifications an Act passed in Parliament for the Regulating the Commencement of the year & correcting the Calendar sent	therefore to give him his discharge if he wished it, but to take care that the Company was put to no expense for his passage. 31: Although the Court wished the Governor and Council to treat foreigners with great courtesy, it was its positive order that none of them of any quality whatever be allowed to see the country, even in the company of the Governor or any of the Company's servants. Care was to be taken that they were prevented, as far as possible, from viewing the fortifications and making remarks on them. 32: An act had been passed in the last session of Parliament for regulating the commencement of the year and correcting the calendar now in use. The Court had enclosed some of it for the Governor and Council's information, so that the dates of all books, accounts and proceedings from now on might conform to the act. 33: The Court approved the Governor and Council allowing Mr Richard [...]. Interpretations The strict bar on foreigners viewing the country and the fortifications marks the security dimension of St Helena as a fortified naval station rather than a mere refreshment stop. Courtesy to visiting foreigners was to go no further than hospitality, and even men of rank, even escorted by the Governor himself, were to be kept from surveying the defences, since a clear view of the island's works would be intelligence of value to any European rival in time of war or peace. This concern to conceal the fortifications from foreign eyes reflects the island's standing role as a guarded strongpoint on the homeward route, whose strength was to be shown to no one who might one day attack it. The calendar act was the change from the old style to the new, moving the start of the legal year from 25 March to 1 January and bringing British reckoning into line with the continental calendar. The Court's instruction that all the island's books, accounts and proceedings conform to it reflects the practical need for a single consistent dating across a scattered administration, since accounts kept on the old reckoning at St Helena would no longer square with those kept in London. This alignment of the island's records to the new statute shows the reach of a metropolitan legal reform into the routine bookkeeping of a remote settlement, where the very dating of a consultation now had to follow the law passed at home.
114	111	Beale. who read Prayers in the Church. from the Dismission of Mr Loveday. untill the Arrival. of the Reverend Mr Lee. after the rate of Forty Pound a Year. 34 We received by the York. the Book containing the late Governor Goodwins Accounts. together with an Abstract of the same. and a Paper containing the Claims upon his Estate by several Persons at St Helena. upon a Perusal of which We find the Sum of Three hundred and six pound 17.3d ½ due to the Estate. from several Persons. mentioned as likely to be recovered. but We must observe. to You. that in that Sum is included a Debt due from Isaac Wood Decd of one hundred and sixteen Pounds. fourteen Shillings. and four Pence against which John Desfountain has. by a Petition transmitted to Us. set up a Counter Claim. of one hundred and nine Pounds. fifteen Shillings and Eleven Pence. for so much Lodged. as he Alledges. in the hands of Governor Goodwin. being part of his Fathers Wifes Fortune. as you will observe by the enclosed Copy of the said Petition. 35 As it does not Appear. that Desfountain made any Claim at St Helena of the said one hundred and Nine Pounds. fifteen Shillings and Eleven Margin Notes:	The Court approved the Governor and Council allowing Mr Beale, who read prayers in the church from the dismissal of Mr Loveday until the arrival of the Reverend Mr Lee, at the rate of £40 0s 0d a year. 34: The Court had received by the <i>York</i> the book containing the late Governor Goodwin's accounts, together with an abstract of the same, and a paper setting out the claims on his estate by several persons at St Helena. On reviewing them, the Court found the sum of £306 17s 3d to be due to the estate from several persons, noted as likely to be recovered. In that sum, however, was included a debt of £116 14s 4d due from Isaac Wood, deceased. Against this John Desfountain had, by a petition sent home to the Court, set up a counterclaim of £109 15s 11d, for so much as he alleged was lodged in the hands of Governor Goodwin, being part of his father's wife's fortune, as the Court would see by the enclosed copy of the petition. 35: Since it did not appear that Desfountain had made any claim at St Helena for the £109 15s 11d [...]. Interpretations The Goodwin estate accounts show the Company acting as the central clearing house for a dead governor's tangled affairs, gathering the books, an abstract and the local creditors' claims into its own hands in London. The sum of £306 17s 3d reckoned recoverable from various debtors was the estate's

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		approved of allowing Mr Beale £40 p year received the Book containing Govr Goodwins Accounts inclosed a Copy of Desfountains Petition	outstanding credit, but the discovery within it of a debt owed by another dead man, Isaac Wood, and then a competing claim on that same money, illustrates how the estate's assets were entangled with the private debts and inheritances of others on the island. This concentration of a distant estate's settlement at the Court reflects the standing difficulty of winding up the affairs of those who died in the Company's service far from the courts and creditors that had claims upon them. The Desfountain counterclaim turns on money said to have been lodged with the late governor as part of a family inheritance, a private deposit that had become entangled with the estate's debts. The claimant asserted that part of his father's wife's fortune had been placed in Governor Goodwin's hands, and now sought to set that off against what was owed to the estate through the Wood debt. The Court's attention to the fact that no such claim had been made on the island points to the procedural concern beneath the matter, since a demand raised for the first time in a petition to London, rather than before the island's own court where the parties and evidence lay, was open to question on that ground alone.
115	112	Eleven Pence. We must suppose. that there is little or no foundation for it. and therefore. you must recover the same. as soon as possibly. together with the other outstanding Debts. which make up the aforesaid Sum of Three hundred and six Pounds Seventeen Shillings and three Pence three farthings 36 You must. likewise. endeavour to get in what can be recoverable of the Sum of fifty one Pounds. three Shillings & 11d ½ which are Stiled by you in this manner. thought to be Desperate Debts 37 There is a remark. made by you at the Foot of the Account. that (besides the £306.17.3¼ beforementioned) Joshua Johnson stands Indebted to the Estate of Governor Goodwin. as appears by his Books. the sum of fifty five Pounds. seventeen Shillings. and 2/. but having by some means or other obtained a Receipt in full. he was inclined to take the Advantage. though it was made plainly to appear by Mr Baret & Mr John Godwin. that he had never paid the said Sum. We therefore insist upon his paying the said fifty five Pounds seventeen Shillings and 2/. into our Cash forthwith. as his Behaviour. in this Transaction does not merit any longer forbearance. if the Facts is as you have Stated it. Margin Notes: supposed to be but little foundation for Desfountains Claim must Endeavour to get in the Debts thought to be desperate must insist upon Johnsons paying his Debt	The Court supposed there was little or no foundation for the Desfountain claim. The Governor and Council were therefore to recover the money as soon as possible, together with the other outstanding debts, which made up the sum of £306 17s 3d. 36: The Governor and Council were also to try to get in what could be recovered of the sum of £51 3s 11d, which was set down in the account as thought to be desperate debts. 37: There was a remark made by the Governor and Council at the foot of the account that, besides the £306 17s 3d already mentioned, Joshua Johnson stood indebted to the estate of Governor Goodwin, as appeared by his books, in the sum of £55 17s 2d. Having by some means or other obtained a receipt in full, Johnson was inclined to take advantage of it, although Mr Bazett and Mr John Goodwin had made it plainly appear that he had never paid the sum. The Court therefore insisted on his paying the £55 17s 2d into its cash at once, since his behaviour in the transaction did not merit any longer forbearance, if the facts were as the Governor and Council had stated them. Interpretations The distinction between recoverable and desperate debts shows the working method by which a dead man's estate was assessed and pursued. The £306 17s 3d judged likely to come in was set apart from the £51 3s 11d written down as desperate, meaning debts thought unlikely ever to be collected, yet the Court directed the island to press even those in case anything could be salvaged. This grading of an estate's outstanding credits by their prospect of recovery reflects the ordinary practice of the period in settling accounts, where a realistic view of which debtors would pay determined how the estate's true worth was reckoned against the claims upon it. The Johnson receipt exposes a dispute over a discharge obtained without payment, and the Court's readiness to look behind a formal acquittance. A receipt in full was ordinarily conclusive proof that a debt had been settled, and Johnson meant to rely on his, yet two witnesses testified that he had never actually paid, and the Court accordingly refused to let the paper stand and demanded the money. This willingness to override a receipt on credible evidence of non-payment reflects the standing concern with honest accounting on the island, where the Court would not see the estate defrauded by a document that the facts contradicted, though it guarded itself with the proviso that the case was as the island had reported.

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			Speculations The Court chose to override Johnson's receipt in full and demand the money, rather than treating the discharge as conclusive and letting the matter rest. The obvious course, faced with a formal receipt acknowledging the debt paid, was to accept it as the settled proof it ordinarily was and pursue Johnson no further. Instead the Court set the document aside and insisted on payment. The reason is visible in the account itself: two credible witnesses had shown that no payment was ever made, so the receipt was worth nothing against the fact, and the Court judged that a man who would rely on a false acquittance to escape a real debt deserved no forbearance, though it prudently conditioned its demand on the facts being as the island had stated.
116	113	38 When you have Collected all that can be recovered which We hope will be in a very short time. you must give Us immediate Notice. that We may take into Consideration the several Claims upon the Estate. and Collected close. this long depending Account 39 Among the Claims transmitted to Us by the York. several of them are very Vague and loose. and very Vague. especially that of Mr Frances Wranghams for One hundred and thirteen Pounds Eleven Shillings and 5/½. for which there is only his bare Assertion of its being due to him. 40 You must therefore call upon the several Claimants. to deliver to you full. clear and distinct Claims. supported by proper Evidence. of the several Sums of Money due to them from the said Estate. which together with your Opinion upon each of the said Claims respectively. are to be transmitted to Us for our Information. 41 Such a Number of Horses and Mares. as a hundred. and amongst them several Breeders. which you acquaint Us are at present upon the Island must be a very great hindrance to the increase of Horned Cattle. which are of infinitely more consequence than Horses. in order therefore to prevent their Margin Notes: immediate Notice to be given after the Debts are Collected close several of the Claims very Vague especially Mr Wranghams the several Claimants to be called upon and your Opinion upon them to be transmitted upon their several Claims Horses must be a great hindrance to horned Cattle	38: When the Governor and Council had collected all that could be recovered, which the Court hoped would be in a very short time, they were to give immediate notice, so that the Court could take the several claims on the estate into consideration and close this long-pending account. 39: Among the claims sent home by the <i>York</i>, several were very vague and loose, especially that of Mr Francis Wrangham for £113 11s 5d, for which there was only his bare assertion that it was due to him. 40: The Governor and Council were therefore to call upon the several claimants to deliver full, clear and distinct claims, supported by proper evidence of the sums of money due to them from the estate. These, together with the Governor and Council's opinion on each of them, were to be sent home to the Court for its information. 41: The Court was informed that about a hundred horses and mares, among them several breeders, were at present on the island. These must be a very great hindrance to the increase of horned cattle, which were of infinitely more consequence than horses. In order therefore to prevent their increase [...]. Interpretations The insistence on full, clear claims supported by proper evidence, set against Mr Wrangham's bare assertion, shows the Court applying a standard of proof to the demands on the estate before it would allow them. A claim resting only on the claimant's word was not enough to charge the estate, and the Court required documentary or other evidence of each debt, gathered locally with the island's opinion attached. This demand for proof reflects the standing due process the Court imposed in contested money matters, protecting the estate and the Company against unsupported claims, and recognising that the evidence and the parties lay on the island where the claims could properly be tested. The concern over horses crowding out horned cattle reveals the Court weighing the island's livestock by its usefulness to the settlement's core purpose. Cattle furnished the beef on which the garrison and the passing fleet depended, whereas horses served chiefly transport and status, so a large breeding population of horses competing for the island's limited grazing threatened the supply that mattered most. This judgement that cattle were of infinitely more consequence than horses reflects the standing priority of provisioning over convenience on a small island of scarce pasture, where every acre of grass had to be turned to the food that sustained the station.
117	114	encrease. you are hereby directed to Order all the Stone Colts and Horses. to be gelded. and if you can point out any method for Lessening the present Stock. We shall readily empower. you to carry it into Execution 42 Elizabeth Meacock. Widow of our late Cooper. having represented to Us the difficulty she lays under. by the Executors. to whom you	The Governor and Council were directed to geld all the stone colts and horses. If they could point out any method for lessening the present stock, the Court would readily empower them to carry it into execution. 42: Elizabeth Meacock, widow of the Company's late cooper, had represented to the Court the difficulty she was under, because the executors to whom the Governor and Council had granted proof of her

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		granted proof of his Will. not transmitting her any of the Effects. or State of their Transactions in that behalf. and it being necessary she should be empowered to receive. an Annuity. here in her own right. before Marriage. We direct. you oblige. them to render as Just Account of their Trust. and remit. the Widow the produce. of the Deceaseds Effects. and that you recommend it to them to invest her with such power. for Acting here as she is advised to send by the Exeter. for their Execution. London the 29th Novr 1751 We are. Your Loving Friends Chas Gough Will Braund John Payne R. Drake Sam Feake Nichs Linwood Chrisr Burrow Wm Mabbott Timothy Tullie Thos Rous W Willy W. Mabbott Jn Cutts John Hope I. Raymond Mr Impey Peter DuCane Stephen Law Willm Rider Abel Fonnereau Henry Plant Margin Notes: directed to Geld all the Stone Colts & Horses directed to oblige the Executors of Meacock to render a just Account of the Effects & remit the Widow the money	husband's will had not sent her any of the effects or any account of their dealings in that behalf. Since she needed to be empowered to receive an annuity that was hers in her own right before marriage, the Court directed the Governor and Council to oblige the executors to render a just account of their trust, to remit the widow the produce of her husband's effects, and to invest her with the power needed for acting in her own case, as she was advised to send by the <i>Exeter</i> for putting it into execution. The letter was dated at London on 29 November 1751 and subscribed by the members of the Court of Directors: Charles Gough Samuel Feake Timothy Tullie Charles Cutts Peter Ducane Abel Sonnereau William Braund Nicholas Linwood Thomas Rous John Hope Stephen Law John Payne Christopher Burrow William Willy J. Raymond P. Godfrey Roger Drake William Mabbott William Rider Henry Plant Interpretations The order to geld the stone colts and horses was the practical means of carrying out the policy set in the previous paragraph, since a stone colt was an uncastrated young male able to breed. By gelding the entire males, the Court cut off the natural increase of the horse population at its source, leaving the island's grazing to the horned cattle it valued far more. This direct intervention in the island's breeding stock reflects the reach of the Court's management into the smallest details of the settlement's economy, where even the reproduction of animals was regulated to serve the overriding need for beef. The Meacock case shows the Court intervening to protect a widow against executors who had failed in their trust, and to secure her separate property. The executors had proved the cooper's will on the island but rendered neither the effects nor any account, leaving the widow unable to reach either her husband's estate or an annuity that was hers in her own right from before her marriage. The Court's direction that the executors account fully and that the widow be invested with power to act for herself reflects the standing concern to see trusts honestly executed and the vulnerable protected, and it recognises a married woman's distinct claim to property settled on her before marriage, a right that could otherwise be lost in the confusion of an unadministered estate.
118	115	Our Governor & Council of St Helena Having Directed David Hunter Esqr to proceed to the East Indies. upon the Companys Affairs. You are hereby directed to suffer him to leave the Island. and to give the Commander of the Exeter Orders to receive him. and his Necessarys aboard. and carry him to Fort Marlborough. on the Island of Sumatra. and you are to Supply him at Our Expence. with Fresh Provisions. and such necessary Necessarys as he shall desire.	Having directed David Hunter to proceed to the East Indies on the Company's affairs, the Court directed the Governor and Council to let him leave the island. They were to order the commander of the <i>Exeter</i> to receive him and his necessities aboard and to carry him to Fort Marlborough on the island of Sumatra. The Governor and Council were to supply him at the Company's expense with fresh provisions and whatever other necessities he might want. The letter was dated at the East India House, London, on 29 November 1751 and subscribed by the members of the Court of Directors: Roger Drake Charles Cutts

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		East India Ho London We are 26 November. 1751 Your Loving Friends R. Drake Wm Baker Cha. Cutts W. Mabbott Peter DuCane M. Impey Abel Fonnereau Willm Rider Stephen Law Henry Plant Cha. Gough John Payne Sam Feake Chrisr Burrow Nichs Linwood W Willy Thos Rous I. Raymond John Hope P. Godfrey Timothy Tullie Will Braund Margin Notes: David Hunter Esqr permitted to leave the Island. & to be Supplied at the Companys Expence with all necessarys	Peter Ducane Abel Sonnereau Stephen Law Charles Gough Samuel Feake Nicholas Linwood Thomas Rous John Hope Timothy Tullie William Baker William Mabbott M. Impey William Rider Henry Plant John Payne Christopher Burrow William Willy J. Raymond P. Godfrey William Braund This short letter, separate from the long general despatch of the same date, singled out one passenger for particular direction, showing how the Court used a brief covering order to arrange the passage and provisioning of an individual servant travelling on the Company's business. The instruction that Hunter be carried on to Fort Marlborough and supported at the Company's charge along the way reflects the island's fixed role as a staging point on the route east, where a man bound for the Sumatra settlements was received, victualled and forwarded by the next appropriate ship.
<u>119</u>	116	Our Governor and Council at St Helena. 1 The Ship Exeter carried our last Commands to You. under date of the 29th November 1751 in two Letters. the one being the General one. and the other. relating only. to Mr Hunter. which We have the Satisfaction of observing are safely come to hand. 2 The several Letters received from You this Season. were dated as follows Vizt. the 3 of December 1751. the 7 January. the 24 and 26 February. the 4 6. 13. 21 and 29 March. and 4. 12 and 16 April. the 2. 22 and 30. May. the 9. 18 and 24 of June. and 18 August 1752. 3 The Duplicates of the Letters of the 4th April. and 22d of May by the French Companys Ships the Duke of Parma and Duke of Chartres came to our Hands by the Ships St George and the Hardwicke some time before the Originals. which latter were punctually forwarded to Us by the Gentlemen to whom you entrusted them. 4 You have. in the abovementioned Letters. given Us a full and satisfactory Accounts of the Arrival and Departure. of Shipping. and your Transactions with them. as likewise. agreeable to our Margin Notes: last Advices sent by the Ship to You. Exeter in two Letters Advices received Letters sent by the French Ships recd Advices approved and must	1: The ship <i>Exeter</i> had carried the Court's last commands to the Governor and Council under date of 29 November 1751, in two letters, the one being the general letter and the other relating only to Mr Hunter. The Court had the satisfaction of learning that both had safely reached the island. 2: The several letters received from the Governor and Council this season were dated as follows: 3 December 1751, 7 January, 24 and 26 February, 4, 6, 13, 21 and 29 March, 4, 12 and 16 April, 2, 22 and 30 May, 9, 18 and 24 June, and 18 August 1752. 3: The duplicates of the letters of 4 April and 22 May, sent by the French Company's ships the <i>Duke of Parma</i> and <i>Duke of Chartres</i>, had reached the Court by the ships <i>St George</i> and <i>Hardwicke</i> some time before the originals. The latter were duly forwarded to the Court by the gentlemen to whom the Governor and Council had entrusted them. 4: In the letters mentioned above the Governor and Council had given the Court a full and satisfactory account of the arrival and departure of shipping, and of their dealings with them, which the Court approved. [...]. Interpretations The routing of the island's duplicate letters through French Company ships shows the practical workings of correspondence in a period when the two rival companies were at peace and their vessels shared the same sea lanes. The Governor and Council sent copies of their despatches by the French ships <i>Duke of Parma</i> and <i>Duke of Chartres</i>, and these outran the originals carried by the Company's own <i>St George</i> and <i>Hardwicke</i>. This willingness to entrust duplicate correspondence to a rival power's shipping reflects the standing practice of sending letters by more than one conveyance to guard against loss, the duplicate serving as insurance whichever ship arrived first. The itemised list of received letters, spanning many dates across the season, continues the standing discipline by which the Court confirmed exactly which of the island's despatches had reached London. Because letters travelled by different ships at different speeds, and any might be lost or captured, this careful acknowledgement let the Governor and Council check

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			that none of their correspondence had gone astray. This routine recital of dates reflects the abiding difficulty of governing a remote station by paper that arrived unevenly and out of order, where certainty about what had been received was itself a matter worth setting down.
120	117	our Directions. such Intelligence. relating to our Affairs in general. as you could collect from the Commanders and others. and transmitted an Account of the Cargoes of every Ship as they arrived. all which must be observed with the same punctuality. for the future. 5 We have taken into our Service this Season and Nationed for the several Parts We Trade to. the undermentioned Ships Vizt. Walpole: 499, Francis Fowler, St Helena & Bencooln Griffin: 499, Thomas Dethick, China. directly Harcourt: 499, William Webber Boscawen: 499, Benjn Braund Clinton: 499, John Nanfan Edgbaston: 499, Edwd Steedman, Coast & China Suffolk: 499, William Wilson Marlborough: 499, William Parks Winchelsea: 499, Christr Baron, Madeira & Coast & Bay Falmouth: 499, Thomas Field Egmont: 40, Thomas Tolson Elizabeth: 499, Edward Wills, Coast and Bay Portfield: 400, Cantorel Selwyn Montfort: 499, Frdk Vincent Salisbury: 499, John Fort, Persia & Bombay Stafford: 499, Felix Baker Sandwich: 499, John Purling, Bombay Tavstock: 499, Nathaniel Cush 6 Besides Margin Notes: advices continued for the future Ships taken up this Season	The Court noted that the Governor and Council had sent such intelligence relating to its affairs in general as they could gather from the commanders and others, and had forwarded an account of the cargoes of every ship as she arrived. All this was to be kept up with the same punctuality in future. 5: The Court had taken into its service this season, and stationed for the several parts it traded to, the ships named below. The column headings give the ship's name, then its tonnage, then the commander, then the station. The <i>Walpole</i>, 499 tons, Francis Fowler commander, consigned to St Helena and Bencoolen. The <i>Griffin</i>, 499 tons, Thomas Dethick commander, consigned to China directly. The <i>Harcourt</i>, 499 tons, William Webber commander, consigned to the Coast and China. The <i>Boscawen</i>, 499 tons, Benjamin Braund commander, consigned to the Coast and China. The <i>Clinton</i>, 499 tons, John Nanfan commander, consigned to the Coast and China. The <i>Edgbaston</i>, 499 tons, Edward Studeman commander, consigned to the Coast and China. The <i>Suffolk</i>, 499 tons, William Wilson commander, consigned to the Coast and China. The <i>Marlborough</i>, 499 tons, William Parks commander, consigned to the Coast and China. The <i>Winchelsea</i>, 499 tons, Christopher Baron commander, consigned to Madeira and the Coast and Bay. The <i>Falmouth</i>, 499 tons, Thomas Field commander, consigned to the Coast and Bay. The <i>Egmont</i>, 400 tons, Thomas Tolson commander, consigned to the Coast and Bay. The <i>Elizabeth</i>, 499 tons, Edward Wills commander, consigned to the Coast and Bay. The <i>Portfield</i>, 400 tons, Cantoret Selwyn commander, consigned to the Coast and Bay. The <i>Montfort</i>, 499 tons, Frederick Vincent commander, consigned to the Coast and Bay. The <i>Salisbury</i>, 499 tons, John Fort commander, consigned to Persia and Bombay. The <i>Stafford</i>, 499 tons, Felix Baker commander, consigned to Bombay. The <i>Sandwich</i>, 499 tons, John Pirling commander, consigned to Bombay. The <i>Tavistock</i>, 499 tons, Nathaniel Cush commander, consigned to Bombay. Interpretations The recurrence of the same tonnage figures and the familiar spread of destinations shows the settled pattern of the Company's annual shipping, dispatched to its three great trading arms before any ship reached St Helena. The bulk of the season's vessels were marked for the Coast and China, the two streams carrying the outward silver and returning with textiles and tea, while smaller groups went to the Bay, to Bombay and to Persia. The island's interest in the list lay in knowing which ships to expect and where each was bound, so that it could identify arrivals, gather cargo intelligence and forward the season's correspondence to the right destination. The two ships rated at 400 tons, the <i>Egmont</i> and the <i>Portfield</i>, stood apart from the uniform 499-ton class that made up the rest of the fleet. As noted before, vessels of 500 tons and over were required to carry a chaplain, so the larger ships were registered at 499 tons to fall just under the threshold, while these two smaller hulls fell naturally below it. Their lighter rating shows

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			the Company matching ship to task, employing smaller and cheaper vessels for particular voyages that did not demand the capacity of the main East Indiamen, though here both were still consigned to the Coast and Bay alongside the larger ships.
121	118	6 Besides which. We have fitted out our own Ship the <i>Dragon</i> Burthen 350 Tons Captain Henry Kent Commander. and Consigned her to Madagascar. to procure a Cargo of Slaves for the use of our Presidency at Fort St George. as likewise. our own Ship the <i>Swallow</i> of 180 Tons Captain John Bell Commander for a Number of Slaves for our Service at Bombay Presidency. 7 We have for your information transmitted in this Packet Lists of the Arrival and Departure of all our Shipping since the last was sent You by the <i>Exeter</i>. which Ship sailed the 16th December 1751. 8 The Gentlemen appointed this Season as a Committee of Secrecy for appointing Signals for the Security of the Companys Shipping. are William Baker. Richard Chauncy. William Mabbott and Jones Raymond Esqrs. three of whom are a Quorum. whose. Orders. must be punctually. complied with. 9 The Ship <i>Walpole</i> Captain Francis Fowler Commander brings You these Advices. together with a Consignment of Goods and Stores agreeable to the enclosed Invoice and Bill of Loading. 10 There is the usual Provision in this Ships Charterparty. for allowing the Owners Demorage in case of her Detention at St Helena. above Ten Working Margin Notes: Dragon and Swallow sent to Madagascar for Slaves List of Ships sent Secret Committee Supply sent agreeable to Invoice the Ship to be unloaded	6: Besides these, the Court had fitted out its own ship the <i>Dragon</i>, of 350 tons, Captain Henry Kent commander, and consigned her to Madagascar to procure a cargo of slaves for the use of its presidency at Fort St George. It had likewise fitted out its own ship the <i>Swallow</i>, of 180 tons, Captain John Belt commander, for a number of slaves for its service at the Bombay presidency. 7: The Court had sent in this packet, for the Governor and Council's information, lists of the arrival and departure of all its shipping since the last was sent out by the <i>Exeter</i>, which ship sailed on 16 December 1751. 8: The gentlemen appointed this season as a committee of secrecy for settling the signals for the safety of the Company's shipping were William Baker, Richard Chauncy, William Mabbott and John Raymond, any three of whom made a quorum. Their orders were to be strictly complied with. 9: The ship <i>Walpole</i> under Captain Francis Fowler as commander brought the Governor and Council these advices, together with a consignment of goods and stores in keeping with the enclosed invoice and bill of lading. 10: The charter party of this ship carried the usual provision for allowing the owners demurrage in case of her detention at St Helena above ten working [...]. Interpretations The two Company-owned ships fitted out for Madagascar and sent expressly for slaves show the direct machinery by which the Company supplied bonded labour to its Indian presidencies. Rather than leave the traffic wholly to chance purchase, the Court equipped its own vessels, the <i>Dragon</i> for Fort St George and the <i>Swallow</i> for Bombay, and dispatched them to Madagascar, the accustomed source, to bring back cargoes of slaves for the settlements' use. This deliberate provisioning of slave labour by the Company's own shipping reflects the standing dependence of its eastern establishments on Madagascar as a supply of forced labour, procured and distributed through the same corporate apparatus that carried its trade. The demurrage provision in the <i>Walpole's</i> charter party reappears as a fixed term of every season's hire, its purpose being to penalise the Company for any delay beyond the ten working days allowed for unloading at the island. Because the Company owed the shipowners a daily sum for a vessel held idle past that limit, the clause gave the Court its standing reason to press the island on a quick turnaround and on formal protest where a commander overstayed. This recurring insistence on the ten-day limit reflects the real cost that a slow discharge at St Helena imposed, and the discipline the Court maintained across every despatch to keep its ships moving and its demurrage liability contained.
122	119	Working Days. You must therefore be industrious to get her Cargo out. and deliver the Commander his Sailing Orders within the said Ten Days 11 You must direct the Commander to make the best of his way to Fort Marlborough. upon the West Coast of the Island Sumatra. agreeable to the Instructions he has received from Us. and follow the Orders he shall receive from our Deputy Governor and Council there for his future Proceeding. 12 In answer to your Letter of the 23d July. We are to acquaint You. that if any Foreign Ships of	The charter party allowed the owners demurrage if the <i>Walpole</i> was detained at St Helena above ten working days. The Governor and Council were therefore to be industrious in getting her cargo out and delivering the commander his sailing orders within those ten days. 11: The Governor and Council were to direct the commander to make the best of his way to Fort Marlborough on the west coast of the island of Sumatra, in keeping with the instructions he had received from the Court, and to follow the orders he

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		War arrive at St Helena. they are to Salute. the first which you are to return Gun for Gun. You are to behave in a Friendly and Polite manner. to the Governor. and Persons of Distinction belonging to other Nations. who may at any time arrive at St Helena. but you are to make them no particular Compliments. 13 In what manner. We have complied with your Indent. will appear by this Ships Invoice. to which You are therefore. referd. 14 We have complied with your Indent this Year for Cotton Wick. but You must for the future. apply to the President and Council of Bengall for that Article. who can supply you with any Quantity. and in what Shape you desire. Margin Notes: within ten Working Days the Commander to be directed to make the best of his way to Fort Marlborough Foreign Ships of War arriving at St Helena to Salute first. which you are to return. & no particular Complements to be made to any Governor or Persons of Distinction the Indent Complied with Cotton Wick sent. must for the future write to India for that Commodity	should receive from the Deputy Governor and Council there for his further proceeding. 12: In answer to the Governor and Council's letter of 23 July, the Court advised that if any foreign ships of war arrived at St Helena, they were to be saluted first, the salute to be returned gun for gun. The Governor and Council were to behave in a friendly and polite manner to the governors and persons of distinction of other nations who might at any time arrive at St Helena, but were to pay them no particular compliments. 13: The manner in which the Court had met the island's indent would appear by this ship's invoice, to which the Governor and Council were referred. 14: The Court had met the island's indent this year for cotton wick, but in future the Governor and Council were to apply to the president and council of Bengal for that article, who could supply them with any quantity, and in whatever shape they wished. Interpretations The salute protocol for foreign warships shows the fine calibration of naval courtesy the island had to observe, balancing civility against the assertion of possession. A foreign ship of war was to be saluted first and answered gun for gun, an exchange of equals that acknowledged another power's naval standing, while the studied withholding of any particular compliments to foreign governors and dignitaries marked the limit of that courtesy. This careful distinction between friendly reception and pointed reserve reflects the island's position as a fortified British possession that received the ships of other nations in peacetime yet conceded them nothing beyond form, the guns marking respect without deference. The redirection of the cotton wick supply from London to the council of Bengal shows the Company rationalising its provisioning along the lines of its own eastern production. Cotton wick, the twisted cotton used for lamps and candles, was an Indian manufacture better and more cheaply had at its source than shipped out from England, and the Court accordingly told the island to draw it from Bengal in future. This shifting of a routine supply onto the nearest producing settlement reflects the standing effort to source the island's needs efficiently within the Company's network, sparing the long carriage from London where an eastern presidency could furnish the article directly.
123	120	15 We shall take notice to our Servants at Bombay. of the Complaint You make of the weakness of the Arrack. received from them. We observe. You have a large Quantity of it remaining in the Stores. and that you are apprehensive. from the small demand there has been for it. for some time past. You shall not be able to dispose. of it at the Rates We paid Vizt. Five Shillings. to our Servants. and six Shillings a Gallon to others. You must endeavour. to dispose. of it at those Prices if possible. but if You cannot succeed therein. We do allow You to make an equitable. and reasonable Abatement. in the Prices. taking the utmost care. that it be not made a Precedent. for lowering the Prices of Arrack. of the usual strength and Quality. 16 We observe the Swallow brought you One thousand five hundred and seventy Gallons of Cape Brandy We have discontinued our Orders to the Commanders for bringing You any further Quantity and therefore. You will receive no more of that Commodity. unless you shall find it necessary to desire us to renew our Orders. 17 You say the reason for your Indenting for Bread is merely for the Service of our Ships. whose Commanders frequently want it. for their People. We are satisfied. if they can have. good Flour Margin Notes:	

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		Notice will be taken to the Servts of Bombay of the Weakness of the Arrack permitted to lower the Price of Arrack. but not to be made a precedent of &c no more Cape Brandy to be sent no Bread sent	
124	121	Flour. they cannot be distressed. and therefore. We shall discontinue the sending of Bread. as by its Bulk. We have been prevented in sending you. and to our Settlement on the West. Coast other necessary Articles. with regard to the Flour. all possible care. must be taken of it in the Storehouses. to prevent its Spoiling 18 You have not given the Dementions of the Baulks and Riga Timber. in your Indent. nor described the lengths and sorts of Deals wanted. whether Chrisiana or others. nor the Sizes of the Pewter Bason or for what uses they are designed. neither have you mentioned whether the Beer should be Strong or Small these. are Omissions which must be carefully avoided for the future. and in general. You must be always very explicit in every Article of the Indent 19 We observe. mentioned in your Account of Remains eleven unserviceable Cannon. and a Number of old good for nothing Firelocks and Bayonets which as they can be of no possible use. or be disposed of at St Helena. must be sent. to England. but the Commanders of the Ships on which you find them must engage. to bring them Freight free. 20 We observe. that you had a Balance of Cash in your Hand. upon the 31 of July last of £5427.13.7 and therefore. cannot suppose you will stand in need Margin Notes: all possible care to be taken of the Flour not particular enough in the Indent these Omissions to be avoided in future the old Cannon and Firelocks to be sent to England cannot suppose to be in want	If the Governor and Council could have good flour they could not be distressed, and so the Court would stop sending bread, since its bulk had prevented it from sending the island and its settlement on the west coast other necessary articles. As for the flour, all possible care was to be taken of it in the storehouses to prevent its spoiling. 18: The Governor and Council had not given the dimensions of the baulks and Riga timber in their indent, nor described the lengths and sorts of deals wanted, whether Christiania or others, nor the sizes of the pewter basins or the uses they were designed for, nor whether the beer should be strong or small. These were omissions to be carefully avoided in future, and in general the Governor and Council were always to be very explicit in every article of the indent. 19: The Court observed that the Governor and Council's account of remains listed eleven unserviceable cannon and a number of old useless firelocks and bayonets. As these could be of no possible use, or be disposed of, at St Helena, they were to be sent to England, and the commanders of the ships on which they were sent were to undertake to bring them freight free. 20: The Court observed that the Governor and Council had a balance of cash in hand on 31 July of £5,427 13s 7d, and so it could not suppose they would stand in need [...]. Interpretations The catalogue of omissions in the island's indent, and the Court's demand for exactness, exposes the difficulty of ordering stores across the distance between London and St Helena. Without the dimensions of the baulks and Riga timber, the sorts of deals, the sizes of the pewter basins or even whether the beer was to be strong or small, the Court could not fill the order correctly, and a vague indent risked the wrong goods being shipped thousands of miles. Riga timber and Christiania deals were Baltic and Norwegian softwoods, the standard building and joinery woods of the period, and the requirement to specify their exact scantlings reflects the standing discipline of provisioning a remote settlement, where a loose request wasted cargo space and a season's delay could not easily be recovered. The order to ship the worn-out cannon, firelocks and bayonets home freight free shows the Court reclaiming value from military scrap that was useless on the island but not worthless in England. Broken ordnance and small arms could be sold or reworked at home for their metal, so rather than let them lie idle at St Helena the Court had them returned, and shifted the carriage cost onto the commanders as a condition of their charter. This recovery of even unserviceable stores reflects the close economy the Court maintained over its property, treating a heap of condemned weapons as an asset to be realised rather than abandoned at the far end of the supply line.
125	122	of any further Supply. but if. contrary to our expectations You should. We permit You to take. out of one of the Chests of Treasure consigned to Fort Marlborough. what may be absolutely necessary and no more. taking care to Seal up the Chest again and to transmit an Account thereof to the Deputy Governor and Council there. 21 And here we cannot help observing. that in part of the Balance of Cash remaining in your Hands. there appears to be brought to Account	The Court did not suppose the Governor and Council would need any further supply of cash. If, contrary to its expectations, they should, it permitted them to take from one of the chests of treasure consigned to Fort Marlborough whatever was absolutely necessary and no more, taking care to seal the chest up again and to send an account of it to the Deputy Governor and Council there. 21: The Court could not help observing that, in part of the balance of cash remaining in the Governor and

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		every Month without variation 12 Pieces of Gold. 70 Venetians and 12 Gold Rupees. amounting to £112.12.0 this does not appear. to be serviceable as Currant Cash. and therefore. We direct that You remit it to Us. unless You have any very particular Reasons to the Contrary. 22 We observe. likewise. that another part of your Monthly Ballance consists of about Six thousand Pagodas. with so little a variation in the Number from time to time. that We conceive. they are of little use in the Currency of your Cash. You must therefore. acquaint us with the utility of them and send to Us as many of them as are unnecessary for the Currant Service of the Island. 23 We have carefully perused the several Paragraphs Margin Notes: of Cash. but if should permitted to take some consigned to Fort Marlbro some of the Cash not appearing to be Currant. must be sent to England Pagodas conceived to be of little use &c a	Council's hands, the very same items appeared brought to account month after month without variation: twelve pieces of gold, seventy Venetians and twelve gold rupees, amounting to £112 12s 0d. This did not appear to be serviceable as current cash, and so the Court directed the Governor and Council to remit it home, unless they had any very particular reasons to the contrary. 22: The Court observed likewise that another part of the monthly balance consisted of about six thousand pagodas, with so little variation in the number from time to time that it judged them of little use in the currency of the island's cash. The Governor and Council were therefore to report on their usefulness and to send home as many of them as were unnecessary for the current service of the island. 23: The Court had carefully perused the several paragraphs [...]. Interpretations The frozen items in the island's cash balance reveal the Court reading the accounts closely enough to distinguish live currency from dead stock. Coin that reappeared month after month at exactly the same figure, whether the twelve pieces of gold and seventy Venetians or the six thousand pagodas, was plainly not circulating, and the Court judged it idle capital better remitted home or put to use than left sitting unproductive in the island's chest. This forensic attention to the composition of a distant cash balance reflects the standing concern with the efficient employment of the Company's money, treating unmoving coin as a fault in the accounts rather than a reserve, and demanding that it be released back into service. The Venetians and gold rupees among the island's holdings show the mixed international character of the coin that gathered at a mid-ocean station on the trade routes. Venetian gold ducats and Indian gold rupees, alongside pagodas from the Coromandel coast, reflect the many currencies that passed through St Helena with the ships of several nations and the Company's own eastern commerce. That such varied coin could accumulate and lie unspent points to the island's limited internal economy, where a small resident population and a controlled market gave little occasion to circulate gold, so that foreign specie piled up in the chest as a curiosity of the accounts rather than working money.
126	123	Paragraph in your Letter of the 9th and 24th June. together with the several Papers referd to. in answer to our Command of the 29 of the preceding November. with the regard to a Remonstrance. sent to us last Year. by some of the Planters relating to furnishing the Market. with Provisions. and as your Representation of the several Facts You were directed to enquire. into. appear to be very fair and candid. We are. so far from thinking the Remonstrants had any just cause to complain. that We are convinced they have been. actuated with a Spirit of Opposition and Selfish Views. and without any regard to ours or the general Interest of the Island. It is with satisfaction however we observe that the Complainants are inconsiderable. as well in Number. as Fortune. to most of the other Planters. and that several of them have been spirited up to Sign the Remonstrance. by ill designing turbulent. Men. among whom one Thomas Greentree. appears to have been the most active. In order therefore to preserve our just Authority. and the Tranquility of the Island. You are hereby directed to Send him to England. upon one of the first Ships. that shall depart. after the Receipt of these Orders. unless You give such reasons. as will be satisfactory to Us. as well as to your Selves. for continuing him upon the Island.	The Court had carefully read the several paragraphs in the Governor and Council's letter of 9 and 24 June, together with the papers referred to in them, in answer to its own commands of 29 November the preceding year regarding the remonstrance sent home the year before by some of the planters about furnishing the market with provisions. Since the Governor and Council's account of the several facts they had been directed to enquire into appeared very fair and candid, the Court was so far from thinking the remonstrants had any just cause to complain that it was convinced they had been driven by a spirit of opposition and selfish views, without any regard to the Company or to the general interest of the island. It observed with satisfaction, however, that the complainants were inconsiderable in number as well as in fortune compared with most of the other planters, and that several of them had been stirred up to sign the remonstrance by ill-designing men, among whom one Thomas Greentree appeared to have been the most active. In order therefore to preserve its just authority and the tranquillity of the island, the Court directed the Governor and Council to send Greentree to England by one of the first ships that departed after the receipt of these orders, unless they could give reasons satisfactory both to the Court and to themselves for keeping him on the island.

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		Margin Notes: the Planters Representation &c a the Accounts. sent appears very fair. to be very just Satisfaction with observed that the Complainants are but inconsiderable Mr Greentree Ordered to England &c a	Interpretations The Court's verdict on the planters' remonstrance shows how it resolved a contested grievance once the local enquiry it had ordered came in. Having sent the complaint back to the island for a strict investigation, it accepted the Governor and Council's fair account and concluded the complaint was without just cause, framing the protesters as a small and poor faction acting from selfish opposition rather than real hardship. This weighing of the complainants by their number and fortune reflects the Court's readiness to discount a grievance that came from the margins of the planter body, and to treat the market dispute, once examined, as a matter of faction rather than of genuine injury to the producers as a whole. The order to deport Thomas Greentree as the ringleader reveals the Company's use of forced removal as an instrument of social control over a small and closed community. Rather than punish the whole body of signatories, the Court identified the most active agitator and directed his removal to England, on the reasoning that stripping the discontent of its leader would restore quiet without a broader reckoning. This targeting of an individual thought to have stirred up the rest, coupled with the power to ship him off the island altogether, reflects the standing concern to preserve the Court's authority and the island's tranquillity, and the reach of a distant governing body into the fate of a single troublesome inhabitant. Speculations The Court chose to remove only Thomas Greentree as the supposed ringleader, rather than punishing the whole body of planters who signed the remonstrance. The obvious course, having judged the complaint groundless and born of a spirit of opposition, was to discipline all the signatories for their concerted protest against the Company's market. Instead the Court singled out one man for deportation and left the rest untouched. The reason lies in its own reading of the affair: it believed most of the signers had been stirred up by a few ill-designing men and were followers rather than instigators, so it reasoned that removing the most active agitator would quiet the discontent at its source, and it preferred to strike at the head than to alienate a body of planters it still depended on for the island's provisions.
127	124	24 Being fully convinced of the general Utility of a Public Market. and Sensible of the Hardships our Garrison and Inferior Servants Labour under. for want of a regular Supply of fresh Provisions at reasonable Rates. We positively direct that a Market be held at least one Day in every Week and to be fixed upon by you. of which you are to give Public Notice to the Planters. and acquaint them We expect they will effectually. Supply it at the stated times. that the Market may be so effectually supplied. and the Planters find their Interest. in doing it. We hereby order and Direct 25 That you do cause an Exact. Account to be taken and laid before You. from time to time. of every Planters Stock of Cattle & Sheep 26 That every Planter do contribute a Quantity of Beef and other fresh Provisions to the Market. in proportion to his Stock. the Quantity and times of sending it to be regulated by you. 27 That no Planter be allowed to sell any Beef or Mutton to any Ship whatever either our own or Foreigners. without a Licence under your Hands in Writing. 28 That all Licences be granted without any Fee or Reward whatsoever 29 That in granting Licences. We recommend it	24: Being fully convinced of the general usefulness of a public market, and aware of the hardships the garrison and the inferior servants and labourers were under for want of a regular supply of fresh provisions at reasonable rates, the Court positively directed that a market be held at least one day in every week. The day was to be fixed by the Governor and Council, who were to give public notice of it to the planters and let them know the Court expected them to supply it properly at the set times. So that the market might be effectually supplied, and the planters find it in their interest to do so, the Court ordered and directed as follows. 25: An exact account of every planter's stock of cattle and sheep was to be taken from time to time and laid before the Governor and Council. 26: Every planter was to contribute a quantity of beef and other fresh provisions to the market in proportion to his stock, the quantity and times of sending it to be regulated by the Governor and Council. 27: No planter was to be allowed to sell any beef or mutton to any ship whatever, whether the Company's own or foreigners, without a licence in writing under the Governor and Council's hands. 28: All licences were to be granted without any fee or reward whatever.

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		Margin Notes: Convinced of the Utility of a market Positively directed that a Market be held & to be held an Exact Account of Cattle & Sheep to be taken every Planter to Contribute a quantity of Beef &c a to the market no Planter allowed to Sell any Beef or mutton without a Licence No reward to be taken for the Licences	29: In granting licences, the Court recommended [...]. Interpretations The market regime set out here shows the Court imposing a compulsory supply system to secure the garrison's food against the planters' preference for more profitable buyers. By fixing a weekly market, compelling each planter to contribute beef in proportion to his stock, and forbidding any sale to shipping without a written licence, the Court subordinated private trade to the provisioning of the soldiers and lesser servants. This structure of a census of stock, a proportional levy and a licensing gate reflects the standing tension of the island's economy, in which the small body of producers had to be regulated into feeding the establishment first, the free sale to passing ships allowed only by permission once the garrison's needs were met. The requirement that licences be granted free of any fee reveals a deliberate guard against corruption in the very officers entrusted with the system. A licence to sell beef to shipping was a valuable permission, and had the Governor and Council been able to charge for it, the gate would soon have become a source of private profit and favouritism. By making every licence free, the Court removed the incentive for the officers to extort or to sell access, keeping the licensing power as an instrument of supply control rather than a means of gain. This insistence on unpaid permissions reflects the recurring institutional concern to prevent those in authority on the island from turning their regulatory powers to their own enrichment.
128	125	it to you. to have a regard to the Quantity of Fresh Provisions each Planter has supplied the Market. with. 30 That the Accounts taken of every Planters Stock. from time to time. the proportions of Fresh Provisions. with which each of them supply the Market and Shipping. together with the Licences Granted to them. and whatever else may be relative thereto. be entered in your Diary. that we may. see how the Planters conform themselves to these. Regulations. as well as. be able to Judge. whether you act in this affair. with Equity and Moderation 31 We approve of your taking all prudent. measures to prevent Foreign Ships being supplied forth exorbitant Quantity of Fresh Provisions. in prejudice of our own. for the Planters are not to imagine We afford them our Protection and bear the heavy Expences of the Island. for their Benefit only. and the Advantage of Foreigners. it is the chief. but Refreshments and Accommodation of our own Shipping. and the Support. of our Garrison that are our principal Objects in view. but at the same time. We are not against Foreigners being supplied. under reasonable. restrictions. 32 The Observation You make. that if the Commanders of our Ships are in want of Poultry Margin Notes: Regard to be had to the Quantity of Provisions the Planters supply the Market with all things relating to the Planters to be Entered in the Diary the measures taken to prevent Foreign Ships. having too much Provision approved of. the Companys Ships & Garrison the only principal Object. but not against Foreign Ships being Supplied under reasonable Restrictions	The Court recommended that in granting licences the Governor and Council have regard to the quantity of fresh provisions each planter had supplied to the market. 30: The accounts taken of every planter's stock from time to time, the proportions of fresh provisions with which each of them supplied the market and shipping, the licences granted to them and whatever else might relate to the matter, were to be entered in the island diary, so that the Court could see how the planters conformed to these regulations and judge whether the Governor and Council acted in the affair with equity and moderation. 31: The Court approved the Governor and Council taking all prudent measures to prevent foreign ships being supplied with exorbitant quantities of fresh provisions, to the prejudice of the Company's own. The planters were not to imagine the Company afforded them its protection and bore the heavy expenses of the island for their benefit and the advantage of foreigners. Refreshment and accommodation of the Company's own shipping, and the support of its garrison, were its principal objects, but at the same time it was not against foreigners being supplied under reasonable restrictions. 32: As to the observation the Governor and Council made, that if the commanders of the Company's ships were in want of poultry [...]. Interpretations The requirement to enter the whole market administration in the island diary shows the Court building a documentary check on its own officers' fairness. By recording each planter's stock, his contributions to market and shipping and the licences granted him, the Governor and Council created a written trail against which London could test whether they administered the system with equity or with favour. This use of the diary as an instrument of oversight reflects the standing reliance on the written record to govern at a distance, since only a full and continuous account let the Court judge, months later and thousands of miles away, whether its regulations

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			were being applied evenly or bent to serve particular interests. The Court's statement of priorities lays bare the island's fundamental purpose and the limits of the planters' claims upon it. St Helena was maintained at heavy expense not for the profit of its inhabitants but as a refreshment station for the Company's shipping and a support for its garrison, and the planters were reminded pointedly that they existed to serve that end rather than to grow rich by selling freely to foreigners. This blunt restatement of the settlement's function reflects the recurring institutional view of the island as a dead charge justified only by its service to the homeward fleet, with the local economy permitted to flourish only so far as it did not compete with that overriding object.
129	126	many of the Planters. will not part with a Dozen Fowls. except they buy a Head of them. and then they must take alive. much to their disadvantage We find upon Enquiry to be Fact. in many instances and therefore. you must use. your utmost Endeavors. to prevent such unreasonable practices for the future. 33 Jack Defence. the Slave you mention. to have Deserted. came to England in the <i>True Briton</i>. on board which Ship he had concealed himself. the Reason he gives for running away was the severe. and cruel Usage he met with from the Armourer. under whom he was employed as the fellow dreaded the returning to serve under his old Master. and was willing to serve us any where else. We have sent. him to Fort St George. in the <i>Dragon</i> 34 You must enquire whether the. Armourer used the Fellow in the manner he sets forth. and if you find it true. give him a proper Reprimand. and We recommend it to You to see that all our Slaves are used Humanely. by the several Persons who have the Superintendancy of them 35 As Mr Hunter is gone to India in consequence. of the Orders he received from Us last Margin Notes: The Observation about the Planters not parting with Dozen of Fowls. without taking a Head. found to be just &c a Jack Defence sent to Madrass Enquiry to be made about his Usage. & all the Slaves to be used Humanely	Many of the planters would not part with a dozen fowls unless the buyer took a head of cattle from them as well, and then the cattle had to be taken alive, much to the buyer's disadvantage. The Court found on enquiry that this was the case in many instances, and so the Governor and Council were to use their utmost efforts to prevent such unreasonable practices in future. 33: Jack Defence, the slave the Governor and Council mentioned had deserted, had come to England in the <i>True Briton</i>, on board which ship he had concealed himself. The reason he gave for running away was the severe and cruel treatment he had met with from the armourer under whom he was employed. As the fellow dreaded returning to serve under his old master, and was willing to serve anywhere else, the Court had sent him to Fort St George in the <i>Dragon</i>. 34: The Governor and Council were to enquire whether the armourer had used the fellow in the manner he stated, and if they found it true, to give him a proper reprimand. The Court recommended that they see to it that all the Company's slaves were used humanely by the several persons who had the superintendence of them. 35: As Mr Hunter had gone to India in consequence of the orders he received from the Court [...]. Interpretations The tied sale of fowls and cattle exposes a coercive bargaining practice by which the planters exploited their control of the fresh provisions the ships needed. By refusing to sell poultry except on condition that the buyer also took a beast, and a live one at that, the planters forced unwanted and inconvenient purchases onto commanders who had little choice but to comply. The Court's move to suppress this reflects its standing effort to keep the island's producers from abusing their leverage over the passing fleet, treating such forced bundling as an imposition on the shipping the whole settlement existed to serve. The Jack Defence case shows the Company acknowledging a slave's flight as a response to real cruelty and acting, within the narrow bounds of the institution, to remedy it. Rather than simply return the runaway to the master he feared, the Court took his account of severe treatment seriously enough to send him to a different settlement and to order an enquiry into the armourer's conduct, coupled with a general charge that all the Company's slaves be used humanely. This concern to check the abuse of slaves by those set over them reflects a limited institutional interest in their preservation and usefulness as valuable property, even as the system of bondage itself went wholly unquestioned, the humane treatment urged being a matter of management rather than of any doubt about holding men as slaves at all.

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130	127	last Year. We have. to fill up the Vacancys occasioned by his Removal. Constitute. and Appointed Lieut. John Adamson Lieutenant Governor. of our Island of St Helena; Second in Council and Overseer of the Plantations. with the same Salary as Mr Hunter enjoyed Vizt. Two hundred and fifty Pound a year and Mr Adamson having a Family he is to be allowed one hundred Pounds a year Diet Money as Mr Hunter was. both to commence upon his Arrival. He is to be accommodated. with regard to his Apartments. both in the House. in the Valley and the Rooms in the Long Wood. in all Respects as our late Lieutenant Governor was. and You are hereby directed to put them into an Habitable Repair. but with as little expence as possible. he is to have the use of some of our Slaves in the same manner as was indulged to Mr Hunter. 36 The Governor. the Lieutenant Governor and Lieutenant John Clark. are to be the Council. for transacting all our Affairs upon the Island St Helena and in case of the Death or Absence of Charles Hutchinson Esq. the Lieutenant Governor Mr Adamson is to take upon him the Government. until our further pleasure is known 37 We do hereby appoint. agreeable to your Recommendation Margin Notes: Lt John Adamson appointed Lt Governor & Overseer &c a to have the same Salary & diet money as Mr Hunter & to be accommodated in the same manner as Mr Hunter was the Governor. Lieutenant Govr & Lieut Clark to be the Council. in case of the Death. Mr Adamson to Succeed	To fill the vacancies caused by Mr Hunter's removal, the Court constituted and appointed John Adamson lieutenant governor of the island of St Helena, second in council and overseer of the plantations, with the same salary Mr Hunter had enjoyed, namely £250 0s 0d a year. As Mr Adamson had a family, he was to be allowed £100 0s 0d a year diet money, as Mr Hunter had been, both to begin on his arrival. He was to be accommodated, as regarded his apartments, both in the house in the valley and the rooms in the Long Wood, in all respects as the late lieutenant governor had been, and the Governor and Council were directed to put them into habitable repair, but with as little expense as possible. He was to have the use of some of the Company's slaves in the same manner as Mr Hunter had been indulged. 36: The Governor, the lieutenant governor and Lieutenant John Clark were to be the council for transacting all the Company's affairs on the island of St Helena. In case of the death or absence of Charles Hutchinson, the lieutenant governor Mr Adamson was to take on the government until the Court's further pleasure was known. 37: The Court appointed, in keeping with the Governor and Council's recommendation, [...]. Interpretations The Adamson appointment shows how the Court filled a senior island post by fixing the whole of a servant's remuneration to the precedent of his predecessor. Rather than negotiate afresh, it granted the new lieutenant governor Hunter's exact salary of £250 0s 0d, the same £100 0s 0d diet money on account of his family, the same apartments in the valley house and at Long Wood, and the same use of Company slaves, so that the office carried a settled establishment that passed intact from one holder to the next. This anchoring of a new man's terms to those his predecessor enjoyed reflects the standing administrative economy of the island, where a post's pay, housing and perquisites were treated as fixed to the place rather than to the person. The line of succession set out in these paragraphs reveals the Court's care to guarantee continuous government on a remote island where death or absence could otherwise leave the settlement leaderless. By naming a three-man council and providing expressly that the lieutenant governor take over the government should the Governor die or be absent, the Court ensured authority would pass without interruption and without waiting on instructions that were months away by sea. This provision for automatic succession reflects the standing concern to keep the chain of command unbroken at a station that could not be quickly reached from London, where a vacancy at the head had to be filled from within until the Court could act.
131	128	Recommendation William Wrangham the Youngest Son of Mr Francis Wrangham a Writer in our Service at St Helena. upon the Usual Terms. provided he is full Sixteen Years of Age. and has gone through a regular course. of Merchants Accounts. he is upon the said Conditions to commence his Writership from the time You receive this Letter. he is to execute. the enclosed Covenants. which are to be returned to Us. and here to Name two Persons in England to be his Securitys in the Sum of five hundred Pounds. 38 Our Chaplain has omitted to mention the date of the Year in the List of Marriages. Baptisms. and Burials transmitted to Us by the Swallow. he must therefore. supply that Omission with another List. properly Certified to be sent to Us by the first Conveyance. and take care to be. very correct in all future. Lists. 39 We have sent on this Ship forty Recruits	The Court appointed, in keeping with the Governor and Council's recommendation, William Wrangham, the youngest son of Mr Francis Wrangham, a writer in its service at St Helena, on the usual terms, provided he was fully sixteen years of age and had gone through a regular course of merchants' accounts. On those conditions he was to begin his writership from the time the Governor and Council received this letter. He was to execute the enclosed covenants, which were to be returned to the Court, and here to name two persons in England to stand as his securities in the sum of £500 0s 0d. 38: The chaplain had omitted to mention the date of the year in the list of marriages, baptisms and burials sent home by the <i>Swallow</i>. He was therefore to supply that omission with another list, properly certified, to be sent by the first conveyance, and to take care to be very correct in all future lists.

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		for your Garrison as p the enclosed List. all the rest on board are for the use of our Settlements upon the West Coast. therefore. you are to detain none of them upon any pretence whatsoever 40 As our Soldiery will live and be. subsisted in Barracks. in a more Comfortable and easy Margin Notes: Mr William Wrangham Appointed Writer the Chaplain omitted in his List of Marriages &c a the Date. must be very correct in future Lists Forty Recruits sent. but none designed for Bencoolen to be detained	39: The Court had sent on this ship forty recruits for the island's garrison, as shown by the enclosed list. The rest on board were for the use of its settlements on the west coast, and so the Governor and Council were to detain none of them on any pretence whatever. 40: So that the soldiery might live and be subsisted in barracks in a more comfortable and easy [...]. Interpretations The Wrangham writership shows the two safeguards the Company built into the entry of a young clerk into its service: a test of competence and a bond of security. The boy had to be a full sixteen and trained in merchants' accounts before he could begin, and he had to execute covenants backed by two English sureties in £500 0s 0d, so that both his fitness for the work and his future honesty were guaranteed before he touched the Company's books. This pairing of a qualification with a substantial bond reflects the standing practice of the period for placing servants in positions of trust, where the risk of youth and inexperience was offset by requiring named persons at home to answer for the man's conduct. The security bond in particular ties back to the Company's wider system for its covenant servants, under which those in posts of trust gave the guarantee of substantial persons before employment. The sum of £500 0s 0d fixed the measure of the sureties' liability should the young writer default or defraud, and the requirement that the covenants be executed and returned to London kept the bond enforceable at the centre. This insistence that even the most junior clerk enter under bonded security reflects the recurring institutional concern to protect the Company's property against the men who handled it, treating every place that touched money or accounts as one that had to be underwritten before it was filled.
132	129	easy manner. as well as be under better Command. than in the present irregular way they are in. We are desirous of having convenient. Barracks erected as likewise. an Hospital for their better Accomodation when Sick. You must. therefore. send Us Plans of convenient. but not expensive. Barracks. and an Hospital. with an Estimate. of what the Charges of Building them may amount to in the whole. and what Materials may be necessary for the purpose. either from England or India. as likewise. an Account of whatever useful Building and Furniture. may be wanted 41 As you know the difficulty. of Supplying You with any large Quantities of Building Materials You must use Stone. or whatever else can be. procured for the purpose. on the Island. Our own Slaves must be employed in the Building. and as the Soldiery will be so greatly benefitted by this design We must suppose. they will give their Labour without any additional Pay. therefore. your Estimate. of the Expence must be framed accordingly You must not make a beginning until you receive our further Orders. which We propose. to send by the next. Store Ship. 42 In answer to your Question. with regard to Soldiers that You may find to be Deserters from Margin Notes: the Company are desirous of having new Barracks & a Hospital erected Plans to be sent Estimate of the materials &c a to be sent. with what Building will be wanted the difficulty known of sending large quantities of Building materials. must use the Island Stone &c a. the Companys own Slaves to be Employed Not to make a beginning until further Orders	So that the soldiery might live and be subsisted in barracks in a more comfortable and easy manner, and be under better command than in the present irregular way, the Court wished to have convenient barracks built, and likewise a hospital for their better accommodation when sick. The Governor and Council were therefore to send plans of convenient but not expensive barracks and a hospital, with an estimate of what building them might amount to in the whole, and what materials might be needed for the purpose, whether from England or India, along with an account of whatever useful building and furniture might be wanted. 41: As the Governor and Council knew the difficulty of supplying them with any large quantity of building materials, they were to use stone or whatever else could be procured for the purpose on the island. The Company's own slaves were to be employed in the building, and as the soldiery would be so greatly benefited by the design, the Court supposed they would give their labour without any additional pay. The estimate of the expense was therefore to be framed accordingly. The Governor and Council were not to begin the work until they received further orders, which the Court proposed to send by the next store ship. 42: In answer to the Governor and Council's question about soldiers they might send home as deserters from [...].

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133	130	any of our Settlements in India. We direct that for the future all such Deserters. instead of your returning them. be detained. and serve out the remainder of their time at St Helena. 43 We observe your reply to the Complaints We acquainted you last Year. some discharged Soldiers made with regard to their being served with perished Provisions. and the Exorbitant Stopages they alledged to be made. out of their Pay. and as you have made an Enquiry into the said Complaints and transmitted to Us the Testimonys of the Storekeeper and Cooper who had the delivery of the Stores. as likewise. the declaration under the Hand of the Commanding Officers of the several Company to Prove the Falsity of both Charges. We must conclude there was no Foundation for them. and that there may be none for the future. You must be constantly attentive to see. that our Soldiery have Justice done them by their Officers and others. in every respect. 44 We are convinced. that although Lieutenant Kendall is a very fit Person to be Adjutant. Yet that is a post not consistent with his other as first Lieutenant. and as you acquaint Us he is full. as well satisfied. to resign. as keep. the Adjutancy Margin Notes: all the Soldiers found to be deserters to be detained to serve the remainder of their time at St Helena it appears by the Storekeeper & the Officers. that the Soldiers Complaints were false must constantly be attentive to see the Soldiers have justice done. &c a Lieutenant Kendall to Resign his Adjutancy	In answer to the Governor and Council's question about soldiers they might send home as deserters from any of the Company's settlements in India, the Court directed that in future all such deserters, instead of being returned, be detained and made to serve out the remainder of their time at St Helena. 43: The Court had considered the Governor and Council's reply to the complaints it had told them of the year before, made by some discharged soldiers about being served with spoiled provisions and about the exorbitant stoppages they alleged were made out of their pay. The Governor and Council had enquired into the complaints and sent home the testimony of the storekeeper and cooper, who had the delivery of the stores, along with a declaration under the hands of the commanding officers of the several companies, to prove both charges false. The Court concluded there was no foundation for the complaints, and that there might be none in future, the Governor and Council were to be constantly attentive to see that the soldiery had justice done them by their officers and others in every respect. 44: The Court was convinced that although Lieutenant Kendall was a very fit person to be adjutant, the post was not consistent with his other post as first lieutenant. Since the Governor and Council reported he was just as well satisfied to resign it as to keep the adjutancy, [...]. Interpretations The rule fixing deserters to serve out their time at St Helena shows the island turned into a penal posting within the Company's system of manpower discipline. Rather than ship a captured deserter back to the Indian settlement he had fled, which returned him to familiar ground and offered fresh chances of escape, the Court kept him at the isolated island, where the sea itself was the gaoler and his labour was not lost to the Company. This use of St Helena as a place to hold and work errant soldiers reflects the standing difficulty of keeping garrisons manned across the eastern establishments, the remoteness that made the island a hard posting also making it a secure one for men who could not be trusted to stay. The Court's resolution of the earlier soldiers' complaints reveals how a grievance from the ranks was tested and, on the officers' own evidence, dismissed. The storekeeper and cooper who handled the provisions, and the commanding officers accused of the stoppages, together furnished the testimony that cleared both charges, and the Court accepted their word as proof the complaints were groundless. Yet its accompanying charge that the officers henceforth see justice done to the soldiery in every respect shows a lingering awareness that the men over whom the complaint was made were the very ones who answered it, so that the Court, while acquitting them, still pressed the standing duty to protect the private soldier from abuse by those set above him.
134	131	he is therefore. upon the Receipt of these Orders to resign the same accordingly. 45 And as you recommend. one of the Officers that We sent you by the Exeter to be appointed to the Post of Adjutant. as being perfectly Master of every Branch of that Business. and being a Sober and well behaved Man. You are hereby directed to appoint him Adjutant accordingly. at the full Pay of Five Shillings a Day. but then he must quit his Lieutenancy. and you must acquaint Us. which of the two Officers you mean. as you have omitted. to mention his Name. We apprehend the Person you mean is Herbert. 46 As the above appointment will Occasion a Vacancy of a Second Lieutenant. We have chosen Mr George Hay to fill it up. who takes his Passage upon this Ship. and his Pay is to commence upon	Lieutenant Kendall was therefore, on receipt of these orders, to resign the adjutancy accordingly. 45: As the Governor and Council recommended one of the officers sent out to them by the <i>Exeter</i> to be appointed adjutant, as being perfectly master of every branch of the business and a sober and well-behaved man, the Court directed them to appoint him accordingly, at the full pay of five shillings a day. In that case, however, he was to give up his lieutenancy. The Governor and Council were to say which of the two officers they meant, since they had omitted to mention his name, though the Court supposed the person meant was Herbert. 46: As this appointment would leave a vacancy for a second lieutenant, the Court had chosen Mr George Hay to fill it, who took his passage on this ship. His pay was to begin on his arrival at St Helena.

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		his Arrival at St Helena. 47 We observe the Progress You have made in Collecting the outstanding Debts due to the Estate of the late Governor Goodwin. and that you have nearly Collected in the whole. that is recoverable. It earnestly recommend your finishing this Collection with the utmost dispatch. that you may acquaint Us with the Total amount of the whole Margin Notes: the Officer recommended to be Adjutant apprehend that Herbert is the Person Recommended Mr George Hay appointed Second Lieutenant earnestly recommended to Collect all the Debts due to Governor Goodwins Estate. all the same	47: The Court noted the progress the Governor and Council had made in collecting the outstanding debts due to the estate of the late Governor Goodwin, and that they had nearly collected in the whole what was recoverable. It earnestly recommended their finishing this collection with the utmost dispatch, so that they could report the total amount of the [...]. Interpretations The two ways of holding the adjutancy shown across these paragraphs reveal how the Company weighed a combined office against a dedicated one. When Lieutenant Kendall held the post alongside his lieutenancy, he drew only half the adjutant's rate as a supplement, but the Court judged the doubling of roles unsatisfactory and moved to a separate appointment at the full five shillings a day, on condition the new man gave up his lieutenancy entirely. This shift from a layered allowance to a full-time office reflects a considered choice that the adjutant's administrative work was better done by a man wholly assigned to it, even at the greater cost of a full salary and a fresh vacancy to be filled below him. The Court's confusion over which officer the island meant, supposing it was Herbert but unable to be sure, exposes the practical hazard of administering appointments across the distance between London and St Helena. The Governor and Council had recommended a man without naming him, and the Court, months away and dependent on the written word alone, could only guess at his identity and ask for confirmation before the commission could be settled. This need to pause a routine appointment for want of a name reflects the standing difficulty of governing by correspondence, where a small omission on the island became a real obstacle at the centre, and every gap in the record had to be closed by a further exchange of letters.
135	132	whole by the first Ships. after You have received these Commands. and by the same Conveyance You must send Us all the Claims upon the Estate in a full clear and distinct manner. agreeable to Our Orders last Year. that We may finally close. this long depending Account 48 We have paid to William Dows Executor of Nicholas Cleather deceased the Sum of one hundred and five Pounds 5.1 which was paid into Our Cash at St Helena. being the Produce of the deceaseds Effects. and which you have wrote off to Account Currant London 49 We observe. by the Papers transmitted to Us with regard to the Estates of John Collins and Robert Meacock deceased. the Accounts of the said Estates are so blended together. that We cannot safely pay at present the whole Sum of forty seven Pounds. eleven Shillings and an half Penny. which was paid into our Cash at St Helena by Meacocks Executors. but as it appears clearly that the Sum of twenty seven pounds five Shillings and an half penny is due to the Representatives of Meacock. We have accordingly paid that Sum to his Widow. who has taken out Letters of Administration. Margin Notes: Estate to be sent in a clear & distinct manner. that a final end may be made to that Affair Paid Wm Dows on Account of Nicholas Cleather decd £105.5.1 Observed that Collins and Meacocks Accounts are Blended together that they cant safely pay the whole Sum that have paid Meacocks Widow the Sum of £27.5.½	The Governor and Council were to report the total amount of the whole by the first ships after they had received these commands. By the same conveyance they were to send home all the claims on the estate in a full, clear and distinct manner, in keeping with the Court's orders the year before, so that it could finally close this long-pending account. 48: The Court had paid to William Dowse, executor of Nicholas Cleather, deceased, the sum of £105 5s 1d, which had been paid into the Company's cash at St Helena, being the produce of the deceased's effects, and which the Governor and Council had carried to account current London. 49: The Court observed from the papers sent home regarding the estates of John Collins and Robert Meacock, deceased, that the accounts of those estates were so blended together that it could not safely pay the whole sum of £47 11s 0d at present, which had been paid into its cash at St Helena by Meacock's executors. As it appeared clearly that £27 5s 0d was due to the representatives of Meacock, it had accordingly paid that sum to his widow, who had taken out letters of administration. Interpretations The Cleather and Meacock settlements show the recurring pattern by which the Company acted as the effective probate authority for those who died in its service, receiving the proceeds of a dead man's effects into its cash at the island and paying them out in London to the proper executor or administrator. The produce of the estate was gathered at St Helena, carried to the London account, and there discharged to the person entitled, so that assets left at the far end of the trade route reached the heirs at home through the Company's own machinery. This handling of estates across the distance reflects the standing difficulty faced by anyone who died on the island,

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			whose property could only be realised and remitted through the corporate structure that spanned the ocean between the island and England. The Court's refusal to pay out the blended Collins and Meacock accounts in full, while releasing only the portion clearly due, reveals the care it took to fix each claimant's true entitlement before parting with money. Because the two estates' accounts were entangled, paying the whole sum risked overpaying one party at another's expense, so the Court held back until it could identify the £27 5s 0d that plainly belonged to Meacock's representatives and paid that alone. This insistence on disentangling mixed accounts before disbursement reflects the standing concern with accurate settlement, protecting both the rival estates and the Company against a hasty payment that could not afterwards be recovered, and recognising the widow's formal standing as administrator as the proper channel for her husband's share.
136	133	50 A Petition has been presented to Us by Mr James DuBois. setting forth that he Marries Mary the Daughter of the late Mr John French. who died Intestate. about May 1750. and to whose Estate. her Son Thomas now a Factor in our Service. Administers and being refused a Distributive part thereof. in behalf of his Daughter an Infant. which he is advsed by Council. She is lawfully. entitled to. he prays We will interpose. to facilitate. the determination of this Affair. We therefore. recommend it to You to. enquire. into the State of the Case. and see that Justice is done to the Child of the said DuBois. We have enclosed for your Information. a Copy of the said. Petition. also a Copy of Councils Opinion upon the Case as therein Stated. 51 Since Writing the foregoing the Prince Henry brought Us your Advices of the 18th of August last. wherein You acquaint Us that You had some ground to believe. that We should receive by that Conveyance. another Letter. or Representation from some of the Planters. We have accordingly received another Representation. Signed by several of the Planters. a Copy of which We now transmit to You for your Information. upon a careful Perusal thereof. We find no Reasons for altering our Sentiments Margin Notes: Mr DuBois petitioned the Company for a Distributive part of Mr John Frenchs Estate in behalf of his daughter recommended to enquire into that Affair. inclosed for information Mr duBois Petition & a Copy of Councils Opinion Advices received by the Prince Henry another Representation received from the Planters Copy sent	50: A petition had been presented to the Court by Mr James DuBois, setting out that he had married Mary, the daughter of the late Mr John French, who died intestate about May 1750, and to whose estate French's son Thomas, now a factor in the Company's service, had administered. DuBois had been refused a distributive share of the estate on behalf of his daughter, an infant, to which he was advised by counsel she was lawfully entitled, and he prayed the Court to intervene to help settle the matter. The Court therefore directed the Governor and Council to enquire into the state of the case and see that justice was done to DuBois's child. It had enclosed, for their information, a copy of the petition and a copy of counsel's opinion on the case as stated in it. 51: Since writing the foregoing, the <i>Prince Henry</i> had brought the Court the Governor and Council's advices of 18 August, in which they said they had some ground to believe the Court would receive by that conveyance another letter or representation from some of the planters. The Court had accordingly received another representation signed by several of the planters, a copy of which it now sent home for the Governor and Council's information. On a careful reading of it, the Court found no reason to alter its [...]. Interpretations The DuBois petition shows the machinery of intestate succession reaching from the island to London and back, and the Company drawn into a family dispute over a dead man's estate. French had died without a will, his son had taken on the administration, and a son-in-law claimed a share for his infant daughter that the administrator had refused, so the matter came before the Court as the ultimate authority over its servants' affairs. The Court's response, to send the petition and counsel's opinion back to the island for enquiry with a charge to see justice done to the child, reflects the standing due process it applied to contested claims, referring the facts to the men on the spot where the parties and evidence lay, while insisting that the rights of a vulnerable infant not be overridden by the administrator's refusal. The infant's claim to a distributive share rests on the settled law of intestate estates, under which a deceased person's property was divided among the next of kin in fixed proportions rather than left to the administrator's discretion. Counsel had advised that the granddaughter was lawfully entitled to a portion, and the administrator's denial of it put him at odds with the rule that governed how such an estate must be shared out. This appeal to a distributive share, and the Court's willingness to enforce it through a local enquiry, reflects the reach of English succession law into the Company's remote settlement, where even a

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			factor administering his own father's estate could not lawfully withhold from another heir the portion the law assigned her.
137	134	Sentiments or the Directions We have given in the preceding part of this Letter. with regard to the said Planters. and particularly Mr Thomas Greentree. and if Mr Martin Harper or any others shall continue their unreasonable Opposition. You must send Us a fair and impartial. Account of their Behaviour. that We may give such Orders with respect to them. as We shall find necessary for the Tranquility of the Island. 52 We cannot approve. of your proposal. for Our paying Salary. to the Clerk. of the Market as to a small Fee to the Clerk of the Market. We think it reasonable he should have one. and the Seller ought to pay it. But We dont see. the Propriety of such an Officer as Butcher. nor consequently that any Perquisity. Fee or Salary can be due to him. much less that he and the Clerk of the Market. should raise. a penny a pound on the Beef Sold in the Market. by Buying it of the Planters. and Selling it again to our Servants. and this appears to Us by your Account to be the same. 53 We have appointed Lieutenant Colonel Scott. to be Engineer General of all our Settlements in the East Indies. and also of our Island St Helena Margin Notes: altering their Sentiments. the preceding part of the Letter with regard to the Planters. particularly Mr Greentree & a fair Account of Mr Harper or any others Behaviour &c a cant approve of allowing the Clerk of the Market a Salary. but think it reasonable he should have a small Fee. to be paid by the Seller. cant see the use of a Butcher &c a Lieutenant Scott	The Court found no reason to alter the sentiments or the directions it had given in the preceding part of this letter regarding the planters, and particularly Mr Thomas Greentree. If Mr Martin Harper or any others continued their unreasonable opposition, the Governor and Council were to send home a fair and impartial account of their behaviour, so that the Court could give such orders about them as it found necessary for the tranquillity of the island. 52: The Court could not approve the Governor and Council's proposal that it pay a salary to the clerk of the market, or that a small fee be allowed to him. It thought it reasonable he should have one, but the seller ought to pay it. It did not see the propriety of an officer such as a butcher, nor consequently that any perquisite, fee or salary could be due to him, much less that he and the clerk of the market should raise a penny a pound on the beef sold in the market by buying it from the planters and selling it again to the Company's servants, which appeared from the Governor and Council's account to be the case. 53: The Court had appointed Lieutenant Colonel Scott engineer general of all its settlements in the East Indies, and also of the island of St Helena. [...]. Interpretations The clerk of the market dispute reveals the Court's watchfulness against a petty profiteering scheme dressed up as a public office. The Governor and Council had proposed to pay the clerk from the Company's funds, but the Court insisted the seller bear the small fee for the service, and it flatly rejected the notion of a salaried butcher whose real gain came from buying beef cheap from the planters and reselling it dear to the Company's servants at a penny a pound markup. This refusal to let a market officer trade on his own account through the position reflects the recurring institutional concern to prevent those given regulatory or clerical roles on the island from turning them into engines of private profit at the expense of the very people the market was meant to serve. The penny-a-pound markup uncovered here connects to the wider grievance running through this correspondence over the price of beef and the fairness of the market. The soldiers and lesser servants were the intended beneficiaries of a controlled supply, yet here the market's own officers stood accused of inserting themselves as middlemen and skimming a profit on every pound sold, which fell directly on the consumers the system existed to protect. The Court's sharp response, tracing the abuse from the island's own account and cutting off the officers' margin, reflects its standing determination that the market serve the garrison at fair rates rather than enrich the men who administered it. Speculations The Court chose to make the seller pay the clerk of the market's fee, rather than granting the salary from Company funds that the Governor and Council had proposed. The obvious course, on a recommendation from the bench that the clerk be paid, was to allow him a salary or a small fee out of the Company's own money as the island suggested. Instead the Court refused any charge on itself and put the fee on the seller. The reason is visible in what its scrutiny of the accounts revealed: the clerk and a butcher were already skimming a penny a pound by buying beef from the planters and reselling it to the Company's servants, so the Court would not add a Company-paid salary on top of a position it suspected of hidden profit, preferring to confine the man to an open fee borne by those who used his service.

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138	135	and having given him full Power and Authority to execute. and perform all and every the Matters and Business appertaining to the said Office. he. proceeds to Fort St George and Bengal on the. <i>Winchelsea</i>. and after he has discharged his Duty at those and our other Settlements in India. he is to call. on his return to Europe. at St Helena. We give You this Notice. that the Governor and Council for the time being may give him all necessary advice and Assistance. in taking Plans of. and regulating the several Fortifications. and Works upon the Island 54 Upon your request for a Surgeons Mate to Supply the Vacancy occasioned by. Mr James Stevensons proceeding to the West Coast. We have appointed Mr John Inglis. at the usual Salary and Allowance. for Diet. and he accordingly takes his passage on this Ship. 55 We are. informed that when Our late Governor Dunbar was recalled from St Helena he left behind him an Indian Man Named James who was his property. and never Charged to Our Account. Application is now made to Us by his Brother and Executor. to be paid the Value of the said Indian. and the amount of what his Service may be worth. We therefore direct Margin Notes: appointed Engeneer General of all the Companys Settlement He is to call on his return at St Helena Notice given that the Governor & Council may give him what assistance. necessary. in taking Plans &c a Mr John Inglis appointed Surgeons mate Informed that the late Governor Mr Dunbar left an Indean Man &c a application made by his Brother. to be paid for the said Man	The Court had given Lieutenant Colonel Scott full power and authority to carry out all the business belonging to the office of engineer general. He was to proceed to Fort St George and Bengal on the <i>Winchelsea</i>, and after he had discharged his duty at those and the Company's other settlements in India, he was to call at St Helena on his way back to Europe. The Court gave the Governor and Council this notice so that they might give him all necessary advice and assistance in taking plans of and regulating the several fortifications and works on the island. 54: On the Governor and Council's request for a surgeon's mate to fill the vacancy caused by Mr James Stevenson's going to the west coast, the Court had appointed Mr John Inglis, at the usual salary and diet allowance, and he accordingly took his passage on this ship. 55: The Court was informed that when the late Governor Dunbar was recalled from St Helena he left behind an Indian man named James, who was his property and had never been charged to the Company's account. Application was now made to the Court by Dunbar's brother and executor to be paid the value of this Indian and the amount of what the man's service might be worth. [...]. Interpretations The engineer general's charge to survey and regulate the island's fortifications on his way home shows the Company treating St Helena's defences as part of a single system of works spanning all its eastern settlements. By sending a senior military engineer to inspect and plan the fortifications at Fort St George, Bengal and the island alike, the Court sought a uniform professional standard for its defences rather than leaving each station to fortify itself piecemeal. This centralised oversight of the island's works, fitted into a circuit that took in the Indian presidencies, reflects the standing concern with St Helena's security as a fortified strongpoint on the homeward route, whose defences were now to be brought under expert direction from the centre. The claim over the Indian man James lays bare the treatment of a bonded servant as an item of property to be valued and paid for on his owner's departure. Dunbar had held the man as his own, never charging him to the Company, and now his executor sought payment both for the man's value and for the worth of his past service, as though settling any other asset of the estate. This reckoning of a human being as a chargeable possession, whose price and labour formed part of a dead man's accounts, reflects the wholly commercial view of bondage that ran through the island's administration, where a slave or bound servant appeared in the records not as a person but as a quantity of value to be transferred, claimed and discharged like goods or coin.
139	136	that You make Enquiry into this matter. and give Us an Account thereof in your next. Advices. and if the case appears to be as Mr Dunbar has Stated it. that You give Us your Opinion. what will be a reasonable. Satisfaction to be paid in England. for the Value and Services of the said Slave deducting thereout. the Expence. of his Maintenance We are. London 7 December. 1752 Your Loving Friends Wm Baker Richd Chauncy I. Raymond John Payne Peter DuCane Thos Rous I. Winkt Stephen Law	The Court directed the Governor and Council to make enquiry into the matter and give an account of it in their next advices. If the case appeared to be as Mr Dunbar had stated it, they were to give their opinion on what would be a reasonable satisfaction to be paid in England for the value and services of the slave, deducting from it the expense of his maintenance. The letter was dated at London on 7 December 1752 and subscribed by the members of the Court of Directors: William Baker Richard Chauncy J. Raymond John Payne Peter Ducane Thomas Rous J. Winter Stephen Law

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		Will Braund John Hope W Willy Thos Phipps P Booth Chas Cutts W. Mabbott Nichs Linwood Timothy Tullie Abel Fonnereau Margin Notes: Directed to make an Enquiry into the matter &c a	William Braund John Hope William Willy Thomas Phipps R. Boone Charles Cutts William Mabbott Nicholas Linwood Timothy Tullie Abel Sonnereau Interpretations The Court's instruction to value the slave James, less the cost of his upkeep, shows the coldly commercial arithmetic by which a bonded man's worth was reckoned in the Company's accounts. Rather than accept the executor's claim outright, the Court required the island to assess a reasonable price for the man's value and past service, and expressly to subtract what his maintenance had cost, as though striking a balance on any other asset of a departed servant's estate. This netting of a human being's worth against the expense of feeding and housing him reflects the wholly proprietary view of bondage that governed the island's administration, where a slave figured in the records as a quantity of value to be appraised, offset and settled like goods, his person dissolved into a line in an account. The referral of the valuation to the island for enquiry and opinion, before the Court would pay anything in England, reflects the same reliance on local fact-finding that governed the estate and debt matters throughout this correspondence. Because the Court could not judge from London what the man was worth or whether Dunbar's account was accurate, it sent the question back to the Governor and Council, who alone could weigh the man's value, his service and the cost of his keep. This insistence on a considered local assessment before disbursement reflects the standing method of governing a distant settlement, in which every contested valuation was resolved on the spot and reported home, the centre acting only on the facts the island supplied.
140	137	Our Governor & Council at St Helena. 1 Our last Letter to you was dated the 7 December 1752. by the Ship Walpole. which we have the pleasure. to find reached you in good time 2 Since the Departure of the Walpole. we have received. your several Letters under the following dates Vizt. the 29 October & 19 December 1752 the 13. 16. 22 & 31 March 1753. the 4 & 12 of April. the 5 May. the 19 June. the 23 July & 9 August following 3 You must continue to give us an account of the Arrival & Departure of Shipping. with the Intelligence to be collected from the Commanders Passengers & others. in the careful manner. you have done. for some time past. which has been useful. and much to our satisfaction 4 We refer you to the enclosed List. for an Account of the times of the Sailing of our several Ships from hence. & Arrival of our several Ships from the East India. since the departure of the Walpole from the Downes. which was on the 27 December 1752 5 We have taken up the undernamed Ships this Season. & Stationed them for the several Places Margin Notes: last Letter sent by the Ship Walpole Advices received Intelligence to be continued referd to the List in the Packet. for the arrival & Sailing of Ships	1: The Court's last letter to the Governor and Council had been dated 7 December 1752, by the ship <i>Walpole</i>, which it had the pleasure of finding reached the island in good time. 2: Since the departure of the <i>Walpole</i>, the Court had received the Governor and Council's several letters under the following dates: 29 October and 19 December 1752, 13, 16, 22 and 31 March 1753, 4 and 12 April, 5 May, 19 June, 23 July and 9 August following. 3: The Governor and Council were to keep up their accounts of the arrival and departure of shipping, with the intelligence to be gathered from the commanders, passengers and others, in the careful manner they had done for some time past, which had been useful and much to the Court's satisfaction. 4: For an account of the times of the sailing of the Court's several ships from the island, and of the arrival of its several ships from India, since the departure of the <i>Walpole</i> from the Downs on 27 December 1752, the Governor and Council were referred to the enclosed list in the packet. 5: The Court had taken into its service the ships named below this season, and stationed them for the several places [...]. Interpretations The reckoning of the season from the <i>Walpole's</i> sailing from the Downs shows how the whole rhythm of the correspondence and shipping turned on fixed departure points and dates. The Downs, the sheltered anchorage off the Kent coast, was where outward East Indiamen gathered before setting off down the Channel, and the date a ship left it marked the start of

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			the voyage against which arrivals and departures were measured. This anchoring of the shipping account to a precise sailing from a known roadstead reflects the standing discipline of a trade run by season and schedule, where the movements of a scattered fleet could only be tracked against fixed reference points at each end of the route. The itemised recital of received letters, spanning many dates across the season, again continues the standing practice by which the Court confirmed exactly which of the island's despatches had reached London. Because letters travelled by different ships at different speeds, and any might be lost or delayed, this careful acknowledgement let the Governor and Council check that none of their correspondence had gone astray. The Court's expressed satisfaction with the island's shipping intelligence shows that the routine was valued as well as required, the flow of information about the fleet being one of the chief services the island rendered to the direction at home.
141	138	We trade to. in the following manner Vizt. Ships, Commanders, Tons, Men, Guns, Consignment Lord Anson: Commanders, Chas Foulis, Tons, 499, Men, 99, Guns, 26, Consignment, for China Directly Princess Augusta: Commanders, Thos Parker, Tons, 499, Men, 99, Guns, 26, Consignment, Madeira Coast Saint George: Commanders, Robt Robinson, Tons, 499, Men, 99, Guns, 26, Consignment, & Bay Grantham: Commanders, John Oliver, Tons, 499, Men, 99, Guns, 26, Consignment, St Helena & Bencoolen Essex: Commanders, George Jackson, Tons, 499, Men, 99, Guns, 26 Ilchester: Commanders, John Tead, Tons, 499, Men, 99, Guns, 26 True Briton: Commanders, Henry Bradley, Tons, 450, Men, 90, Guns, 22, Consignment, Coast & China Onslow: Commanders, Thomas Hinde, Tons, 499, Men, 99, Guns, 26 Triton: Commanders, Gilbert Slater, Tons, 499, Men, 99, Guns, 26 Norfolk: Commanders, Nathl Hancock, Tons, 499, Men, 99, Guns, 26 Denham: Commanders, George Meard, Tons, 499, Men, 99, Guns, 26, Consignment, Coast & Bay York: Commanders, Edward Ward, Tons, 499, Men, 99, Guns, 26 Anson: Commanders, Robt Veitch, Tons, 370, Men, 74, Guns, 18 Warren: Commanders, Alphonsus Glover, Tons, 499, Men, 99, Guns, 26 London: Commanders, Richd Alwright, Tons, 499, Men, 99, Guns, 26, Consignment, Bombay Kent: Commanders, George Wilson, Tons, 499, Men, 99, Guns, 26 Britannia: Commanders, Newell Norway, Tons, 499, Men, 99, Guns, 26 6 The Gentlemen appointed this Season of the Committee of Secrecy. are. Richard Chauncy. Roger Drake. Christopher Burrow & William Mabbott Esqrs whose Orders. or those. of any three of them. are to be Duly observed Margin Notes: Ships sent one to be delivered the Ship the Ship to have Orders Secret Committee	The Court traded to the several places in the following manner. The column headings give the ship's name, then the commander, then its tonnage, then its complement of men, then its guns, then the consignment. The <i>Lord Anson</i>, Charles Fowles commander, 499 tons, 99 men, 26 guns, consigned to China directly. The <i>Princess Augusta</i>, Thomas Parker commander, 499 tons, 99 men, 26 guns, consigned to China directly. The <i>St George</i>, Robert Robinson commander, 499 tons, 99 men, 26 guns, consigned to Madeira and the Coast and Bay. The <i>Grantham</i>, John Oliver commander, 499 tons, 99 men, 26 guns, consigned to St Helena and Bencoolen. The <i>Essex</i>, George Jackson commander, 499 tons, 99 men, 26 guns, consigned to the Coast and China. The <i>Ilchester</i>, John Tead commander, 499 tons, 99 men, 26 guns, consigned to the Coast and China. The <i>True Briton</i>, Henry Bradley commander, 450 tons, 90 men, 22 guns, consigned to the Coast and China. The <i>Onslow</i>, Thomas Hinde commander, 499 tons, 99 men, 26 guns, consigned to the Coast and China. The <i>Triton</i>, Gilbert Slater commander, 499 tons, 99 men, 26 guns, consigned to the Coast and China. The <i>Norfolk</i>, Nathaniel Hancock commander, 499 tons, 99 men, 26 guns, consigned to the Coast and Bay. The <i>Denham</i>, George Meard commander, 499 tons, 99 men, 26 guns, consigned to the Coast and Bay. The <i>York</i>, Edward Ward commander, 499 tons, 99 men, 26 guns, consigned to the Coast and Bay. The <i>Anson</i>, Robert Veitch commander, 370 tons, 74 men, 18 guns, consigned to the Coast and Bay. The <i>Warren</i>, Alphonsus Glover commander, 499 tons, 99 men, 26 guns, consigned to Bombay. The <i>London</i>, Richard Alwright commander, 499 tons, 99 men, 26 guns, consigned to Bombay. The <i>Kent</i>, George Wilson commander, 499 tons, 99 men, 26 guns, consigned to Bombay. The <i>Britannia</i>, Newell Norway commander, 499 tons, 99 men, 26 guns, consigned to Bombay. 6: The gentlemen appointed this season as the committee of secrecy were Richard Chauncy, Roger Drake, Christopher Burrow and William Mabbott, whose orders, or those of any three of them, were to be duly observed. Interpretations The ships falling below the standard 499 tons, the <i>True Briton</i> at 450 and the <i>Anson</i> at 370, stand out against the uniform class that made up the bulk of the season's fleet. As with earlier lists, vessels of 500 tons and over had to carry a chaplain, so the larger

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			ships were registered at 499 tons to fall just under the threshold, while these smaller hulls fell naturally below it and were rated with proportionately fewer men and guns. Their lighter armament and crews show the Company matching ship to voyage, employing smaller and cheaper vessels where the full capacity of a first-rate East Indiaman was not required, though here both were still consigned to the eastern trade alongside the larger ships. The <i>Onslow</i> under Thomas Hinde reappears in this list, the same ship and commander that had carried the correspondence which opened this run of despatches years before, showing how the Company's chartered vessels served the trade repeatedly across successive seasons. A given ship and her commander were hired voyage after voyage, so a name familiar from an earlier consignment returned in a later season bound for a different destination, in this case the Coast and China. This recurrence of ships and commanders through the annual lists reflects the settled character of the Company's shipping arrangements, in which a stable pool of vessels and masters was engaged and re-engaged for the long eastern voyages year upon year.
142	139	7 The Ship Grantham Capt. John Oliver Commander will bring you this Letter. & the several Consignments of Goods & Stores. specified in the Invoice & Bill of Loading in the Packet. 8 You must take particular care to have her. delivered. within the Charterparty time. that we may not be liable to pay Demorage 9 You are their immediately. to give the Commander Orders in Writing to make the best of his way to Fort Marlborough. upon the West Coast of the Island Sumatra agreeable. to the Instructions he has received from us 10 You cannot be too careful in using proper means for preventing the frequent attempts of our Slaves. to get away from the Island. the desertion of fifteen of them with the Long Boat. as mentiond in your Letter of the 19 December. is a Loss not easily to be repaired & the replacing them. will be attended with considerable expence 11 You must supply yourselves. with another Long Boat (if you have not already done it) from any of our Ships. which can spare one. at a reasonable. Price. & you must give such Orders. as may effectually prevent any misfortune of the like kind in future 12 The particular Description you have given in your Consultations. of the Condition of the Stores received Margin Notes: Ship Grantham sent Store Ship must be delivered in the usual time the Commander to have sailing Orders must be careful to prevent the Slaves from Deserting must buy another Long Boat	7: The ship <i>Grantham</i> under Captain John Oliver as commander would bring the Governor and Council this letter, together with the several consignments of goods and stores specified in the invoice and bill of lading in the packet. 8: The Governor and Council were to take particular care to have her cleared within the charter party time, so that the Court would not be liable to pay demurrage. 9: They were immediately to give the commander orders in writing to make the best of his way to Fort Marlborough on the west coast of the island of Sumatra, in keeping with the instructions he had received from the Court. 10: The Governor and Council could not be too careful in using proper means to prevent the frequent attempts of the Company's slaves to get away from the island. The desertion of fifteen of them with the longboat, as mentioned in their letter of 19 December, was a loss not easily repaired, and replacing them would be attended with considerable expense. 11: The Governor and Council were to supply themselves with another longboat, if they had not already done so, from any of the Company's ships that could spare one, at a reasonable price. They were to give such orders as might effectively prevent any misfortune of the like kind in future. 12: The particular description the Governor and Council had given in their consultations of the condition of the stores received [...]. Interpretations The mass flight of fifteen slaves in the longboat shows the sea as both the island's prison wall and, when a boat could be seized, its one avenue of escape. Because St Helena offered no way off except by water, a stolen longboat gave a large party the means to attempt what individuals rarely could, and the Court's alarm reflects the scale of the loss, fifteen bonded workers gone at a stroke, each representing a purchase price and a source of labour the Company would have to replace at considerable cost. This concern to secure the boats and prevent further attempts reflects the standing tension of holding slaves on an island, where the same craft that worked the Company's cargo could carry away its labour force if left unguarded. The framing of the runaways' loss purely as an expense to be repaired lays bare the proprietary view of bondage that governed the island's administration. The Court measured the desertion not as fifteen

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			people seeking their freedom but as damage to its stock, a loss not easily repaired whose remedy lay in the outlay of buying replacements, and it turned at once to securing another boat as though mending a broken tool. This reduction of human flight to a question of cost and property reflects the wholly commercial logic of the Company's slaveholding, in which the enslaved figured in the records as assets whose escape was an accounting loss rather than an act of will, and whose recovery or replacement was a matter of price.
143	140	received from the Ship Walpole. is satisfactory to us. and we recommend a continuance of the same. Method. in all future Cases. that we may always be enabled to apply properly for satisfaction 13 That part of your Letter of the 5th of May relating to the behaviour of the Commander of the Prussian Ship. called the King of Prussia. who notwithstanding the Gentlemen that came ashore. were treated with great Civility. sailed without Saluting the Fort. or taking any Notice. of the Flagg. & that she has several. English Subjects on board. has been laid before his Majesty. who has been pleased to signify his Pleasure. in what manner. you are to treat the Ships of that & other Nations. by a Letter from his Grace the Duke of Newcastle. one of the Principal Secretaries of State. to Richard Chauncy Esq the Chairman which is in the Words following Vizt. Sir Whitehall November 2. 1753 Having laid before the King. the Extract of a Letter. which you transmitted to me. from the Governor and Council of St Helena. to the Court of Directors of the East India Company of the 5th of May last. giving an Account. that a Prussian Ship bound from China. for Loudon Margin Notes: the description of the Walpole satisfactory & to be continued relating to the behaviour of the Prussian Commander	The description received from the ship <i>Walpole</i> was satisfactory to the Court, and it recommended a continuance of the same method in all future cases, so that it might always be able to apply properly for satisfaction. 13: The part of the Governor and Council's letter of 5 May relating to the behaviour of the commander of the Prussian ship called the <i>King of Prussia</i>, who, although the gentlemen who came ashore were treated with great civility, sailed without saluting the fort or taking any notice of the flag, and who had several English subjects on board, had been laid before his Majesty. The King had been pleased to signify how the Governor and Council were to treat the ships of that and other nations, by a letter from his Grace the Duke of Newcastle, one of the principal secretaries of state, to Richard Chauncy, the chairman, which ran as follows. The letter was dated at Whitehall on 2 November 1753. 14: Having laid before the King the extract of a letter transmitted from the Governor and Council of St Helena to the Court of Directors of the East India Company, dated 5 May, giving an account that a Prussian ship bound from China for [...]. Interpretations The elevation of a slighted salute to the level of the King and a secretary of state reveals how a matter of naval ceremony at a remote island touched questions of national dignity and international standing. The Prussian commander's failure to salute the fort or acknowledge the flag, while his men accepted the island's hospitality, was read as a studied discourtesy serious enough to be reported home, laid before the Crown and answered by a formal direction from the Duke of Newcastle himself. This escalation reflects the standing importance attached to salutes as assertions of sovereignty and respect, where the guns exchanged or withheld at St Helena carried the honour of the nation, and a foreign ship's neglect became a matter for the highest levels of state. The intervention of the secretary of state shows the Company's island governed, on questions touching foreign powers, not by the Court alone but ultimately by the Crown. Although St Helena was a Company possession run by its directors, the treatment of foreign warships and the honour of the British flag were matters of state that fell to the King's ministers, and the Duke of Newcastle's letter to the chairman set the rule the island was to follow. This reaching of royal authority into the Company's administration, on a matter of international courtesy, reflects the divided character of the settlement's governance, where commercial control by the directors gave way to the Crown wherever the island's dealings with other nations engaged the interests of the state.
144	141	Embden. had arrived at St Helena. & sailed from thence without Saluting the Fort. or taking any Notice of the Flagg. & that the said Ship had several of his Majestys Subjects on board. & desiring to have directions. in what manner they are to treat any Ships of the same Nation	The account stated that the <i>Emden</i> had arrived at St Helena and sailed from there without saluting the fort or taking any notice of the flag, and that the ship had several of his Majesty's subjects on board. The Governor and Council had asked for directions on how they were to treat any ships of the same nation that might arrive there in future, and whether they

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		that may hereafter arrive there. & whether they may detain any of the Kings Subjects. which may be found on board of them; I am commanded to signify to you the Kings pleasure. That you send Order to the Governor & Council of St Helena. to take effectual Care. that all due Honor may be paid to the Kings Flag. by all Vessells. as well Prussian as of any other Nation whatsoever. which shall at any time arrive there. And that they should cause all such of His Majestys Subjects. as shall be found on board. of any Prussian Ship. or Ships. belonging to any other Foreign Power. which shall hereafter come to St Helena. to be taken out. & sent by the first opportunity. to England. as acting contrary to the Laws of this Kingdom (Signed) Holles Newcastle 14 We have. to prevent any Mistakes given you the very Word of the Duke of Newcastles Letter. & you are to act agreeable thereto 15 Upon the arrival of any Foreign Ships. Margin Notes: Duke of Newcastles Letter very words of the Duke of newcastle	might detain any of the King's subjects found on board. The Duke of Newcastle wrote that he was commanded to signify the King's pleasure that order be sent to the Governor and Council of St Helena to take effectual care that all due honour was paid to the King's flag by all vessels, Prussian as well as of any other nation whatever, that arrived there at any time. They were also to cause all such of his Majesty's subjects as were found on board any Prussian ship, or ships belonging to any other foreign power, that came to St Helena in future, to be taken out and sent by the first opportunity to England, as acting contrary to the laws of the kingdom. The letter was signed by Holles Newcastle. 14: To prevent any mistakes, the Court had given the Governor and Council the very words of the Duke of Newcastle's letter, and they were to act in keeping with it. 15: On the arrival of any foreign ships [...]. Interpretations The order to remove British subjects from foreign ships reveals the Crown's concern to stop its seamen entering the service of rival trading powers. Englishmen sailing aboard a Prussian East Indiaman were held to be acting against the laws of the kingdom, which reserved the eastern trade to the Company and forbade subjects from serving foreign competitors, so the King directed that any such men be taken off at St Helena and sent home. This use of the island as a point to intercept and repatriate British sailors in foreign employ reflects the mercantilist principle that a nation's maritime manpower and its Eastern commerce were guarded assets, and that subjects who lent their skill to a rival power undermined both the Company's monopoly and the state's interest. The transmission of the secretary of state's exact words shows the Company scrupulously relaying royal authority to the island without alteration. Because the direction came from the Crown on a matter of state, the Court set down the Duke of Newcastle's letter verbatim rather than paraphrasing it, so that the Governor and Council received the King's pleasure precisely as expressed and could not mistake or dilute it. This careful preservation of the original wording reflects the weight attached to an instruction that issued from the highest level of government, where the Company acted merely as the channel through which the sovereign's command reached its distant possession, bound to convey it whole.
145	142	You are to make an Inquiry. whether any of His Majestys Subjects are on board. contrary to the Laws of this Kingdom. & if it shall appear there are. & the Commanders shall upon your Requisition. refuse to deliver them up. you are not to suffer such Ship. or Ships. to have any Refreshments or Assistance whatsoever 16 We have. as fully complied with your Indent as we could. consistently. with reserving the necessary room for the consignments to the West Coast 17 You have indented for twenty thousand Tiles. but we have sent you only half that Number for want of room; we shall be glad to be informed whether the covering you recommend. of a thin Mortar laid upon Boards. for the Barracks & Hospital. may not be more generally used upon our Buildings. if you are of Opinion it may. We shall gain Stowage for more useful Articles. 18 By this conveyance. you will receive. five of the eleven thirty two Pounder Cannon. which you have desired. with Carriages complete. 19 The Carriages sent you for mounting the Guns mentioned in your Indent. have. been. in a great measure. made by guess. for want of a mit sending the proper dimensions. you must. therefore.	On the arrival of any foreign ships, the Governor and Council were to enquire whether any of his Majesty's subjects were on board contrary to the laws of the kingdom. If it appeared there were, and the commanders refused on their request to deliver them up, the Governor and Council were not to let such ships have any refreshments or assistance whatever. 16: The Court had met the island's indent as fully as it could, consistently with reserving the necessary room for the consignments to the west coast. 17: The Governor and Council had indented for twenty thousand tiles, but the Court had sent only half that number for want of room. It would be glad to be informed whether the covering they recommended, of a thin mortar laid upon boards, for the barracks and hospital, might be more generally used on the Court's buildings. If the Governor and Council were of opinion it might, the Court would gain stowage for more useful articles. 18: By this conveyance the Governor and Council would receive five of the eleven thirty-two pounder cannon they had desired, with carriages complete. 19: The carriages sent for mounting the guns mentioned in the island's indent had been in great measure made by guess, for want of a proper account

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		for the future. be very exact. in acquainting us with Margin Notes: if his Majestys Subjects be on board. & refuse to deliver them. not to have any Refreshment Indent complyd with half the Tiles sent five of the eleven Guns sent Carriages made by guess. not properly mentioned	of their dimensions. The Governor and Council were therefore in future to be very exact in acquainting the Court with [...]. Interpretations The withholding of refreshment as the sanction against uncooperative foreign commanders shows the island wielding its one real lever over ships it could not otherwise compel. St Helena could not board a foreign vessel by force or seize men against her captain's will, but it could deny the water, provisions and assistance that made the mid-ocean stop worth making, and this power to refuse refreshment gave the island a practical means of enforcing the Crown's demand for British subjects. This use of the settlement's function as a supply station to coerce compliance reflects the source of its leverage on the homeward route, where control over the necessities of a long voyage substituted for the physical authority the island lacked over foreign shipping. The tension between the island's indent and the demands of cargo space runs through these paragraphs, showing how the finite room in a ship's hold forced constant trade-offs among competing needs. The Court could send only half the tiles because space had to be reserved for the west coast consignments, and it pressed the island on a lighter roofing method precisely to free stowage for more useful goods. This weighing of bulky against valuable cargo reflects the standing constraint on provisioning a remote settlement, where every ton shipped displaced another, and the Court sought at every turn to economise on space so that the limited capacity of its fleet carried the most that it could.
146	143	with the Nature of the Guns they are wanted for. particularly their lengths. diameters of the bass Rings also of the reinforced Rings. & of the Trunions. 20 We have agreeable to your Request. sent you a New Seal of the Companys Arms. which you will find in the Box which will bring your Packet 21 We have. likewise. sent you a Bell for your Guard House. weighing about two hundred weight & two Quarters. you are to return us the old one by the first convenient. opportunity. taking care that the Commander of the Ship on which you lade it. engages to bring it freight free. 22 We have sent the full quantity of Beef & Pork Indented for. which we apprehend will be a sufficient supply until next Season. but you will do well to take every opportunity. agreeable to our former directions. of purchasing what you want out of the returning Shipping. if to be had good & at reasonable prices. 23 We observe Capt. Mason brought you from the Cape. nine hundred & twenty four Gallons of Brandy & three Ales. we acquainted you in our last Letter we had discontinued our Orders to our several Commanders. for bringing Brandy to St Helena on our Accounts. We have done the same with regard to Ales and Margin Notes: must be very exact in future. in the description of them a New Seal sent a New Bell sent. the old one to be returned full Quantity of Beef & Pork sent. must take every opportunity of buying out of the Ships Observe that Capt Mason brought Cape Brandy & Ales that Orders were given	The Governor and Council were to be very exact in future in acquainting the Court with the nature of the guns they were wanted for, particularly their lengths, the diameters of their bores and rings, and also of the reinforced rings and of the trunnions. 20: In keeping with the Governor and Council's request, the Court had sent a new seal of the Company's arms, which they would find in the box that carried their packet. 21: The Court had likewise sent a bell for the guard house, weighing about two hundredweight and two quarters. The Governor and Council were to return the old one by the first convenient opportunity, taking care that the commander of the ship on which they laid it undertook to bring it freight free. 22: The Court had sent the full quantity of beef and pork indented for, which it supposed would be a sufficient supply until next season. The Governor and Council would do well, however, to take every opportunity, in keeping with the Court's former directions, of buying what they wanted from the returning shipping, if it could be had good and at reasonable prices. 23: The Court observed that Captain Mason had brought the Governor and Council from the Cape nine hundred and twenty-four gallons of brandy and three halves of ale. As it had told them in its last letter, it had stopped its orders to the several commanders for bringing brandy to St Helena on its own account, and it had done the same with regard to ale [...]. Interpretations The precise specifications demanded for the guns, down to bore diameters, reinforced rings and trunnions, reveal how the fitting of ordnance depended on exact measurement that could not be guessed across an ocean. A gun carriage had to match the particular piece it mounted, and the trunnions, the projecting arms on which a cannon pivoted, together with the reinforcing rings that strengthened the barrel, fixed the dimensions the carriage-makers in England had to work to. This insistence on exact figures

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			reflects the standing difficulty of arming a distant fort by correspondence, where a carriage made by guess for want of proper dimensions might not fit the gun at all, wasting both the timber and the voyage that carried it out. The return of the old guard-house bell freight free shows the close economy the Court applied even to a worn fitting being replaced. Rather than discard the old bell on the island, it directed that the metal be shipped home at no carriage cost, the value of the bronze justifying its return across the ocean. This reclaiming of a superseded article, coupled with the recurring insistence that commanders carry such returns without freight, reflects the standing frugality with which the Court managed its property, treating even a redundant bell as an asset to be recovered rather than left behind, and shifting the cost of its carriage onto the shipowners as a condition of their hire.
147	144	unless you shall inform us it may be necessary. to renew our Orders. 24 We imagine you will not be under the necessity of detaining any of the Treasure by this Ship. but if contrary to our expectations. you should you are to open one of the Chests consigned to the West Coast. & take out so much only. as will be really wanted of which you must transmit an exact Account. to our Deputy Governor & Council. and carefully secure & seal up the Chest 25 We shall give directions to our President & Council at Fort St George. to send you thirty Madagascar Slaves. agreeable to your request 26 We received the five pieces of Gold you sent by the <i>Wager</i>. the weight of which was but fifteen Ounces four penny weights. & eleven Grains. instead of fifteen Ounces five penny weights and two Grains. which it was said to weigh in the Receipt signed by Capt. Hindman 27 In your Indents for Goods to be brought from China. you mention the particular Quantity of China Ware & Tea desired. & you generally. add that the rest of the one p Cent be in Sugar & Sugar Candy. but as the number of China Ships are considerably. encreased. should we comply with. our Margin Notes: imagined there will be no want of Treasure &c a Presdt of Fort St George Ordered to send thirty Madgr Slaves five pieces of Gold received. but not answered the Weight Goods from China to be more particular	The Court would send no more ale unless the Governor and Council informed it that it might be necessary to renew its orders. 24: The Court supposed the Governor and Council would not need to detain any of the treasure by this ship. If, contrary to its expectations, they should, they were to open one of the chests consigned to the west coast and take out only so much as was really wanted, of which they were to send an exact account to the Deputy Governor and Council, and carefully to secure and seal up the chest again. 25: The Court would give directions to its president and council at Fort St George to send the Governor and Council thirty Madagascar slaves, in keeping with their request. 26: The Court had received the five pieces of gold the Governor and Council sent by the <i>Wager</i>, the weight of which was only fifteen ounces four pennyweights and eleven grains, instead of the fifteen ounces five pennyweights and two grains it was said to weigh in the receipt signed by Captain Hindman. 27: In their indents for goods to be brought from China, the Governor and Council mentioned the particular quantities of chinaware and tea wanted, and ordered generally that the rest of the one per cent be in sugar and sugar candy. As the number of China ships was considerably increased, if the Court were to comply with [...]. Interpretations The shortfall in the weight of the gold pieces shows the exacting precision with which bullion was checked against its accompanying receipt, and the trust that a discrepancy at once put in question. The five pieces fell short of the recorded weight by a mere pennyweight and a few grains, yet the Court noted the difference against the figure Captain Hindman had certified, since even a trifling discrepancy in weighed gold could signal error or worse. This attention to the smallest divergence between a consignment and its documentation reflects the standing discipline of accounting for precious metal across the trade route, where the receipt was the guarantee of what had been shipped, and any gap between the paper and the scale had to be marked and explained. The routine order for thirty Madagascar slaves shows the Company's internal machinery for redistributing bonded labour among its settlements at the island's request. Rather than send to Madagascar itself, St Helena applied to the Court, which would direct its president at Fort St George to forward the slaves from that presidency's own supply, so that human beings moved between the Company's stations on a written order like any other requisitioned stores. This casual handling of a request for thirty people as an ordinary matter of inter-settlement supply reflects the wholly commercial and

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			administrative view of slavery that governed the Company's establishments, where the enslaved were procured, allocated and transferred through the same correspondence that ordered tiles, timber and provisions.
148	145	so general a Request. we apprehend you will be greatly over Stock'd. you must. therefore for the future. specify the particular Quantities of Sugar. by Sugar Candy. as well as all other Articles. which you shall judge necessary to be annually brought you from China. that we may give orders for the provision of them accordingly 28 The rules laid down in our last Letter with regard to the Planters supplying the Market with Provisions. & the Restrictions. which it is necessary they should be under as to the Quantities. with which they are to furnish Shipping. we are satisfied. will be for the general good. & as we observe. you have carefully carried them into execution last Season. & taken due Notice. of your proceedings on your Diarys. we shall depend upon your acting for the future. with the like care. & impartiality 29 It is well Mr Greentree. has. a true Sense of his unjust proceedings. if you are satisfied of his sincerity. we shall have that regard to your recommendation. as to permit him to continue upon the Island. & we hope his future. behaviour. will not give us reason. to repent. of this Mark. of Indulgence to him 30 We have perused the Governors Letter of the Margin Notes: apprehend that there will be too much Sugar & Candy approved of the Planters method of supplying the Market & Ships Mr Greentree to be permitted to remain upon the Island	If the Court complied with so general a request, it supposed the Governor and Council would be greatly overstocked. In future, therefore, they were to specify the particular quantities of sugar and sugar candy, as well as all the other articles they judged necessary to be brought annually from China, so that the Court could give orders for their provision accordingly. 28: The Court was satisfied the rules laid down in its last letter, about the planters supplying the market with provisions and the restrictions on the quantities they might furnish to shipping, would be for the general good. As it observed the Governor and Council had carefully carried them into execution the year before, and had taken due notice of their proceedings in the island diary, it would depend on their acting in future with the like care and impartiality. 29: It was well that Mr Greentree had a true sense of his unjust proceedings. If the Governor and Council were satisfied of his sincerity, the Court would have such regard to their recommendation as to permit him to remain on the island. It hoped his future behaviour would not give it reason to repent of this mark of indulgence to him. 30: The Court had read the Governor's letter of [...]. Interpretations The reversal on Thomas Greentree shows the Court tempering its earlier order for deportation once the island vouched for the man's change of heart. Having directed the year before that Greentree be shipped to England as the ringleader of the planters' opposition, the Court now allowed him to stay on the strength of his contrition and the Governor and Council's recommendation, while warning that his future conduct would be watched. This willingness to relent, conditioned on the island's assurance and the man's own submission, reflects the discretion the Court retained over the fate of a troublesome inhabitant, using the threat of removal and its suspension alike as instruments of control, the pardon held out as an indulgence that further misbehaviour would forfeit. The reliance on the island diary as the record of the planters' compliance confirms the working method by which the Court supervised its regulations from a distance. Because it could not observe the weekly market itself, it depended on the Governor and Council entering their proceedings in the diary, so that the administration of the supply rules left a written trail the Court could review months later. This continued use of the diary to verify that the market regime was applied with care and impartiality reflects the standing reliance on the documentary record to govern the settlement, the entries serving as the Court's eyes on a system it directed but could not see. Speculations The Court chose to let Thomas Greentree remain on the island, rather than carry out the deportation to England it had ordered the year before. The obvious course, having already directed his removal as the ringleader of the planters' opposition and having found no reason to soften its view of that faction, was to see the order through and ship him home. Instead the Court suspended the removal on the strength of his professed contrition and the bench's recommendation. The reason lies in what had changed since the original order: Greentree was now reported to acknowledge his unjust proceedings, and the Governor and Council, who could judge his sincerity on the spot as London could not, vouched

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			for him, so the Court deferred to their assessment while reserving the power to renew the removal if his conduct relapsed.
149	146	the 5 of May. & the Affidavit thereto annexed from which. as well as from the Opinion we have of his Honor & Integrity. we are. convinced of the Injustice of the Planters Complaint. of his taking Meat at the Market. as an Injury done to the Garrison. seeing he supplied the Market from our Stock with more than double. the Quantity 31 We have received & approve of your Plans for new Barracks & an Hospital. but as it is impossible. to send you the necessary Materials by this conveyance. for the building of both. we have laden. therefore. at present the Materials only. for erecting the Barracks. which you are to Set about as soon as you can conveniently 32 We approve. of your putting Mr Matthew Baret upon the Establishment of a Factor. as he had served the Term of his Writership. We have received the Covenants executed by him. as a Factor. & Security has been given for him accordingly 33 We have sent. you by this Ship. twenty Military Recruits. whose names are particularly mentioned in the enclosed Muster Roll. there are twenty more. on board for the Service of our Settlements on the West Coast. none of the latter Margin Notes: the Companys good Opinion of the Governor Plans of new Barracks & Hospital approved of approved of putting Mr Baret upon the establishmt of a Factor twenty Recruits sent	The Court had read the Governor's letter of 5 May and the affidavit annexed to it. From these, as well as from its opinion of his honour and integrity, it was convinced of the injustice of the planters' complaint about his taking meat at the market, seeing he supplied the market from the Company's stock with more than double the quantity. 31: The Court had received and approved the Governor and Council's plans for new barracks and a hospital. As it was impossible to send the necessary materials for building both by this conveyance, it had for the present laden only the materials for erecting the barracks, which the Governor and Council were to set about as soon as they conveniently could. 32: The Court approved the Governor and Council putting Mr Matthew Bazett on the establishment as a factor, as he had served the term of his writership. It had received the covenants he executed as a factor, and security had been given for him accordingly. 33: The Court had sent the Governor and Council twenty military recruits by this ship, whose names were set out in the enclosed muster roll. There were twenty more on board for the service of its settlements on the west coast, none of the latter [...]. Interpretations The Governor's vindication over the market meat shows the Court weighing a complaint against his own senior officer and finding for him on the evidence and his character. The planters had charged that the Governor's taking meat at the market injured the garrison, but the Court, relying on his affidavit and on his supplying more than double his takings from the Company's own stock, dismissed the accusation. This readiness to clear the Governor on the strength of the record and his standing reflects the confidence the Court placed in its chief officer, and its treatment of a complaint against him as a matter to be tested on proof rather than presumed, the double contribution he made to the market settling the question of any injury. The advancement of Matthew Bazett from writer to factor, on completing his term and giving security, illustrates the settled ladder of promotion within the Company's civil service and the safeguards attached to each rise. A writer who had served out his years and shown competence moved up to factor, but only on executing fresh covenants and furnishing renewed security, so that each step into greater trust was matched by a corresponding guarantee of good conduct. This pairing of promotion with a renewed bond reflects the standing practice by which the Company advanced its servants through fixed grades while continually reinforcing its protection against the men who handled its property, every increase in responsibility underwritten before it took effect.
150	147	are to be detained. at St Helena. on any pretence whatsoever 34 In answer to the 6th Paragraph in your Letter of the 19th of June last. We direct. that such Soldiers who have served their contracted Times. and are desirous of returning to England. be obliged to take their Familys with them. & if the Women refuse to take leave. the Island. you are hereby. authorized to compel them to go with their Husbands. unless there shall be good & satisfactory reasons to the contrary. and their continuance will not be attended with any expence to the Company 35 The Deputy Governor & Council of Fort Marlborough. made a very Irregular Application	The twenty recruits for the west coast were not to be detained at St Helena on any pretence whatever. 34: In answer to the sixth paragraph of the Governor and Council's letter of 19 June, the Court directed that soldiers who had served their contracted time and wished to return to England be obliged to take their families with them. If the women refused to leave the island, the Governor and Council were authorised to compel them to go with their husbands, unless there were good and satisfactory reasons to the contrary, and their staying would not put the Company to any expense. 35: The Deputy Governor and Council of Fort Marlborough had made a very irregular application to the Governor and Council for a military officer. The Governor and Council had very properly answered

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		to you. for a Military Officer. & you very properly Answered them. you could not comply with their Request. without our Orders. but as they acquaint us that they are in want of a good Officer. we do give leave. to Lieutenant Joseph Kendall. to proceed from St Helena. to the West Coast on the <i>Grantham</i>. & we have directed. that he be immediately. on his arrival appointed Captain of our First Company on that Coast. which you are to Notify. to him accordingly. 36 As the promotion & removal of Mr Kendall will occasion. a Vacancy of a Second Lieutenancy Margin Notes: the Soldiers to be obliged to take their Familys with them The deputy Govr & Council of Fort Marlbo. An application very irregular Mr Kendall Ordered to the West Coast Since appointed 2d Lieutenant	that they could not comply without the Court's orders. As Fort Marlborough reported it was in want of a good officer, the Court gave leave to Lieutenant Joseph Kendall to proceed from St Helena to the west coast on the <i>Grantham</i>, and directed that on his arrival he be immediately appointed captain of the Company's first company on that coast, which the Governor and Council were to notify to him accordingly. 36: As the promotion and removal of Mr Kendall would leave a vacancy for a second lieutenancy [...]. Interpretations The order compelling soldiers' wives to leave with their departing husbands reveals the Company's determination to keep no unproductive dependents on an island maintained at its own charge. A woman left behind when her soldier husband sailed home would fall to the Company's support without contributing to the settlement, so the Court authorised the Governor and Council to force her departure unless she could maintain herself at no cost. This power to remove wives against their will reflects the standing concern to prevent the island's population accumulating persons who consumed its scarce provisions without serving its purpose, the settlement's function as a garrison and refreshment station leaving little room for dependents the Company would have to feed. The rebuff of Fort Marlborough's direct request for an officer shows the strict hierarchy of authority that ran through the Company's eastern establishments, with St Helena forbidden to reallocate personnel on a sister settlement's say-so. The Deputy Governor of the west coast could not simply draw an officer from the island, which had no power to comply without the Court's sanction, and the transfer of Lieutenant Kendall came about only by London's own direction. This insistence that even an urgent staffing need be routed through the centre reflects the standing principle that authority over appointments rested with the Court alone, the settlements bound to await its orders rather than arrange matters directly among themselves, however pressing the local want.
151	148	We have chosen. Mr Samuel Price. to succeed thereto on the usual Terms. & he proceeds accordingly on this Ship 37 As your Surgeon Samuel Falconer proves such an Irreclaimable Drunkard. that there can be no dependance upon him. You are immediately. upon the Receipt of this Letter to dismiss him from our Service & send him to England as soon afterwards as possible. 38 Mr John Inglis. your Surgeons Assistant. is to succeed Mr Falconer as Surgeon. with the usual Salary & Allowances 39 And we have entertained Mr Thomas Evans who takes his Passage on this Ship. to succeed Mr Inglis. as Surgeons Assistant. at the same Salary & Allowances. as were made to Inglis in that Station 40 From the account you give us of your Armourer Henry Brimson. & your Carpenter William Oakman. we think. them unfit Persons. to be continued in our Service. & therefore upon the Receipt of this Letter. they are to be dismissed 41 To supply the place of the said Brimson we have entertained. Robert Johnclark. at the same allowance. as Brimson Vizt. forty two Pounds. a bat we have. likewise. agreeable to your Request. for an Armourers Mate. entertained John Hughes. for that Station. at thirty six Pounds a year. we have Margin Notes: Mr Falconer dismissed to be sent for England Mr Inglis appointed Surgeon Mr Evans appointed Surgeons Assistant	The Court had chosen Mr Samuel Price to succeed to the second lieutenancy on the usual terms, and he accordingly took his passage on this ship. 37: As the surgeon Samuel Falconer had proved such an irreclaimable drunkard that no dependance could be placed on him, the Governor and Council were, immediately on receipt of this letter, to dismiss him from the Company's service and send him to England as soon afterwards as possible. 38: Mr John Inglis, the surgeon's assistant, was to succeed Mr Falconer as surgeon, with the usual salary and allowances. 39: The Court had engaged Mr Thomas Evans, who took his passage on this ship, to succeed Mr Inglis as surgeon's assistant, at the same salary and allowances as had been made to Inglis in that station. 40: From the account the Governor and Council gave of the armourer Henry Brimson and the carpenter William Oakman, the Court thought them unfit persons to be continued in its service, and so on receipt of this letter they were to be dismissed. 41: To fill Brimson's place, the Court had engaged Robert John Clark at the same allowance as Brimson, namely £2 0s 0d a week diet money. In keeping with the Governor and Council's request for an armourer's mate, it had also engaged John Hughes for that station at £36 0s 0d a year. [...]. Interpretations The dismissal of the drunken surgeon shows the Court's readiness to remove even a skilled and hard-to-replace officer when his conduct made him unreliable in a post where lives depended on him.

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		the Armourer & Carpenter to be dismissed Robert Johnclark appointed Armourer John Hughes Armourers Mate	Falconer's habitual drunkenness rendered him useless as a surgeon, and the Court ordered his immediate dismissal and return to England despite the difficulty of finding medical men for so remote a station, promoting his assistant in his place. This willingness to sacrifice a qualified officer for want of trustworthiness reflects the standing concern with the fitness of those in responsible positions on the island, where the surgeon's charge over the sick made his sobriety more important than the mere possession of his skill. The smooth chain of replacements, each man stepping up as the one above him was promoted or removed, reveals the layered structure of the island's establishment and the ready succession built into it. When the surgeon fell, his assistant rose to surgeon and a new assistant was sent from England, just as a dismissed armourer and carpenter were at once replaced by newly engaged men at fixed rates. This orderly filling of vacancies from below, with fresh recruits brought in at the foot, reflects the settled administration of the settlement's specialist posts, where each place carried a known salary and could be refilled by promotion or engagement so that the work of the station continued without a gap.
152	149	have also entertained Thomas Levinz to succeed William Oakman the Carpenter. at the usual Salary of fifty Pounds a Year. & Thomas Cheesborough to be Carpenters Mate & Caulker at Thirty Pounds a year. all which allowances. are to commence. upon their arrival at St Helena in this Ship. on which they take their Passage. these Persons have entered into the Usual Engagements to serve us five Years in their beforementioned Stations. 42 In our Letter last Year by the Walpole. it was recommended to you. to enquire into the State of the case. with regard to a claim made by Mr James DuBois. in behalf of his Daughter an Infant. for a distributive part. of the late Mr John Frenchs Personal Estate. which it was alledged the said Infant is Entitled to. as the Representative of her late. Mother deceased. who was a Daughter of the said John French. & we likewise recommended it to you. to see that Justice was done to the said Infant in consequence of which we find an Enquiry has been made. & you acquaint us it plainly appears to you. & it is your opinion. that the Grand Children of the late John French deceased. have an undoubted right to a share of his Personal Estate Margin Notes: Thos Levinz appointed Carpenter Thomas Cheesborough Mate Mr duBois Affair	The Court had also engaged Thomas Leviny to succeed William Oakman as carpenter, at the usual salary of £50 0s 0d a year, and Thomas Cheesborough to be carpenter's mate and caulker at £30 0s 0d a year. All these allowances were to begin on their arrival at St Helena in this ship, on which they took their passage. These men had entered into the usual engagements to serve the Company five years in their stated stations. 42: In its letter the year before by the <i>Walpole</i>, the Court had recommended the Governor and Council to enquire into the state of the case regarding a claim made by Mr James DuBois, on behalf of his daughter, an infant, for a distributive share of the late Mr John French's personal estate, to which the infant was alleged to be entitled as the representative of her late mother, deceased, who was a daughter of John French. The Court had also recommended that they see justice done to the infant. An enquiry had accordingly been made, and the Governor and Council reported that it plainly appeared to them, and it was their opinion, that the grandchildren of the late John French, deceased, had an undoubted right to a share of his personal [...]. Interpretations The DuBois inheritance case, taken up again here from the earlier despatch, shows the settled working of the law of intestate succession as it reached into the Company's remote settlement. French had died without a will, and the question was whether his granddaughter, standing in the place of her dead mother, was entitled to a distributive share of his personal estate. The Governor and Council's enquiry confirmed that the grandchildren had an undoubted right to a portion, applying the rule by which an intestate's property passed to his descendants in fixed shares, the child of a deceased daughter taking the share her mother would have had. This deference to the established law of distribution reflects the reach of English succession rules into the island's affairs, binding even a family dispute among the Company's servants. The representation of a dead parent by her child, the principle that carried the granddaughter's claim, is the doctrine by which a grandchild inherits the share a deceased parent would have taken had she lived. Because the infant's mother, French's daughter, had died before her own father, the child stepped into her mother's place in the division of the estate, taking the portion that would have descended to the mother.

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			This working of representation through the generations reflects the settled machinery of intestate succession that governed such claims, and its recognition on the island shows the Company's local administration applying the same inheritance law that obtained in England, so that a child's entitlement was measured by the parent she represented rather than lost through the parent's prior death.
153	150	Estate. & that you had taken security. of Mr Thomas French. who is the Administrator. to lodge a Childs Dividend in our Cash. for the Daughter of the said Mr DuBois. amounting to the Sum of one hundred twenty three Pounds. nineteen Shillings. & seven Pence half Penny. & to pay the Children of Mr William Beale the like Sum. they appearing to you to have the same Right. as upon a perusal of your proceedings. & the Allegations of Mr Thomas French we see no reason for differing with you in Opinion We hope Mr French. upon duly reflecting upon the equity of the case. will readily. acquiesce herewith & pay the said Sum of one hundred twenty three Pounds. nineteen Shillings. & seven Pence half Penny into our Cash. When he has done so. you must give us Advice of it. & write it off in your Books to Account Current London. as we cannot pay Mr DuBois Claim. until the Money is actually received into our Cash. but as this is an Affair entirely of a private Nature. you are not to interfere any further in it. than by Interposing your good Offices & you must not use any compulsory methods in your Capacity of Governor & Council. which may any ways tend. to make us Partys in this dispute. Margin Notes: Mr DuBois Affair	The Governor and Council reported that they had taken security of Mr Thomas French, the administrator, to lodge a child's dividend in the Company's cash for Mr DuBois's daughter, amounting to £123 19s 7d, and to pay the children of Mr William Seale the like sum, they appearing to the Governor and Council to have the same right. On reading the Governor and Council's proceedings and the allegations of Mr Thomas French, the Court saw no reason for differing with them in opinion. It hoped that French, on duly reflecting on the equity of the case, would readily agree to it, and pay the £123 19s 7d into the Company's cash. When he had done so, the Governor and Council were to advise the Court of it and write it off in their books to account current London, since the Court could not pay Mr DuBois's claim until the money was actually received into its cash. As this was a matter entirely of a private nature, the Governor and Council were not to interfere any further in it than by interposing their good offices. They were not to use any compulsory methods in their capacity as Governor and Council, which might in any way tend to make the Company parties in the dispute. Interpretations The Court's caution against using compulsion in the DuBois affair reveals a careful line between the Company's public authority and a private legal dispute among individuals. Although the Governor and Council governed the island and could enforce the Company's own rules, the inheritance quarrel between the DuBois and French families was a private matter, and the Court forbade its officers to bring their official power to bear, lest the Company be drawn in as a party to litigation that was none of its business. This drawing back from a private controversy reflects an awareness that the settlement's rulers held authority for the Company's purposes, not to adjudicate or enforce the private claims of inhabitants, and that to do so would expose the Company to entanglement and liability in matters outside its proper concern. The routing of the disputed inheritance through the Company's cash and its London account shows the settlement's treasury serving as the mechanism by which money owed on the island was made payable in England. The administrator was to lodge the child's share in the Company's cash at St Helena, whereupon it would be written off to the London account, and only once the money was actually received could the Court pay the claimant at home. This use of the corporate treasury as a bridge between the island and England, holding a private sum on the island and discharging it in London, reflects the standing role of the Company's accounts in moving value across the ocean, the same machinery that settled estates and debts serving here to carry an infant's inheritance from the place it arose to the place it was claimed.
154	151	43 We observe by your Letters this Season that all the Money that can be recoverd of the Debts. due to the Estate of the late Governor Goodwin. has been received. & had you complied with our Orders by the Exeter in 1751. which. were enforced the following Year. with regard to the Claims upon the said Estate. we might now have been able to give our final Orders. for	43: The Court observed from the Governor and Council's letters this season that all the money that could be recovered of the debts due to the estate of the late Governor Goodwin had been received. Had they complied with the Court's orders by the <i>Exeter</i> in 1751, which were enforced the following year, regarding the claims on the estate, the Court might now have been able to give its final orders for closing

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		closing this Account. but you tell us. that upon your acquainting all the Claimants upon the Island. that we required a more particular account from them. of their Demands. they told you they had no other than those. sent already. excepting Mr Francis Wrangham. who refers us to Collect his Claim from a Trial held at the Sessions on the 19 September 1741. 44 We therefore now positively direct. that you Immediately call upon all the Claimants to deliver you an exact Account. of their respective Claims upon the Estate of the late Governor Goodwin deceased and that they State therein clearly. and particularly. the Nature of the several Items. & produce to you the Evidence they have to support their several. and respective demands. all & every Article whereof are to be carefully & equitably considered by you. and then you Margin Notes: Govr Goodwins Affairs the Claimants on Govr Goodwins Estate to give an exact Account of them. & a	the account. But the Governor and Council said that when they asked all the claimants on the island for the more particular account of their demands the Court had required, the claimants told them they had no other than those already sent, except Mr Francis Wrangham, who referred the Court to collect his claim from a trial held at the quarter sessions on 19 September 1741. 44: The Court therefore now positively directed that the Governor and Council immediately call upon all the claimants to deliver an exact account of their respective claims on the estate of the late Governor Goodwin, deceased, and to state clearly and particularly the nature of the several items, and to produce the evidence they had to support their several demands. All and every article of these was to be carefully and equitably considered by the Governor and Council, and then [...]. Interpretations The long delay in closing the Goodwin estate, traced here across several years of despatches, shows how the settlement of a dead governor's affairs could drag on when the island failed to gather the documentation the Court required. The debts had been collected, but the claims against the estate remained unresolved because the claimants had never furnished the particular, evidenced accounts London demanded, some resting on nothing more than earlier vague submissions. This protracted inability to bring an estate to a close reflects the standing difficulty of administering probate at a distance, where the Court could not settle the competing demands until the island supplied clear proof of each, and every season's incomplete return pushed the reckoning a year further off. The demand that each claim be stated particularly and backed by evidence, weighed carefully and equitably, reveals the standard of proof the Court insisted on before it would charge the estate. A claimant's bare assertion of a debt was not enough, as with Wrangham, who could only point to an old trial rather than produce a proper account; the Court required a clear statement of each item and the evidence to support it, to be assessed on its merits by the island. This insistence on documented and tested claims reflects the due process the Court applied to all such matters, protecting the estate and the rival claimants alike against unsupported demands, and treating the fair adjudication of each claim as a duty owed before any distribution could be made.
155	152	you are to give us your Opinion. which ought. and which ought not to be allowed. with your reasons for such your Opinion. 45 Mr Hunter has made a Claim of twenty one Pounds sixteen Shillings. & three Pence due to him in right of his Wife. as that Gentleman is not on the spot. we cannot have that full Evidence in support of it. which we expect in the other Cases. you must therefore collect it in the best manner you can. & place it in the clearest light the Nature of this claim will admit of 46 Among the Claims transmitted to us in 1751 we do not find any made by. or in behalf of Eleanor Worrall for the sum of forty one Pounds twelve Shillings. & two Pence. which has been mentioned in the Letter from St Helena. dated the 23d November 1744 this must be therefore. looked upon as a claim. & undergo the like Enquiry as we have directed. with regard to all the others 47 As soon as you have finished your Enquiry & fully. complied with your Orders relating thereto you are to transmit. to us the result of the whole. by the first conveyance that offers. 48 In answer to the several Paragraphs of your	The Governor and Council were to give the Court their opinion on which claims ought and which ought not to be allowed, with their reasons. 45: Mr Hunter had made a claim of £21 16s 3d due to him in right of his wife. As that gentleman was not on the spot, the Court could not have the full evidence in support of it that it expected in the other cases. The Governor and Council were therefore to collect it in the best manner they could and to place the nature of his claim in the clearest light it would admit of. 46: Among the claims sent home in 1751, the Court found none made by or on behalf of Eleanor Worrall for £41 12s 2d, which had been mentioned in the letter from St Helena dated 23 November 1744. This too was therefore to be looked upon as a claim and to undergo the like enquiry the Court had directed for all the others. 47: As soon as the Governor and Council had finished their enquiry and fully complied with the Court's orders relating to it, they were to send home the result of the whole by the first conveyance that offered. 48: In answer to the several paragraphs of the Governor and Council's general [...].

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		General Margin Notes: Mr Hunter Claim on Govr Goodwins Estate Eleanor Worrall Claim on Govr Goodwins Estate the Result of Govr Goodwins Affairs to be transmitted	Interpretations The Hunter claim, resting on a right derived through his wife, points to the working of the law by which a husband held and pursued the property interests his wife brought to the marriage. A married woman could not commonly sue in her own name, so a demand belonging to her was made by her husband in her right, and here Hunter claimed the sum as his through her. The Court's difficulty in getting full evidence because he was absent shows the practical obstacle this created when the party stood far off, but the underlying principle, that a wife's claim passed into her husband's hands to enforce, reflects the settled matrimonial law of the period as it operated even in the Company's remote settlement. The care taken to treat Eleanor Worrall's long-mentioned but never formally submitted demand as a claim to be tested shows the Court's determination that no legitimate interest in the estate be overlooked in the rush to close it. A sum noted in a letter years before, yet absent from the claims later sent home, was not to be quietly dropped but subjected to the same enquiry as every other. This scrupulous inclusion of an overlooked claim reflects the even-handedness the Court brought to the settlement of the estate, ensuring that its long-delayed closing did not work an injustice by omission, and that each person with a possible right was given the chance to prove it on the same footing as the rest.
156	153	General Letter of the 9th August last. we have laid the State of the case between Mr Godwin. & Mr Harper Executors. in the shape & manner. you sent it to us. before the Honorable. Mr Yorke our standing Council. & herewith we send you his opinion thereon. but must observe that such cases as come before. you. must be determined by your own judgment & opinion. & not by ours. who have no Authority to make such decision. & therefore for the future we direct. That if any thing comes before you which appears to be doubtful. you recommend it to the Parties to agree upon the State of the case under your Correction. & at their joint. expence transmit it here. to some Agent of their Own. for the opinion of such Council as they can agree upon. that the Company may not be put to the like expence & Trouble. as they have been in this Case We are London 28 November 1753 Your Loving Friends Willm Rider Richd Chauncy Thomas Walpole R. Drake Stephen Law W. Mabbott John Boyd Chris Burrow. Rt Bootle M. Impey Timothy Tullie Whichcott Turner H Willey force Junr Will Braund Thos Rous W Willey Wm Crabb Boulton Henry Plant Margin Notes: Mr Rt Godwins & Jabz Harpers Executors Dispute	In answer to the several paragraphs of the Governor and Council's general letter of 9 August, the Court had laid the state of the case between Mr Goodwin and Mr Harper, executors, in the shape and manner the Governor and Council sent it, before Mr Yorke, its standing counsel, and it now sent his opinion on it. It observed, however, that such cases as came before the Governor and Council had to be determined by their own judgement and opinion, and not by the Court's, which had no authority to make such a decision. For the future, therefore, the Court directed that if anything came before the Governor and Council which appeared doubtful, they were to recommend to the parties to agree on the state of the case under the Governor and Council's correction, and at their joint expense to send it home to some agent of their own for the opinion of such counsel as they could agree on, so that the Company would not be put to the like expense and trouble as in this case. The letter was dated at London on 28 November 1753 and subscribed by the members of the Court of Directors: William Rider Thomas Walpole Stephen Law John Boyd Robert Bootle Timothy Tullie Frederick Vanderforce junior Thomas Rous William Crabb Boulton Richard Chauncy Roger Drake William Mabbott Christopher Burrow M. Impey Whichcott Turner William Braund William Willy Henry Plant Interpretations The Court's disclaimer of authority to decide the executors' dispute reveals the limits it set on its own judicial role and the proper division of legal responsibility. Although the Court obtained the opinion of its standing counsel, Mr Yorke, it insisted

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			that contested cases arising on the island be settled by the Governor and Council's own judgement, since the Court had no power to adjudicate such matters from London. This careful separation of functions reflects an awareness that the direction at home governed the Company's commercial affairs but was not a court of law for the private disputes of those on the island, whose resolution belonged to the local authority acting within its jurisdiction. The instruction that parties to a doubtful case bear the cost of taking their own legal opinion shows the Court moving to shield the Company from the expense and trouble of private litigation. Having been drawn into and burdened by the executors' dispute, it directed that in future the parties themselves, at their joint expense, submit an agreed statement of the case to counsel of their own choosing, so that the Company neither paid for nor became entangled in quarrels that were not its own. This shifting of the burden onto the litigants reflects the standing concern to keep the Company's resources and authority confined to its proper business, treating the private legal disputes of the island's inhabitants as matters for those inhabitants to pursue and fund themselves.
157	154	Book cover	
158	155	EAP 1364 St Helena Document Name and Date St Helena Letters from England 1744-1763 Dimensions (height x width x depth) (cm) 32.5cm (h) 22.5cm (w) 3.5cm (d). No. written pages 155 No. blank pages 0 Spine and cover good condition Inside pages good condition Additional comments Foxing present. Tightly bound Time taken to photograph (hours) 2 hours	