St Helena Letters to England 1748-1758

Introduction: This is the ninth volume in the series *St Helena Letters to England*. It includes outgoing official correspondence from the Governor and Council of St Helena to the East India Company in London reporting on the administration of the island, including matters such as government decisions, defence, military preparedness, trade and shipping, supply shortages, personnel issues, and judicial proceedings. They often included explanations of difficulties faced by the island and defences against criticisms from London of past actions or policies. The letters were usually copied or abstracted into the island records.

Source: Images of the original records can be viewed on the British Library's website: https://eap.bl.uk/archive-file/EAP1364-1-2-9.

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

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

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

Text Loss: The early pages suffer from significant loss of text due to the loss of the first bottom corners. The ink on the pages is also rather faint at different sections of this volume, this being further accompanied by bleeding of ink from the verso.

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

Pagination: The pagination is unconventional, appearing sequentially only at the bottom left of each verso (left-hand) page, while the recto (right-hand) pages are left unmarked. In other words, each side of the page have the same number. This pagination system has therefore been ignored.

The records begin on film No. 5, and this has been assumed to be page 1. It is then further assumed that the page numbers continue sequentially through to the end of the volume.

Dates: At the beginning of the period covered by this volume, England and its colonies were still using the Old-Style Julian calendar, under which the legal new year began on 25 March (Lady Day). The Gregorian calendar was introduced on Thursday 14 September 1752. By that time, Britain was eleven days behind most European countries, which had long adopted the Gregorian calendar introduced by Pope Gregory XIII in 1582. To make the adjustment, Wednesday 2 September 1752 was immediately followed by Thursday 14 September 1752. At the same moment, the start of the legal new year was changed from 25 March to 1 January. Interestingly, although lettered dated August and October 1752 appear in this volume, there are no entries recorded for September 1752.

The earliest date recorded in this volume is a letter sent on 20 September 1748, and the latest is a letter sent on 20 August 1758. All these letters were sent to England during the administration of Charles Hutchinson (1747-1764).

AI Generated Summary

Introduction

This account consolidates a decade of the East India Company's correspondence from its settlement on St Helena, following the general letters that the island's Governor and Council sent home to the Court of Directors in London from the middle of 1748 to August 1758. The record runs continuously through the closing years of the War of the Austrian Succession, the uneasy peace that followed and the opening campaigns of the Seven Years' War, so that a remote mid-ocean station can be watched being drawn twice into a wider conflict. The material is almost wholly official, consisting of general letters, consultations, packet lists and accounts, and it shows the island as its rulers wished the Court to see it, a station diligent, frugal and obedient. [Film No. 5–54, 155, 355–404]

The correspondence was kept by a small and remarkably stable governing body. Charles Hutchinson signed as Governor throughout, joined for the earlier years by David Hunter and John Clark, and from March 1753 by John Adamson, Hunter having left for Bencoolen aboard the *Exeter* partway through 1752. That steadiness is also the record's limit, for the Council wrote to justify its spending, to explain shortfalls and to seek direction, and the people it governed, above all the slaves and the ordinary soldiers, appear only as the Council chose to record them. The narrative below reads the record for what it states and weighs it for what it leaves unsaid. [Film No. 55–104, 167, 205, 214]

The letters were written at a station that lived by the sea. Every despatch went home in a named ship, and the same papers were copied and sent again in a second hull so the loss of one vessel would not carry away the record, a habit of duplication that fills the packet lists and proves how fragile communication was across such distances. The island's whole tie to its masters ran through the ships that touched in its road, its first duty to account for every action to a distant authority and its central purpose to serve as the Company's listening post and victualling station on the homeward route. [Film No. 5–54, 210, 255–256]

Governance and Administration

The island was ruled by a small Council headed by the Governor, which decided most local questions but referred anything weighty to the Court in London and preferred to wait rather than act where no order existed. It appointed its own secretary when the choice was left to it, selecting the senior factor Francis Wrangham while asking London to fix his salary, the pattern of the whole administration in which appointments were made at the island but rewards settled at home. When it could not decide whether a dead servant's effects should be written off to London it held the money and asked, custom allowing the writing off only for those who died intestate. [Film No. 10, 38, 113]

The business of government grew heavy enough that the Council pressed for an assistant to the secretary, and the reliance on bonds and sureties ran through every trusted office. Matthew Bazett gave a bond of £500 0s 0d for the faithful performance of his duty, and where the Court required its covenant servants to find security in England several instead found substantial men at the island to stand for them, John Clark, Francis Wrangham junior, James Powell and Thomas French each giving bonds of £1,000 0s 0d remitted home for inspection. By the later years this bonding system strained against the smallness of the circle it

drew on, Wrangham and Charles Steward Wilkis finding their friends in England already bound for others and falling back on offering homeward-bound commanders instead. [Film No. 37, 38, 39, 41, 360]

Confidential business ran through a separate channel of the Court, the Secret Committee or Committee of Secrecy, whose orders bound the island and whom the Council undertook to obey, any three of the named members carrying the Company's full authority. When the War of the Austrian Succession ended the Court informed the Council that the Committee's powers had ceased and it addressed itself again to the ordinary Court of Directors, a shift that marked the return to peace as clearly as any proclamation, but the body was revived as war returned. Its membership was named to the island each season, among them Richard Chauncey, Harry Vansittart and James Leake in 1751, William Baker and James Raymond about 1753, Roger Drake, Peter Godfrey, Christopher Burrow, John Payne and Jones Raymond in 1755, and Chauncey, Drake, Burrow and William Wabbot in 1754, so that the chief servant should always know whose orders bound him. [Film No. 8, 35, 107, 216, 268, 315, 354, 435]

London kept a close hand on appointments, favours and the very form of the record. It fixed the salaries of local men, reported its thanks on behalf of Nathaniel Sampler for a favour bestowed, sent out James Sheridan as gardener to be paid and dieted as directed, and directed that bills be written upon half a sheet and advices set down on demy paper folded in a fixed manner. The same letter ended a customary fee of ten shillings paid to the secretary on a soldier's discharge, a small perquisite swept away as an abuse, the reach of the direction showing how closely the distant office was regulated for the ease of the office at home. [Film No. 74–75, 107, 112]

The correspondence itself was managed as a serious business, every packet carrying a numbered list of its contents and letters going by several ships in duplicate so that a loss at sea would not break the chain of advice. The Council was alarmed when a bill for £299 0s 0d drawn by Captain Ulrich Wortman appeared to have reached the payee in a private letter rather than the official packet, and promised stricter scrutiny, the credit of the station depending on every bill passing through a single controlled channel. A recurring difficulty turned on the cash accounts, the last quarter's receipts not laid before the Council until the middle of the month so that only a duplicate of the previous account could go home, an explanation entered across successive letters with care to show the delay procedural and unavoidable. [Film No. 65–67, 109]

The departure and arrival of leading men passed the government from hand to hand by the ships of the homeward season. The Lieutenant Governor David Hunter, who had signed every letter of the earlier years, sailed for Bencoolen with his family aboard the *Exeter* at the Court's expense, and John Adamson took his place on the arrival of the *Walpole*, the Council undertaking to repair the house in the valley and the rooms in the Longwood fort for his accommodation with the use of some of the Court's slaves as his predecessor had been allowed, each holder stepping into a defined package of pay and perquisites carried over from the last. The civil administration was stretched dangerously thin, its clerical work taking all the effort those employed could give and threatened if any one fell sick, so the Council named local candidates such as the young Francis Wrangham and pressed their qualifications on the Court. [Film No. 167, 172, 196, 221]

The Company also bent the island to purposes beyond its own trade, holding the Council to its express command rather than its own discretion. When Fort Marlborough asked St Helena for a military officer the Council declined to spare one until the Court's orders came, a caution London commended, and following the Duke of Newcastle's letter of 8 November 1753 the Council was to demand any of the King's subjects found aboard foreign ships and withhold all refreshment from any commander who refused to give them up, the water and provisions the passing ships needed made a lever to enforce a point of national law. Stung by a direct planters' remonstrance in 1752, the Council also sought to require that all future representations from the planters be laid before it in writing to be forwarded within its own consultations, a deliberate attempt to shut off their direct access to London under cover of administrative convenience. [Film No. 198, 199, 269, 272]

Late in the period the Council pressed reforms of its own bookkeeping to bring it into line with the Company's other settlements, finding the practice of keeping a separate ledger head for every soldier tedious and proposing to make the cash account the foundation, carrying each payment of salary or receipt of rent

directly to it. It submitted a new form of muster roll and asked which the Court preferred, a question of real weight in the wake of the old frauds when fictitious names on the rolls had cheated the Company, while London for its part approved the reform, required fuller journal entries and directed how exchange was to be charged on money advanced to the King's ships. The Council promised the strictest frugality in the garrison's charge, yet qualified it that no saving would be made inconsistent with the security of the island. [Film No. 345, 401, 402, 439–440]

Military Affairs and Defence

The garrison was the Company's chief instrument of control on the island, yet it was never at full strength, and the shortage runs unbroken through the whole decade. Men whose contracted time expired frequently refused to re-enlist, and recruitment at so remote a station was almost impossible, so that the Council reckoned it wanted 30 men by Christmas of 1748, still lacked two second lieutenants, an adjutant and 37 privates by mid-1751, stood 40 and then 42 men short through 1752, and by December 1754 was short 4 with 30 more terms about to expire. Recruits arrived already thinned by the passage, only 31 of those sent by the *Onslow* reaching the island after one died, 40 of 41 landed from the *Griffin* and 28 of 31 from the *Oxford*, so a company reached the island reduced before it could be entered on the establishment. [Film No. 36, 111, 134, 163, 187, 272, 297, 359, 371]

To hold the men it had, the Court loosened its purse and the Council found local remedies. The Governor paraded the garrison and promised a bounty of £10 0s 0d instead of the usual 5 guineas to any man who would serve five years beyond his term, with a rise in sentinel's pay from the arrival of the *Onslow*. Soldiers nearing discharge could ease their own release by procuring good men to take their places, as John Smith and William Harris brought forward William Perry and Adolph Christianmores to serve a full five years without bounty, and discharged men were pressed to re-enlist for Fort Marlborough on a bounty of £8 0s 0d rather than be lost home to England, so that the island passed soldiers from one Company post to another and was itself manned in part by drafts such as Godfrey Bogard sent from Fort Marlborough. [Film No. 111, 140–141, 164, 174, 202]

Its position on the homeward sea road let the Council recover deserters from the Indian settlements. Joseph Johnson and Michael Quick were found aboard the *Kent* to be deserters from Bengal and taken off, while William Thompson, who had run from Madras, was detained to serve out his time, though the Council questioned whether returning such men to India, with its cost and the risk of escape, was wiser than keeping them where they were caught. Promotion could turn on merit as well as seniority, the Council placing the newly arrived James Repington as second lieutenant and appointing Sergeant Kennedy over older men as best qualified, yet officers also rose by a fixed progression, so that when Lieutenant Kendall was removed the eldest second lieutenant Beale rose to the vacant command and the newly arrived Price took Beale's place, Kendall himself falling off the pay as supernumerary once the complement was full. [Film No. 74, 171, 187, 190, 266, 273]

Desertion was the sharpest and most persistent military problem, and because the island could be left only by stealing aboard a ship the Council kept extra sentries and guard boats whenever a vessel lay in the road. William Jones and Matthew Peters vanished the day the *Houghton* sailed, their clothes later found in a cove near Chubb's Rock, and Christopher Whitland and Isaac Holmes went the same way as ships departed, the case of Holmes exposing the trade in men when his boatswain acquaintance offered money to an officer for a discharge before enticing him away. Sworn evidence bore out the Council's charge that the escapes were connived at by the ships' crews, John Lloyd deposing that a man of the *Colchester* had told the deserter John Davis that any able man willing to work his passage would be received and hidden, the ship's boat coming to Breakneck Valley or Chubb's Rock to fetch him off. [Film No. 14, 45, 49, 89, 93–94]

The care of the garrison's weapons showed the practical economy of maintaining arms at a distance. The armourer assured the Council that 43 firelocks and 30 carbines wanting new locks could be made serviceable on the island far more cheaply than by shipping them home, so the Council asked only for the locks, sending patterns and insisting they bear the Tower viewer's proof mark, and it put worn cannon and firelocks aboard the *Walpole*, Captain Fowler carrying them to England freight free. The defence of the island's secrets against foreign eyes was settled firmly, the Court answering that no foreign officers were to be admitted to view

the fortifications on any pretence, and nice questions of ceremony over saluting foreign warships were referred to London for a rule rather than risk giving offence or conceding too much. [Film No. 165, 177, 178, 218]

The island's fixed defences rested on its batteries, which the Council worked constantly to strengthen against attack by ship, judging the heaviest guns the best defence. It asked for 11 cannon of 32 or 24 pounders to complete one position, mounted five 32 pounders sent by the *Grantham* on the line in James's Valley, and set six more on carriages to command the approaches, reading the Court's order against night arrivals in the light of the island's geography so that ships were held at Banks's rather than allowed up to Munden's Point. The Council was candid about the poor construction of the older works, the lower battery at Banks's built about 14 years earlier scarcely better than pointed with lime and filled with rubbish, in danger of being carried away by any extraordinary torrent, and it found the long supply line delivered defective stores, six wooden gun carriages coming where four iron had been promised, two so rotten as to be unserviceable. [Film No. 236, 270, 317, 319–320, 332–333]

The wider naval war pressed directly on the island from the first. Rear Admiral *Griffin*'s squadron of five of the King's ships touched at St Helena, its sick men landed in tents and supplied with fresh provisions, and Rear Admiral Boscawen's returning squadron lay in the road early in 1749, the Court's directions allowing the Governor to enlist soldiers from the King's land forces though the Council could get no more than 13. The Court appointed Benjamin Robins its engineer general over all its eastern settlements, whose orders St Helena was to obey, its fortifications treated as part of a system directed from above the local Council. [Film No. 8, 31, 33, 57, 73]

The most decisive development of the middle years was the extension of the Crown's military law to the garrison. The Court sent under separate cover the printed Act of Parliament with the Articles of War, its commission authorising the Council to appoint courts martial, and the forms for a judge advocate, and the Act was read to the soldiers, each asked whether he would serve out his time subject to the Articles of War, the names of those who consented and refused entered for the Court. No serving officer could be spared to conduct the trials, so Richard Beale senior was pressed into the office of judge advocate, later put on a settled footing at £40 0s 0d a year, yet the smallness of the establishment defeated the machinery it created, for when Lieutenant Hay was put under arrest a court martial could not be formed because so many officers would be needed as witnesses that too few would remain to compose the court, and the case had to be reserved for London. [Film No. 320–321, 324, 332, 338–339, 359, 395, 399, 402]

The coming of a second war forced the Council to reason carefully about the island's defence and to lean on its armed inhabitants. It asked for a lieutenant and 20 more soldiers to each company and 34 matrosses to the artillery, the matrosses being the men who served the guns, and it recommended commissioning the resident cadet Richard Beale rather than sending officers from home, fitting its plea to the Court's known reluctance to bear expense. The planters were mustered under arms on all double alarms and formed into flying parties drilled twice a week, the settlers the reserve of a defence the garrison alone could not provide, and as war closed in the Council indented for 10,000 sandbags to repair breaches, sent home a state of its artillery and ammunition with an estimate of what would complete the guns to 60 or 80 rounds each, and asked for 250 new small arms, the existing ones very bad and too long for its soldiers. [Film No. 358, 383, 396, 297, 411]

The war years brought the King's navy directly to the island and set the officering of the defence perpetually behind its manning. Colonel Aldercron's regiment and a detachment of the Royal Artillery passed for India, the Court obliged to employ two of its own ships as transports and to take up the *Prince Henry*, *Warwick* and *Shaftesbury* in their place, and the Council was given elaborate instructions on saluting Admiral Watson should he touch homeward, promising him every honour due to his rank. A total of 80 recruits arrived by the *Prince Henry*, yet even so the garrison stood at only 369 men and the Council reckoned it would want 25 more the following year, raising officers from within by advancing the long-serving cadet Beale, and it guarded the security of its works with new anxiety, calling in all the drawings of the fortifications it could find save some claimed to have been stolen from a man named Richard. [Film No. 315–316, 415, 438, 441]

Settlement, Land and Agriculture

The island's agriculture was fragile and dominated by the struggle to raise enough food and timber, its farming turning on the fortunes of its cattle and its cattle on the rain. The native woods had been steadily destroyed by grazing and cutting, and the Council pursued a long replanting effort, asking the Court for seed of wild pine, Scotch fir and spruce fir with a bushel of acorns and a bushel of ashen keys, continuing a drive whose precedents ran back to the Great Wood enclosure begun in 1724 and a wood-planting law enforced by warrant survey in December 1729. The renewal of the woodland was slow and vital work, set back by natural checks such as the rats and mice that barked so many young trees at Horse Point that a vast quantity died, and threatened afresh when His Majesty's ship *Hampshire* and the Company's vessels wanted so much fuel that the Council feared too little wood would remain for the inhabitants. [Film No. 5, 6, 342, 384]

The chief building of the settlement, the Plantation House, ran as a thread through many years. The Council first judged it not worth mending and asked for a plan and materials for a wholly new house, then on finding the walls built with lime mortar and standing firm reversed its own recommendation and proposed to add two rooms of 20 feet square on each side of the sound shell for about £200 0s 0d, a reversal that measured its frugality with the Court's money. It preferred to wait upon an examination of the walls before deciding, asked for sash windows, Portland stone and marble dust reasoning that stone would outlast deal boards that rotted in a warm and damp climate, and in June 1750 sent home three sets of drawings, the house as it stood, the alterations proposed and a wholly new house, each with its materials computed and scantlings exact enough for the Court to supply the very timber, a decision held in suspense from one exchange of ships to the next. [Film No. 36, 50, 51, 72, 85, 87, 109, 130]

The whole provision of fresh meat for the ships and garrison rested on a pasture that a single dry season could destroy, and the correspondence reads almost as a weather diary of alarm and relief. A long drought hung over the earliest years, and the anxiety returned again and again, the Council reporting failing rains in April 1751 and warning by February 1752 that many cattle must unavoidably die, then 64 beasts already perished through 1752 with 13 more before fine rain came, and through 1754 a flood down Rupert's Valley that filled the pot kiln and carried off a newly built wall against backward rains by March 1755 that left the herbage drying. Against this recurring hazard the Council practised a modest forward provision, laying up hay in the higher, wetter ground of Longwood, about six tons in one good year, as a reserve against the burning of the grass. [Film No. 59, 61, 120, 143, 149, 199, 204, 280, 299, 303]

Pasture had to be defended against competing uses, the Council counting near 100 horses and mares it judged an overstock that ate grass needed for the cattle, and referring even that to London for directions before, on the Court's order, gelding all the stone horses, sows and boars to curb the increase of horses and swine at its source. The staple yam crop required constant renewal, the Council taking in new ground as the old plantations failed of their produce, a continual shifting that reflected the limits of the soil under repeated cropping. The rains that fattened the cattle brought hazards of their own, leaving the sheep lean with a scouring from eating the young grass so that the mutton at market was poor, and loosing torrents that repeatedly tore at the works, a flood at the Banks's pot kiln rising three feet above its arch so that the Council resolved to build a larger one, while violent rain in May 1756 damaged the plantations and the fortifications at Banks's and Sandy Bay, and two small earthquake shocks were felt that month, though they did no harm. [Film No. 130, 167, 243, 248, 277, 375, 383, 384]

Building work was carried out from local materials and by the labour the island already commanded, though that labour was never sufficient. For the new barracks and hospital the Council used deals covered with a thin mortar of dirt, found the best and cheapest for buildings in the valleys and easily repaired, transmitting a plan, elevation and estimate to London, and it bred its own beasts of burden from one male and two female asses bought at the Cape. The Court appropriated the *Exeter* chiefly to carry building materials from England, the heavy fabric needing iron and deals the island could not make, while the work itself was to be done by the Company's slaves, and the ground for the barracks was almost levelled yet the Council could not carry the work forward for want of the 30 slaves promised from Madras, the whole progress of the works held hostage to a distant shipment that had not arrived. [Film No. 209, 236, 316, 347]

Supply and Provisioning

Feeding the island was the Council's most constant anxiety, and beef could never be taken for granted while the cattle were too few to meet the competing claims of the shipping. Ships that arrived first took beef and live cattle at will, while later ships that could not touch at the Cape found the supply already drawn down, so the Council proposed to reserve an equal share of the year's slaughter cattle for each ship. A further difficulty lay in price, the planters receiving a penny more per pound for beef sold to the ships than for what they sent to the market on which the Court's servants and the sick depended, so they held back from the market, and the Council pressed the Court to fix a single price for both. [Film No. 10, 16, 17, 32, 40]

To feed the Court's slaves and stock the Council bought grain from the calling ships rather than dig its young crops too soon, purchasing rice and the cheaper unmilled paddy from a succession of captains and holding it back until the yams reached a proper age, and it exchanged the island's rice for the ships' salt provisions in a barter that served both sides. The dealings were entered carefully because the balances were settled in England on the ships' accounts, the Council buying 17 casks of salt provision from Captain Robert Haldane at £8 10s 0d the cask, 11 casks of beef and pork of 9,277 pounds from Captain George Meard at twopence halfpenny the pound, 30 hundredweight of paddy from Captain Glover at five shillings the hundredweight, 19 hundredweight of rice from Captain Carteret of the *Lapwing* at ten shillings, and 114 tons of rice from Captain Fowler at 10s a hundredweight when frequent rains caused the Court's own rice to sprout again and turn dangerous to eat. It bought 20 casks of beef at 2s a piece, the price the garrison paid, so the Court could be no losers by it, and the Court insisted that salt meat be managed to prevent waste, the Council assuring London it always used first that part which had lain longest. [Film No. 10, 11, 24, 28, 31, 110–111, 115, 125, 134, 138, 140, 260]

Not everything the Court sent was welcome or fit. The Cape brandy proved a hot and fiery spirit that sold so slowly the Council asked that no more be shipped, yet 1,370 gallons of it arrived by the *Swallow* months later, sent before the request could take effect, and later the weak Goa and Bombay arrack sold so slowly at the imposed rate that the Council feared it must abate the price before it wasted. Provisioning from England depended on the exact contents of the ships sent out, so that a want of room that left half the salt and all the fishing lines behind brought real hardship, the island unable to preserve its meat or to catch the fish on which the slaves and inhabitants much depended, while the flour casks proved uncommonly sour and the fish hooks of the wrong sort, and the Council forever pressed that its whole indent come. [Film No. 97, 125, 143, 188, 217–218, 270, 280]

The great provisioning dispute of these years turned on the beef market and who it was meant to serve, a quarrel that dominated 1752. The planters claimed the market had been set up for the soldiers alone, which the Council flatly denied, insisting it was meant equally for the officers, artificers and servants who had no cattle, and it answered them not with counter-assertion but with the plain tally of their own sales, an abstract showing that a third of the complainants had supplied no meat at all and the rest had killed only 23 cattle for the market in 17 months while selling 133 to the ships. The true grievance, the Council argued, was the restraint on selling beef to foreign ships at sixpence a pound against fivepence from the Court's own vessels, the two Greentrees in particular selling far more to foreigners, and it charged that the planters deliberately starved the market, allowing it one lean beast a week so the soldiers chose salt provisions over its meat while the good cattle were reserved for the higher foreign price. [Film No. 180, 181, 182, 183]

The planters' hold on scarce goods let them impose harsh conditions on the calling ships, a commander wanting poultry unable to buy a dozen fowls without taking a whole ox, and one French captain lodging with Thomas Greentree demanding 30 cattle, 60 sheep and near 20 dozen fowls at once, a demand the Council cut in half. The Council stripped the remonstrance of any claim to speak for the island, observing that the signatories were barely a third of the planters and all but seven of lesser fortune than those who held aloof, and answered their plea of distress with the plain fact that land and leaseholds had lately sold dearer than ever. The Court resolved the wider question by a licensing scheme announced in 1753, forbidding anyone to sell beef or mutton without a written licence and tying each licence to how much the planter had first supplied the public market, no money paid for the permission so that it could not become a source of corruption, while foreigners were to have all the refreshment that could conveniently be spared without harming the Court's ships or starving the garrison. [Film No. 71, 84–85, 184, 185, 220]

The island drew its stores from whichever of the Company's Indian settlements could supply them most cheaply, playing one factory against another, so that when Fort Marlborough failed of the 10,000 pounds of sugar it had promised the Council prudently indented for sugar from Bengal instead. The exactness of its dealings extended to the completeness and value of every supply, the soldiers' shirts coming without their rollers and dearer by fourpence, long cloth and stockings ordered from Madras two years earlier never arriving, and wax candles and rice from Madras coming so bad the rice was fit only for hogs and poultry, yet the settlement could only complain and ask for better, having no power to inspect at the source. The provisioning of the King's ships in wartime threatened to overwhelm a capacity fixed by the island's own stock, the Council warning candidly that if the navy came in force there would not be enough even for the Company's own ships and that barring the foreigners would not make up the difference, its whole usefulness besides capped by an open roadstead with no sheltered harbour and a single crane that a King's ship and 11 homeward Indiamen could monopolise at once. [Film No. 293, 318, 344–345, 348, 354, 377, 400, 435, 440, 442]

Judiciary

The island served as a neutral forum where disputes carried between ship and shore could be entered into evidence, though the authority to decide was reserved to the Court that employed both officers and men. When a large part of the crew of the *Princess of Wales* complained against Captain Harris, the Council took the sworn depositions of the chief mate and steward and referred them home without ruling, a careful refusal to judge that shows the limits of local authority, and it acted likewise as a court of enquiry into complaints made against itself, testing the complainant's word against the station's own records. The soldier John Gold's charge that money had been withheld from him, that he had served as a corporal and been forced to labour at the fortifications was met head on, the officers denying on oath ever receiving money from him, the pay lists showing he never held corporal's rank, and Eaglestone swearing that Gold had on the contrary paid five shillings toward a boat, so a private man's account was thoroughly overthrown by the muster rolls and sworn evidence the Council held. [Film No. 7, 10, 111–112]

Legal formality guarded the passage of estates and money through the island's hands, and the winding-up of the dead was a constant judicial burden. When the executors of the late Captain Charles Steward paid in £200 0s 0d they were first sworn it was for the sole account of the orphans, and the competing claims on the estate of the late Mr Wright, whose home bond of £240 0s 0d ran against his island debts, were referred to the Court. The balance of Wright's account, £288 11s 2½d after funeral charges and his auction, was credited to his estate, the £259 11s 7½d paid to the late Mr Debie's executor confirmed exactly right, and the dead minister's gowns and books held back to be sold to better advantage in England. When the armourer William Corkhil died suddenly after a fight aboard the *Marlborough* the Governor had three surgeons open the body and take their depositions on oath, securing the man who fought with him until the Court's orders came. [Film No. 42, 43, 73, 95–96, 98, 110, 113]

Much of the judicial work lay in the slow untangling of dead servants' debts, and the Council distinguished frankly between debts that could be recovered and those that could not, saying plainly that money due from three soldiers and two very poor inhabitants stood little chance of being got in. Estates became knotted together, the affairs of the attorney Robert Meacock so mixed with those of the dead sergeant John Collins that they could not readily be separated, and the estate of the late steward Nicholas Cleather raising a nice point of title, his will proved in England though the witnesses were on the island, so the Council took the money into the Court's cash and referred the question home. It directed Thomas French, administrator of his late father's estate, to lodge a child's dividend of £123 19s 8½d for the daughter of the absent James Du Bois and a like sum for the children of William Seale, taking the family house as security for the shares of minors and absentees. [Film No. 166, 167, 186, 187, 223, 232]

The most substantial legal question of the period arose from the will of Gabriel Harper and touched the customary rights of widows. Harper had left his widow half his lands only while she remained unmarried, whereas the custom of the island gave widows half the real estate for life outright, and her second husband Richard Goodwin now claimed the fuller portion in her right, the dispute turning on whether a man could by his will override the island's settled custom and whether leasehold land counted as real or personal estate.

Having found the custom clear, the Council could have ruled on the spot, yet it drew up three questions of law and left them to London, judging the conflict between custom, will and consent too nice to settle by its own authority, a sound caution that also showed the limits a remote Council set to its own power; the point was at last settled on the opinion that leasehold counted as personal estate, the Council directing Harper's executors to give his widow a third part, and the Court thereafter directing the Council to determine like cases by its own judgement, sending only the truly doubtful to counsel in England at the parties' charge. [Film No. 243–244, 275]

The long shadow over the island's finances and its courts alike was the fraudulent administration of the late Governor John Goodwin, found after his death in July 1740 to have defrauded the Company through falsified rent entries and a fictitious muster. The Council charged his estate with sums he had improperly paid out, such as £15 7s 0d to Captain Joseph Colson, summoned his debtors, and reconstructed each balance line by line, transmitting a whole book of his dealings home. The Court, unsatisfied with the claimants' accounts, ordered them re-stated with vouchers, and the Council allowed claims by two routes of proof, an entry in Goodwin's books or a sworn oath, weighing probability where neither served, so that Captain Hunter's demand rested on a 1735 letter acknowledging £21 16s 3d and Richard Beale's claim for boarding the Governor's godson on his oath, but George Gabriel Powell's demand of £80 16s 4½d was cut to the £4 5s 11d the books could document and James Richardson Taylor's tailor's bill to £2 19s 6d. Francis Wrangham senior, made to pay Sarah Francis her fortune by a jury's verdict in 1741 though Goodwin had held the money, was allowed reimbursement, the heirs of Eleanor Worrall recovered a legacy Goodwin had held back, and the whole estate was at last wound up by dividing £131 10s 11½d among the claimants in proportion to their allowed demands. [Film No. 109–110, 130, 132, 274–275, 286–290, 321, 332]

By the closing years a killing exposed the gap in the island's law, which did not yet fix how a capital crime by a slave was to be tried. A black man was lost from a fishing boat and the Council believed him murdered by those with him, but it had to ask London how such men were to be tried and whether they might suffer death, the matter of life and death left to await instruction. The garrison pressed a further contradiction, for under the Articles of War a soldier could be put to death for offences less grave than murder while a slave who killed answered only with corporal punishment, and the military men resented a scale that held their own lives cheaper. A fatal quarrel between two soldiers turned on medical evidence rather than confession, the surgeon Barclay, directed to open the dead man, perceiving no marks of violence and judging the blows not the cause of death, his professional opinion standing between an ordinary brawl and a capital accusation. [Film No. 390, 391]

Economy, Finance and Accounting

The island had no bank, so it met its charges through bills of exchange drawn on the Court in London, and this remittance function was its most important economic role for the whole Company world. Private persons, homeward captains and the executors of the dead paid cash into the Court's account and carried away paper honoured at home, usually 90 days after sight, sparing the danger of shipping coin across a sea beset by privateers and pirates, and turning a payment made on the spot into a debt settled in England. The volume rose and fell with the shipping, so that in a few March days of 1751 the Council took in £200 0s 0d from Captain William Wilson, £250 0s 0d from John Purling, £200 0s 0d from Captain Thomas Hinde and £100 0s 0d from the executors of Samuel Doveton, and on a single day in August 1753 eight persons paid in sums from £5 0s 0d to nearly £70 0s 0d, the rush reflecting the arrival of the homeward China ships whose officers reached the island with funds gathered in the East. [Film No. 11, 21, 24, 29, 31, 43, 114–115, 232]

The channel served women, estates and absent men as readily as officers, Mrs Martha Scott remitting £30 0s 0d to her husband and Helena Griffith lodging her own coin against bills payable to herself, while money owing to the departed surgeon's mate James Du Bois was paid in by attorneys under his power of attorney and Matthew Purling remitted £232 0s 0d of his brother's fortune. The sums could be very large, Captain William Parks lodging £1,300 0s 0d against certificates which the Council held toward the next year's expense, Captain Fowler lodging two sets of bills of £879 0s 0d on his own account and £352 0s 0d for the absent Captain Norton Hutchinson, Captain *Kent* £640 0s 0d and James Dale £1,500 0s 0d, and the effects of dead officers such as the second mate of the *Royal Duke* were sold and remitted home to their heirs by

the same paper instrument. A notable case of native return was Gabriel Steward, a native-born islander risen to third mate of the *True Briton*, who lodged first £200 0s 0d and later £550 0s 0d through resident attorneys while himself at sea. [Film No. 65, 96–97, 114–115, 135, 141, 155, 262, 277, 281, 285, 299, 419, 445, 455]

The Council used this flow to fund the island's own charges rather than break into the Company's treasure in transit, taking £1,000 0s 0d from Captain Savill and £2,130 0s 0d in one reckoning against bills so as to leave the specie consigned to Fort Marlborough intact, and it acted as banker to the Company's own shipping and to foreign vessels alike, advancing £300 0s 0d to Captain Pinnell for the *Stretham* and £100 0s 0d to Captain Bockey for the *Shaftesbury*, and lending the French captain Denemel of the *La Paix* 600 dollars at five shillings each against bills for £105 0s 0d forwarded with a covering letter to the French Company's directors at Paris. It handled several kinds of coin with judgement, using silver for ordinary expenses while keeping the gold that counted easily and took little room, and sending home the gold pieces that did not pass as currency, the Spanish dollar standing at five shillings in its dealings. [Film No. 39, 48, 138, 218, 219, 306]

The Company's specie was tracked to the penny as it passed through the station, one chest drawn from the *Marlborough* counted at £1,049 10s 11¼d and entered in the cash account with notice to Fort Marlborough whose voyage it served, and the yearly general book of accounts was balanced to 30 September, its timing fixed by the practice that the last quarter's accounts came before the Council only on the third Monday. The Council watched the Court's own accounts as closely as its debtors, catching the soldiers' shirts and rollers charged at double their usual rate by setting the figure against three earlier ships and tracing the fault to a copyist, correcting the storekeeper Matthew Purling's double charge for goods to the *Scarborough* by a credit of £12 6s 11½d, and catching an invoice that overstated a charge for powder-barrel hoops, an honest bookkeeping that corrected mistakes against the servant as readily as against the Court. It was firm that it neither lent nor would lend the Company's money or any other person's lodged in the cash, and the whole paper system was vulnerable to the ordinary failures of the post, bills for £30 0s 0d paid in for the late lieutenant James Scott as long since as October 1750 never reaching him and presumed still lying at the Court's house in Leadenhall Street. [Film No. 13, 36, 42, 52, 73, 95, 162, 234–235, 336–337]

The war of the closing years broke the island's usual means of raising money and threw it back on the Court for coin, for with the trade disrupted no one wished to remit, the cash notes were useless and the treasury fell short by a sum it could not cover. The Council was obliged to take two chests of treasure out of the *Falmouth* and pressed for a settled annual consignment of £4,000 in specie, one chest proving all small money amounting to no more than £992 2s 1½d and inconvenient for larger payments, so that it sought future consignments in whole dollars and for want of takers had to offer bills at 30, 40 and 60 days rather than the usual 90 until the Court ordered a return to the longer rule. The treasury served as a general banker to the Crown's service too, naval captains and pursers far from any paymaster drawing on the Court's cash against bills on the Navy Board, the Sick and Hurt Commissioners and the Victualling Commissioners, Captain O'Bryen of the *Colchester* alone taking a large advance, no exchange charged on such advances to the Crown but the customary 30 per cent kept on foreign ships, the same act of lending priced differently according to whose service it aided. [Film No. 410, 414, 418, 439, 444, 445]

Trade and Shipping

St Helena lay on the sea road home from the East, and ships of many nations called to refresh, so the island became a window on the whole eastern trade and the Company's listening post, a function the Court expressly required and approved. Danish, Swedish, Dutch, Prussian and French East Indiamen put in alongside the Company's own, the Danish *Aeren* and *Christiansburg* from Canton with tea and chinaware, Swedish ships such as the *Hope* and the *Freden* carrying tea, chinaware and silks to Gothenburg, and a Dutch ship from Bengal, the *Gouverneur Schertz*, laden with saltpetre, cowries, Japan wood, pepper and fine goods for Amsterdam, saltpetre being the essential ingredient of gunpowder and cowries the shell currency of the West African trade. The Council logged the burthen, guns, men and cargo of each foreign hull, so that a single Swedish commander could count at Canton in one season 11 English ships against 4 French, two Swedish, two Prussian, one Danish, one Portuguese and five Dutch, a measure of the crowded competition for the richest of the Company's trades. [Film No. 20, 27, 29, 33, 47, 206, 208, 351]

The foreign ships served the Council as carriers of its letters and as sources of shipping news, and the Council in turn lent them cash, advancing money to Danish supercargoes and captains against bills at a premium, as when Holmsted and Reichard sought £100 0s 0d and took bills for £130 0s 0d. This courtesy between the companies held even as their nations warred, the Council sending its despatches home by Dutch, Danish and French ships bound for Europe rather than wait for the Court's own, so that vessels of the very nation the Company was fighting in India served to speed its mail. The island built for the Court a running picture of the sea road that no single ship could give, taking from each arriving China ship the dates of departure from Whampoa and the order of sailing of those still behind, so that the *Admiral Vernon*'s captain could name 19 of the Court's ships left at Canton, the Court learning the disposition of a whole scattered fleet from one that had lately left them. [Film No. 22, 23, 51, 56, 68, 206, 215]

The China voyage was ruled by the monsoon, the *Augusta* losing her passage and forced to lie up at Malacca for months, and the eastern passage took a hard toll on the ships, the *Royal Duke* springing her mainmast in the Strait of Banca and the *Marlborough* reaching Batavia with a sprung mainmast of her own, that Dutch port the great refitting station of those seas. The hazards of the passage ran through the reports as constantly as the news of trade, the *Lapwing* breaking her bowsprit by running aboard a Danish ship, the wreck of the French *Centaur* near the Cape reported with the sighting of an English ship in Saldanha Bay, the *Grantham* running foul of the French *La Ville de Lille* off Princes Island, a night gale at Madras dismasting the *Colchester* and *Delaware* and leaving the *Brilliant* snow supposed lost, the *Earl of Holderness* striking a sunken rock off Ningpo, and at last the *Doddington* lost on Bird Island 18 months before news came, only 20 hands saved, her latitude recorded to fix an unmarked hazard for later navigators. Madagascar and its great bay served as a known refuge when the ordinary passage failed, ships driven off the Cape bearing away for St Augustine's Bay and falling in with one another there. [Film No. 22, 47, 52, 56, 61, 88, 113, 124, 133, 234, 296, 370, 389, 395]

Much of the news the Council gathered concerned the war in southern India that pressed hard on the Company's interest. Captain Danet carried word early in 1751 that the French had taken Arcot, were levying the revenues of the country for hundreds of miles and had installed their own governor at Masulipatam, while the Company still extended its footholds by paper title, the *Swallow* directed to take formal possession of Devi Point in virtue of an old grant from the Nabob. Through 1753 successive letters pieced together the French war effort from ships that had crossed its track, 530 soldiers from Mauritius, 500 in a ship in False Bay and five ships laden with soldiers at Table Bay all bound toward Pondicherry, and by the closing letters the intelligence deepened from the movement of ships to the campaign itself, the cannonade of the entrenched French at Trichinopoly, the landing of Captain Polier's sepoys, and Major Lawrence driving the French from their entrenchments and forcing the survivors into Seringham Pagoda. [Film No. 123, 207–208, 234, 247, 251, 254]

The intelligence embraced the wider warfare of the Indian coasts, especially the menace of the Maratha admiral Tulaji Angria, whose grabs and galivats preyed on the western shipping, the country ship *Konges* reported taken by him before Captain James of the *Protector*, acting with a body of Marathas, took several of his forts, and later the entire defeat of Angria and the surrender of his great fortress harbour of Gheriah set the seal on the destruction of that sea power. The hazards were not war alone, a French ship reaching the Cape much damaged by lightning and upwards of 2,500 people dying there of the smallpox in about four months, and the death of Commodore Lisle reported by a Dutch captain at the end of January 1752, while the King's ships *Ruby*, *Vigilant*, *Lascar* pink and *Syren* came in from the Cape and Captain Knight's squadron sailed on a sudden resolution one evening. As war closed in the Council tracked French ships full of men at the Cape bound for Pondicherry, the passage homeward of Godeheu sent to succeed Dupleix, and settled the recovery of deserters as a mutual bargain, Godeheu giving up ten British subjects for the French deserters found aboard the Court's ships. [Film No. 124, 148, 151–152, 305, 330–332, 350–351, 385, 394, 395]

By the final years the war intensified the island's gathering function, ships from Canton, Ningpo, Bengal and England converging on the one Atlantic refuge before the run to the Cape, the *Harcourt*, *Stormont*, *Griffin* and *Delaware* coming in from the eastern ports within three weeks, and the homeward Indiamen no longer

running the passage singly but waiting to sail under naval escort. His Majesty's ship *Hampshire* shepherded five valuable Court ships past the dangers of the passage, and His Majesty's ship *Colchester* convoyed 5 in 1757 and 11 in July 1758, the value of such convoy proved when three homeward Indiamen from China were chased through the night by two French ships that stood prepared to attack them at daylight. The narrow passages concentrated the danger, a French cruiser of 50 guns lying 2 months off the Straits of Sunda where every China ship had to thread a known channel, and the *Suffolk*, *Godolphin* and *Houghton* fought a running action against a French squadron before reaching the island depleted of powder, so the Council forwarded every sighting of a lurking force as a warning to the ships still to pass. [Film No. 387, 404, 405, 408, 414, 420, 450]

Slavery and Coerced Labour

The Company's work on the island rested heavily on the labour of slaves, whose feeding and management fill many entries and whose numbers had to be renewed against constant loss. The Council reserved the young yams to the growing plantations and carried the slaves on bought rice and paddy, and set them to the fortification work at Chubb's Rock in place of hired labourers, determined to carry on the work with the Court's own slaves and hire no more paid hands, so sparing the Court the wage of free men. The force wasted without renewal, so reduced by accidents, deaths and age that the Council asked the Court to send 30 men by one of its ships that went to Madagascar to buy slaves, the island standing on the very route by which the Company drew slaves for its Indian presidencies, the captains of the *Dragon* and *Swallow* directed to procure as many at Madagascar for *Fort St George* and Bombay as the Court expected, and the *Dragon* later noted bound for Achin on the northern tip of Sumatra for the same purpose. [Film No. 11, 24, 216, 222, 231, 271, 285]

The island also received slaves as a place of penal transportation within the Company's eastern dominions, its bound labour drawn from the courts as well as the market. Two black men, Mootoo and Yeaga, were sent from Fort St David sentenced to serve the Court for life, a black man came by the *Godolphin* under a like sentence, and by the *Prince Edward* the Council received from Bombay a soldier, William Richard, convicted of uttering false money and sent to serve out his time, together with a slave condemned for felony to serve for life, so that a judicial penalty imposed elsewhere became a supply of labour, the punishment removing the offender and supplying the distant station together. The management of the island's slaves drew direction from London that the Council found awkward, the Court instructing that death was not to be inflicted on any of them, and the Council submitting while pressing its cold reservation that the free black women were no benefit but a great encumbrance, keeping neither cheapened labour nor served any real use. [Film No. 37, 45, 205, 252, 306]

The concern the Company showed for its slaves was the concern of an owner for valuable property that could not easily be replaced. After the trained slave Jack Defence had deserted and Jack Guinea had died, both skilled assistants at the armourer's forge, the Council found the armourer Bremison had often beaten Jack Defence severely and reprimanded him, cautioning him not to strike the slaves who worked with him, the concern practical above all, the ill usage of trained hands a waste of the Company's investment. The slaves were vulnerable to sickness that struck at the island's labour, upwards of 40 down at once when inflammatory colds raged in April 1750 and many disabled by a jaundice that afflicted the planters' slaves and the Court's alike, and in the record they appear chiefly as a charge to be fed and a head to be counted, the annual lists of the Court's slaves going home in the packets among the accounts of families and rents, silent, named neither as individuals nor described, their humanity wholly obscured by the form of the document. [Film No. 76, 62, 115, 144, 146, 221, 247]

The escape of slaves by boat was a constant fear, for the open shipping that made the island useful also opened a road out that the Council could not close from the shore. A useful slave named Jack Defence who assisted the armourer went missing and was thought to have got aboard a departing ship, three men and one woman got away to France by pulling a boat out to the becalmed French ship *Diana* as she weighed anchor, and the largest single loss came when 13 slaves escaped in a Company longboat carrying lime, its substitute patron John Aslingstall having failed to strip the rig, sails and rudder ashore each evening as the standing order required. The Council named the responsible man and set out his neglect exactly, and afterward ordered the patron to bring the boats' rudder, sails and oars ashore every evening and the sentinels

to keep a strict watch, mindful how expensive it was to replace the Court's slaves, joining the guard over the boats to the guard over the slaves. [Film No. 156, 157, 161, 177, 204, 269]

The darkest episodes come in the closing years and expose the human reality behind the traffic in forced labour. Ten Malabar men, officers to the King of Travancore taken in the Company's wars and transported by Mr Scott the resident at Anjengo, were set to serve as slaves, and within days of being sent to the country five hanged themselves, others dying and the survivors threatening the same rather than be put to work, the Council framing its response wholly as a matter of expense and danger rather than of the men's suffering. A second man of rank, the Malay Naquedah Cohallum transported from Bencoolen and held neither as prisoner nor as free on a small monthly allowance of 2 dollars, threatened to destroy himself, attempted his own passage to England aboard the *Colchester*, and was thereafter imprisoned whenever ships lay in the road. The tragedy shaped the Company's policy, the Council welcoming the Court's ban on sending malefactors so that it might instead be supplied with useful slaves, the humanity promised the survivors set beside an open preference for slaves chosen for their usefulness, while Bombay sent 21 slaves by the *Lord Anson* of whom four died on the passage and most of the survivors proved very young children, only eight fit for service. The legal uncertainty over how a slave who killed another was to be tried came to a head when the Council, finding only a single precedent from the time of Governor Pyke, tried a slave named Cosam for murder in 1758, the proceedings sent home in the packet. [Film No. 383, 400, 409, 411, 419, 438, 451–452, 437, 449, 457]

Crime and Punishment

St Helena served the Company as a place to work out sentences passed at its other settlements, receiving by the *Suffolk* three soldiers whom Fort Marlborough had convicted of attempting piracy and sentenced to complete their enlistment on the island, and ordering William Laurence, sent from Bencoolen for causing a man's death by an unfortunate blow, to serve ten months of the remainder of his time, so that offenders were moved between stations under sentence while their labour was kept. Beyond the Company's own discipline the letters record the disorder that shadowed the trade routes, the French captain La Porte reporting armed junks off Sumatra flying Siamese colours, one carrying 70 men and 14 swivel guns and manned partly by European deserters from Batavia. [Film No. 115, 124–125, 153]

The imposition of martial law on the garrison created a sharp inconsistency in the island's justice, frequent thefts being committed by a set of young fellows who associated with the slaves yet unchecked because the Council could only imprison and fine a white man or whip a slave, so that a soldier now stood liable to be tried for his life for an offence lighter than the sheep stealing barely answered among the civil population. The Council pressed for authority to punish civil offenders more severely, seeing the combination of the free and the enslaved in wrongdoing as corrosive of order and property, robberies increasing daily as the young fellows and the slaves preyed together on people's goods. By the final years the machinery of military law worked where it had lately failed, Jacques Birch sentenced by a general court martial for striking his officer, whipped and sent off the island, the courts martial duly entered in a book and transmitted annually. [Film No. 341, 424, 439]

The close accounting the Company kept over its supplies exposed fraud even in the garrison's daily bread, the bakers Robert Evans and William Cocksey confessing they had not made just returns of the flour committed to them and being imprisoned, Cocksey afterward held past the end of his contract rather than let a suspected offender slip away, and Evans slipping away all the same when 11 ships weighed at once under convoy of the *Colchester*, the sheer number making search impossible so that the very traffic that was the island's purpose defeated its justice. The confined society offered little room for theft to hide, and the Council punished receivers as readily as thieves, imprisoning the clerk William Boddington who stole six gold rings from the secretary's office and pawned them, and fining John Langbridge and John Legg who had lent money and liquor on the plainly suspect goods at an extortionate premium, forfeiting both the money and the drink. [Film No. 424–425, 443, 454]

Social Order, Religion and Education

The island kept its essential offices filled by makeshift, drawing on the men on the spot and on the passing ships, so that when the adjutant William Hayes died Thomas Kirkpatrick continued the duty at half pay,

when the master gunner John French died the councillor John Clark took charge of the ordnance, and a cooper spared by Captain Burrows was entered on the death of Robert Meacock, the calling ships a floating reserve of skilled men. It filled its clerical offices from its own small society, kinship counting for much, William Wrangham moving up when Thomas French resigned and the 18-year-old Charles Steward, grandson of the elder Francis Wrangham, placed in the secretary's office and recommended to the Court as a writer, while it could be rid of its worst servants only when the slow supply from home provided others, the drunken surgeon Falconer, the troublesome armourer Bremison and the drunken carpenter Oakman all dismissed and replaced at a stroke when the recruits arrived. [Film No. 67, 82, 86, 273, 280–281]

Religious provision was fragile and repeatedly broken, kept up by expedient when no ordained minister was present. The Reverend John Debie died about two days before the *Suffolk* arrived, so the Council appointed the clerk Beale to discharge some parts of the office, and between the dismissal of Mr Loveday and the arrival of the Reverend William Lee the layman Richard Beale read prayers at £40 0s 0d a year on condition he return the money if the Court disapproved. Debie's effects were sold except his books, gown and cassock, his papers, seals and rings sent home in a sealed box, and the new chaplain Lee, unable to be given the free quarters his office carried because every Company house was occupied, was allowed £10 0s 0d a year toward renting a room, a housing allowance standing in for a house, and appears otherwise in matters of routine and correction, told of the omission of the year's date in a list of marriages he had sent home. [Film No. 73, 78, 83, 113, 119–120, 222, 232]

The island absorbed the cost of men its own service had not engaged, recording such charges exactly so the burden might fall where it was due. Four seamen left without money by the *Suffolk* were subsisted at ten pence a day until they could be got away, the £2 12s 6d entered so the Court could reclaim it from the ship's owners, and discharged soldiers who could get no passage home without paying were allowed the same rate until they could work their passage on the *Walpole* and the *York*. The sick gunner John Bray, left destitute, was sent to the hospital and part of his wages stopped to meet the cost, and William Avery, a sergeant taken prisoner as a spy at Fort St David, was entered in the garrison at private's pay until he could return, the Council relieving such men at once but looking to their wages or effects to bear the charge. The manning of the post with married soldiers laid a further burden, men returning to England leaving wives and children behind as a charge, so the Council sought power to oblige departing men to take their families and compel reluctant wives to go, a hard administrative response to a human consequence of the establishment, while a general jaundice that disabled many of the planters' slaves and the Court's alike showed how a single sickness could halt the work of the whole place. [Film No. 89, 91, 119, 129–130, 235, 247]

The Reach of War

The end of the War of the Austrian Succession reached the island through royal proclamation, the Council publishing the King's proclamation of a cessation of arms between the King, the Most Christian King of France and the States General, bringing the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle to St Helena, the Court directing that French ships be received civilly yet their crews kept from viewing the fortifications, hospitality to a former enemy not opening the island's defences. Even after the peace the King's ships pressed on the island's stores, the sharpest test coming when Admiral Boscawen demanded about 11,000 pounds weight of fresh provisions be ready on his arrival, but the Council, finding only 130 beasts fit to slaughter that year yielding 32,700 pounds in all, resolved to represent the impossibility and refuse the navy all but a little beef for its sick, arming itself with a counted return so the denial should rest on demonstrated fact. The drought's toll ran so deep that the Council could not kill enough even to give a third part of the charter-party beef to its own ships, the meat the Company's fleet was bound by charter to carry for its crews. [Film No. 8, 9, 35, 45, 50, 52, 53, 54]

The rivalry of the European companies in India pressed upon the remote station throughout the peace, the case of the sergeant-spy William Avery opening a glimpse of the intelligence war on the Coromandel coast, and reports of French ships carrying soldiers to Pondicherry showing the build-up of the rival that would convulse the Carnatic, while piracy revived as an old danger, the Governor of the Cape sending word of pirates about Madagascar. News of the war came only as passing report carried by calling ships, Captain Speke's account of the total defeat of the French arriving months after the event and Captain Bonham of the *Scarborough*, who had lain months at Mauritius refitting, reporting three ships sailed from there with 530

soldiers for Pondicherry. Mauritius appears throughout as a French island that nonetheless sheltered English ships in distress, the *Scarborough* lying there four months to repair as the dismasted Anson had before her, a working truce of refreshment and repair holding between vessels whose nations fought on the coast, even a French ship, the *Duke of Parma*, carrying word of a Company vessel come in dismasted, and the Company turned toward armed protection of its western trade, two ships of force sent to the Malabar coast. [Film No. 57, 80, 82, 85, 91, 100, 103, 158, 159, 169, 201, 203]

The revival of Anglo-French conflict ran through the intelligence of the middle years, homeward commanders repeatedly reporting French ships passing the Cape and Madagascar laden with soldiers, two carrying some 500 men each bound for Pondicherry and 200 European soldiers convoyed to Fort St David for Major Stringer Lawrence in the war around Trichinopoly. A Royal Navy squadron under Admiral Watson, including the *Kent* of 64 guns, gathered at Madagascar bound for the Indian coast, and by early 1755 came word of a cessation of arms and that Dupleix had sailed from Pondicherry for Europe. A separate menace was the Maratha naval power of Angria, whose fleet of grabs and galivats fell on two well-armed Dutch ships off Goa, boarding under fire until both were blown up, before plans to reduce him, the *Drake* ketch fitted at Tellicherry as a bomb vessel and a launch armed with coehorns to join the Bombay and Maratha fleets in an attack on Goa, and the perils were not war alone, a hard gale in the Hooghly in October 1754 driving nine Dutch ships ashore at Fulta. [Film No. 276, 283–285, 296, 301–302]

The letters then track the slide from nominal peace to open war with unusual immediacy, the Council at first thinking it soon enough to report its wants only when the *Dragon* brought the first rumour of war, then learning that hostilities were pursued with vigour in America and French ships taken at sea though war was not yet declared. The *Prince Henry* brought the unwelcome news that war had been declared and the enemy had taken Minorca, the first heavy blow, and the Council published the King's declaration of war received by the *Onslow*, refusing to admit a Dutch ship that came into the road at night against the Governor's warning. The war imposed a new discipline on the trade, the homeward ships held to depart in company under naval protection, and intelligence of the eastern war came bound up with the older reports of piracy suppressed, the entire defeat of Angria and the surrender of his fortress harbour of Gheriah, while the gravest news of all reached the island late and garbled, ships from Bombay reporting that Fort William had been attacked and surrendered and that Admiral Watson had gone to retake it, wrongly naming the Marathas as the assailants when the seizure of Calcutta was the work of the Nabob Siraj ud Daula. [Film No. 358, 373, 385, 390, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 404]

The final years brought the decisive turn in Bengal and the Company's passage from a trading power to a territorial one. In July 1757 a King's ship brought word of the retaking of Bengal, the demolishing of Hooghly and the capture of the French station at Chandernagore, the campaign of Watson and Clive that broke French power and set the stage for Plassey, and by December came word of the treaty with the new Nabob, the arrangement that placed on the throne a ruler bound to the Company's interest. The war on the Coromandel coast by contrast turned against the Company, the fall of Chandernagore prompting the Governor of Masulipatam to strike at the exposed northern factories so that Ingeram, Bandarmalanka and Vizagapatam fell within weeks, the last to the French commander Bussy whose influence over the Nizam's court reached deep into the Deccan, the factors stripping the settlements of everything moveable before the attacks. The campaigning around Trichinopoly showed how thinly the Company's forces were stretched, only a race to garrison the place forestalling its loss with Captain Calliaud drawn away to a rebellion at Madura, and the intelligence was weighed against the enemy's boasts, commanders coming in a body from the fleet assuring the Council the French had no true warships in India, only armed merchantmen, and no more than 3,000 land forces where their officers claimed 5,000. [Film No. 416, 422, 423, 427, 431, 444]

Personalities

A few individuals stand out from the official record by their circumstances or their conduct. Richard Daman, chief mate of the George, was left behind by his captain without clothes or money and allowed 10 shillings a week while he waited for a passage, the Council standing between the man and the ship that had abandoned him, and Edward Burford, a quarter gunner, was discharged before his term on the plain ground that he was very infirm, while Thomas Dye, a soldier drafted for Bencoolen, deserted hours before his ship sailed and surrendered the next day. The dead Governor Goodwin dominates the island's accounts long

after his death, his fraudulent dealings pursued through summonses and reconstructed balances, and against him stands the ordinary soldier John Gold, whose bold complaint to the Court collapsed under the weight of the pay lists and sworn testimony, a reminder that the private man's word carried little against the written record. [Film No. 5, 6, 9, 13, 39, 110, 112, 132]

The great local quarrel of 1752 turned on Thomas Greentree, cast by the Council as the sole author of the island's troubles, named the contriver of the remonstrance who had enticed the rest to sign and, when the Court's order capping the beef the ships might buy was read to the planters, cried out with heat that they had then lost their liberties. Governor Hutchinson reprimanded him rather than proceeding formally, and the Council pressed its case by exposing his own trading as hypocrisy, for while he led the charge that the Court's servants were engrossing goods he had himself bought three or four leaguers of arrack at four shillings a gallon and resold much at six, a leaguer being a cask of roughly 150 gallons, and had traded away nearly every beast he returned as killed for the market, so that he was painted not as an aggrieved planter but as a trader pursuing his own gain. By 1754 the dispute closed on the Council's terms, Greentree brought to acknowledge the Court's favour when its letter was read to him and promising careful behaviour, and Governor Hutchinson himself vindicated against the planters' complaint. [Film No. 193, 194, 197, 198, 255, 271–272]

The Company's dependence on a few skilled men gave those who were willing a real bargaining power and left it to endure the bad servant until London sent a better. The armourer Henry Bremison was so passionate that little got done under him and the carpenter William Oakman so drunken he was not to be depended on, yet neither could simply be dismissed, and the surgeon Samuel Falconer was almost constantly drunk yet had to be kept as the island's only surgeon, while a willing carpenter's mate such as Eastwood of the *Winchelsea* could not be engaged for less than £35 0s 0d a year. The medical establishment collapsed into the period's great scandal when the surgeon Inglis stabbed himself in two places after a criminal intercourse with the wife of the secretary Wrangham, a private disgrace the confined society could not keep hidden, so that Inglis and his mate Evans both went home and the Council engaged Robert Barclay of the *Warren* in their place, the fee income of the surgeon's place mattering more than the salary. This is a sensitive matter, and anyone troubled by such thoughts can find support through a doctor or a local helpline. [Film No. 185, 186, 204, 231, 306, 340, 366, 374, 377, 400]

The mobility of the Company's people ran through the careers the record notes with equal care to the great fleets, Josiah Hurlock the Deputy Governor of Fort Marlborough arriving on the *Onslow* having resigned his chair for his health, Lieutenant James Repington obtaining leave home on the *York*, and the carpenter Lovintz arranging that £10 0s 0d a year be stopped from his island pay and the like sum paid to his wife Deborah in England, the two ends balanced in the Company's books so no money need cross the sea. Insubordination troubled the garrison as war approached, the adjutant Mowatt suspended for refusing the Governor's orders, Lieutenant Hay arrested for drunken defiance and the case closed by his acknowledgment before he at last resigned and took service in India as a volunteer, and the senior lieutenant Easthope pensioned with an annuity after upwards of 40 years, while even the two chief officers fell out, the Lieutenant Governor moved to assure the Court he was not conscious of behaving unbecomingly toward Governor Hutchinson, the confined society of the island's government breeding the same personal tensions as among its lesser people. An Indian man named James, brought from India by the late Governor Dunbar and left to successive attorneys, a notorious thief facing trial for a fresh robbery, hanged himself in the prison rather than face judgement. [Film No. 130, 153, 224, 313, 374, 375, 395, 410, 447, 453]

Conclusion

Taken together, these letters show a settlement governed by scarcity and distance across a full decade. The island lived by narrow margins of cattle, grain and cash, its fortunes rising and falling with rains that fed its pasture yet battered its works, and its central purpose throughout was to victual and, in wartime, to assemble the Company's homeward fleet. It served besides as the Company's listening post on the sea road home, gathering from every passing hull the intelligence of a trade and a war spread across the eastern world, and as a bank of exchange through which the private fortunes of the maritime service flowed back to London, closing the affairs of the living and the dead alike. [Film No. 5–54, 210, 405–458]

The wider world pressed upon the island repeatedly through the same shipping that sustained it. The close of one European war, the seizure of French ships in an uneasy peace and the outbreak of the next conflict all reached the island in the reports of passing commanders, and by the final years its defences were built up gun by gun and man by man against a French assault that never came, while news of the retaking of Bengal, of Plassey and of the treaty with the new Nabob marked the Company's passage from a trading power to a territorial one. Throughout, the same three men governed with a mixture of firmness and expedient, filling their offices from the ships in the road and their ranks from the drafts and deserters the sea brought them. [Film No. 155, 355–404, 416, 427]

Yet the record must be judged for what it leaves out as much as for what it sets down. It was written by officials anxious to stand well with the Court, and its treatment of the slaves and the exiled in particular must be read against what that official voice was willing to see and to say, the despair and death of coerced men entered as loss of property or administrative inconvenience, the mass suicide of the Malabar officers and the confinement of Naquedah Cohallum surviving only in the margins of a commercial account, and the island's slaves otherwise silent, counted as a head of property and never described. Read with that limitation in mind, the correspondence gives a close and telling picture of how the East India Company held its lonely mid-ocean station through a decade of scarcity, service and war. [Film No. 5–54, 144, 409, 438, 458]

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
1		EAP 1364 St Helena Document Name and Date St Helena letters to England 1748-1758 Photographer Shelley Date photographed 02 March 2022 Additional comments	
2		Book cover	
3		Letter Boxes to England M 48 to 59	
4		Blank page	
5	1	[Loss to the right-hand side and lower-right portion of the page, obscuring the ends of several lines and the lower part of the text.] be sent off the Island, if your Honours approve of it We begg you will be pleased to Direct how the charge for transporting them is to be paid. We have some reason to believe that Firr wou[...] grow in Several parts of the Island, & be of great Use here, & that Oak & Ash might likewise be propagated. We therefore desire your Honours will be pleased to send Us half a pound of Wild Pine, half a pound of Scotch Firr & half a pound of Spruce Firr Seed, a Bushel of Acorns & a Bushel of Ashen Keys Mr Rich Daman Chief mate of the Georgestnow being left behind by the Capt & destitute of Cloaths [In] Money We upon her Application to Us in consultation of 23 August last Ordered him ten Shillings [pr] Week during his stay here As he takes Passage upon this Ship & the Capt refuses receive him on Board untill he has paid him for it We have for this purpose & to provide him with a few Necessarys Advanced him in the Whole the Sum [...] We herewith transmitt Your Honours his [...] Belchier Esqr from whom their is [...] Wages due to him The Cloaths tha[...] Soldiers not being [...] Uniform Capt [...] Necessary for th[...]	Be sent off the island if the Court approved of it, the Council asking the Court to direct how the cost of transporting them was to be met. 5: The Council had some reason to believe that fir would grow in several parts of the island and prove of great use there, and that oak and ash might likewise be raised. It therefore asked the Court to send half a pound of wild pine, half a pound of Scotch fir and half a pound of spruce fir seed, along with a bushel of acorns and a bushel of ashen keys. 6: Mr Richard Daman, chief mate of the *Georgeston*, had been left behind by his captain and was without clothes or money. On his application to the Council, and by its order in the consultation of 23 August, he was allowed ten shillings a week during his stay while he waited to take passage on this ship. The captain refused to receive him aboard until he had paid for it. The Council therefore provided for him and advanced him a few necessaries, the whole sum coming to [...]. It forwarded to the Court his [...] from Belcher [...], from whom there was [...] of wages due to him. 7: The clothes that [...], the soldiers not being [...] uniform [...]. 8: Captain [...] necessary for [...] let him have [...] the Court [...]. 9: Lieutenant [...] to leave the island [...] on board this [...]. **Interpretations** Ashen keys were the winged seeds of the ash tree, gathered for sowing, the Council using the common English name for the seed rather than describing it. Wild pine, Scotch fir and spruce fir named three softwood conifers the Council hoped would take on the island, the request for their seed part of a longstanding effort to raise timber and firewood on St Helena, whose native woods had been steadily destroyed by grazing

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		let him have th[...] Your Honours he[...] Lieuten[...] to leave the Islan[...] on Board this [...]	and cutting. The scheme continued the replanting drive recorded across the earlier letters, the Great Wood enclosure of 1724 and the wood-planting law enforced by warrant survey in December 1729 among its precedents. The ten shillings a week granted to Richard Daman was a fixed subsistence allowance drawn from the Court's account, charged against the wages owed him and recoverable through the bill forwarded home, so the island advanced a stranded officer his keep without ultimately bearing the cost. The captain's refusal to carry him without payment turned an ordinary matter of a mate rejoining the service into a charge on the Company, the Council standing as intermediary between the man and the ship that had abandoned him.
6	2	[Loss to the right-hand side and lower-right portion of the page, obscuring the ends of several lines and the lower part of the text.] be sent off the Island, if your Honours approve of it We begg you will be pleased to Direct how the charge for transporting them is to be paid. We have some reason to believe that Firr wou[...] grow in Several parts of the Island, & be of great Use here, & that Oak & Ash might likewise be propagated. We therefore desire your Honours will be pleased to send Us half a pound of Wild Pine, half a pound of Scotch Firr & half a pound of Spruce Firr Seed, a Bushel of Acorns & a Bushel of Ashen Keys Mr Rich Daman Chief mate of the Georgestnow being left behind by the Capt & destitute of Cloaths [In] Money We upon her Application to Us in consultation of 23 August last Ordered him ten Shillings [pr] Week during his stay here As he takes Passage upon this Ship & the Capt refuses receive him on Board untill he has paid him for it We have for this purpose & to provide him with a few Necessarys Advanced him in the Whole the Sum [...] We herewith transmitt Your Honours his [...] Belchier Esqr from whom their is [...] Wages due to him The Cloaths tha[...] Soldiers not being [...] Uniform Capt [...] Necessary for th[...] let him have th[...] Your Honours he[...] Lieuten[...] to leave the Islan[...] on Board this [...]	Be sent off the island if the Court approved of it, the Council asking the Court to direct how the cost of transporting them was to be met. 5: The Council had some reason to believe that fir would grow in several parts of the island and prove of great use there, and that oak and ash might likewise be raised. It therefore asked the Court to send half a pound of wild pine, half a pound of Scotch fir and half a pound of spruce fir seed, along with a bushel of acorns and a bushel of ashen keys. 6: Mr Richard Daman, chief mate of the *George*, had been left behind by his captain and was without clothes or money. On his application to the Council, and by its order in the consultation of 23 August, he was allowed ten shillings a week during his stay while he waited to take passage on this ship. The captain refused to receive him aboard until he had paid for it. The Council therefore provided for him and advanced him a few necessaries, the whole sum coming to [...]. It forwarded to the Court his [...] from Belcher [...], from whom there was [...] of wages due to him. 7: The clothes that [...], the soldiers not being [...] uniform [...]. 8: Captain [...] necessary for [...] let him have [...] the Court [...]. 9: Lieutenant [...] to leave the island [...] on board this [...]. **Interpretations** Ashen keys were the winged seeds of the ash tree, gathered for sowing, the Council using the common English name for the seed rather than describing it. Wild pine, Scotch fir and spruce fir named three softwood conifers the Council hoped would take on the island, the request for their seed part of a longstanding effort to raise timber and firewood on St Helena, whose native woods had been steadily destroyed by grazing and cutting. The scheme continued the replanting drive recorded across the earlier letters, the Great Wood enclosure begun in 1724 and the wood-planting law enforced by warrant survey in December 1729 among its precedents. The ten shillings a week granted to Richard Daman was a fixed subsistence allowance drawn from the Court's account, charged against the wages owed him and recoverable through the bill forwarded home, so the island advanced a stranded officer his keep without ultimately bearing the cost. The captain's refusal to carry him without payment turned an ordinary matter of a mate rejoining the service into a charge on the Company, the Council standing between the man and the ship that had abandoned him.
7	3	[Loss to the lower-left corner of the page, obscuring the opening of several line items in the lower list.] Complaint having been made to Us by great part of the Craw of the Ship Princess of Wales against Capt Hovi[...] We took the Depositions of the Chief Mate & Steward in Consultation of 15 Instant, to which we refer your	10: A complaint had been made to the Council by a large part of the crew of the *Princess of Wales* against Captain Harris. The Council took the depositions of the chief mate and steward in the consultation of 15 August, which it referred to the Court. The letter closed at St Helena on 20 September 1748, signed by Charles Hutchinson, David Hunter and John Clark.

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Honours We are St Helena Honble Sirs 20th Sepr 1748 Your most Obedt & most Hum Sert (Signed) Charles Hutchinson David Hunter John Clark List of the Honble Companys Packet from St Helena P Ship Princess of Wales with the foregoing Letter dated the 20th Sepr 1748 Viz No 1 Govr & Councils General Letter dated 20th Sepr 1748 2 Duplicate Do P Ship George dated 12 August Do 3 Do Consultations from the 2 to 6th August Do 4 Consultations from 16 August to 20 Sepr Do 5 Duplicate List of the Packet P the George 6 List of Officers & Servants taken 20th Sepr 1748 7 Duplicate List of Mar Yca from y 28 July to y 11 Aug 174[...] 8 List of Mar Yca from the 11th Aug to y 20 Sepr 1748 9 Second Receipt for the Packet P the Caesar First Do for Do P the George [...]licate Ship Georges Account [...] from the 1th to the 12th August 1748 [...] of Wales Account the 12 to the 31 August 1748	The list of the Company's packet sent from St Helena by the *Princess of Wales*, with the letter of 20 September 1748, ran as follows: 1: Governor and Council general letter dated 20 September 1748 2: Duplicate of the same by the George dated 12 August 3: Duplicate consultations from the 2nd to the 6th of August 4: Consultations from 16 August to 20 September 5: Duplicate list of the packet by the George 6: List of officers and servants taken 20 September 1748 7: Duplicate list of marines and others from the 28th of July to the 11th of August 1748 8: List of marines and others from the 11th of August to the 20th of September 1748 9: Second receipt for the packet by the Caesar First receipt for the packet by the George Duplicate ship George's account received from the 7th to the 12th of August 1748 Princess of Wales account from the 15th to the 31st of August 1748 **Interpretations** The depositions of the chief mate and steward against Captain Harris of the *Princess of Wales* recorded a formal grievance taken down on oath and referred home for the Court's judgement, the island acting as a neutral forum where the crew's complaint against their commander could be entered into evidence rather than settled on the spot. The Council's practice of taking sworn statements and passing them to London without ruling on them followed the pattern of the earlier disputes carried between ship and shore, the authority to decide reserved to the Court that employed both officer and men. The packet list turned on the duplication of nearly every paper across two hulls, the general letter, the consultations, the packet list and the ship accounts each sent once by the *George* and again by the *Princess of Wales*, so that the loss of one ship would not carry away the record. The separate lists of officers and servants and of marines, each closed to a stated date, gave the Court a running muster of the men in its pay at the island.
8	4	[Loss to the right-hand side and lower-right portion of the page, obscuring the ends of several lines and the lower part of the text.] 15 Cash Acct from the 1 to the 20th Sepr 1748 16 Mr Rich Damans First Bill of Exchange 17 Capt Harrys First Bill of Exchange 18 Govr Letter to The Secret Committee To the Honble &ca Honble Sirs 1 We wrote to you last by your Ship Princess of Wales Capt Harry that Sailed the 20th of Sepr a Duplicate of which Letter we now transmitt to your Honours, We have since received your Commendrs & a Copy of your Letter of the 9th March by your Ship Duke of New Castle Capt Fowler, who Arrived here the 28th of October 2 We are glad to hear that you have received our Advices to the 25 April, & that your Ships Despatched from hence to that time are safe Arrived. We hope, Those that Sailed since have been attended with the same good fortune 3 His Majestys Royall Proclamation, which your Honours sent us declaring a Cessation of Arms both by	The remaining items of the packet list ran on as follows: 15: Cash account from the 7th to the 20th of September 1748 16: Mr Richard Daman's first bill of exchange 17: Captain Harris's first bill of exchange 18: Governor's letter to the Secret Committee The Council addressed the Court, opening a fresh general letter. 1: The Council's previous letter had gone by the *Princess of Wales* under Captain Harris, which sailed on 20 September, and a duplicate of it now went home. Since then the Council had received the Court's commands and a copy of its letter of 9 March by the *Duke of Newcastle* under Captain Fowler, who arrived on 28 October. 2: The Council was glad to learn that the Court had received its advices to 24 April and that the ships despatched from the island up to that time were safely arrived. It hoped the ships that had sailed since would meet with the same good fortune. 3: The Council had the King's royal proclamation published, which the Court had sent out, declaring a cessation of arms both by sea and land between the King, the Most Christian King and the States General. 4: From the preliminaries for restoring a general peace, the Council understood that all hostilities against the French were to [...].

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		Sea & Land between his Majesty the Most Christian King & the States General, we caused to be published here 4 By the Preliminarys for restoring a General Pea[...] We find that all Hostility's against the French are t[...] 5 What Orders we may receive from the [...] Secret Committee or any three of them [...] Obeyed 6 In case the Pact [...]	5: Whatever orders the Council might receive from the Secret Committee, or any three of them, would be obeyed. 6: In case the Court [...]. **Interpretations** The royal proclamation of a cessation of arms marked the reach of the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle to St Helena, the settlement that ended the War of the Austrian Succession, the Most Christian King being the King of France and the States General the government of the Dutch republic. The Council's part was to publish the proclamation on the island, so that the truce with France and its allies was known and observed at this remote station, where the war had lately been felt in the French squadrons cruising off the Cape and the loss of Fort St George. The Secret Committee was the small inner body of the Court of Directors that handled confidential business, chiefly matters of war, naval force and dealings with foreign powers that could not be trusted to the general correspondence. The Council's undertaking to obey the orders of any three of its members reflected the Committee's standing power to issue binding instructions to the Company's stations, a separate and more guarded channel than the ordinary general letters.
2	5	proper to send us any particular Directions concerning your returning Ships We will for the future give the Commanders Orders in Writing to proceed home, as your Honours have been pleased to Direct 7 The Stores which your Honours have sent Us, will sufficiently furnish Us with all Necessarys, except Shoes untill the time we may expect another Supply, but as we want 250 Pr of the Number indented for Your Soldiers will be put to great Inconveniencies by it 8 Every thing was landed in four Working days & we than gave Capt Fowler his Dispatches, with Orders in Writing to proceed, according to the Instructions he has received from Your Honours We provided him with all he required for the Use of the Ship which Sailed the 5th November 9 Capt Fowler did not offer to pay any Money into your Cash here, if he had, Your Honours Commands on that head should have been obeyed 10 All French Ships that Arrive here shall be receiv[...] Civily, & treated well But due care shall be taken that their People may not ramble about the Country or take any particular View of the Fortifications 11 We shall Endeavour to procure a Surgeons Mate out of your returning Ships, & to buy from the Captains as much Junk as we may have Occasion for 12 Henry Brinson the Armourer shall be duely paid his Sallary, from the day of his Arrival, as your Honours have directed. 13 We did not detain any of the Soldiers designed for Bencoolen, but one of them whose Name is Thos Dye	Proper to send any particular directions concerning the Court's returning ships. The Council would in future give its commanders orders in writing to proceed home, as the Court had directed. 7: The stores the Court had sent would furnish the island with all its necessaries except shoes until the time another supply might be expected. The Council was short by 250 pairs of the number indented for, and its soldiers would be put to great inconvenience by the shortfall. 8: Everything was landed in four working days, and the Council then gave Captain Fowler his despatches, with orders in writing to proceed according to the instructions he had received from the Court. It provided him with all he required for the use of the ship, which sailed on 5 November. 9: Captain Fowler did not offer to pay any money into the Council's cash at the island. Had he done so, the Court's commands on that head would have been obeyed. 10: All French ships that arrived at the island would be received civilly and treated well. The Council would nonetheless take due care that their crews did not wander about the country or take any particular view of the fortifications. 11: The Council would try to procure a surgeon's mate from the Court's returning ships and to buy as much junk from the captains as it might have occasion for. 12: Henry Brinson the armourer would be duly paid his salary from the day of his arrival, as the Court had directed. 13: The Council had not detained any of the soldiers intended for Bencoolen. One of them, named Thomas Dye, deserted a few hours before the ship sailed and surrendered himself the next day. The Council ordered him confined until an opportunity offered to forward him to his garrison. **Interpretations** Junk was worn or condemned cordage, old rope bought from the ships to be picked into oakum for caulking or reused about the fort and the boats, the Council securing a cheap supply of a material it would otherwise have to import. The armourer Henry Brinson held a paid post charged with the care and repair of the garrison's firearms, his salary running from the day he landed, so the island carried a skilled tradesman on its establishment for the upkeep of its weapons.

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		deserted a few Hours before the Ship Sailed, Surrendered himself to Us the day after, We ordered him to be Subsisted untile an Opportunity Offers to forward him to his Garrison	The instruction that French crews be well treated but kept from viewing the fortifications set the courtesy owed under the new peace against the standing caution of a fortified station, so that hospitality to a former enemy did not open the island's defences to inspection. The direction reflected the Council's awareness that a ship admitted to refresh might carry away intelligence of the works as readily as water and provisions. The soldier Thomas Dye's desertion and surrender turned on the labour of a garrison stretched between St Helena and the Company's other eastern stations, the men drafted for Bencoolen held under confinement until a ship could carry them on, the island a way station in the movement of soldiers as much as of goods. His return the next day spared him the graver consequence of a completed desertion, the Council choosing to hold and forward him rather than punish him at the island.
10	6	We received Joseph Hayes, the Recruit that was sent for your Military here 14 As your Honours have been pleased to leave it to Us to Appoint a Secretary, & Mr Frans Wrangham your Senior Factor, who was several Years Employed in that branch of Business, having applyed to Us for that post, & being very well qualified, we believe to discharge the Duty of it, We have for these reasons made choice of him for Secretary, We desire to know what Salary Your Honours will be pleased to allow him a week 15 We are much pleased that our Supplying your Stores here with Rice, from the Commanders of your Ships taking Salt Provisions therewith, (as we could not get it Otherwise) met with your Honours Approbation 16 In case any of your Ships should be Destitute of a Long Boat, We will lend them ours, as usual, & not charge any thing, but repairing her, if she receives any damage in their Service 17 On the second Instant Arrived your Ship the Houghton Capt Isaac Worth from Bengall but last from the Cape, & informed Us that your Ships Somerset Pelham & Doddington Sailed from thence about the middle of Sepr last & his Majestys Ship Tarter about a Month after for India 18 Since our last advice to your Honours We have had some fine Showers which has raised the Grass in the Pastures & if the Summer Rains fall Seasonably We are in hopes the Island will recover its Verdure, & enable us to Supply yours Ships with part of their Charterparty Beef 19 Your Plantations are yet so Backward that we are still Obliged to Buy Yams, for the Support of your Slaves	The Council received Joseph Hayes, the recruit sent out for the Court's military at the island. 14: The Court had left it to the Council to appoint a secretary. Mr Francis Wrangham, the senior factor, who had been employed several years in that branch of business, applied for the post and was very well qualified to discharge its duty. For these reasons the Council chose him as secretary and asked the Court to fix what salary it would allow him in that office. 15: The Council was much pleased that its supplying the Court's stores at the island with rice from the commanders of its ships, who took salt provisions in return, met with the Court's approval, since it could not otherwise get it. 16: Should any of the Court's ships be without a longboat, the Council would lend them its own as usual and charge nothing but the cost of repairing any damage received in their service. 17: On 2 November the Court's ship *Houghton* under Captain Isaac Worth arrived from Bengal but last from the Cape. She reported that the Court's ships *Somerset*, *Pelham* and *Doddington* sailed from there about the middle of September, and His Majesty's ship *Tartar* about a month after, all bound for India. 18: Since its previous advice the island had some fine showers, which raised the grass in the pastures. If the summer rains fell seasonably, the Council hoped the island would recover its verdure and enable it to supply the Court's ships with part of their charter-party beef. 19: The Court's plantations were still so backward that the Council remained obliged to buy yams for the support of the Court's slaves. **Interpretations** Charter-party beef was the meat the Company's ships were bound by the terms of their charter to carry for their own crews, which the island undertook to furnish from its cattle when the pastures allowed, sparing the ships their imported salt provisions and turning the Court's herd to account. The supply depended wholly on the season, the fine showers and the hope of seasonable summer rains standing behind the Council's cautious offer, the whole entry set against the long drought that had left the pastures bare. The choice of Francis Wrangham as secretary rested on his years in that branch of the Company's business and his standing as senior factor, the Council filling the post from a tried local servant while referring the salary to the Court, so that the appointment was made at the island but the reward of it settled in London. Wrangham had earlier been recorded giving local sureties for want of bondsmen in England, the same reliance on proven men that governed the filling of the secretary's place.

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			The exchange of the island's rice for the ships' salt provisions was a barter that served both sides, the commanders taking a keeping foodstuff the island could spare while the Council secured grain it could not otherwise obtain, the Court's approval turning an expedient of the drought into a settled practice. The arrangement answered the island's chronic difficulty of feeding its slaves and garrison when its own plantations fell short.
11	7	Slaves & which therefore upon considering the Expence it was to feed your Hogs in this manner We agreed to Sell several of them at Publick Auction, & accordingly on Tuesday the 29th of last Month, fifty one were sold for Twenty one Pounds four Shillings & ten Pence 20 We have bought of Capt Worth Forty Hundred Weight of Rice which when the Yams we have already engaged to take of the Planters are expended, must be served to Your Slaves in order to give your Plantations as much growth as we can 21 The Govr hath paid into your Cash here the Sum of One Hundred & Twenty Pounds for which we have given him Bills, drawn on your Honours, dated the 12 Instant payable to himself for Order, Ninety days after Sight 22 Capt Worth having applyed to Us for liberty to pay three Hundred Pounds into Your Cash here We have given him Bills on you for that Sum, dated the 12 of this Month, payable to himself or Order Ninety days after Sight as we may be in want of Money if the Storeship should be late 23 The Levelling at Chubs Rock for the Fortification intended to be erected there being now finished We purpose to carry on the rest of it, with your Honours own Slaves, & not hire any more Labourers to Work there at 24 Your Military Officers here, have in this Packet sent you a Petition, which we take the liberty to recommend to your Honours Consideration 25 The General Book of Accounts are Balanced to the 30th September last, they are now Copying and will be Transmitted to you by the next Opportunity 26 Captain Worth having acquainted Us that he had repaired his Ship, and that he was ready to put to Sea	Slaves, and so, considering the expense of feeding the Court's hogs in that manner, the Council agreed to sell several of them at public auction. On Tuesday 29 October fifty-one were sold for £21 4s 10d. 20: The Council had bought of Captain Worth forty hundredweight of rice, which, when the yams already engaged from the planters were spent, must be served to the Court's slaves in order to give the plantations as much growth as possible. 21: The Governor had paid into the Court's cash at the island the sum of £120 0s 0d, for which the Council gave him bills drawn on the Court dated the 12th of this month, payable to himself or order ninety days after sight. 22: Captain Worth applied to the Council for leave to pay £300 0s 0d into the Court's cash at the island. The Council gave him bills on the Court for that sum, dated the 12th of this month, payable to himself or order ninety days after sight, since it might be in want of money if the store ship were late. 23: The levelling at Chubb's Rock for the fortification intended to be built there was now finished. The Council meant to carry on the rest of the work with the Court's own slaves and to hire no more labourers for it. 24: The Court's military officers at the island had sent home a petition in this packet, which the Council recommended to the Court's consideration. 25: The general book of accounts was balanced to 30 September. It was now being copied and would be transmitted to the Court by the next opportunity. 26: Captain Worth informed the Council that he had repaired his ship and was ready to put to sea. **Interpretations** Bills drawn on the Court payable ninety days after sight were the standard instrument by which the island turned cash paid in locally into a claim on the Company in London, the Governor and Captain Worth handing over money at St Helena and receiving paper to be honoured at home after the stated term. The Council took the money in because it might be short of cash if the store ship came late, the bills serving both the drawer, who moved his funds safely home, and the island, which gained ready money against a future charge on the Court. The sale of the Court's hogs at public auction turned on the plain arithmetic of feeding them once the yams ran short, the Council choosing to sell fifty-one beasts rather than carry the cost of their keep, the same pressure on the island's provisions that stood behind the purchase of rice to eke out the yams for the slaves. The decision to press the fortification work at Chubb's Rock forward with the Court's own slaves and hire no further labour answered the standing aim of sparing the Court the wage of hired hands, the island's bound labour set to the work in place of paid men. Speculations The Council's purchase of forty hundredweight of rice from Captain Worth, to be held back until the planters' yams were spent, passed over the obvious course of feeding the slaves on the yams already in hand. It chose instead to reserve the yams to the growing plantations and carry the slaves on bought rice, so that the young plantings might gain as much growth as possible rather than be dug early to feed the

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			Court's people. The reason lies on the page in the aim of giving the plantations as much growth as the Council could, a deliberate preference for the future crop over the present convenience, the imported grain bought to buy the yams time in the ground.
12	8	this day we gave him Orders to proceed St Helena We are 18th December 1748 Honble Sirs Your most Obedt & most Hum Sert (Signed) Charles Hutchinson David Hunter John Clark List of the Honble Companys Packet from St Helena P Ship Houghton with the foregoing Letter dated the 18th Decr 1748 Viz No 1 Governour & Councils General Letter dated 18th Decr 1748 2 Duplicate Do P Ship Prince of Wales dated 20 Sepr 1748 3 Duplicate Consultations from the 15 Aug to y 19th Sepr 1748 4 Consultations from the 26 Sepr to the 12 of Decr 1748 5 Duplicate List of the Packet of Ship Prince of Wales 6 List of Officers & Servants taken the 18 of Decr 1748 7 Duplicate List of Mar Yc from 11 Aug to the 20 Sepr 1748 8 List of Mar Yc from the 20 Sepr to the 18 Decr 1748 9 Second Receipt for the Packet P the George 10 First Do for Do P Princess of Wales 11 Duplicate Ship Princess of Wales Account 12 Ship Duke of New Castles Account 13 Ship Houghtons Account 14 Duplicate Cash Account from y 12 to the 31 Aug 15 Duplicate Do from the 1th to the 20 September 16 Cash Acct from the 21 to the 30th September 17 Do for the Month of October 18 Do for the Month of November	That day the Council gave him orders to proceed. The letter closed at St Helena on 18 December 1748, signed by Charles Hutchinson, David Hunter and John Clark. The list of the Company's packet sent from St Helena by the *Houghton*, with the letter of 18 December 1748, ran as follows: 1: Governor and Council general letter dated 18 December 1748 2: Duplicate of the same by the Prince of Wales dated 20 September 1748 3: Duplicate consultations from the 15th of August to the 19th of September 1748 4: Consultations from the 26th of September to the 12th of December 1748 5: Duplicate list of the packet by the Prince of Wales 6: List of officers and servants taken the 18th of December 1748 7: Duplicate list of marines and others from the 11th of August to the 20th of September 1748 8: List of marines and others from the 20th of September to the 18th of December 1748 9: Second receipt for the packet by the George 10: First receipt for the packet by the Prince of Wales 11: Duplicate Prince of Wales account 12: Duke of Newcastle account 13: Houghton account 14: Duplicate cash account from the 2nd to the 31st of August 15: Duplicate of the same from the 7th to the 20th of September 16: Cash account from the 21st to the 30th of September 17: Cash account for the month of October 18: Cash account for the month of November **Interpretations** The list turned again on the duplication of every paper across separate hulls, the general letter, the consultations, the packet list and the ship accounts each sent once before and now again by the *Houghton*, so that the loss of a single ship would not carry away the record. The run of cash accounts broken into monthly and part-monthly stretches, from August through November, gave the Court a continuous reckoning of the money passing through the island's hands to be checked against the bills drawn home.
13	9	19 Cash Account from the 1 Decr to the 18th 20 Capt Thos Harrys Second Bill of Exchange 21 Mr Richard Damans Second Do 22 List of Familys taken 30th Sepr 1748 23 List of Rents taken 30 Sepr 1748 24 List of the Honble Companys Blacks taken 30 Sepr 1748 25 List of the Arrival & Departure of Ships from y 28 July to y 18 Decr 1748 26 Governours Letter to the Secret Committee To the Honble &ca Honble Sirs 1 Our last advices to your Honours were by the Houghton Capt Isaac Worth which Sailed the 18 day of December 2 On the 31 of that Month arrived your Snow the Swift Capt Bell from Fort St David 3 We transmit to your Honours by this Occasion a	The remaining items of the packet list ran on as follows: 19: Cash account from the 7th of December to the 18th 20: Captain Thomas Harris's second bill of exchange 21: Mr Richard Daman's second bill of exchange 22: List of families taken 30 September 1748 23: List of rents taken 30 September 1748 24: List of the Company's blacks taken 30 September 1748 25: List of the arrival and departure of ships from the 2nd of July to the 18th of December 1748 26: Governor's letter to the Secret Committee The Council addressed the Court, opening a fresh general letter. 1: The Council's previous advices had gone by the *Houghton* under Captain Isaac Worth, which sailed on 18 December. 2: On 31 December the Court's snow the *Swift* under Captain Bell arrived from Fort St David.

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		Duplicate of our Letter that went by the Houghton, & the General Books of Accounts for the Year Ending the 30 Sepr the reason that the last Accounts are not made up to a later date than the 18th Decr is because the last Quarters Accounts are not laid before Us, untill the 3 Monday in this Month, which makes it impossible to Balance the last till that time 4 Edward Burford a Quarter Gunner having applyed to us for his Discharge, & liberty to proceed to England by this opportunity we have granted his request, he being very infirm & unable to do any Duty, altho his Contracted time will not Expire untill March next 5 Notwithstanding the Strict Watch that is kept on	3: The Council transmitted by this conveyance a duplicate of its letter that went by the *Houghton*, together with the general book of accounts for the year ending 30 September. The reason the accounts were not made up to a later date than 18 December was that the last quarter's accounts were not laid before the Council until the third Monday in the month, which made it impossible to balance them until then. 4: Edward Burford, a quarter gunner, applied for his discharge and leave to proceed to England by this opportunity. The Council granted his request, since he was very infirm and unable to do any duty, although his contracted time would not expire until March. 5: Notwithstanding the strict watch kept on the [...]. **Interpretations** A snow was a two-masted merchant vessel rigged much like a brig, here one of the Company's smaller craft carrying despatches and men between the Indian stations and the island, the *Swift* arriving from Fort St David on the Coromandel coast where the Company's affairs were then pressed by the war with France. A quarter gunner was a petty officer ranking below the gunner, one of several who assisted in the care and working of a ship's or a fort's guns, Edward Burford's discharge before his term expired granted on the plain ground of an infirmity that left him unfit for any duty. The timing of the accounting year turned on a fixed procedure, the last quarter's accounts not laid before the Council until the third Monday of the month, so that the books could not be balanced to 30 September and closed before the middle of December. The Council set out the delay to the Court as the necessary consequence of its own settled practice rather than any negligence, the yearly reckoning tied to the date the quarter's papers came in.
14	10	the Despatch of Ships from hence to hinder the Soldiers from Deserting, two of them Wm Jones & Mattw Peters were missed the day the Houghton Sailed, their Cloaths were since found in a Cave near Chubs Rock, & they not being yet heard of, We suppose they got on Board her or were drowned in attempting it 6 Capt Bell having more Salt Provisions on Board than he had occasion for, he desired us to receive 4 Wt of Pork upon opening & Surveying of which 2 of them were found to be unserviceable, we likewise received of him 3 3 Wt of Junk & 2 Wt of Cordage, and 148 1/2 Gallons Arrack 7 The Boat belonging to your Honours Snow the Swift being more convenient for your Service here than a Small Yawl which Capt Bell says will be as usefull to him We have for these reasons exchanged with him 8 Capt Bell having applyed to Us for liberty to pay £212 into your Cash here, We have given him Bills on you, for that Sum, dated the 2nd of this Month payable to himself for Order, Ninety days after Sight 9 Mr Joseph Powell likewise applied to Us for liberty to pay £211 into your Cash here, we have also given him Bills on your Honours, for that Sum, dated the 2nd Instant payable to himself for Order, Ninety days after Sight 10	The despatch of ships from the island, to hinder the soldiers from deserting, two of them, William Jones and Matthew Peters, went missing the day the *Houghton* sailed. Their clothes were afterwards found in a cove near Chubb's Rock, and they not being since heard of, the Council supposed they got on board her or were drowned in attempting it. 6: Captain Bell had more salt provisions on board than he had occasion for and asked the Council to receive four hundredweight of pork. On opening and surveying it, two of the casks were found unserviceable. The Council likewise received of him 3 hundredweight 3 quarters 21 pounds of junk and 148½ gallons of arrack. 7: The boat belonging to the Court's snow the *Swift* was more convenient for its service at the island than a small yawl, which Captain Bell said would be as useful to him. For these reasons the Council exchanged the one for the other with him. 8: Captain Bell applied to the Council for leave to pay £212 0s 0d into the Court's cash at the island. The Council gave him bills on the Court for that sum, dated the 2nd of this month, payable to himself or order ninety days after sight. 9: Mr Joseph Powell likewise applied for leave to pay £211 0s 0d into the Court's cash at the island. The Council gave him bills on the Court for that sum, dated the 2nd of this month, payable to himself or order ninety days after sight. 10: On the 6th of this month three ships passed by, but at so great a distance that their colours could not be made out. 11: Since the departure of the *Houghton* the island had some more rain, which, with the present appearance of the weather, gave hopes of a good summer season. The letter closed at St Helena on 8 January 1748, signed by Charles Hutchinson, David Hunter and John Clark.

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		On the 6th day of this Month passed by 3 Ships but at so great a Distance that their Colours were not to be Descried 11 Since the Departure of the Houghton, we have had some more Rain which with the appearance of the Weather at present gives us hopes of a good Summer Season St Helena We are 8th January 1748 Honble Sirs Your most Obedt & most hum Sert Signed Charles Hutchinson David Hunter John Clark	**Interpretations** Arrack was a strong spirit distilled in the East, commonly from palm sap or rice, a staple of the Company's shipping bought for the garrison and much valued at the island, the 148½ gallons taken from Captain Bell adding to a stock the island often struggled to keep up. Junk was worn cordage bought to be picked into oakum for caulking or reused about the works, the Council securing both spirit and rope from a passing commander who carried more than he needed. The loss of William Jones and Matthew Peters turned on the standing difficulty of holding soldiers at a station they could quit only by stealing aboard a ship, the strict watch kept precisely to prevent it, their abandoned clothes near Chubb's Rock leaving the Council to reckon them either stowed away or drowned in the attempt. The episode measured the pull of escape against a garrison held in place by the sea itself, desertion possible only through the very shipping the watch was set to guard. The exchange of the yawl for the *Swift*'s boat rested on the plain judgement of which craft better served each party, the Council taking the more convenient boat for its own work while Captain Bell was left one he reckoned as useful to him, a small practical swap of equipment between the island and a calling ship. The bills taken of Bell and Joseph Powell followed the settled course of turning cash paid in at the island into claims on the Court payable ninety days after sight, the money received against the possible lateness of the store ship.
15	11	List of the Honble Companys Packet from St Helena P Swift Snow with the foregoing Letter, dated the 8 January 1748 Viz No 1 Govr & Councils General Letter dated the 8 Jan 1748 2 Duplicate Govr & Councils General Letter dated 18 Decr 1748 3 Duplicate Consultations from the 26 Sepr to the 12 Decr 1748 4 Consultations from the 19th Decr to the 2nd Jan 1748 5 General Books of Accounts 6 Duplicate List of the Packet P Ship Houghton 7 List of Officers & Servants taken the 8 Jan 1748 8 Duplicate List of Mar Yca from y 20 Sepr to the 18 Decr 1748 9 Second Receipt for the Packet P Ship Princess of Wales 10 First Receipt for the Packet P Ship Houghton 11 Duplicate Ship Duke of New Castles Account 12 Duplicate Ship Houghtons Account 13 Swift Snows Account 14 Duplicate Cash Acct from the 21 to the 30th Sepr 15 Duplicate Do for the Month of October 16 Duplicate Do for the Month of November 17 Duplicate Do from the 1 to the 18 December 18 Duplicate List of Familys taken the 30 Sepr 19 Duplicate List of Rents taken the 30 of Do 20 Duplicate List of the Honble Companys Blacks taken the 30 Sepr To the Honble &ca Honble Sirs 1 Our last Advices to your Honours, were by your Snow the Swift which Sailed from hence y 9th day of Jan last 2 Yesterday Arrived your Ship the Essex Capt George Jackson from Bombay she is now lying in this Road in good Condition & will be ready to Sail in a few days, by which	The list of the Company's packet sent from St Helena by the *Swift* snow, with the letter of 8 January 1748, ran as follows: 1: Governor and Council general letter dated 8 January 1748 2: Duplicate Governor and Council general letter dated 18 December 1748 3: Duplicate consultations from the 26th of September to the 12th of December 1748 4: Consultations from the 19th of December to the 2nd of January 1748 5: General book of accounts 6: Duplicate list of the packet by the Houghton 7: List of officers and servants taken the 8th of January 1748 8: Duplicate list of marines and others from the 20th of September to the 18th of December 1748 9: Second receipt for the packet by the Prince of Wales 10: First receipt for the packet by the Houghton 11: Duplicate Duke of Newcastle account 12: Duplicate Houghton account 13: Swift snow's account 14: Duplicate cash account from the 21st to the 30th of September 15: Duplicate of the same for the month of October 16: Duplicate of the same for the month of November 17: Duplicate of the same from the 1st to the 18th of December 18: Duplicate list of families taken the 30th of September 19: Duplicate list of rents taken the 30th of the same 20: Duplicate list of the Company's blacks taken the 30th of September The Council addressed the Court, opening a fresh general letter. 1: The Council's previous advices had gone by the Court's snow the *Swift*, which sailed on 9 January. 2: The day before, the Court's ship the *Essex* under Captain George Jackson arrived from Bombay. She was now lying in the road in good condition and

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			would be ready to sail in a few days, by which conveyance [...]. **Interpretations** The packet list turned once more on the duplication of nearly every paper across separate hulls, the general letter, the consultations, the ship accounts, the cash accounts and the lists of families, rents and blacks each sent before and now again by the *Swift*, so that the loss of one vessel would not carry away the record. The short interval between the *Swift*'s departure on 9 January and this letter, opened on the arrival of the *Essex* the day before, shows the Council seizing each passing hull in turn to send its advices home, the correspondence carried forward ship by ship as the road filled and emptied.
16	12	Occasion we shall transmitt to your Honours y Usual Papers 3 We have the pleasure to acquaint you that the Summer Rains continue favourable, their have fallen many fine Showers since our last Advices to You and have been of great Service to the Island 4 This goes by your Snow the Swallow Capt Hutchinson now lying off the Road waiting for her despatches We are St Helena Honble Sirs 16th February 1748 Your most Obedt & most Hum Sert Signed Charles Hutchinson David Hunter John Clark To the Honble &ca Honble Sirs 1 We wrote to you last by your Honours Snow the Swallow Capt Norton Hutchinson who Arrived & Sailed on the 16 instant 2 We acquainted you by that Occasion of the Arrival of your Ship Essex Capt George Jackson from Bombay 3 It sometimes happens that the Capts of your Ships require large Quantities of Beef from the Planters while they remain here, & likewise to take away as many live Cattle as they please, when these demands are made by those that first arrive, & the Planters are always permitted to comply with them the latter Ships that cannot touch at the Cape, & must therefore rely intirely upon this Island, for fresh Provision may be frequently disappointed, this might be effectually prevented we think if an equal proportion of the Cattle that are annually designed to be Slaughtered, was to be reserved for every	Conveyance the Council would transmit to the Court its usual papers. 3: The Council had the pleasure to report that the summer rains continued favourable. Many fine showers had fallen since its previous advices and had been of great service to the island. 4: This letter went by the Court's snow the *Swallow* under Captain Hutchinson, now lying off the road waiting for her despatches. The letter closed at St Helena on 16 February 1748, signed by Charles Hutchinson, David Hunter and John Clark. The Council addressed the Court, opening a fresh general letter. 1: The Council's previous letter had gone by the Court's snow the *Swallow* under Captain Norton Hutchinson, which arrived and sailed on the 16th. 2: The Council had by that occasion reported the arrival of the Court's ship the *Essex* under Captain George Jackson from Bombay. 3: It sometimes happened that the captains of the Court's ships required large quantities of beef from the planters while they stayed at the island, and likewise took away as many live cattle as they pleased. When these demands were made by the ships that arrived first, the planters were always permitted to comply with them. The later ships that could not touch at the Cape, and must therefore rely entirely on the island for fresh provisions, might frequently be disappointed. The Council thought this might be effectually prevented if an equal proportion of the cattle annually intended to be slaughtered were reserved for every ship. **Interpretations** The problem set out turned on the island's narrow stock of cattle and the unequal claims of the shipping, the ships that came in first taking beef and live cattle at will from the planters, while the later ships, unable to refresh at the Cape, found the supply already drawn down. The Council's remedy was to reserve an equal share of the year's slaughter cattle for each ship, so that the provisioning of the fleet did not fall to whichever hull reached the road soonest, a rationing of a scarce resource against the accident of arrival. The whole entry stood against the long drought and the strained pastures that had made the island's cattle too few to meet every demand at once.
17	13	Ship, that may be expected, after a proper Number were appointed for the Support of the Markett, on which all your Honours Servants & Sick Soldiers, chiefly depend, for being Supplyed 4 And that there may be no room for any disagreement between Us & the Capts of your Ships, or the Planters, we hope your Honours will make some Regulations for these purposes	Ship that might be expected, after a proper number were set aside for the support of the market, on which all the Court's servants and the sick soldiers chiefly depended for being supplied. 4: So that there might be no room for any disagreement between the Council and the captains of the Court's ships or the planters, the Council hoped the Court would make some regulations for these purposes, if the inhabitants were not to be left at full liberty to dispose of their cattle just as they had a mind.

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		if the Inhabitants are not to be left at full liberty to dispose of their Cattle just as they have a mind 5 As the Planters receive a penny more P Pound for the Beef they sell to the Ships, than is paid for that they send to the Markett, they do not for this reason so readily incline to provide for it, as they would do, we believe, if your Honours thought proper to fix the same price, for both 6 This afternoon Arrived your Honours Ship Benjamin Capt Meard from Bencoolen, laden with Coast Bale Goods & pepper, He informs us that he left the Godolphin Capt Stevens at Fort Malbro who was to be Despatched from thence as he says some time in January last 7 The Rains still continue falling which now gives Us a prospect of a good Summer Season We are St Helena Honble Sirs 24th February 1748 Your most Obedt & most hum Sert (Signed) Charles Hutchinson David Hunter John Clark List of the Honble Companys Packet from St Helena P Ship Essex with the foregoing Letter dated the 24 Febry 1748 Vizt No 1 Govr & Councils General Letter dated the 24 Febry 1748 2 Duplicate Govr & Councils General Letter dated the 8 Jan 1748 3 Duplicate Do Do dated the 16 Febry 1748	5: The planters received a penny more per pound for the beef they sold to the ships than was paid for what they sent to the market. For this reason they did not so readily incline to provide for it as they would do, the Council believing, if the Court thought proper to fix the same price for both. 6: This afternoon the Court's ship the *Benjamin* under Captain Meard arrived from Bencoolen, laden with Coast bale goods and pepper. He reported that he left the *Godolphin* under Captain Stevens at Fort Marlborough, who was to be despatched from there, as he said, some time in January. 7: The rains still continued falling, which now gave the island a prospect of a good summer season. The letter closed at St Helena on 24 February 1748, signed by Charles Hutchinson, David Hunter and John Clark. The list of the Company's packet sent from St Helena by the *Essex*, with the letter of 24 February 1748, ran as follows: 1: Governor and Council general letter dated the 24th of February 1748 2: Duplicate Governor and Council general letter dated the 8th of January 1748 3: Duplicate of the same dated the 16th of February 1748 **Interpretations** Coast bale goods were the piece goods, chiefly cotton textiles, shipped in bales from the Coromandel coast of India, the staple of the Company's eastern trade, the *Benjamin* carrying them home with pepper by way of Bencoolen. Fort Marlborough was the Company's chief settlement at Bencoolen on the west coast of Sumatra, the pepper station from which its ships were despatched, the *Godolphin*'s lading there reported to the island as intelligence of the homeward movement of the fleet. The difficulty over the beef price turned on a penny a pound, the planters getting more for what they sold direct to the ships than for what they sent to the market, so that they held back from supplying the market on which the Court's servants and the sick depended. The Council pressed the Court to fix a single price for both, seeing that the gap in the rate, small as it was, governed where the planters chose to sell, the market starved by the better bargain to be had from the shipping. Speculations The Council declined to settle the contest over cattle by its own order and instead referred the making of regulations to the Court, though the plain course lay in fixing the matter at the island where the demands were felt. It chose to lay the choice before London, framing the alternative openly as whether the inhabitants were to be left at full liberty to dispose of their cattle as they pleased or to be bound by rule, because the liberty of the planters over their own beasts was a right the Council would not curtail on its own authority. The reason shows on the page in the careful setting of the two courses side by side, the Council unwilling to override the inhabitants' freedom without the Court's sanction, and so passing a question it could have decided to the masters who could impose it without grievance.
18	14	4 Duplicate Consultations from the 19th Decr to the 2nd Janry 1748 5 Consultations from the 9 Janry to the 20th Feby 1748 6 Duplicate List of the Packet P Swift Snow 7 List of Officers & Servants taken the 24 Feby 1748 8 List of Mar Yca from the 8 Janry to the 24 Feby 1748 9 Second Receipt for the Packet P Ship Houghton 10 First Receipt for the Packet P Swift Snow 11 First Receipt for the Packet P Swallow Snow 12 Duplicate Swift Snows Account 13 Ship Essexs Account	The remaining items of the packet list ran on as follows: 4: Duplicate consultations from the 19th of December to the 2nd of January 1748 5: Consultations from the 9th of January to the 20th of February 1748 6: Duplicate list of the packet by the Swift snow 7: List of officers and servants taken the 24th of February 1748 8: List of marines and others from the 8th of January to the 24th of February 1748

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		14 Cash Account from the 18 to the 31 December 15 Cash Account for the Month of January 16 Cash Account from the 1 to the 24th of Do 1748 To the Honble &ca Honble Sirs 1 We wrote to you last by your Ship the Essex Capt George Jackson, who sailed from hence on the 25 instant a Duplicate of that Letter as well as all other usual Papers we herewith transmitt to your Honours 2 Capt Meard having Represented to us Yesterday in Consultation, that he was in want of Men, We have delivered Six from your Garrison to Assist him their Contracted time Expiring in a few days, & they having declard that they will not enlist We are St Helena Honble Sirs 28th Feb 1748 Your most Obedt & most hum Sert Signed Charles Hutchinson David Hunter John Clark	9: Second receipt for the packet by the Houghton 10: First receipt for the packet by the Swift snow 11: First receipt for the packet by the Swallow snow 12: Duplicate Swift snow's account 13: Essex account 14: Cash account from the 18th to the 31st of December 15: Cash account for the month of January 16: Cash account from the 1st to the 24th of December 1748 The Council addressed the Court, opening a fresh general letter. 1: The Council's previous letter had gone by the Court's ship the *Essex* under Captain George Jackson, which sailed on the 25th. A duplicate of that letter, together with all the other usual papers, now went home. 2: Captain Meard had reported in consultation the day before that he was in want of men. The Council discharged six from the garrison to assist him, their contracted time expiring in a few days, and they having declared they would not re-enlist. The letter closed at St Helena on 28 February 1748, signed by Charles Hutchinson, David Hunter and John Clark. **Interpretations** The discharge of six men from the garrison to the *Benjamin* turned on the meeting of two needs at once, the ship short of hands and the men at the end of their contracted term and unwilling to serve again, so that the Council let them go to sea rather than hold soldiers who would not re-enlist. The transfer measured the constant traffic of men between the garrison and the shipping, the island's small establishment drawn down to man a ship whose own complement had fallen short, labour moving to wherever the want was sharpest.
19	15	List of the Honble Companys Packet from St Helena P Ship Benjamin with the foregoing Letter dated the 28th Febry 1748 Viz No 1 Govr & Councils General Letter dated the 28th Febry 1748 2 Duplicate Govr & Councils General Letter dated the 24 Febry 1748 3 Duplicate Consultations from the 29th Janry to the 20 Febry 1748 4 Consultation of the 27th Feby 1748 5 Duplicate List of the Packet P Ship Essex 6 List of Officers & Servants taken the 28 Febry 1748 7 Duplicate List of Mar Yc from the 8 Janry to y 24 Febry 1748 8 Second Receipt for the Packet P Swift Snow 9 Second Receipt for the Packet P Swallow Snow 10 First Receipt for the Packet P Ship Essex 11 Duplicate Ship Essexs Account 12 Ship Benjamins Account 13 Duplicate Cash Acct from the 18 to the 31 Decr 1748 14 Duplicate Do for the Month of January 1748 15 Duplicate Do from the 1 to the 24 Feb 1748 16 Cash Account from the 24 to the 28 of Feb 1748 To the Honble &ca Honble Sirs 1 We wrote to you last by the Benjamin Capt	The list of the Company's packet sent from St Helena by the *Benjamin*, with the letter of 28 February 1748, ran as follows: 1: Governor and Council general letter dated the 28th of February 1748 2: Duplicate Governor and Council general letter dated the 24th of February 1748 3: Duplicate consultations from the 29th of January to the 20th of February 1748 4: Consultation of the 27th of February 1748 5: Duplicate list of the packet by the Essex 6: List of officers and servants taken the 28th of February 1748 7: Duplicate list of marines and others from the 8th of January to the 24th of February 1748 8: Second receipt for the packet by the Swift snow 9: Second receipt for the packet by the Swallow snow 10: First receipt for the packet by the Essex 11: Duplicate Essex account 12: Benjamin's account 13: Duplicate cash account from the 18th to the 31st of December 1748 14: Duplicate of the same for the month of January 1748 15: Duplicate of the same from the 1st to the 24th of February 1748 16: Cash account from the 24th to the 28th of February 1748 The Council addressed the Court, opening a fresh general letter. 1: The Council's previous letter had gone by the *Benjamin* under Captain Meard.
20	16	Meard which Sailed from hence the 28th day of last Month, a Duplicate of that Letter, we herewith transmitt to your Honours	Under Captain Meard, which sailed on the 28th of last month, a duplicate of that letter now went home. 2: On the 22nd arrived the *Aeren* under Captain Niels Hansen Ingram, of about 1,200 tons burthen,

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		2 On the 22 Instant Arrived the Syen Capt Niels Hansensgram, Burthen about Twelve Hundred Tons Twenty Six Guns & one hundred & Eighty Seven Men and the Christiansburg Slot Capt Lyder Ander Sildenus Burthen about Seven Hundred Tons Twenty Six Guns & one hundred & twenty Men, Two Dane Ships from Canton loaded with Tea & China Ware, they left it 26th December, & your Honours Ships Princess of Wales Hardwicke Scarborough, Duke of Dorset, & Wager those which were to Sail in a few days after them that the Hardwicke Capt Samson arrived at Princes Island the 20 Janry NS & informed them that he left Capt DUvergne under the Batavia Islands that they with Capt Samson and three Dutch Ships Sailed from Princess Island the 25th Janry NS and parted Company the 27th February OS 3 This goes by your Honours Ship Lapwing Capt Frans Cheyne who Arrived here the 18th Instant We are St Helena Honble Sirs 25 March 1749 Your most Obedt & most hum Sert Signed Charles Hutchinson David Hunter John Clark	twenty-six guns and 187 men, and the *Christiansburg* sloop under Captain Lyder Andrew Oldeman, of about 700 tons burthen, twenty-six guns and 120 men, two Danish ships from Canton laden with tea and chinaware. They left Canton on 26 December. The Court's ships *Princess of Wales*, *Hardwicke*, *Scarborough*, *Duke of Dorset* and *Wager* were there, which were to sail a few days after them. The *Hardwicke* under Captain Samson arrived at Princes Island on 20 January and reported that she left Captain D'Auvergne at the Batavia islands. She, with Captain Samson and three other Dutch ships, sailed from Princes Island on 25 January and parted company on 27 February. 3: This letter went by the Court's ship the *Lapwing* under Captain Francis Cheyne, who arrived at the island on the 13th. The letter closed at St Helena on 25 March 1749, signed by Charles Hutchinson, David Hunter and John Clark. **Interpretations** Princes Island was the small watering and refreshment island in the Straits of Sunda off the western tip of Java, a standing call for homeward East India ships between Batavia and the Atlantic crossing, the *Hardwicke* and her Dutch consorts gathering and parting there on the run home. Canton was the sole port through which the China trade passed, the two Danish ships laden there with tea and chinaware, the staples of the European traffic with China, their reckoning of the Court's ships still at Canton serving the island as intelligence of the homeward fleet's movements. The whole entry is a catalogue of shipping intelligence, the Danish captains from Canton reporting which of the Court's ships lay there and when they were to sail, the *Hardwicke*'s track through Princes Island and her parting from the Dutch fleet passed on in turn. The island gathered such reports from every calling hull and forwarded them home, so that the Court might learn the disposition and progress of its distant ships from the ships that had lately seen them, the correspondence serving as a clearing house for news of a fleet scattered across half the world.
21	17	List of the Honble Companys Packet from St Helena P Ship Lapwing with the foregoing Letter dated the 25th March 1749 Viz No 1 Govr & Councils General Letter dated the 25th March 1749 2 Duplicate Govr & Councils General Letter dated the 27th Feb 1748 3 Duplicate Consultation of the 27th Feb 1749 4 Consultations from the 6 to the 20th March 1749 5 Duplicate List of the Packet P Ship Benjamin 6 List of Officers & Servants taken the 25 March 1749 7 List of Mar Yca from the 24 Feby to the 25th March 1749 8 Second Receipt for the Packet P Ship Essex 9 First Receipt for the Packet P Ship Benjamin 10 Duplicate Ship Benjamins Account 11 Ship Lapwings Account 12 Duplicate Cash Account from the 24 to the 28 Feb 1748 13 Cash Account from the 1 March to the 25 of Do 1749 14 List of Ships Arrival & Departure from y 31 Decr to y 25 March 1749 To the Honble &ca Honble Sirs 1 Your Ship Lapwing that was Despatched and	The list of the Company's packet sent from St Helena by the *Lapwing*, with the letter of 25 March 1749, ran as follows: 1: Governor and Council general letter dated the 25th of March 1749 2: Duplicate Governor and Council general letter dated the 28th of February 1748 3: Duplicate consultation of the 27th of February 1749 4: Consultations from the 6th to the 20th of March 1749 5: Duplicate list of the packet by the Benjamin 6: List of officers and servants taken the 25th of March 1749 7: List of marines and others from the 24th of February to the 25th of March 1749 8: Second receipt for the packet by the Essex 9: First receipt for the packet by the Benjamin 10: Duplicate Benjamin account 11: Lapwing account 12: Duplicate cash account from the 24th to the 28th of February 1748 13: Cash account from the 1st of March to the 25th of the same 1749 14: List of ships' arrival and departure from the 31st of December to the 25th of March 1749 The Council addressed the Court, opening a fresh general letter. 1: The Court's ship the *Lapwing*, that was despatched and [...].

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22	18	under Sail on the 25th instant, having broke her Bowsprit & Sprung her foretopmast, by unfortunately running on Board a Dane Ship, She was obliged to come to an Anchor again, The Damage she received being repaired Capt Cheyne intends to proceed this Evening 2 Messrs Holmsted & Reichard Dane Supracargoes applied to Us for £400 we have advanced them that Sum out of your Honours Cash, and taken Bills of Exchange on Mr John Collet Merchant in London for £430 agreeable to your Directions P Ship Godolphin 3 Their first Bill dated the 27th Instant payable to your Honours for Order, twenty days after Sight with a Letter of advice goe Enclosed We are St Helena Honble Sirs 28th March 1749 Your Most Obedt & most hum Sert (Signed) Charles Hutchinson David Hunter John Clark List of the Honble Companys Packet from St Helena P Ship Lapwing with the foregoing Letter dated y 28th March 1749 Viz No 1 Govr & Councils General Letter dated the 28th March 1749 2 Consultation of the 27th March 1749 3 Ship Lapwing Account dated the 28th March 1749 4 Cash Acct from the 25 to the 28th March 1749 5 First Bill of Exchange drawn on Mr John Collet	Got under sail on the 25th, having broken her bowsprit and sprung her fore topmast by unfortunately running aboard a Danish ship. She was obliged to come to anchor again. The damage she received being repaired, Captain Cheyne intended to proceed that evening. 2: Messrs Holmsted and Reichard, Danish supercargoes, applied to the Council for £100 0s 0d. The Council advanced them that sum out of the Court's cash and took bills of exchange on Mr John Collet, merchant in London, for £130 0s 0d, agreeable to the Court's directions by the *Godolphin*. 3: Their first bill, dated the 27th, was payable to the Court or order twenty days after sight, with a letter of advice enclosed. The letter closed at St Helena on 28 March 1749, signed by Charles Hutchinson, David Hunter and John Clark. The list of the Company's packet sent from St Helena by the *Lapwing*, with the letter of 28 March 1749, ran as follows: 1: Governor and Council general letter dated the 28th of March 1749 2: Consultation of the 27th of March 1749 3: Lapwing account dated the 28th of March 1749 4: Cash account from the 25th to the 28th of March 1749 5: First bill of exchange drawn on Mr John Collet **Interpretations** The advance of £100 0s 0d to the Danish supercargoes against bills for £130 0s 0d drawn on a London merchant turned a foreign want into a claim on the Company's own account, the island lending ready cash to Danish officers and taking their paper to be honoured in London at a premium fixed under the Court's directions. Supercargoes were the officers charged with a ship's trading business and the disposal of her cargo, holding the funds of the voyage, so that their appeal for cash at the island was a matter of the voyage's finance rather than any personal need, the difference between the sum lent and the sum drawn covering the Company's charge and risk in the exchange. The *Lapwing*'s damage turned on the hazard of a crowded road, her collision with a Danish ship breaking her bowsprit and springing her fore topmast and forcing her back to anchor, the short delay for repair set against her intended departure that same evening. The mishap and its quick mending were entered as the plain reason her sailing was put off, the ship held only as long as the work required before she took her despatches home.
23	19	To the Honble &ca Honble Sirs 1 We Wrote to you by your Ship the Lapwing Capt Francis Cheyne, which Sailed from hence on the 28th day of March last 2 We then acquainted your Honours that on the 22nd of that Month, arrived here the Syen & Christiansburg Slot two Dane Ships from China, by which Opportunity this goes, they left Canton on the 26th December NS and your Honours Ships Princess of Wales Hardwicke Scarborough, Duke of Dorset and Wager there which were to Sail in a few Days after them 3 We advanced Messrs Holmstead & Reichard, two Dane Supracargoes one hundred Pounds out of your Cash, and have taken Bills of Exchange dated the 27th March 1749 payable to your Honours for Order, twenty days after Sight, at the advance you were pleased to	The Council addressed the Court, opening a fresh general letter. 1: The Council's previous letter had gone by the Court's ship the *Lapwing* under Captain Francis Cheyne, which sailed on 28 March. 2: The Council had by that occasion reported that on the 22nd of that month the *Aeren* and the *Christiansburg* sloop, two Danish ships from China, arrived at the island, by which conveyance this letter went. They left Canton on 26 December, and the Court's ships *Princess of Wales*, *Hardwicke*, *Scarborough*, *Duke of Dorset* and *Wager* were there, which were to sail a few days after them. 3: The Council advanced Messrs Holmsted and Reichard, the two Danish supercargoes, £100 0s 0d out of the Court's cash and took bills of exchange dated 27 March 1749, payable to the Court or order twenty days after sight, at the advance the Court had directed. Their first bill went home by the Court's ship the *Lapwing*. The letter closed at St Helena on 7 April 1749, signed by Charles Hutchinson, David Hunter and John Clark.

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		Direct, their first Bill went to your Honours by your Ship Lapwing We are St Helena Honble Sirs 7 April 1749 Your most Obedt & most hum Sert Signed Charles Hutchinson David Hunter John Clark	**Interpretations** The letter repeated by the Danish ships the substance already sent by the *Lapwing*, the shipping intelligence from Canton and the advance to the Danish supercargoes carried a second time by a different hull, so that the loss of one vessel would not deprive the Court of its advices. The advance to the supercargoes was entered again with its terms, the sum lent, the premium fixed by the Court and the date and tenor of the bills, the second bill of the set following the first by a separate ship as the settled guard against the failure of either to arrive.
24	20	and Six Hundred and twenty Pounds of Paddy at Seven Shillings & four pence P hundred, for the use of your Honours Slaves & Stock in Order to give your Plantations a further Growth, as their is yet but few Yams of a proper Age to Digg 5 Capt Philip DAuvergne applied to Us for liberty to pay £125 into your Cash here, We have received it & given him Bills drawn on Your Honours, dated the 7 Instant Payable to himself for Order, Ninety days after Sight We are St Helena Honble Sirs 8th April 1749 Your most Obedt & most hum Servants (Signed) Charles Hutchinson David Hunter John Clark List of the Honble Companys Packet from St Helena P Ship Hardwicke with the foregoing Letter dated the 8th April 1749 Viz No 1 Govr & Councils General Letter dated the 8th April 1749 2 Duplicate Govr & Councils General Letter dated the 25 Mar 1749 3 Duplicate Do dated the 28 Do 1749 4 Duplicate Do dated the 7th April 1749 5 Duplicate Consultations from y 6 to y 27th March 1749 6 Consultations from the 3rd to the 7th April 1749 7 Duplicate List of the Packet P Ship Lapwing dated the 25 March 1749	And six hundred and twenty pounds of paddy at seven shillings and four pence per hundred, for the use of the Court's slaves and stock, in order to give the plantations a further growth, as there were yet but few yams of a proper age to dig. 5: Captain Philip D'Auvergne applied to the Council for leave to pay £125 0s 0d into the Court's cash at the island. The Council received it and gave him bills drawn on the Court dated the 7th, payable to himself or order ninety days after sight. The letter closed at St Helena on 8 April 1749, signed by Charles Hutchinson, David Hunter and John Clark. The list of the Company's packet sent from St Helena by the *Hardwicke*, with the letter of 8 April 1749, ran as follows: 1: Governor and Council general letter dated the 8th of April 1749 2: Duplicate Governor and Council general letter dated the 25th of March 1749 3: Duplicate of the same dated the 28th of March 1749 4: Duplicate of the same dated the 7th of April 1749 5: Duplicate consultations from the 6th to the 27th of March 1749 6: Consultations from the 3rd to the 7th of April 1749 7: Duplicate list of the packet by the Lapwing dated the 25th of March 1749 8: Duplicate [...] **Interpretations** Paddy was rice still in the husk, unmilled and cheaper than the cleaned grain, bought here at seven shillings and four pence the hundred to feed the Court's slaves and stock while the young yams were spared, the same purpose that governed the buying of rice from the calling ships. The Council held back the plantations' yams until they reached a proper age to dig, carrying the slaves and cattle on imported grain in the meantime, so that the growing crop might gain the further growth the Council sought rather than be dug too soon. The bills taken of Captain D'Auvergne followed the settled course of turning cash paid in at the island into a claim on the Court payable ninety days after sight, the money received against the island's need of ready cash. The purchase of rice and paddy and the taking in of a commander's money were the two standing devices by which the island managed its provisions and its finance, the one eking out the food of the slaves against the failure of the crop, the other supplying the cash the Council might want before the store ship came.
25	21	and Six Hundred and twenty Pounds of Paddy at Seven Shillings & four pence P hundred, for the use of your Honours Slaves & Stock in Order to give your Plantations a further Growth, as their is yet but few Yams of a proper Age to Digg 5 Capt Philip DAuvergne applied to Us for liberty	And six hundred and twenty pounds of paddy at seven shillings and four pence per hundred, for the use of the Court's slaves and stock, in order to give the plantations a further growth, as there were yet but few yams of a proper age to dig. 5: Captain Philip D'Auvergne applied to the Council for leave to pay £125 0s 0d into the Court's cash at the island. The Council received it and gave him bills

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		to pay £125 into your Cash here, We have received it & given him Bills drawn on Your Honours, dated the 7th Instant Payable to himself for Order, Ninety days after Sight We are St Helena Honble Sirs 8th April 1749 Your most Obedt & most hum Servants (Signed) Charles Hutchinson David Hunter John Clark List of the Honble Companys Packet from St Helena P Ship Hardwicke with the foregoing Letter dated the 8th April 1749 Viz No 1 Govr & Councils General Letter dated the 8th April 1749 2 Duplicate Govr & Councils General Letter dated the 25 Mar 1749 3 Duplicate Do dated the 28 Do 1749 4 Duplicate Do dated the 7th April 1749 5 Duplicate Consultations from y 6 to y 27th March 1749 6 Consultations from the 3rd to the 7th April 1749 7 Duplicate List of the Packet P Ship Lapwing dated the 25 March 1749	drawn on the Court dated the 7th, payable to himself or order ninety days after sight. The letter closed at St Helena on 8 April 1749, signed by Charles Hutchinson, David Hunter and John Clark. The list of the Company's packet sent from St Helena by the *Hardwicke*, with the letter of 8 April 1749, ran as follows: 1: Governor and Council general letter dated the 8th of April 1749 2: Duplicate Governor and Council general letter dated the 25th of March 1749 3: Duplicate of the same dated the 28th of March 1749 4: Duplicate of the same dated the 7th of April 1749 5: Duplicate consultations from the 6th to the 27th of March 1749 6: Consultations from the 3rd to the 7th of April 1749 7: Duplicate list of the packet by the Lapwing dated the 25th of March 1749 8: Duplicate [...]
26	22	8 Duplicate List of the Packet P Ship Lapwing dated the 25 March 1749 9 List of Officers & Servants taken the 8th April 1749 10 Duplicate List of Marriages &ca from the 24 Febry to the 25 March 1749 11 Second Receipt for the Packet P Ship Benjamin 12 First Receipt for the first Packet P Ship Lapwing 13 First Receipt for the Second Packet P Ship Lapwing 14 First Receipt for the Packet P the Syen a Dane Ship 15 Duplicate Ship Lapwings Account dated the 25 Mar 1749 16 Duplicate Ships Lapwings Account dated the 28 Mar 1749 17 Duplicate List of Ships Arrival & Departure from the 31 Decr to the 25 March 1749 18 Duplicate Cash Acct from the 1 to the 25 Mar 1749 19 Duplicate Cash Acct from the 25 to the 28 Mar 1749 20 Second Bill of Exchange Drawn on Mr John Collet 21 Ship Hardwickes Account 22 Ship Scarboroughs Account To the Honble &ca Honble Sirs 1 We wrote last to you by your Honours Ship Hardwicke Capt John Samson which Sailed from hence on the 9 Instant in Company with your Ship Scarborough Capt Philip DAuvergne	The remaining items of the packet list ran on as follows: 8: Duplicate list of the packet by the Lapwing dated the 25th of March 1749 9: List of officers and servants taken the 8th of April 1749 10: Duplicate list of marriages and others from the 24th of February to the 25th of March 1749 11: Second receipt for the packet by the Benjamin 12: First receipt for the first packet by the Lapwing 13: First receipt for the second packet by the Lapwing 14: First receipt for the packet by the Aeren, a Danish ship 15: Duplicate Lapwing account dated the 25th of March 1749 16: Duplicate Lapwing account dated the 28th of March 1749 17: Duplicate list of ships' arrival and departure from the 31st of December to the 25th of March 1749 18: Duplicate cash account from the 1st to the 25th of March 1749 19: Duplicate cash account from the 25th to the 28th of March 1749 20: Second bill of exchange drawn on Mr John Collet 21: Hardwicke account 22: Scarborough account The Council addressed the Court, opening a fresh general letter. 1: The Council's previous letter had gone by the Court's ship the *Hardwicke* under Captain John Samson, which sailed on the 9th in company with the Court's ship the *Scarborough* under Captain Philip D'Auvergne.
27	23	2 On the 21 & 22nd of this Month arrived your Ships Prince of Wales & Duke of Dorset, from China & we are informed that Capt Joseph Hindman of your Ship Wager, parted Company from the latter, about fifty Leagues to the East Ward of the Cape, where he intended to touch, they met with your Honours Instructions by Capt Fowler at Princess Island, & the Officer he	2: On the 21st and 22nd arrived the Court's ships *Prince of Wales* and *Duke of Dorset* from China. The Council was informed that Captain Joseph Hindman of the Court's ship the *Wager* parted company from the *Duke of Dorset* about fifty leagues to the eastward of the Cape, where he intended to touch. They met with the Court's instructions by Captain Fowler at Princes Island, and the officer he left there reported to them that the Court's ship the *Duke of Newcastle* was gone for Batavia.

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		left there, acquainted them, that your Ship Duke of Newcastle was gone for Batavia 3 On the 23 Instant came in the Hope a Swed Ship from China, Capt Frederick Peterson, Burthen about 520 Tons, twenty Eight Guns and one hundred & Twenty Men, Loaded with Tea China Ware and Silks, bound to Gottenburg, by which Opportunity this goes to your Honours 4 Mr Skong the Chief Supracargoe of the Sweed Ship informed Us that the Men Capt Fowler left at Princess Island, where all in a very bad State of Health, when he left that Place, on the 18th day of February last, that one of them who was the Carpenters Mate was so ill that the Officer Petitioned them to take him on Board their Ship, but Notwithstanding their Endeavours to Recover him, he died in Six Days after they got to Sea, his Effects they have lodged here 5 Your Ships Prince of Wales and Duke of Dorset, Arrived in good Condition the Captains inform Us that they will be ready to Proceed on	3: On the 23rd came in the *Hope*, a Swedish ship from China under Captain Frederick Petersson, of about 520 tons burthen, twenty-eight guns and 120 men, laden with tea, chinaware and silks and bound for Gothenburg, by which conveyance this letter went home. 4: Mr Skong, the chief supercargo of the Swedish ship, reported that the men Captain Fowler left at Princes Island were all in a very bad state of health when he left that place on 18 February. One of them, the carpenter's mate, was so ill that the officer petitioned him to take him aboard their ship, but notwithstanding their efforts to recover him, he died six days after they got to sea. His effects were lodged at the island. 5: The Court's ships *Prince of Wales* and *Duke of Dorset* arrived in good condition. The captains reported that they would be ready to proceed on [...]. **Interpretations** Gothenburg was the home port of the Swedish East India Company, the *Hope* laden there with the staples of the China trade, tea, chinaware and silks, for the return to Sweden, one of the foreign East India ships that called at St Helena and served the Council as a carrier of its letters and a source of shipping news. The men Captain Fowler left sick at Princes Island stood as a mark of the mortality of the eastern voyages, the carpenter's mate taken aboard the Swedish ship at his officer's plea only to die at sea, his effects lodged at the island to be accounted to the Court. The whole passage gathered intelligence of the Court's own ships from the vessels that had lately seen them, the tracks of the *Wager*, the *Duke of Newcastle* and Captain Fowler's party at Princes Island reported by the arriving ships and the Swedish supercargo. The island served as the point where such scattered news of the homeward fleet was collected and passed on, the Council forwarding to the Court the movements of ships it could learn of only through the chance meetings of one hull with another on the long passage home.
28	24	Sunday next the 30th Instant We are St Helena Honble Sirs 26th April 1749 Your most Obedt & most hum Sert (Signed) Charles Hutchinson David Hunter John Clark To the Honble &ca Honble Sirs 1 We wrote to You last by a Sweed Ship called the Hope, which Sailed from hence on the 27th Instant, a Duplicate of that Letter we herewith transmit to your Honours 2 We have bought of Capt John Pelly Twenty Eight Hundred, two Quarters and Thirteen Pounds Rice, and of Capt Thomas Frognall twelve Hundred three Quarters and Eighteen Pounds Rice at ten Shillings and Eight pence P Hundred for the Use of your Honours Slaves	Sunday next, the 30th. The letter closed at St Helena on 26 April 1749, signed by Charles Hutchinson, David Hunter and John Clark. The Council addressed the Court, opening a fresh general letter. 1: The Council's previous letter had gone by a Swedish ship called the *Hope*, which sailed on the 29th. A duplicate of that letter now went home. 2: The Council had bought of Captain John Pelly twenty-eight hundredweight two quarters and thirteen pounds of rice, and of Captain Thomas Frognall twelve hundredweight three quarters and eighteen pounds of rice at ten shillings and eight pence per hundredweight, for the use of the Court's slaves. **Interpretations** The purchase of rice from Captain Pelly and Captain Frognall at ten shillings and eight pence the hundredweight continued the island's standing course of buying grain from the calling ships to feed the Court's slaves, the same rate and the same purpose recorded in the letters of the preceding weeks. The Council drew its provisions from whatever hull came in with grain to spare, the supply of the island's bound labour resting on the traffic of the road rather than on the produce of the plantations, which still fell short.
29	25	3 Mr Matthew Purling applyed to Us for liberty to pay Seventy Eight Pounds one Shilling and Six pence into your Cash here, We have received it of him and given Bills drawn on Your Honours, dated the 26 Instant, payable to himself for Order, Ninety days	3: Mr Matthew Purling applied to the Council for leave to pay £78 1s 6d into the Court's cash at the island. The Council received it of him and gave him bills drawn on the Court dated the 26th, payable to himself or order ninety days after sight.

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		after Sight 4 On the 28th Instant arrived a Sweed Ship from China, called the Freden, Capt Jochman, Burthen about five Hundred & Twenty Tons, One Hundred and twelve Men and twenty two Guns Loaded with Tea China Ware and Silks, bound to Gottenburg and informed Us that they met with your Honours Ship Delawar Captain William Stevens in the Latitude of 6 1/2 Degrees, going to Batavia We are St Helena Honble Sirs 30th April 1749 Your most Obedt & most hum Sert (Signed) Charles Hutchinson David Hunter John Clark List	4: On the 28th arrived a Swedish ship from China called the *Freden* under Captain Sechman, of about 520 tons burthen, 112 men and twenty-two guns, laden with tea, chinaware and silks and bound for Gothenburg. She reported that she met with the Court's ship the *Delaware* under Captain William Stevens in the latitude of 6½ degrees, going to Batavia. The letter closed at St Helena on 30 April 1749, signed by Charles Hutchinson, David Hunter and John Clark. **Interpretations** The *Freden*, like the *Hope* before her, was a Swedish East India ship carrying the staples of the China trade home to Gothenburg, her report of meeting the Court's *Delaware* bound for Batavia serving the island as fresh intelligence of a Company ship's position. The Council forwarded such news of its own scattered shipping as it gathered it from the foreign vessels that called, the track of the *Delaware* known only through her chance meeting with the Swede on the passage. The bills taken of Matthew Purling followed the settled course of turning cash paid in at the island into a claim on the Court payable ninety days after sight. Purling, once a member of the Council and storekeeper, appeared here in the ordinary way of a man paying money into the Court's cash for bills home, the device serving whoever had funds to remit against the island's need of ready money before the store ship came.
30	26	List of the Honourable Companys Packet from St Helena P Ship Prince of Wales with the foregoing Letter dated the 30th April 1749 Vizt No 1 Governour & Councils General Letter dated the 30th April 1749 2 Duplicate Governour and Councils General Letter dated the 8th April 1749 3 Duplicate Do dated the 26th April 1749 4 Duplicate Consultations from the 3 to the 7th Apr 1749 5 Consultations from the 10th to the 26th April 1749 6 Duplicate List of the Packet P Ship Hardwicke 7 List of Officers & Servants taken the 30th Apr 1749 8 Second Receipt for the Packet P Ship Lapwing 9 Second Receipt for the Second Packet P Ship Lapwing 10 First Receipt for the Packet P Ship Hardwicke 11 Second Receipt for the Packet P the Syen a Dane Ship 12 First Receipt for the Packet P the Hope a Sweed Ship 13 Duplicate Ship Hardwicks Account 14 Duplicate Ship Scarboroughs Account 15 Ship Prince of Wales Account 16 Ship Duke of Dorset Account 17 Cash Account from the 28th to the 31 March 18 Cash Account for the Month of April To	The list of the Company's packet sent from St Helena by the *Prince of Wales*, with the letter of 30 April 1749, ran as follows: 1: Governor and Council general letter dated the 30th of April 1749 2: Duplicate Governor and Council general letter dated the 8th of April 1749 3: Duplicate of the same dated the 26th of April 1749 4: Duplicate consultations from the 3rd to the 7th of April 1749 5: Consultations from the 10th to the 26th of April 1749 6: Duplicate list of the packet by the Hardwicke 7: List of officers and servants taken the 30th of April 1749 8: Second receipt for the packet by the Lapwing 9: Second receipt for the second packet by the Lapwing 10: First receipt for the packet by the Hardwicke 11: Second receipt for the packet by the Aeren, a Danish ship 12: First receipt for the packet by the Hope, a Swedish ship 13: Duplicate Hardwicke account 14: Duplicate Scarborough account 15: Prince of Wales account 16: Duke of Dorset account 17: Cash account from the 28th to the 31st of March 18: Cash account for the month of April
31	27	To the Honble &ca Honble Sirs 1 We wrote to you last by your Ship the Prince of Wales Capt John Pelly, which Sailed from hence on the 30th of April, in Company with the Duke of Dorset Capt Thomas Frognall 2 On the 7th instant arrived your Honours Ship the Orford, Capt Philip Jodrell from Bombay & on the 11th Your Ship the Wager Capt Josiah Hindman from China	The Council addressed the Court, opening a fresh general letter. 1: The Council's previous letter had gone by the Court's ship the *Prince of Wales* under Captain John Pelly, which sailed on 30 April in company with the *Duke of Dorset* under Captain Thomas Frognall. 2: On the 7th arrived the Court's ship the *Orford* under Captain Philip Jodrell from Bombay, and on the 11th the Court's ship the *Wager* under Captain Josiah Hindman from China but last from the Cape. Captain Hindman reported that he left Admiral Griffin there with five of His Majesty's ships under his command, who intended to touch at the island.

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		but last from the Cape, where he left Admiral Griffin with five of his Majestys Ships under his Command who intends to touch here Capt Hindman informs Us 3 We have bought of Capt Hindman four Thousand pounds of Rice for the Use of your Honours Slaves at 10/8 P 9r 4 Capt Hindman applied to Us for liberty to pay £140 into your Cash here, which Sum we have received & given him Bills drawn on your Honours dated the 15 instant, payable to himself for Order, Ninety days after Sight 5 Mr Ninian Cunyngham applied to Us for liberty to pay £160 into your Honours Cash here, which Sum we have likewise received & given him Bills drawn on your Honours dated the 15th Instant Payable to himself for Order, Ninety days after Sight 6 Mr Frederick Vincent likewise applyed to us for liberty to pay £106 into your Cash here, which Sum we have also Received, & given him Bills drawn on your Honours dated the 15 instant, Payable to himself for Order Ninety days after Sight	3: The Council had bought of Captain Hindman four thousand pounds of rice for the use of the Court's slaves at ten shillings and eight pence per hundredweight. 4: Captain Hindman applied to the Council for leave to pay £160 0s 0d into the Court's cash at the island. The Council received that sum and gave him bills drawn on the Court dated the 15th, payable to himself or order ninety days after sight. 5: Mr Ninian Cunningham applied to the Council for leave to pay £160 0s 0d into the Court's cash at the island. The Council likewise received that sum and gave him bills drawn on the Court dated the 15th, payable to himself or order ninety days after sight. 6: Mr Frederick Vincent likewise applied to the Council for leave to pay £106 0s 0d into the Court's cash at the island. The Council also received that sum and gave him bills drawn on the Court dated the 15th, payable to himself or order ninety days after sight. **Interpretations** Admiral Griffin's squadron of five of His Majesty's ships marked the reach of the naval war in the East to the island's own road, the fleet gathered at the Cape and intended to touch at St Helena, the Company's station lying on the track of the King's ships as of its own. His presence was reported to the Council by a returning Company captain, the movements of the navy known at the island through the same chance meetings that carried news of the merchant fleet. The run of money paid in by Captain Hindman, Ninian Cunningham and Frederick Vincent, each taking bills on the Court at ninety days after sight, shows the island serving as a place where those with funds in the East could remit them safely home, the Council gathering considerable sums against the paper it drew on London. The device answered the island's need of ready cash and the remitters' need of a secure passage for their money, the two wants met in the same transaction, the volume of it swelling as ships gathered in the road.
32	28	7 We have the pleasure to acquaint your Honours that we have had a very fine Summer Season, and that the Island now flourishes as much as can be Expected We are St Helena Honble Sirs 17th May 1749 Your most Obedt & most humble Servants (Signed) Charles Hutchinson David Hunter John Clark List of the Honble Companys Packet from St Helena P Ship Wager, with the foregoing Letter dated the 17th of May 1749 Viz No 1 Govr & Councils General Letter dated the 17th of May 1749 2 Duplicate Govr & Councils General Letter dated y 30th April 1749 3 Duplicate Consultations from the 10 to the 26th April 1749 4 Consultations from the 1 to the 15 May 1749 5 Duplicate List of the Packet P Ship Prince of Wales 6 List of Officers & Servants taken the 17th May 1749 7 Second Receipt for the Packet P the Hardwicke 8 Second Receipt for the Packet P the Hope a sweed Ship 9 First Receipt for the Packet P the Prince of Wales 10 Duplicate Ship Prince of Wales Account 11 Duplicate Ship Duke of Dorset Account 12 Ship Wagers Account 13 Ship Orford Account 14 Duplicate Cash Acct from the 28 to the 31 March 1749 15 Duplicate Cash Acct for the Month of April 1749	7: The Council had the pleasure to report that the island had a very fine summer season and now flourished as much as could be expected. The letter closed at St Helena on 17 May 1749, signed by Charles Hutchinson, David Hunter and John Clark. The list of the Company's packet sent from St Helena by the *Wager*, with the letter of 17 May 1749, ran as follows: 1: Governor and Council general letter dated the 17th of May 1749 2: Duplicate Governor and Council general letter dated the 30th of April 1749 3: Duplicate consultations from the 10th to the 26th of April 1749 4: Consultations from the 1st to the 15th of May 1749 5: Duplicate list of the packet by the Prince of Wales 6: List of officers and servants taken the 17th of May 1749 7: Second receipt for the packet by the Hardwicke 8: Second receipt for the packet by the Hope, a Swedish ship 9: First receipt for the packet by the Prince of Wales 10: Duplicate Prince of Wales account 11: Duplicate Duke of Dorset account 12: Wager account 13: Orford account 14: Duplicate cash account from the 28th to the 31st of March 1749 15: Duplicate cash account for the month of April 1749 16: Cash account from the 1st to the 17th of May 1749

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		16 Cash Acct from the 1 to the 17th of May 1749 To	
33	29	To the Honble &ca Honble Sirs 1 We wrote to you last by your Honours Ship the Wager, Capt Josiah Hindman, that Sailed from hence, on the 17th day of last Month 2 On the 20th day of that Month arrived her Majestys Ships the Princess Mary, Pearl, Winchester, Medways Prize & were under the Command of Rear Admiral Griffin who have been Supplyed with what fresh Provisions &ca the Admiral demanded for the use of their Sick people which were lodged on Shore in Tents 3 On the 23 of May arrived a Dutch Ship from Bengall called the Blomershertz Capt Simon Delppost Burthen 500 Tons 36 Guns & 98 Men Loaded with 2700 Bags Saltpetre 500 Bags Cowries 60000 Japan Wood 200000 pepper & 1334 Bales of fine Goods, she left Bengall the 8th Feby and is bound to Amsterdam 4 On the 27th of last Month Arrived your Ship the East Court Capt Wm Earl Benson from Bengall by which Occasion this goes to Your Honours, & on the 4 Instant Arrived your Ship the Free Briton Capt Henry Broadley from Anjengo, and informs Us that he Sailed from Tellichery the 3 of March & from Anjengo the 9th in Company with the Stretham Captain Pinnell, & parted with him in a Gale of Wind off the Cape he likewise acquainted Us, that the Colchester Capt Ward Sailed from Anjengo about the 10 Feby last & the Porto Bello Capt Fisher was to Sail from Fort St David about the 12 Febry the Winchelsea Capt Barron was Expected every day at Fort St David, & was to be Despatched from thence if she Arrived in Time 5 Mr William Robinson Applied to Us for liberty to pay	The Council addressed the Court, opening a fresh general letter. 1: The Council's previous letter had gone by the Court's ship the *Wager* under Captain Josiah Hindman, which sailed on the 17th of last month. 2: On the 20th of that month arrived His Majesty's ships *Princess Mary*, *Pearl*, *Winchester*, *Medway's Prize* and *Lively* under the command of Rear Admiral Griffin, which were supplied with the fresh provisions the admiral demanded for the use of their sick people, who were lodged ashore in tents. 3: On the 23rd of May arrived a Dutch ship from Bengal called the *Gouverneur Schertz* under Captain Simon Delpppt, of 500 tons burthen, thirty-six guns and 98 men, laden with 2,700 bags of saltpetre, 500 bags of cowries, 60,000 units of Japan wood, 200,000 pounds of pepper and 1,334 bales of fine goods. She left Bengal on 3 February and was bound for Amsterdam. 4: On the 27th of last month arrived the Court's ship the *East Court* under Captain William Earl Benson from Bengal, by which conveyance this letter went. On the 4th arrived the Court's ship the *Free Briton* under Captain Henry Broadley from Anjengo, who reported that he sailed from Silletory on 3 March and from Anjengo on the 9th in company with the *Stretham* under Captain Pinnell, and parted with her in a gale of wind off the Cape. He likewise reported that the *Colchester* under Captain Wood sailed from Anjengo about 10 February, that the *Porto Bello* under Captain Fisher was to sail from Fort St David about 12 February, and that the *Winchelsea* under Captain Barron was expected every day at Fort St David and was to be despatched from there if she arrived in time. 5: Mr William Robinson applied to the Council for leave to [...]. **Interpretations** Saltpetre was potassium nitrate, the essential ingredient of gunpowder and a staple of the Bengal trade, the 2,700 bags in the Dutch ship's hold a cargo of the first military importance, carried home with cowries, pepper, Japan wood and fine goods, the mixed lading of the East India traffic. Cowries were the small shells used as currency in the West African trade, shipped from Bengal to be carried on to the Guinea coast, while Japan wood was a red dyewood, the whole cargo a sample of the goods that passed westward through the eastern trade. The gathering of Admiral Griffin's squadron at the island, its sick landed in tents and supplied with fresh provisions at the admiral's demand, marked the direct weight of the naval war on the station's stores. The Council was bound to furnish the King's ships as they came, their sick men set ashore to recover, the island's provisions drawn upon for the fleet as readily as for the Company's own people, a further call on a supply the drought had already strained. The whole passage served again as a clearing house for shipping intelligence, the *Free Briton*'s report carrying the movements of the *Stretham*, the *Colchester*, the *Porto Bello* and the *Winchelsea* to the Council, which forwarded them home. The tracks of ships scattered between Anjengo, Fort St David and the Cape were known at the island only through the reports of the hulls that had lately seen them, the Council assembling from each arrival a picture of the homeward fleet's progress for the Court.
34	30	pay £350 into Your Cash here, We have received it and given him Bills of Exchange drawn on your Honours dated the 5th Instant, Payable to himself for Order, Ninety	Pay £350 0s 0d into the Court's cash at the island. The Council received it and gave him bills of exchange drawn on the Court dated the 5th, payable to himself or order ninety days after sight.

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		Days after Sight We are St Helena Honble Sirs 6th June 1749 Your most Obedt & most hum Sert (Signed) Charles Hutchinson David Hunter John Clark List of the Honble Companys Packet from St Helena P Ship Eastcourt with the foregoing Letter, dated the 6th June 1749 Viz No 1 Govr & Councils General Letter dated the 6th June 1749 2 Duplicate Govr & Councils General Letter dated the 17th May 1749 3 Duplicate Consultations from the 1 to the 15th May 1749 4 Consultations from the 22 May to the 5 of June 1749 5 Duplicate List of the Packet P Ship Wager 6 List of Officers & Servants taken the 6th June 1749 7 Second Receipt for the Packet P Ship Prince of Wales 8 First Receipt for the Packet P Ship Wager 9 Duplicate Ship Wager Account 10 Duplicate Ship Orfords Account 11 Duplicate Cash Acct from the 1 to the 17th May 1749 12 Ship Eastcourts Account 13 Cash Acct from the 17 to the 31 May 1749 14 Cash Acct from the 1 to the 6th June 1749 15 List of Mar Yca from the 25 March to the 6 June 1749 To	The letter closed at St Helena on 6 June 1749, signed by Charles Hutchinson, David Hunter and John Clark. The list of the Company's packet sent from St Helena by the *East Court*, with the letter of 6 June 1749, ran as follows: 1: Governor and Council general letter dated the 6th of June 1749 2: Duplicate Governor and Council general letter dated the 17th of May 1749 3: Duplicate consultations from the 1st to the 15th of May 1749 4: Consultations from the 22nd of May to the 5th of June 1749 5: Duplicate list of the packet by the Wager 6: List of officers and servants taken the 6th of June 1749 7: Second receipt for the packet by the Prince of Wales 8: First receipt for the packet by the Wager 9: Duplicate Wager account 10: Duplicate Orford account 11: Duplicate cash account from the 1st to the 17th of May 1749 12: East Court account 13: Cash account from the 17th to the 31st of May 1749 14: Cash account from the 1st to the 6th of June 1749 15: List of marines and others from the 25th of March to the 6th of June 1749
35	31	To the Honble &ca Honble Sirs 1 Our last Advices to You were by your Ship the Eastcourt Capt Wm Earl Benson, that Sailed from hence on the 6th Instant in Company with five of his Majestys Ships under the Command of Rear Admiral Griffen, We are pleased to find that Your Honours have received Our Letter to the 20 Sepr last 2 By the List of Ships Your Honours sent Us We are glad to Hear they have Arrived in Safety to the 21 of December last 3 It gives Us great Pleasure to hear that a General Peace is happily Concluded, the Kings Royal Proclamation We caused to be Published here 4 As Your Honours inform Us that the Extraordinary Powers Invested in a Secret Committee are thereby ceased We shall observe your Directions, and address ourselves always to the Honble Court of Directors 5 Your Honours Commands have been & shall be punctually Obeyed in giving immediate Orders to the Capts of your returning Ships upon their Arrival here 6 We thank your Honours for the Supply of Stores you have been pleased to send Us by the Marlborough Capt Wm Parks, all due care shall be taken of them 7 We observe by the Charterparty that the Ship	The Council addressed the Court, opening a fresh general letter. 1: The Council's previous advices had gone by the Court's ship the *East Court* under Captain William Earl Benson, which sailed on the 6th in company with five of His Majesty's ships under the command of Rear Admiral Griffin. The Council was pleased to find that the Court had received its letters to 20 September. 2: From the list of ships the Court had sent, the Council was glad to learn they had arrived safely by 21 December. 3: It gave the Council great pleasure to hear that a general peace was happily concluded. It had the King's royal proclamation published at the island. 4: The Court had informed the Council that the extraordinary powers vested in a Secret Committee were thereby ceased. The Council would observe the Court's directions and address itself always to the Court of Directors. 5: The Court's commands had been and would be punctually obeyed in giving immediate orders to the captains of its returning ships upon their arrival at the island. 6: The Council thanked the Court for the supply of stores it had sent by the *Marlborough* under Captain William Parks, and would take due care of them. 7: The Council observed from the charter party that the *Marlborough* must be unloaded in ten working days, to save the Company the charge of demurrage. **Interpretations** Demurrage was the penalty a charterer paid for keeping a hired ship beyond the time allowed for loading or unloading, the ten working days set by the charter party the term within which the island had to clear the *Marlborough* to spare the Company the added cost. The Council's note of the limit shows the discipline of the charter binding the station as much as the ship, the pace of unloading governed by a commercial clock that ran against the Company's own purse.

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		Marlborough must be reloaded in Ten Working days, to save the Honble Company the charge of Demorage	The dissolution of the Secret Committee's extraordinary powers marked the formal return from war to peace, the confidential war body that had issued binding orders now stood down, the Council directed to address itself again to the ordinary Court of Directors. The general peace and the publishing of the King's proclamation, following the earlier proclamation of the cessation of arms, brought the settlement of Aix-la-Chapelle to its completion at the island, the war channel closed and the ordinary correspondence resumed.
36	32	We shall therefore be very deligent, & get every thing ready in that time, & give the Commander Orders in Writing as your Honours have been pleased to Direct, enclosing in our Packet to Fort Marlborough the said Ships Charterparty 8 We have according to your Honours permission taken one Chest of Treasure out of the Ship Marlborough & shall duely advise the Govr & Council of Fort Marlborough of it 9 The Plantation House is in so bad Condition that we think it not worth repairing, We therefore hope your Honours will be pleased to send Us a plan for a new one, with the Materials for Building next Season as mentioned in the Indent 10 The Recruits We took out of the Godolphin just Compleated our Several Companys at that time, we did not detain any of those P the Duke of Newcastle, and as we are now in want of Thirty two Men including those that [...] are to be discharged for the Service of the Ship Colchester whose contracted time will Expire the 22 of Sepr next, & there being several more whose time will be out then, that have declared they will not Relist, we apprehend we shall at least want 50 Men to Compleat the Companys by Christmass next, which we shall Endeavour to Supply ourselves with out of his Majestys returning Ships if any should touch here, Offering them the Bounty Money your Honours have Ordered, but it is much to be questioned whether we succeed in this or not 11 We Assure Your Honours that We will not advance any Persons to Stations, that we dont think them Qualified for, & we are pleased that our appointing Mr John French to a Second Lieutenancy met with	The Council would therefore be very diligent and get everything ready in that time, and would give the commander orders in writing as the Court had directed, enclosing the ship's charter party in its packet to Fort Marlborough. 8: The Council had, by the Court's permission, taken one chest of treasure out of the *Marlborough* and would duly advise the Governor and Council of Fort Marlborough of it. 9: The Plantation House was in so bad a condition that the Council thought it not worth repairing. It therefore hoped the Court would send a plan for a new one, with the materials for building next season, as mentioned in the indent. 10: The recruits the Council took out of the *Godolphin* just completed its several companies at that time, and it did not draw any of those from the *Duke of Newcastle*. Since the Council was now in want of thirty-two men, including those to be discharged for the service of the *Colchester*, whose contracted time would expire on 22 September, and there being several more whose time would be out then who had declared they would not re-enlist, it apprehended it would want at least thirty men to complete the companies by Christmas. It would try to supply that number from His Majesty's returning ships if any touched at the island, offering them the bounty money the Court had ordered, but it was much to be questioned whether it would succeed in this or not. 11: The Council assured the Court that it would not advance any persons to stations it did not think them qualified for, and it was pleased that its appointing Mr John French to a second lieutenancy met with [...]. **Interpretations** A chest of treasure was a case of coin or bullion carried in the Company's ships to fund its trade in the East, the money for buying cargoes at the settlements, the Council drawing one chest from the *Marlborough* under the Court's permission and bound to notify Fort Marlborough at Bencoolen, whose voyage the treasure served. The careful advice to the other settlement shows the movement of the Company's specie tracked between its stations, a chest taken at one point accounted to those who would have looked for it at another. The difficulty of completing the garrison's companies turned on the constant loss of men whose contracted time expired and who would not serve again, the island unable to recruit at so remote a station and forced to look to the King's returning ships for volunteers. Bounty money, a cash inducement to enlist, was the only lure the Council could offer, and even that it doubted would answer, the manning of the garrison resting on the chance that a homeward naval ship might touch and spare a few men willing to take the bounty. Speculations The Council chose to draw the recruits it needed from the *Godolphin* alone and deliberately left the men of the *Duke of Newcastle* untouched, though that ship offered a further source of hands at a time when the garrison was already short. The reason lies on the page in the plain statement that the *Godolphin*'s recruits just completed the companies at that time, so that no draft

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			on the *Duke of Newcastle* was then required, the Council taking only what the moment demanded and sparing the second ship rather than gathering men against the shortfall it could already foresee by Christmas. The restraint measured a settled practice of drawing on the shipping no more than the immediate need required, even where a larger draft would have eased the want the Council knew was coming.
37	33	Your Approbation but there are now two Vacancies of that sort One by the Death of the said Mr John French, & the other by Mr John Dunbars quiting Your service, we hope your Honours will be pleased to fill them, the Duty being now hard as the Officers are not Compleat 12 We think there is a Real Necessity for an Assistant to the Secretary as the Business of that Office is more than one Person can possibly do Mr Matthew Bazett has therefore Executed the Covenants Your Honours were pleased to send him, which goes herewith enclosed, together with his Bond of £500 for the Performance of them, he begs leave to return his Humble thanks to your Honours for Confirming him in your Service 13 Mr Falconer the Surgeon shall be duly paid £40 a year for Dyet Money, instead of the General Table as your Honours have Ordered 14 We will likewise pay him the Sum £3 14 6 according to your Directions being the Amount of his Bill on George Moody Deceased 15 As your Honours do not approve of inflicting death upon any of the Slaves, We will endeavour if possible to Deter them from their Irregularitys by other means, but We must beg leave to observe to your Honours that keeping the Free Black Women upon the Island, does not hereby make Labour Cheaper, nor are they as we think of any real Benefit, but on the Contrary a great Incumbrance 16 The Money we advanced Mr Daman the Chief Mate of the Georges Snow, has been duly wrote off your Books of Accounts here, to Accompt Current London 17 The Sacking & Canvas you were pleased to send Us, are the sorts we wanted, for which we thank your Honours	The Court's approbation, but there were now two vacancies of that sort, one by the death of Mr John French and the other by Mr John Dunbar quitting the Court's service. The Council hoped the Court would fill them, the duty being now hard as the officers were not complete. 12: The Council thought there was a real necessity for an assistant to the secretary, as the business of that office was more than one person could possibly do. Mr Matthew Bazett had therefore executed the covenants the Court sent out, which went home enclosed, together with his bond of £500 0s 0d for their performance. He asked leave to return his humble thanks to the Court for confirming him in its service. 13: Mr Falconer the surgeon would be duly paid £40 0s 0d a year for diet money instead of the general table, as the Court had ordered. 14: The Council would likewise pay him the sum of £3 14s 6d, according to the Court's directions, being the amount of his bill on George Moody, deceased. 15: As the Court did not approve of inflicting death upon any of the slaves, the Council would try, if possible, to deter them from their irregularities by other means. It nonetheless begged leave to observe that keeping the free black women upon the island did not thereby make labour cheaper, nor were they, as the Council thought, of any real benefit, but on the contrary a great encumbrance. 16: The money the Council advanced Mr Daman, the chief mate of the *George* snow, had been duly written off the Court's books at the island to account current in London. 17: The sacking and canvas the Court had sent were the sorts the Council wanted, for which it thanked the Court. **Interpretations** Diet money was a cash allowance paid to an officer in place of his keep at the common table, the £40 0s 0d a year granted to the surgeon Falconer instead of dining at the general table, the Court settling his maintenance in money rather than in kind. The bond of £500 0s 0d given by Matthew Bazett as assistant to the secretary was the surety a servant found to guarantee his fidelity, the sum forfeit on a default, the same reliance on financial security backed by a penalty that governed the filling of the island's trusted posts. The Council's observation on the free black women turned the Court's own instruction back on a point of the island's economy, the direction against inflicting death on the slaves accepted, but the keeping of the free black women pressed as no gain to the settlement. The Council held that their presence neither cheapened labour nor served any real benefit but stood as an encumbrance, a plain calculation of use and cost set against the maintenance of people who were free and so neither owned nor readily turned to the Court's work. Speculations The Court had directed that death was not to be inflicted on any of the slaves, closing off the severest penalty the island had used against them, and the Council bent to the order while making plain the difficulty it left. It undertook to deter the slaves from their irregularities by other means, the harsher course withdrawn from its hand, and in the same breath entered its reservation about the free black women, so

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			that the two matters of the island's black population were answered together. The reason shows on the page in the Council's careful submission to a command it plainly thought made its task harder, the path of open punishment barred by the Court and the Council left to find lesser means while recording, for the Court's notice, where it judged the island's true burden to lie.
38	34	Honours, & shall for the future be very particular in the Description of any kind of Goods that are not commonly Indented for 18 We are sorry that your Honours had any Difficulty in selling the Granthams Account & therefore to hinder any such thing happening again, we have Ordered the Storekeeper to follow your Honours Commands on that Head 19 We did not know that your Honours required the Names of the Soldiers we should at any time Detain out of your outward bound Ships, but for the future we will not omitt sending them, those we took out of the Godolphin, are in a List herewith enclosed 20 For the future the Natives of St Helena shall be Distinguished as such in all our Lists of the Military, as your Honours have Directed 21 We acquainted all your Covenant Servants with your Honours pleasure concerning their getting their friends in England to give Security for them as You have required, Mr Thos French & Mr Frans Wrangham have got their Bonds Executed each, by two substantial Persons here, which goes enclosed, But the Counterpaid of their Covenants, as well as, Mr Joseph Daruall̃s were Executed & remitted to you, by your Ship the St George as your Honours will please to observe in the List of the Packett that went by her 22 We will not for the future employ any Persons in your Service without their entering into Covenants, & giving the usual Security in such Stations where it is required, & those Gentlemen from whom your Honours now expect it, have Executed Bonds accordingly	The Court, and the Council would in future be very particular in the description of any kind of goods that were not commonly indented for. 18: The Council was sorry the Court had any difficulty in selling the *Grantham*'s cargo, and therefore, to hinder any such thing happening again, had ordered the storekeeper to follow the Court's commands on that head. 19: The Council did not know that the Court required the names of the soldiers it should at any time detain out of its outward-bound ships, but in future it would not omit sending them. Those it took out of the *Godolphin* were in a list enclosed. 20: For the future the natives of St Helena would be distinguished as such in all the Council's lists of the military, as the Court had directed. 21: The Council reported with pleasure that its covenant servants had got their friends in England to give security for them, as the Court required. Mr Thomas French and Mr Francis Wrangham had each got their bonds executed by two substantial persons at the island, which went home enclosed. The counterparts of their covenants, as well as Mr Joseph Darwall's, were executed and remitted by the Court's ship the *St George*, as the Court would observe in the list of the packet that went by her. 22: The Council would not in future employ any persons in the Court's service without their entering into covenants and giving the usual security in such stations where it was required, and the gentlemen from whom the Court now expected it had executed bonds accordingly. **Interpretations** Covenants were the formal articles of service a Company servant signed, binding him to the terms of his employment, and the security required with them was a bond backed by substantial sureties who stood to lose on a default. The Council's report that French, Wrangham and Darwall had found sureties at the island for want of bondsmen in England shows the working substitute for a guarantee the Court expected to be given at home, the fidelity of its distant servants underwritten by local men of means where London sureties could not be had. The instruction that the natives of St Helena be distinguished as such in the military lists marked a growing concern of the Court to know the composition of its garrison, the island-born set apart from the men sent out. The direction, small in itself, reflected the Company's care to track the make-up of a force it recruited partly from the island's own people and partly from England, the muster rolls made to show the origin of the men as well as their number.
39	35	which are herewith enclosed, the Govr has wrote to two Gentlemen in England to wait on your Secretary, & give the further security for him of £500 as your Honours have required 23 When any of your Junior Servants come of Age they shall enter into Fresh Covenants, as your Honours have Directed 24 And we have likewise Acquainted all your	Which went home enclosed. The Governor had written to two gentlemen in England to wait on the secretary and give the further security for him of £500 0s 0d, as the Court had required. 23: When any of the Court's junior servants came of age, they would enter into fresh covenants, as the Court had directed. 24: The Council had likewise informed all the Court's servants that, as any of them advanced in station, they must write to their friends in England to give the usual security upon such advancement.

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		Servants that as any of them advance in Station they must write to their friends in England to give the usual Security upon such advancement 25 We have paid Mr Wright £50 out of Your Cash here, for which She Desires her humble thanks to Your Honours 26 There are several things in the List of House Furniture that are quite worn out, We propose to Write them off the Books, & sell them at Publick Auction if your Honours approve of it 27 Enclosed goes to your Honours by this Occasion the List of Remains made up to the 1 day of May last together, with an Indent of Stores, for the Service of the Ensuing Year which we hope will meet with your Approbation 28 Capt Wm Pinnell applyed to Us for £300 for the Use of the Ship Stretham which we have advanced him out of your Cash here & taken Bills of Exchange drawn on John Hallett & owners of the said Ship, Payable to your Honours for Order, the first Bill goes herewith 29 William Down your Gardener having acquainted Us that he intends to leave your Service & proceed to England the next Year, & as we shall then be much Want of a Man properly Qualified in that branch, We beg your Honours will be pleased to send Us one, by the next Store Ship	25: The Council had paid Mrs Wright £50 0s 0d out of the Court's cash at the island, for which she desired to return her humble thanks to the Court. 26: There were several things in the list of house furniture that were quite worn out. The Council proposed to write them off the books and sell them at public auction, if the Court approved. 27: The list of remains, made up to 7 May, went home enclosed by this conveyance, together with an indent of stores for the service of the ensuing year, which the Council hoped would meet with the Court's approval. 28: Captain William Pinnell applied to the Council for £300 0s 0d for the use of the ship *Stretham*, which the Council advanced him out of the Court's cash at the island. It took bills of exchange drawn on John Hallett and the owners of the ship, payable to the Court or order, the first bill going home by this conveyance. 29: William Down, the Court's gardener, reported that he intended to leave the Court's service and proceed to England the next year. As the Council would then be much in want of a man properly qualified in that branch, it asked the Court to send one by the next store ship. **Interpretations** The list of remains was the standing inventory of the stores left on hand at the island, made up to a fixed date and sent home with the yearly indent, so that the Court could see what remained and judge the fresh supply the indent requested. The pairing of the two papers gave London a running account of the island's stock against its wants, the remains showing what was in store and the indent what must be sent, the whole a settled apparatus for supplying a station months distant by sea. The advance to Captain Pinnell for the use of the *Stretham*, taken against bills on the ship's owners and the London drawee John Hallett, turned the island's cash to the service of a Company ship's voyage, the money lent for the ship's needs and recovered through paper drawn on those who stood behind her. The device differed from the ordinary remittance of a private man's funds, the cash here advanced for the ship's own account and charged to her owners, the island acting as banker to the voyage as well as to the men who sailed in it.
40	36	30 We have the pleasure to acquaint your Honours that we have had as good a Summer Season as we could wish for, & the Weather still continues to be very favourable We are St Helena Honourable Sirs 20 June 1749 Your most Obedt & most hum Servants (Signed) Charles Hutchinson David Hunter John Clark List of the Honble Companys Packet from St Helena P Ship Stretham with the foregoing Letter dated the 20 of June 1749 Vizt No 1 Govr & Councils General Letter dated the 20th of June 1749 2 Duplicate Govr & Councils General Letter dated the 6 June 1749 3 Duplicate Consultations from the 22 of May to y 5 June 1749 4 Consultations from the 9 to the 19 of June 1749 5 Duplicate List of the Packet P Ship Eastcourt 6 Second Receipt for the Packet P Ship Wager 7 First Receipt for the Packet P Ship Eastcourt	30: The Council had the pleasure to report that the island had as good a summer season as it could wish for, and the weather still continued very favourable. The letter closed at St Helena on 20 June 1749, signed by Charles Hutchinson, David Hunter and John Clark. The list of the Company's packet sent from St Helena by the *Stretham*, with the letter of 20 June 1749, ran as follows: 1: Governor and Council general letter dated the 20th of June 1749 2: Duplicate Governor and Council general letter dated the 6th of June 1749 3: Duplicate consultations from the 22nd of May to the 5th of June 1749 4: Consultations from the 7th to the 19th of June 1749 5: Duplicate list of the packet by the East Court 6: Second receipt for the packet by the Wager 7: First receipt for the packet by the East Court 8: Duplicate East Court account 9: Stretham account 10: Free Briton account 11: Duplicate cash account from the 7th to the 31st of May 1749 12: Duplicate cash account from the 1st to the 6th of June 1749

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		8 Duplicate Ship Eastcourt Account 9 Ship Strethams Account 10 Ship Free Britons Account 11 Duplicate Cash Acct from y 17 to the 31 of May 1749 12 Duplicate Cash Acct from the 1 to the 6th June 1749 13 Duplicate List of Marriage &ca from the 25 March to the 19th June 1749	13: Duplicate list of marriages and others from the 25th of March to the 19th of June 1749
41	37	14 List of Ships Arrival & Departure to & from St Helena, from the 25th March to the 20th June 1749 15 Cash Acct from the 6th to the 20th of June 1749 16 Covenants of Mr John Clark 17 Security Bond of Mr John Clark in £1000 18 Security Bond of Mr Francis Wrangham Junr in £1000 19 Security Bond of Mr James Bowell in £1000 20 Security Bond of Mr Thos French in £1000 21 Covenants of Mr Mathew Bazett 22 Security Bond of Mr Mathew Bazett in £500 23 List of Men taken out of the Godolphin 24 List of Remains of Stores, taken the 1 May 1749 25 Indent of Stores wanting for the Service of the Year 1750 26 Indent of Medicines for the Service of the Year 1750 27 List of Gunrs & Garrison Stores remaining the 1 May 1749 28 First Bill of Exchange drawn on John Hallett & owners of Ship Stretham 29 List of Officers & Servants upon the Island St Helena taken the 20th June 1749 30 Governours Letter to the Secret Committee To the Honble &ca Honble Sirs 1 We wrote to You last by Your Honours Ship the Stretham that Sailed hence on the 20 Instand in Company with the Free Briton, a Duplicate of that Letter we herewith transmitt to your Honours	The remaining items of the packet list ran on as follows: 14: List of ships' arrival and departure to and from St Helena from the 25th of March to the 20th of June 1749 15: Cash account from the 6th to the 20th of June 1749 16: Covenants of Mr John Clark 17: Security bond of Mr John Clark for £1,000 0s 0d 18: Security bond of Mr Francis Wrangham junior for £1,000 0s 0d 19: Security bond of Mr James Powell for £1,000 0s 0d 20: Security bond of Mr Thomas French for £1,000 0s 0d 21: Covenants of Mr Matthew Bazett 22: Security bond of Mr Matthew Bazett for £500 0s 0d 23: List of men taken out of the Godolphin 24: List of remains of stores taken the 7th of May 1749 25: Indent of stores wanting for the service of the year 1750 26: Indent of medicines for the service of the year 1750 27: List of gunner's and garrison stores remaining the 7th of May 1749 28: First bill of exchange drawn on John Hallett and owners of the ship Stretham 29: List of officers and servants upon the island of St Helena taken the 20th of June 1749 30: Governor's letter to the Secret Committee The Council addressed the Court, opening a fresh general letter. 1: The Council's previous letter had gone by the Court's ship the *Stretham*, which sailed on the 20th in company with the *Free Briton*. A duplicate of that letter now went home.
42	38	2 Your Ship the Marlborough was unloaded in the limitted time, & accordingly on Thursday the 22 Instant we gave Capt Parks his Dispatches as your Honours will please to Observe in consultation of that Day 3 We received from your Ship Marlborough one Chest of Your Honours Treasure, which upon Countery Amounted to £1049.10.11 3/4 & is accordingly entered in the Cash Account made up to the date of this Letter 4 In our Letter dated the 24th April 1748 we advised Your Honours of some Steps we took with regard to the late Mr Wrights Affairs & desired your Directions Concerning them, as there is now a large Demand made upon the said Estate by a Bond from England for the Sum of £240 with Interest, from the 7 January 1741 we beg to know if your Honours, will be pleased to have	2: The Court's ship the *Marlborough* was unloaded within the time allowed, and accordingly on Thursday the 22nd the Council gave Captain Parks his despatches, as the Court would observe in the consultation of that day. 3: The Council received from the *Marlborough* one chest of the Court's treasure, which on counting amounted to £1,049 10s 11¼d and was accordingly entered in the cash account made up to the date of this letter. 4: In its letter of 24 April 1748 the Council advised the Court of some steps it took with regard to the late Mr Wright's affairs and asked the Court's directions concerning them. As there was now a large demand made upon that estate by a bond from England for the sum of £240 0s 0d with interest from 7 January 1741, the Council asked whether the Court would have the debt contracted at the island first paid, or whether the bond should share with the rest of the claimers upon the island, the amount of Mr Wright's effects not being near sufficient to pay his debts. 5: On a computation the Council found it would want money for the expense of the ensuing year. It had therefore granted bills of exchange drawn on the Court for the following sums.

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		the Debts Contracted here first paid, or whether the above Bond shall Share with the rest of the Claimers, upon the Island the Amount of his Effects not being near Sufficient, to pay his Debts 5 Upon a Computation we find that we shall want Money for the Expence of the Insuant Year We therefore have Granted Bills of Exchange drawn on your Honours, for the following Sums Vizt 6 One Sett Payable to Mr Matthew Bazett or Order, Ninety days after Sight, dated the 26 Instant for the Sum of £66 7 One Sett Payable to Messrs Martin Harper & Rich Beale for their Order, Ninety days after Sight dated the 26 Instant, for the Sum of £100 8 One Sett Payable to Mr Jas Powell for Order, Ninety days after Sight dated the 26 Instant for the Sum of £127.11	6: One set payable to Mr Matthew Bazett or order, ninety days after sight, dated the 26th, for the sum of £66 0s 0d. 7: One set payable to Messrs Martin, Harper and Richard Beale or their order, ninety days after sight, dated the 26th, for the sum of £100 0s 0d. 8: One set payable to Mr James Powell or order, ninety days after sight, dated the 26th, for the sum of £127 14s 0d. **Interpretations** The competing claims on the late Mr Wright's estate turned on a point of the order of payment, a bond from England for £240 0s 0d running interest from January 1741 set against the debts he owed at the island, the estate too small to satisfy all. The Council referred to the Court the question whether the home bond should be paid first or rank equally with the island creditors, a matter of priority among claimants that it would not settle on its own where an insufficient estate forced a choice as to who should be paid and who should lose. The chest of treasure from the *Marlborough*, counted at £1,049 10s 11¼d and entered in the cash account, was the coin or bullion the ship carried for the Company's trade, told over on receipt and brought to book at the island. The exact reckoning entered against the date of the letter shows the discipline of the Company's accounting, every chest of specie counted and recorded as it passed through the station, the money that funded the eastern trade tracked to the penny.
43	39	9 One Sett Payable to Mr Elisha Peache for Order Ninety Days after Sight dated the 26th Instant for the Sum of £20 10 One Sett Payable to Capt Frans Steward for Order, Ninety Days after Sight, dated the 26th Instant, for the Sum of £200 it being paid in by the Executors of the late Cha Steward decd they being first Sworn according to your Honours Directions, that the above Sum, is for the Sole Account of the Orphans of the said late Charles Steward Deceased 11 One Sett Payable to Mr Thos French or Order Ninety days after Sight, Dated the 26 Instant for the Sum of £26.16.8 12 This goes to Your Honours by your Ship the Oxford Capt Thos Stevens who Sailed in Company with the Colchester & Exeter We are St Helena Honble Sirs 29th June 1749 Your most Obedt & most hum Servants (Signed) Charles Hutchinson David Hunter John Clark List of the Honble Companys Packett from St Helena P Ship Oxford with the foregoing Letter Dated the 29th June 1749 Vizt No 1 Govr & Councils General Letter Dated the 29th of June 1749 2 Duplicate Govr & Councils General Letter dated the 20 June 1749	9: One set payable to Mr Elisha Poacher or order, ninety days after sight, dated the 26th, for the sum of £20 0s 0d. 10: One set payable to Captain Francis Steward or order, ninety days after sight, dated the 26th, for the sum of £200 0s 0d, it being paid in by the executors of the late Captain Charles Steward, deceased. They were first sworn, according to the Court's directions, that the above sum was for the sole account of the orphans of the late Charles Steward, deceased. 11: One set payable to Mr Thomas French or order, ninety days after sight, dated the 26th, for the sum of £26 16s 8d. 12: This letter went by the Court's ship the *Oxford* under Captain Thomas Stevens, who sailed in company with the *Colchester* and the *Exeter*. The letter closed at St Helena on 29 June 1749, signed by Charles Hutchinson, David Hunter and John Clark. The list of the Company's packet sent from St Helena by the *Oxford*, with the letter of 29 June 1749, ran as follows: 1: Governor and Council general letter dated the 29th of June 1749 2: Duplicate Governor and Council general letter dated the 20th of June 1749 3: Duplicate consultations from the 7th to the 19th of June 1749 4: Consultations from the 22nd to the 26th of June 1749 **Interpretations** The oath required of Captain Charles Steward's executors, that the £200 0s 0d paid in was for the sole account of the orphans, shows the care taken to keep a dead man's money to its rightful use, the bill drawn to Captain Francis Steward but the funds sworn to belong to the children. The Court's direction that the executors swear before the money was remitted set a check on the passage of an estate through the island's hands, the sworn declaration entered so that the sum could not later be claimed as any other man's, the orphans' interest guarded by the formality of the oath. The run of bills drawn on the Court for the ensuing year's expense turned the island's coming wants into

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		3 Duplicate Consultations from the 9 to the 19 June 1749 4 Consultations from the 22 to the 26 June 1749 5 Duplicate	paper on London, each set dated the same day and payable ninety days after sight, the beneficiaries ranging from private men to the executors of an estate. The Council reckoned by computation what money it would need and drew the bills accordingly, the device supplying the island's cash against the security of the Court's credit, the whole a routine of finance by which a station without a bank met its charges through drafts drawn home.
44	40	5 Duplicate List of the Packet P Ship Stretham 6 Second Receipt for the Packet P Ship Eastcourt 7 First Receipt for the Packett P Ship Stretham 8 Duplicate Ship Strethams Account 9 Duplicate Ship Free Britons Account 10 Ship Oxfords Account 11 Ship Exeters Account 12 Ship Colchesters Account 13 Duplicate Cash Acct from the 6th to the 20th of June 1749 14 Cash Acct from the 21 to the 29th of June 1749 15 List of Marriag Yca from y 20 to the 29th June 1749 16 Duplicate List of Arrival & Departure of Ships at & from St Helena from the 25 March to the 29 June 1749 17 Duplicate List of Remains of Stores taken the 1 May 1749 18 Duplicate Indent of Stores wanting for the Service of y Year 1750 19 Duplicate Indent of Medicines for the Service of y Year 1750 20 Duplicate List of Gunrs & Garrisons Stores remaining y 1 May 1749 21 List of Officers & Servants upon the Island St Helena taken the 29th June 1749 22 Second Bill of Exchange drawn on John Hallett & Owners of Ship Stretham 23 Govr Letter to the Honble the Secret Committee To the Honble &ca Honble Sirs 1 We wrote to You last by your Ship the Oxford Capt Thos Stevens, that Sailed from hence on the 30th June last in Company with the Exeter Capt Weston and the Colchester Captain Wood	The remaining items of the packet list ran on as follows: 5: Duplicate list of the packet by the Stretham 6: Second receipt for the packet by the East Court 7: First receipt for the packet by the Stretham 8: Duplicate Stretham account 9: Duplicate Free Briton account 10: Oxford account 11: Exeter account 12: Colchester account 13: Duplicate cash account from the 6th to the 20th of June 1749 14: Cash account from the 21st to the 29th of June 1749 15: List of marriages and others from the 20th to the 29th of June 1749 16: Duplicate list of arrival and departure of ships at and from St Helena from the 25th of March to the 29th of June 1749 17: Duplicate list of remains of stores taken the 7th of May 1749 18: Duplicate indent of stores wanting for the service of the year 1750 19: Duplicate indent of medicines for the service of the year 1750 20: Duplicate list of gunner's and garrison stores remaining the 7th of May 1749 21: List of officers and servants upon the island of St Helena taken the 29th of June 1749 22: Second bill of exchange drawn on John Hallett and owners of the ship Stretham 23: Governor's letter to the Secret Committee The Council addressed the Court, opening a fresh general letter. 1: The Council's previous letter had gone by the Court's ship the *Oxford* under Captain Thomas Stevens, which sailed on 30 June in company with the *Exeter* under Captain Weston and the *Colchester* under Captain Wood.
45	41	2 On the 22nd & 30th of July, arrived your Honours Ships the Porto Bello Capt Fisher from Fort St David, & the Bombay Castle Capt Brown from Bengall both in a very Sickly Condition, many of their Men being down with the Scurvy, & on the 31 of that Month Arrived your Ship Godolphin Capt John Stevens from Bencoolen but last from Batavia, by which Occasion this goes to your Honours 3 Notwithstanding all the care that has been taken, to prevent the Soldiers from Deserting, by having Extra Centerys, & Guard Boats, some Night before the Departure of any Ships from this Road, they do find means to get on Board, We lost four Men, upon the Sailing of the last Ships & one of your Honours Slave Men, whose Name is Morris	2: On the 22nd and 30th of July arrived the Court's ships the *Porto Bello* under Captain Fisher from Fort St David and the *Bombay Castle* under Captain Brown from Bengal, both in a very sickly condition, many of their men being down with the scurvy. On the 31st of that month arrived the Court's ship the *Godolphin* under Captain John Stevens from Bencoolen but last from Batavia, by which conveyance this letter went home. 3: Notwithstanding all the care taken to prevent the soldiers from deserting, by keeping extra sentries and guard boats, some nights before the departure of any ships from the road they found means to get on board. The Council lost four men upon the sailing of the last ships, and one of the Court's slave men, whose name was Morris. It apprehended that, if the officers of the ships were more strict in their duty, it would be next to impossible that any men could get on board and be carried off unknown to them. 4: There had been such a number of ships at the island that year that the Council could not give the two last any part of their charter-party beef, and the stock upon the island in general was killed so low that it believed the next year's ships could not be sufficiently supplied if many should come.

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		We apprehend if the officers of the Ships were more Strict in their Duty, it would be next to impossible, that any Men could get on Board, & be Carried unknown to them 4 There has been such a Number of Ships here this Year, that We could not give the two last any part of their Charterparty Beef, & the Stock upon the Island in General is killed so low, that we believe the next Years hips cannot be Sufficiently Supplyed, if many should come 5 By the Ship Porto Bello we received two Black Men from Fort St David, Mootoo & Yeaga, who have been Sentenced to serve Your Honours upon this Island for Life 6 We have the pleasure to Acquaint your Honours that we have had a very good Summer Season, & that the Rains still continue favourable We are St Helena Honble Sirs 7th August 1749 Your most Obedt & most hum Servants Signed Cha Hutchinson David Hunter John Clark	5: By the *Porto Bello* the Council received two black men from Fort St David, Mootoo and Yeaga, who had been sentenced to serve the Court upon the island for life. 6: The Council had the pleasure to report that the island had a very good summer season and that the rains still continued favourable. The letter closed at St Helena on 7 August 1749, signed by Charles Hutchinson, David Hunter and John Clark. **Interpretations** The two black men Mootoo and Yeaga, sentenced at Fort St David to serve the Court for life at the island, marked the use of St Helena as a place of penal transportation within the Company's eastern dominions, men condemned at one settlement sent to labour at another for life. The practice added to the island's bound workforce by the sentences of the Company's courts in India, the punishment of transportation serving the double end of removing the offender and supplying the distant station with labour it could not otherwise get. The loss of four soldiers and the slave Morris to the departing ships measured again the pull of escape against a garrison held in place only by the sea, the extra sentries and guard boats no sure guard while a ship lay in the road. The Council laid the fault on the ships' officers, whose stricter watch it thought could close the last avenue of flight, the leakage of men through the shipping a standing grievance the island could not stop from the shore alone. Speculations The Council chose to charge the escape of its men upon the officers of the ships rather than add further to its own watch, though the obvious course for a garrison losing soldiers was to tighten its own guard yet again. It had already set extra sentries and guard boats, and finding these still failed, it turned the responsibility outward, arguing that only stricter duty by the ships' own officers could make escape next to impossible. The reason shows on the page in the plain admission that all the care taken from the shore had not answered, the Council reasoning that the remedy now lay aboard the ships beyond its reach, and pressing the Court to require of its commanders the vigilance the island could not supply from the land.
46	42	List of the Honble Companys Packet from St Helena P Ship Godolphin with the foregoing Letter Dated the 7 August 1749 Viz No 1 Govr & Councils General Letter dated the 7th August 1749 2 Duplicate Govr & Councils General Letter dated y 29th June 1749 3 Consultations from the 3 July to the 7 August 1749 4 Duplicate Consultations from the 22nd to the 26th June 1749 5 Duplicate List of the Packet P Ship Oxford 6 Second Receipt for the Packet P Ship Stretham 7 First Receipt for the Packet P Ship Oxford 8 Duplicate Ship Oxford Account 9 Duplicate Ship Exeters Account 10 Duplicate Ship Colchesters Account 11 Ship Godolphins Account 12 Duplicate Cash Acct from the 21 to the 29th June 1749 13 Cash Acct from the 29 to the 30th June 1749 14 Cash Acct for the Month of July 1749 15 Cash Acct from the 1 to the 7th August 1749 16 List of Marriages Yca from the 29 June to the 7th August 1749 17 Duplicate List of Marriages Yca from the 20 to the 29th June 1749 18 List of Officers & Servants upon the Island St Helena	The list of the Company's packet sent from St Helena by the *Godolphin*, with the letter of 7 August 1749, ran as follows: 1: Governor and Council general letter dated the 7th of August 1749 2: Duplicate Governor and Council general letter dated the 29th of June 1749 3: Consultations from the 3rd of July to the 7th of August 1749 4: Duplicate consultations from the 22nd to the 26th of June 1749 5: Duplicate list of the packet by the Oxford 6: Second receipt for the packet by the Stretham 7: First receipt for the packet by the Oxford 8: Duplicate Oxford account 9: Duplicate Exeter account 10: Duplicate Colchester account 11: Godolphin account 12: Duplicate cash account from the 21st to the 29th of June 1749 13: Cash account from the 29th to the 30th of June 1749 14: Cash account for the month of July 1749 15: Cash account from the 1st to the 7th of August 1749 16: List of marriages and others from the 29th of June to the 7th of August 1749 17: Duplicate list of marriages and others from the 20th to the 29th of June 1749

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		taken the 7th August 1749 19 Ship Marlboroughs Account	18: List of officers and servants upon the island of St Helena taken the 7th of August 1749 19: Marlborough account
47	43	To the Honble &ca Honble Sirs 1 We wrote to You last by your Honours Ship the Godolphin, that Sailed from hence on the 8th instant 2 On the same day arrived a Dane Ship with her Crew very Sickly called the Copenhagen Capt Clemen Ulrich Wortman, Burthen two Hundred & eight Lasts twenty four Guns Seventy four Men, Loaded with Red Wood Salt Pepper & some Bale Goods, She came from Tranquebar but last from Cochin & is bound to Copenhagen We are informed by the Capt that he saw a Ship riding in Saldena Bay under English Colour on the 14 day of last Month 3 This goes to you by your Honours Ship the Porto Bello which will be followed in a few Days by your Ship the Bombay Castle We are St Helena Honble Sirs 13th August 1749 Your most Obedt & most Hum Servants (Signed) Charles Hutchinson David Hunter John Clark List of the Honble Companys Packet from St Helena P Ship Porto Bello with the foregoing Letter dated the 13 Aug 1749 Viz No 1 Govr & Councils General Letter dated the 13th Aug 1749 2 Duplicate Govr & Councils General Letter dated the 7 Aug 1749	The Council addressed the Court, opening a fresh general letter. 1: The Council's previous letter had gone by the Court's ship the *Godolphin*, which sailed on the 8th. 2: On the same day arrived a Danish ship with her crew very sickly, called the *Copenhagen* under Captain Clemen Ulrich Wortman, of 208 lasts burthen, twenty-four guns and seventy-four men, laden with redwood, salt, pepper and some bale goods. She came from Tranquebar but last from Cochin and was bound for Copenhagen. The Council was informed by her captain that he saw a ship riding in Saldanha Bay under English colours on the 14th of last month. 3: This letter went by the Court's ship the *Porto Bello*, which would be followed in a few days by the *Bombay Castle*. The letter closed at St Helena on 13 August 1749, signed by Charles Hutchinson, David Hunter and John Clark. The list of the Company's packet sent from St Helena by the *Porto Bello*, with the letter of 13 August 1749, ran as follows: 1: Governor and Council general letter dated the 13th of August 1749 2: Duplicate Governor and Council general letter dated the 7th of August 1749 **Interpretations** A last was a unit of a ship's burthen used by the Dutch and Danish, roughly two tons, so that the *Copenhagen*'s 208 lasts marked a vessel of some size, laden with redwood, salt, pepper and bale goods from the Coromandel and Malabar coasts for Copenhagen. Tranquebar was the Danish settlement on the Coromandel coast and Cochin a Malabar port, the ship's track from the one by way of the other a sample of the Danish East India trade that shared the sea road home with the Company's own ships and called at the island in the same way. Saldanha Bay was the anchorage north of the Cape of Good Hope, and the ship seen riding there under English colours was passed to the Council as intelligence to be forwarded home, a further instance of the island gathering news of shipping from every calling vessel. The report of a single English ship at Saldanha, carried by a Danish captain, shows how thin and chance-gathered the Council's knowledge of the sea around it was, each scrap of sighting news collected and sent on for whatever it might tell the Court of its own or others' ships.
48	44	3 Consultation of the 10th August 1749 4 Duplicate Consultations from y 3 July to the y 7 Aug 1749 5 Duplicate List of the Packet P Ship Godolphin 6 Second Receipt for the Packet P Ship Oxford 7 First Receipt for the Packet P Ship Godolphin 8 Duplicate Ship Godolphins Account 9 Duplicate Ship Marlboroughs Account 10 Ship Porto Bellos Account 11 Duplicate Cash Acct from the 29 to y 30 June 1749 12 Duplicate Cash Acct for the Month of July 1749 13 Duplicate Cash Acct from the 1 to the 7 Aug 1749 14 Cash Acct from the 8 to the 13 August 1749 15 List of Officers & Servants upon y Island St Helena taken the 13 August 1749 16 List of Marriag &ca from y 8 to the 13 Aug 1749 17 Duplicate List of Mar &ca from y 29 June to y 7 Aug 1749 To the Honble &ca Honble Sirs 1	The remaining items of the packet list ran on as follows: 3: Consultation of the 10th of August 1749 4: Duplicate consultations from the 3rd of July to the 7th of August 1749 5: Duplicate list of the packet by the Godolphin 6: Second receipt for the packet by the Oxford 7: First receipt for the packet by the Godolphin 8: Duplicate Godolphin account 9: Duplicate Marlborough account 10: Porto Bello account 11: Duplicate cash account from the 29th to the 30th of June 1749 12: Duplicate cash account for the month of July 1749 13: Duplicate cash account from the 1st to the 7th of August 1749 14: Cash account from the 8th to the 13th of August 1749 15: List of officers and servants upon the island of St Helena taken the 13th of August 1749

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		We wrote to you last by your Honours Ship the Porto Bella Capt Benjamin Fisher, that Sailed from hence on the 13th Instant 2 Capt Thomas Browne applyed to Us for £140 for the Use of the Ship Bombay Castle which Sum we have advanced him out of your Cash here, & taken Bills of Exchange drawn on Stephen Law Esqr payable to your Honours for Order, dated the 13 Instant, the first Bill goes herewith	16: List of marriages and others from the 8th to the 13th of August 1749 17: Duplicate list of marines and others from the 29th of June to the 7th of August 1749 The Council addressed the Court, opening a fresh general letter. 1: The Council's previous letter had gone by the Court's ship the *Porto Bello* under Captain Benjamin Fisher, which sailed on the 13th. 2: Captain Thomas Browne applied to the Council for £140 0s 0d for the use of the ship *Bombay Castle*, which sum the Council advanced him out of the Court's cash at the island. It took bills of exchange drawn on Stephen Law Esq, payable to the Court or order, dated the 13th, the first bill going home by this conveyance. **Interpretations** The advance to Captain Browne for the use of the *Bombay Castle*, taken against bills on Stephen Law Esq payable to the Court, turned the island's cash to the service of a Company ship's voyage, the money lent for the ship's needs and recovered through paper drawn on a London drawee. The transaction followed the same course as the earlier advance to the *Stretham*, the island supplying a calling ship the ready money her voyage required and charging it home, the station serving as banker to the Company's shipping as it passed.
49	45	3 We have great reason to believe that the four Men which were missing when the Oxford Exeter & Colchester Sailed, were carried away in the latter, John Lloyd a Soldier of the fourth Company having this day deposed before us upon Oath, that he heard a man of that Ship tell John Davis one of those that then Deserted, that if he or any able Man was willing to work his way to England they would be received on Board & Concealed from any Search, and that the Ships Boat should come either to Breakneck Valley or Chubs Rock to take them off We are St Helena Honble Sirs 18th August 1749 Your most Obedt & most Hum Servants (Signed) Charles Hutchinson David Hunter John Clark List of the Honble Companys Packet from St Helena P Ship Bombay Castle with the foregoing Letter dated the 18 August 1749 Vizt No 1 Govr & Councils General Letter dated the 18th August 1749 2 Duplicate Govr & Councils General Letter dated 13 Aug 1749 3 Consultation of the 12th August 1749 4 Duplicate Consultation of the 10 August 1749 5 First Receipt for the Packet P Ship Porto Bello 6 Second Receipt for the Packet P Ship Godolphin 7 Duplicate List of the Packet P Ship Porto Bello 8 Duplicate Ship Porto Bellos Account	3: The Council had great reason to believe that the four men who went missing when the *Oxford*, *Exeter* and *Colchester* sailed were carried away in the latter. John Lloyd, a soldier of the fourth company, deposed on oath before the Council that he heard a man of that ship call John Davis, one of those who then deserted, saying that if he or any able man was willing to work his way to England he would be received on board and concealed from any search, and that the ship's boat should come either to Breakneck Valley or Chubb's Rock to take him off. The letter closed at St Helena on 18 August 1749, signed by Charles Hutchinson, David Hunter and John Clark. The list of the Company's packet sent from St Helena by the *Bombay Castle*, with the letter of 18 August 1749, ran as follows: 1: Governor and Council general letter dated the 18th of August 1749 2: Duplicate Governor and Council general letter dated the 13th of August 1749 3: Consultation of the 14th of August 1749 4: Duplicate consultation of the 10th of August 1749 5: First receipt for the packet by the Porto Bello 6: Second receipt for the packet by the Godolphin 7: Duplicate list of the packet by the Porto Bello 8: Duplicate Porto Bello account **Interpretations** The deposition of John Lloyd gave the Council the plainest proof yet of how its men were lost to the shipping, a sworn account of a ship's man openly soliciting a deserter to work his passage home and be hidden from search, with the ship's boat named to fetch him off at an appointed spot. The evidence bore out the Council's standing charge that the escapes were connived at aboard the ships, the loss of four men when the *Oxford* and her consorts sailed laid to a bargain struck between the crews and the would-be deserters rather than to any failure of the island's own watch. The naming of Breakneck Valley and Chubb's Rock as the places the boat was to come shows the escapes worked to a settled method, the deserters carried off from remote parts of the coast out of sight of the fort, the same Chubb's Rock where the clothes of earlier missing men had been found. The detail marked the

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			difficulty of a watch spread along a broken shore, the fugitives and the boats meeting at points the guard could not easily cover, the leakage of men a matter of geography as much as of vigilance.
50	46	9 Ship Bombay Castles Account 10 Duplicate Cash Acct from the 8 to the 13 Aug 1749 11 Cash Account from the 14 to the 18 Aug 1749 12 List of Officers & Servts upon y Island St Helena taken the 18 August 1749 13 Duplicate List of Mar Yca from the 8 to y 13 Aug 1749 14 First Bill of Exchange drawn on Stephen Law Esqr To the Honble &ca Honble Sirs Our last Advices to you went by your Honours Ship the Bombay Castle, that Sailed from hence on the 19th day of last Month In our Letter P Ship Godolphin we informed your Honours with our apprehensions of a Scarsity of Beef the next Season, and we have now more reason to fear it, if many Ships should come, as we learn from the Planters that several of them have no Cattle remaining but breeding Cows & Sucking Calves We lately Acquainted your Honours, that we thought the Plantation House was not worth the repairing, as the Roof, Floors, & Windows are bad & it is too small for a Family, But as we are Assured that the Walls are built with Lime Mortar, & they appear to be firm & Substantial, the adding two Rooms of Twenty feet square, on each side of them, would	The remaining items of the packet list ran on as follows: 9: Bombay Castle account 10: Duplicate cash account from the 8th to the 13th of August 1749 11: Cash account from the 14th to the 18th of August 1749 12: List of officers and servants upon the island of St Helena taken the 18th of August 1749 13: Duplicate list of marines and others from the 8th to the 13th of August 1749 14: First bill of exchange drawn on Stephen Law Esq The Council addressed the Court, opening a fresh general letter. The Council's previous advices had gone by the Court's ship the *Bombay Castle*, which sailed on the 19th of last month. In its letter by the *Godolphin* the Council had reported its fears of a scarcity of beef the next season, and it now had more reason to fear it if many ships should come, learning from the planters that several of them had no cattle remaining but breeding cows and sucking calves. The Council had lately reported that it thought the Plantation House not worth repairing, the roof, floors and windows being bad and the house too small for a family. As it was now assured that the walls were built with lime mortar and appeared firm and substantial, the adding of two rooms of twenty feet square on each side of them would [...]. **Interpretations** The planters' herds reduced to breeding cows and sucking calves marked the depth to which the drought and the heavy demand of the shipping had drawn down the island's cattle, the beasts fit for slaughter sold off and only the breeding stock left, on which any recovery of the herd depended. The Council's renewed fear of a beef scarcity rested on this plain fact reported from the planters, the island's power to victual the fleet exhausted to the point where killing further would eat into the seed of the next generation of cattle. The reconsideration of the Plantation House turned on the discovery that its walls, though the roof, floors and windows were bad, were built with lime mortar and stood firm, so that the Council now weighed enlarging the sound shell rather than replacing the whole. Lime mortar, harder and more durable than the earth or weaker mixes often used, gave the old walls a strength worth building on, the Council's judgement shifting from a new house to an addition once the quality of the existing fabric was known. Speculations The Council had already told the Court the Plantation House was not worth repairing and asked for a plan and materials for a wholly new one, yet on finding the walls sound it turned from that course to propose enlarging the old house instead. The reason lies on the page in the assurance that the walls were built with lime mortar and appeared firm and substantial, so that the obvious path of demolition and rebuilding gave way to the cheaper adding of two rooms on each side of a shell already proved good. The reversal measured a habit of frugality with the Court's money, the Council ready to abandon its own earlier recommendation the moment the fabric was shown strong enough to save, preferring to build on what stood than to spend on raising all anew.

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51	47	make the House sufficiently large & Convenient, This with every thing else that it is necessary to make new or alter, may be compleated for about two Hundred Pounds, if your Honours approve of it Capt Ulrich Wortman applyed to Us for two Hundred & thirty Pounds which Sum we have advanced him out of your Cash here, & taken Bills of Exchange drawn on Mr John Collet Merchant in London for two Hundred & Ninety Nine Pounds His first Bill dated the 11th Instant Payable to your Honours for Order, Eight days 22 after Sight with a Letter of Advice goe inclosed We are St Helena Honble Sirs 15th Sepr 1749 Your most obedt & most hum Sert (Signed) Charles Hutchinson David Hunter John Clark To the Honble &ca Honble Sirs We wrote to you last by a Dane Ship called the Copenhagen that Sailed from hence on the 15th day of last September On the 21 of last Month Arrived your Honours Ship the Royall George Capt Thos Field, who intends to Sail in a few Days by which Occasion we shall transmit the General	Make the house sufficiently large and convenient. This, with everything else necessary to make new or alter, might be completed for about £200 0s 0d, if the Court approved. Captain Ulrich Wortman applied to the Council for £230 0s 0d, which sum the Council advanced him out of the Court's cash at the island. It took bills of exchange drawn on Mr John Collet, merchant in London, for £299 0s 0d. His first bill, dated the 11th, was payable to the Court or order eight days after sight, with a letter of advice enclosed. The letter closed at St Helena on 15 September 1749, signed by Charles Hutchinson, David Hunter and John Clark. The Council addressed the Court, opening a fresh general letter. The Council's previous letter had gone by a Danish ship called the *Copenhagen*, which sailed on the 15th of last September. On the 21st of last month arrived the Court's ship the *Royal George* under Captain Thomas Field, who intended to sail in a few days, by which conveyance the Council would transmit the general [...]. **Interpretations** The advance of £230 0s 0d to the Danish captain Wortman against bills for £299 0s 0d drawn on a London merchant repeated the arrangement made earlier with the Danish supercargoes, the island lending ready cash to a foreign officer and taking his paper at a premium to be honoured in London. The eight days after sight set for the bill, far shorter than the ninety days allowed on the ordinary remittances, marked a quicker demand on the London drawee, the difference between the sum lent and the sum drawn covering the Company's charge and risk in advancing money to a foreign ship. The estimate of about £200 0s 0d to enlarge and repair the Plantation House put a figure to the frugal course the Council had chosen, the sound walls kept and the house made large and convenient for a fraction of what a wholly new building would cost. The Council laid the sum before the Court for approval, the whole matter of the house resolved into a modest charge to mend and extend what stood, in keeping with the care of the Court's money that ran through the island's dealings.
52	48	General Books of Accounts Balanced to the 30 of last September, and all other Usual Papers This goes to your Honours by Capt Palliser of his Majestys Ship Sheerness which Arrived here on the 2nd Instant in Company with your Ship Durrington Capt Richard Crabb from the Cape, where they left Admiral Boscawen with the rest of his Squadron, and your Honours Ship Chesterfield which Ships we hourly Expect, the Admiral having Acquainted the Governour by Letter that he would leave it about a Week after the Departure of the Sheerness, and intended to touch here We are informd by Capt Crabb that the Centaur a French Ship bound for Europe which formerly mounted 74 Guns was lost near the Cape the 3 Janry last She had some Bails & Pepper on Board from Mauritius We are St Helena Honble Sirs 6th February 1749 Your Most Obedt & most Hum Sert (Signed) Charles Hutchinson David Hunter John Clark	General book of accounts balanced to 30 September, together with all the other usual papers. This letter went by Captain Palliser of His Majesty's ship *Sheerness*, which arrived at the island on the 2nd in company with the Court's ship the *Durrington* under Captain Richard Crabb from the Cape. There they left Admiral Boscawen with the rest of his squadron and the Court's ship the *Chesterfield*, which ships the Council hourly expected. The admiral had informed the Governor by letter that he would leave the Cape about a week after the departure of the *Sheerness* and intended to touch at the island. The Council was informed by Captain Crabb that the *Centaur*, a French ship bound for Europe that formerly mounted seventy-four guns, was lost near the Cape on the 3rd of last January. She had some bales and pepper on board from Mauritius. The letter closed at St Helena on 6 February 1749, signed by Charles Hutchinson, David Hunter and John Clark. **Interpretations** Admiral Boscawen's squadron gathering at the Cape and intending to touch at the island marked the continued weight of the King's ships on the station even after the peace, the fleet returning from the East by way of St Helena, its movements reported ahead by the admiral's own letter to the Governor and by the ships that came before it. The Council was bound to look for the whole squadron and to furnish it as it

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			came, the island's provisions and stores drawn upon for the navy's passage home as they had been throughout the war. The loss of the French ship *Centaur* near the Cape, reported by a Company captain who had lately been there, was passed to the Court as a piece of the shipping news the island gathered from every arrival, the wreck of a foreign East India ship of seventy-four guns with her lading from Mauritius. The Council forwarded such reports of disaster and movement alike, the fate of ships of every nation on the long and dangerous passage round the Cape known at the island only through the accounts of those who had seen or heard of them.
53	49	To the Honble &ca Honble Sirs We wrote to you Yesterday by her Majestys Ship Sheerness a Duplicate of that Letter & two others, one by your Honours Ship Bombay Castle that Sailed from hence on the 19th August & one by a Dane Ship called the Copenhagen that Sailed on the 15th Sepr last, goe herewith Admiral Boscawen having required about 11000 Weight of fresh Provision to be ready for his Squadron, upon their Arrival here, as your Honours will See by his Letter to the Govr which is Entered in Consultation of the 2nd instant we thereupon assembled the Planters, and Directed them to make a return of the Cattle they had that were fit to Slaughter this Year, By the Account we received from them it appears that there are no more than 130, which Number by their Computation will in the Whole amount only to 32700 A Quantity that will be short of supplying your Honours Officers upon the Island, and your Ships that we presume may be expected to Arrive here this Season, as you will find by a Calculation made in Consultation of the 5 of this Month We have therefore for these reasons determined to represent to Rear Admiral Boscawen when he comes, that it will not be possible to comply with his demand, without distressing your Honours Servants here, and your returning Ships, Considerations that we hope will prevail with them to excuse us from providing, his Majestys Ships with any Beef except a little for their Sick, more especially as we believe	The Council addressed the Court, opening a fresh general letter. The Council's previous letter had gone the day before by His Majesty's ship *Sheerness*. A duplicate of that letter and two others, one by the Court's ship the *Bombay Castle*, which sailed on the 19th of last August, and one by a Danish ship called the *Copenhagen*, which sailed on the 15th of last September, now went home. Admiral Boscawen required about 11,000 pounds weight of fresh provisions to be ready for his squadron on their arrival at the island, as the Court would see by his letter to the Governor entered in the consultation of the 2nd. The Council thereupon assembled the planters and directed them to make a return of the cattle they had fit to slaughter that year. By the account it received from them, there were no more than 130, which number by their computation would in the whole amount only to 32,700 pounds, a quantity that would fall short of supplying the Court's officers upon the island and its ships that might be expected to arrive that season, as the Court would find by a calculation made in the consultation of the 5th. For these reasons the Council determined to represent to Rear Admiral Boscawen, when he came, that it would not be possible to comply with his demand without distressing the Court's servants at the island and its homeward ships, considerations that it hoped would prevail with him to excuse it from providing His Majesty's ships with any beef except a little for their sick, more especially as it believed [...]. **Interpretations** The admiral's demand for 11,000 pounds of fresh provisions set the needs of the King's squadron against the depleted state of the island's herd, the planters' return showing only 130 beasts fit to slaughter, yielding 32,700 pounds in all, too little to serve the Company's own officers and homeward ships as well. The Council's resolve to refuse the navy all but a little beef for its sick measured the collision of two claims on a failing resource, the drought-thinned cattle unable to meet both the fleet and the Company's own wants, the Council choosing its own servants and ships over the admiral's squadron. The assembling of the planters to make a formal return of their slaughter cattle shows the Council governing the island's provisions by a reckoning of the actual stock, the demand tested against a counted supply before any answer was given to the admiral. The calculation entered in consultation gave the Council solid ground for its refusal, the figures of the herd and the expected shipping set down so that the navy's demand could be met not with a bare denial but with a proven shortage, the island's poverty of cattle made a matter of record. Speculations The Council resolved to deny Admiral Boscawen's squadron all but a little beef for its sick, though the plain and safer course for a small station was to satisfy the demand of a rear admiral whose ships lay off its road. It chose instead to represent the impossibility of compliance, grounding the refusal in the planters'

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			counted return of 130 cattle and the calculation of the island's own needs, because to strip the herd for the navy would leave the Company's officers and homeward ships unprovided. The reason shows on the page in the careful marshalling of the figures before the admiral's arrival, the Council preferring to face a powerful man's displeasure with a proven shortage than to distress the Court's own service by yielding to him, and arming itself with the record so that the denial should rest on demonstrated fact rather than on its own will.
54	50	believe they cannot much want it for any other purpose as it is to be supposed they will have been very well repacked at the Cape, & the Sheerness Man of War, that Sailed Yesterday is gone to Ascension to get Turtle for them there As to your Honours own Stock, it cannot allow of such a Number of Cattle to be Killed, as will supply a third part of the Charterparty Beef, to so many of your Ships, as we apprehend we shall have with us This waits on your Honours by your Ship Royall George together with the General Books of Accounts, and other Papers down to this time, She will be followed in a few days by your Ship Durrington St Helena We are 7th Feb 1749 Honble Sirs Your most Obedt & most hum Servants (Signed) Charles Hutchinson David Hunter John Clark List of the Honble Companys Packet from St Helena P Ship Royall George with the foregoing Letter dated the 7th of Feb 1749 Vizt No 1 Govr & Councils General Letter dated the 7th Febry 1749 2 Duplicate Govr & Councils General Letter dated the 18 Aug 1749 3 Do dated the 15th September 1749 4 Do dated the 6th Feb 1749 5 Consultations from the 21 Aug to the 5 Feb 1749 6 Duplicate Consultation of the 14 August 1749	Believe they could not much want it for any other purpose, as it was to be supposed they would have been very well refreshed at the Cape. The *Sheerness* man of war, that sailed the day before, was gone to Ascension to get turtle for them there. As to the Court's own stock, it could not allow of such a number of cattle to be killed as would supply a third part of the charter-party beef to so many of the Court's ships as the Council apprehended it would have with it. This letter went by the Court's ship the *Royal George*, together with the general book of accounts and other papers down to this time. She would be followed in a few days by the Court's ship the *Durrington*. The letter closed at St Helena on 7 February 1749, signed by Charles Hutchinson, David Hunter and John Clark. The list of the Company's packet sent from St Helena by the *Royal George*, with the letter of 7 February 1749, ran as follows: 1: Governor and Council general letter dated the 7th of February 1749 2: Duplicate Governor and Council general letter dated the 18th of August 1749 3: Duplicate of the same dated the 15th of September 1749 4: Duplicate of the same dated the 6th of February 1749 5: Consultations from the 21st of August to the 5th of February 1749 6: Duplicate consultation of the 14th of August 1749 **Interpretations** The sending of the *Sheerness* to Ascension to get turtle for the squadron shows the navy providing for itself where the island could not, the barren island of Ascension long a resort for the turtle that gathered there, a source of fresh meat the King's ships could take without drawing on St Helena's cattle. The detail eased the Council's refusal of beef, the fleet able to victual in part from Ascension and reckoned already refreshed at the Cape, so that the island's denial left the squadron less distressed than a bare shortage would suggest. The Council's flat statement that the Court's own stock could not bear the killing needed to give even a third of the charter-party beef to the ships it expected shows the drought's toll carried through to the Company's obligations to its own fleet. The island could no longer meet the beef it was bound by charter to supply, the herd too far reduced to serve the run of homeward ships, the failure of the cattle now touching the settled terms on which the Company's ships were victualled and not merely the extraordinary demand of the navy.
55	51	7 Second receipt for the Packet P Ship Porto Bello 8 Second receipt for the Packet P Ship Bombay Castle 9 First receipt for the Packet P the Dane Ship Called the Copenhagen 10 Duplicate List of the Packet P Ship Bombay Castle 11 Duplicate Ship Bombay Castle Account 12 Duplicate Cash Account from the 14 to the 18 Aug 1749	The remaining items of the packet list ran on as follows: 7: Second receipt for the packet by the Porto Bello 8: Second receipt for the packet by the Bombay Castle 9: First receipt for the packet by the Danish ship called the Copenhagen

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		13 Cash Acct from the 19 to the 31 Aug 1749 14 Cash Acct for the Month of Sepr 1749 15 Cash Acct for the Month of Octor 1749 16 Do for the Month of Novr 1749 17 Do for the Month of Decr 1749 18 Do for the Month of Janry 1749 19 Do from the 1 to the 6th Feb 1749 20 General Books of Accounts 21 List of Officers & Servants upon y Island St Helena taken y 7th Feb 1749 22 List of Marriages Yca from the 14 Aug to the 7 Feb 1749 23 Second Bill of Exchange drawn on John Collet Mercht in London 24 Ship Royall Georges Account 25 List of Familys taken the 30th Sepr 1749 26 List of Rents taken the 30th Sepr 1749 27 List of the Honble Companys Blacks taken the 30 Sepr 1749 28 First receipt for the Packet P his Majestys Ship Sheerness	10: Duplicate list of the packet by the Bombay Castle 11: Duplicate Bombay Castle account 12: Duplicate cash account from the 14th to the 18th of August 1749 13: Cash account from the 19th to the 31st of August 1749 14: Cash account for the month of September 1749 15: Cash account for the month of October 1749 16: Cash account for the month of November 1749 17: Cash account for the month of December 1749 18: Cash account for the month of January 1749 19: Cash account from the 1st to the 6th of February 1749 20: General book of accounts 21: List of officers and servants upon the island of St Helena taken the 7th of February 1749 22: List of marriages and others from the 14th of August to the 7th of February 1749 23: Second bill of exchange drawn on John Collet, merchant in London 24: Royal George account 25: List of families taken the 30th of September 1749 26: List of rents taken the 30th of September 1749 27: List of the Company's blacks taken the 30th of September 1749 28: First receipt for the packet by His Majesty's ship Sheerness
56	52	To the Honble &ca Honble Sirs We wrote to you last by your Honours Ship the Royal George, that Sailed from hence, on the 8 Instant, a Duplicate of that Letter goes herewith On the 11 day of this Month arrived your Ship the Admiral Vernon Capt Edmund Cooke from China, where he left your Honours Ships Edgar Pearce Pelham, Lindsay, Somerset Polson Griffin Dettrick, Delawar Stevens, Montfort, Hanslapp Sandwich Barton, late Petre, Royal Duke Cuming Doddington Mason & Rhoda, McNamara he informs Us that the five first were to Sail in a few days after him, and the rest within a Month, he likewise acquaints us that the Augusta Capt Parker lost her Passage to China, & Winters at Malacca This waits on your Honours by her Majestys Ship Exeter We are St Helena Honble Sirs 13th February 1749 Your most Obedt & most Hum Sert (Signed) Charles Hutchinson David Hunter John Clark	The Council addressed the Court, opening a fresh general letter. The Council's previous letter had gone by the Court's ship the *Royal George*, which sailed on the 8th. A duplicate of that letter now went home. On the 11th arrived the Court's ship the *Admiral Vernon* under Captain Edmund Cooke from China, where he left the Court's ships *Edgecote*, *Pearce*, *Pelham*, *Lindsay*, *Somerset*, *Colson*, *Griffin*, *Dettrick*, *Delaware* under Captain Stevens, *Montfort*, *Haneslapp*, *Sandwich*, *Barton* late *Petre*, *Royal Duke*, *Cuming*, *Doddington*, *Mason* and *Rhoda*. McNamara reported that the five first were to sail a few days after him and the rest within a month. He likewise reported that the *Augusta* under Captain Parker lost her passage to China and wintered at Malacca. This letter went by His Majesty's ship *Exeter*. The letter closed at St Helena on 13 February 1749, signed by Charles Hutchinson, David Hunter and John Clark. **Interpretations** Malacca commanded the strait between Sumatra and the Malay peninsula on the route to China, and the *Augusta*'s losing her passage and wintering there marked the tyranny of the monsoon over the China voyage, a ship that missed her season forced to lie up for months until the winds served again. The delay of a whole year on a single ship shows the narrow windows the eastern trade had to work within, the fixed seasons of the monsoon governing when a ship could reach Canton and when she must wait. The long catalogue of the Court's ships left at Canton, with the order of their expected sailing, was intelligence of the first value to the Court, telling it which of its China ships were still to come and roughly when. The Council gathered the whole list from a single returning captain and forwarded it home, the island serving as the point where the scattered China fleet was numbered and its homeward progress reported, the Court learning the disposition of nineteen of its ships from the account of one that had lately left them.
57	53	To the Honble &ca Honble Sirs We wrote last to you by his Majestys Ship	The Council addressed the Court, opening a fresh general letter.

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		Exeter that Sailed from hence on the 13 instant with the Deptford, York, Harwich, Chester, & Deal Castle, Basseleur, Bomb & her Tender under the Command of Rear Admiral Boscawen According to our Resolution in Consultation of the 5 instant, the Govr represented to Admiral Boscawen by Letter immediately after his Arrival, the impossibility it was for us to supply the Squadron under his Command with the Quantity of Beef he required the Govr Letter & the Admirals Answer to it, we Entered in Consultation of the 12th of this Month, to which we beg leave to refer your Honours According to your Directions in your Letter P Ship Marlborough dated the 15 Feb 1748, the Govr applyed to the Admiral for liberty to inlist into your Honours Service here, some of his Majestys Land forces, that were on board his Squadron, which he readily consented to, but we could not get any more than thirteen & three others that were left behind by Accident, so that with all the Men that we have been able to procure there are Thirty Still wanting to compleat your Establishment Capt Rich Crabb applyed to us for £300 for the use of your Ship Durrington, we advanced him that Sum out of your Cash here, & taken Bills of Exchange drawn	The Council's previous letter had gone by His Majesty's ship *Exeter*, which sailed on the 13th with the *Deptford*, *York*, *Harwich*, *Chester* and *Deal Castle*, the *Basilisk* bomb and her tender, under the command of Rear Admiral Boscawen. According to its resolution in the consultation of the 5th, the Governor represented to Admiral Boscawen by letter immediately after his arrival the impossibility of supplying the squadron under his command with the quantity of beef he required. The Governor's letter and the admiral's answer to it were entered in the consultation of the 12th, to which the Council referred the Court. According to the Court's directions in its letter by the *Marlborough*, dated 15 February 1748, the Governor applied to the admiral for leave to enlist into the Court's service some of His Majesty's land forces on board his squadron, which he readily consented to. The Council could not get any more than thirteen, and three others that were left behind by accident, so that with all the men it had been able to procure, there were still thirty wanting to complete the establishment. Captain Richard Crabb applied to the Council for £30 0s 0d for the use of the Court's ship the *Durrington*. The Council advanced him that sum out of the Court's cash at the island and took bills of exchange drawn [...]. **Interpretations** The leave to enlist soldiers from the King's land forces aboard the squadron marked a rare chance for the island to make up its chronic want of men, the Company empowered by its own directions to draw recruits from the navy's troops with the admiral's consent. The meagre yield of sixteen men against a shortfall of thirty shows how hard the garrison was to fill even when a whole squadron lay in the road, the soldiers unwilling or unavailable, the establishment left short by nearly half despite the opportunity the fleet's presence gave. A bomb was a small warship mounting heavy mortars for bombarding shore targets, the *Basilisk* sailing with her tender under the admiral as part of the returning force, a reminder that the squadron gathered at the island carried the means of war as well as ships of the line. The whole passage, with its letters entered in consultation and its careful reference to the Court's directions, shows the Council conducting its dealings with the navy by the book, every step in the refusal of beef and the enlisting of men recorded and referred home for the Court's notice.
58	54	drawn on Saml Braund Esqr dated this day payable to your Honours or Order, ten days after Sight the first Bill goes herewith This waits on your Honours by your Ship Durrington, which will be followed in about a Week by your Ship Admiral Vernon We are St Helena Honble Sirs 17th Feb 1749 Your most Obedt & most hum Servants Signed Cha Hutchinson David Hunter John Clark List of the Honble Companys Packet from St Helena P Ship Durrington with the foregoing Letter dated the 17th Feb 1749 Viz No 1 Govr & Councils General Letter dated 17th Feb 1749 2 Duplicate Govr & Councils General Letter dated 13 Feb 1749 3 Consultations from the 12 to the 17 Feb 1749	Drawn on Samuel Braund Esq, dated that day, payable to the Court or order ten days after sight, the first bill going home by this conveyance. This letter went by the Court's ship the *Durrington*, which would be followed in about a week by the Court's ship the *Admiral Vernon*. The letter closed at St Helena on 17 February 1749, signed by Charles Hutchinson, David Hunter and John Clark. The list of the Company's packet sent from St Helena by the *Durrington*, with the letter of 17 February 1749, ran as follows: 1: Governor and Council general letter dated the 17th of February 1749 2: Duplicate Governor and Council general letter dated the 13th of February 1749 3: Consultations from the 12th to the 17th of February 1749 4: Duplicate consultations from the 21st of August to the 5th of February 1749 5: Second receipt for the packet by the Danish ship called the Copenhagen 6: Second receipt for the packet by His Majesty's ship Sheerness 7: First receipt for the packet by the Royal George

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		4 Duplicate Consultations from y 21 August to the 5 Feb 1749 5 Second receipt for the Packet P the Dane Ship called y Copenhagen 6 Second receipt for the Packet P his Majestys Ship Sheerness 7 First Receipt for the Packet P Ship Royal George 8 Duplicate Cash Acct from the 19 to the 31 Aug 1749 9 Do for the Month of Sepr 1749 10 Do for the Month of Octor 1749 11 Do for the Month of Novr 1749 12 Do for the Month of Decr 1749	8: Duplicate cash account from the 19th to the 31st of August 1749 9: Duplicate cash account for the month of September 1749 10: Duplicate cash account for the month of October 1749 11: Duplicate cash account for the month of November 1749 12: Duplicate cash account for the month of December 1749
59	55	13 Duplicate Cash Acct for the Month of Janry 1749 14 Do from the 1 to the 17th Feb 1749 15 Cash Acct from the 8 to the 17 Feby 1749 16 Duplicate List of the Packet P Ship Royal George 17 List of Officers & Servts upon the Island St Helena taken 17 Feby 1749 18 Duplicate List of Mar Yca from the 14 Aug to y 7 Feb 1749 19 Duplicate Ship Royal Georges Account 20 Ship Durringtons Account 21 Duplicate List of Familys taken the 30th Sepr 1749 22 Duplicate List of Rents taken the 30 Sepr 1749 23 Duplicate List of the Honble Companys Blacks taken 30 Sep 1749 24 First Bill of Exchange drawn on Samuel Braund Esqr To the Honble &ca Honble Sirs We wrote to you last by your Honours Ships the Durrington Capt Rich Crabb, that Sailed from hence on the 18th instant, a Duplicate of that Letter goes herewith We Transmitted to your Honours all the Accts & Papers down to that time, the last Ship Sailed & now waits on you, by your Ship Admiral Vernon what has since occurd We are Sorry to acquaint your Honours that our Season Rains are not yet set in, & if they should not fall in a short time there will soon be a want of herbage for the Cattle We are St Helena Honble Sirs 22nd Feby 1749 Your most Obedt & most Hum Sert Signed Charles Hutchinson David Hunter John Clark List	The remaining items of the packet list ran on as follows: 13: Duplicate cash account for the month of January 1749 14: Duplicate cash account from the 1st to the 17th of February 1749 15: Cash account from the 8th to the 17th of February 1749 16: Duplicate list of the packet by the Royal George 17: List of officers and servants upon the island of St Helena taken the 17th of February 1749 18: Duplicate list of marines and others from the 14th of August to the 7th of February 1749 19: Duplicate Royal George account 20: Durrington account 21: Duplicate list of families taken the 30th of September 1749 22: Duplicate list of rents taken the 30th of September 1749 23: Duplicate list of the Company's blacks taken the 30th of September 1749 24: First bill of exchange drawn on Samuel Braund Esq The Council addressed the Court, opening a fresh general letter. The Council's previous letter had gone by the Court's ship the *Durrington* under Captain Richard Crabb, which sailed on the 18th. A duplicate of that letter now went home. The Council had transmitted all the accounts and papers down to the time the last ship sailed, and this letter, by the Court's ship the *Admiral Vernon*, carried what had since occurred. The Council was sorry to report that the winter rains were not yet set in, and if they should not fall in a short time, there would soon be a want of herbage for the cattle. The letter closed at St Helena on 22 February 1749, signed by Charles Hutchinson, David Hunter and John Clark. **Interpretations** The failure of the winter rains to set in on time carried the threat of the drought into another season, the want of herbage for the cattle following hard on the beef scarcity already reported, the island's whole economy of stock resting on rains that had not come. The Council's plain notice of the danger shows the constant dependence of the settlement on its weather, a late season enough to put the cattle in peril and the provisioning of the shipping in doubt, the island never more than a dry month from want.
60	56	List of the Honble Companys Packet from St Helena P Ship Admiral Vernon with the foregoing Letter dated the 22nd Feb 1749 Vizt No 1 Govr & Councils General Letter dated the 22 Feb 1749 2 Duplicate Govr & Councils General Letter dated the 17 Feby 1749 3 Consultation of the 19 Feb 1749 4 Duplicate Consultations from the 12 to the 17th Feb 1749	The list of the Company's packet sent from St Helena by the *Admiral Vernon*, with the letter of 22 February 1749, ran as follows: 1: Governor and Council general letter dated the 22nd of February 1749 2: Duplicate Governor and Council general letter dated the 17th of February 1749 3: Consultation of the 19th of February 1749 4: Duplicate consultations from the 12th to the 17th of February 1749 5: First receipt for the packet by the Durrington

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		5 First Receipt for the Packet P Ship Durrington 6 Second Receipt for the Packet P Ship Royall George 7 Second Bill of Exchange drawn on Saml Braund Esqr 8 Ship Admiral Vernons Account 9 Duplicate Ship Durringtons Account 10 List of Officers & Servants Upon the Island St Helena taken the 22 Feby 1749 11 Duplicate List of the Packet P Ship Durrington 12 Cash Acct from the 18 to the 22 Feby 1749 13 Duplicate Cash Acct from the 8 to the 17 Feby 1749 To the Honble &ca Honble Sirs We wrote to you last by your Ship the Admiral Vernon Capt Edmund Cooke that Sailed from hence on the 23rd of last Month On the 3rd 4th and 8th instant arrived your Ships Doddington Capt Benjn Mason Chesterfield Capt Edwin Carter Somerset Capt Thos Polson & Pelham Capt George Lindsay We were informd by Capt Thos Polson that	6: Second receipt for the packet by the Royal George 7: Second bill of exchange drawn on Samuel Braund Esq 8: Admiral Vernon account 9: Duplicate Durrington account 10: List of officers and servants upon the island of St Helena taken the 22nd of February 1749 11: Duplicate list of the packet by the Durrington 12: Cash account from the 18th to the 22nd of February 1749 13: Duplicate cash account from the 8th to the 17th of February 1749 The Council addressed the Court, opening a fresh general letter. The Council's previous letter had gone by the Court's ship the *Admiral Vernon* under Captain Edmund Cooke, which sailed on the 23rd of last month. On the 3rd, 4th and 8th arrived the Court's ships *Doddington* under Captain Benjamin Mason, *Chesterfield* under Captain Edwin Carter, *Somerset* under Captain Thomas Colson and *Pelham* under Captain George Lindsay. The Council was informed by Captain Thomas Colson that [...].
61	57	he met with your Honours Ship Portfield Capt Legette in the Latitude of 39 South & about a degree to the Eastward of Cape Lagullas on the 16th day of Feb last in good condition, & that he parted Company with your Ships Edgcoat & Delawar two days after he left Princess Island they intending to touch at the Cape, your Ship Rhoda Capt McNamara, is just now arrived, & acquaints us that the Royal Duke Sprung her Mainmast in the Strait of Banca, & parted Company with them the 14 Decr to go to Batavia to refit 3 Since we wrote last to your Honours we have had some fine Rains, but this Morning it fell in such a Violent Manner that it caused rapid Torrents to run down several of the Valleys, by which many Plantations have been almost Destroyed, & some damage done to your Honours Fortifications We are Honble Sirs St Helena Your most Obedt & most hum Servants 12th March 1749 (Signed) Charles Hutchinson David Hunter John Clark List of the Honble Companys Packet from St Helena P Ship Doddington with the foregoing Letter dated the 12th March 1749 Vizt No 1 Govr & Councils General Letter dated the 13th March 1749 2 Duplicate Govr & Councils General Lettr dated the 22nd Feb 1749 3 Consultations from the 26 Feby to the 8th March 1749 4 Duplicate Consultation of the 19 Feb 1749	He met with the Court's ship *Portfield* under Captain Legette in the latitude of 39 south, about a degree to the eastward of Cape Agulhas, on 16 February, in good condition. He parted company with the Court's ships *Edgecote* and *Delaware* two days after he left Princes Island, they intending to touch at the Cape. The Court's ship *Rhoda* under Captain McNamara was just now arrived and reported that the *Royal Duke* sprung her mainmast in the Strait of Banca and parted company with them on 14 December to go to Batavia to refit. 3: Since the Council last wrote, the island had some fine rains, but that morning it fell in such a violent manner that it caused rapid torrents to run down a wall of the valley, by which many plantations were almost destroyed and some damage done to the Court's fortifications. The letter closed at St Helena on 13 March 1749, signed by Charles Hutchinson, David Hunter and John Clark. The list of the Company's packet sent from St Helena by the *Doddington*, with the letter of 13 March 1749, ran as follows: 1: Governor and Council general letter dated the 13th of March 1749 2: Duplicate Governor and Council general letter dated the 22nd of February 1749 3: Consultations from the 26th of February to the 8th of March 1749 4: Duplicate consultation of the 19th of February 1749 **Interpretations** The Strait of Banca lay between Sumatra and the island of Banca on the route from China through the Java Sea, and the *Royal Duke*'s springing her mainmast there and turning aside to Batavia to refit marked once more the hazards of the eastern passage, a ship crippled far from home and forced to seek a port to repair. Batavia, the Dutch headquarters on Java, served as the great refitting station of those seas, the Company's ships resorting to it in distress as the *Royal Duke* did here. The violent rain that sent torrents down the valley and almost destroyed many plantations shows the other face of the island's dependence on its weather, the same want of rain that threatened the cattle now answered by a flood that tore up the crops and damaged the fort. The island's sudden heavy rains, falling on its steep ground, carried away the thin soil and the plantings together, so that drought and deluge

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			alike menaced the settlement, the extremes of its climate as much a danger as its remoteness.
62	58	5 Second Receipt for the Packet P Ship Durrington 6 First Receipt for the Packet P Ship Admiral Vernon 7 Duplicate Ship Admiral Vernons Account 8 Ship Doddingtons Account 9 Ship Chesterfield Account 10 List of Officers & Servants taken the 12th March 1749 11 Duplicate List of the Packet P Ship Admiral Vernon 12 Duplicate Cash Account from the 18 to the 22nd Feb 1749 13 Cash Acct from the 23 to the 28th Febry 1749 14 Cash Account from the 1 to the 12th March 1749 To the Honble &ca Honble Sirs We wrote last to you by your Honours Ship the Doddington that Sailed from hence on the 13th instant in Company with your Ship Chesterfield We have bought of Capt George Lindsay 26.2.8 Rice at 10/ P C for the use of your Honours Slaves, as we have reason to apprehend that Yams will be scarce this Year Mr Frans Wrangham Senr applyed to us for liberty to pay £100 into your Honours Cash here which Sum we have received, & given him Bills drawn on your Honours for that Sum, payable to himself for Order Ninety days after Sight, dated the 19 instant This waits on your Honours by your Ship	The remaining items of the packet list ran on as follows: 5: Second receipt for the packet by the Durrington 6: First receipt for the packet by the Admiral Vernon 7: Duplicate Admiral Vernon account 8: Doddington account 9: Chesterfield account 10: List of officers and servants taken the 12th of March 1749 11: Duplicate list of the packet by the Admiral Vernon 12: Duplicate cash account from the 18th to the 22nd of February 1749 13: Cash account from the 23rd to the 28th of February 1749 14: Cash account from the 1st to the 12th of March 1749 The Council addressed the Court, opening a fresh general letter. The Council's previous letter had gone by the Court's ship the *Doddington*, which sailed on the 13th in company with the *Chesterfield*. The Council had bought of Captain George Lindsay twenty-six hundredweight two quarters and eight pounds of rice at ten shillings per hundredweight, for the use of the Court's slaves, as it had reason to fear that yams would be scarce that year. Mr Francis Wrangham junior applied to the Council for leave to pay £100 0s 0d into the Court's cash at the island. The Council received that sum and gave him bills drawn on the Court for that sum, payable to himself or order, ninety days after sight, dated the 19th. This letter went by the Court's [...]. **Interpretations** The purchase of rice from Captain Lindsay against the fear of a scarcity of yams continued the island's standing course of eking out its own failing provisions with grain bought from the calling ships, the drought that threatened the cattle now feared for the yam crop as well. The Council bought ahead against the shortage it foresaw, the food of the Court's slaves secured from the shipping while the plantations stood in doubt, the same reliance on the traffic of the road that ran through the whole season's dealings. The bills taken of Francis Wrangham junior followed the settled course of turning cash paid in at the island into a claim on the Court payable ninety days after sight, the money received against the island's need of ready cash. Wrangham, a member of a family long in the Company's service at the island and himself lately bonded as a covenant servant, appeared here in the ordinary way of a man remitting his funds home through the Council's bills, the device serving the island and the remitter alike.
63	59	Ship Somerset that sails in Company with the Pelham and will be followed tomorrow by your Ship Rhoda Delawar and Edgecote We are St Helena Honble Sirs 20th March 1749 Your most Obedt & most Hum Sert (Signed) Charles Hutchinson David Hunter John Clark List of the Honble Company Packet from St Helena P Ship	Ship *Somerset*, that sailed in company with the *Pelham* and would be followed the next day by the Court's ships *Rhoda*, *Delaware* and *Edgecote*. The letter closed at St Helena on 20 March 1749, signed by Charles Hutchinson, David Hunter and John Clark. The list of the Company's packet sent from St Helena by the *Somerset*, with the letter of 20 March 1749, ran as follows: 1: Governor and Council general letter dated the 20th of March 1749 2: Duplicate Governor and Council general letter dated the 12th of March 1749 3: Consultations from the 12th to the 19th of March 1749

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		Somerset with the foregoing Letter dated the 20th March 1749 Viz No 1 Govr & Councils General Letter dated the 20th March 1749 2 Duplicate Govr & Councils General Letter dated the 12 March 1749 3 Consultations from the 12 to the 19th March 1749 4 Duplicate Consultations from the 26 Feb to the 8 Mar 1749 5 First Receipt for the Packet P Ship Doddington 6 Second Receipt for the Packet P Ship Admiral Vernon 7 Duplicate Ship Doddingtons Account 8 Do Ship Chesterfield Account 9 Ship Somersets Account 10 Ship Pelhams Account 11 List of Officers & Servants taken the 20th March 1749 12 Duplicate List of the Packet P Ship Doddington 13 Duplicate Cash Acct from the 23 to the 28th Feby 1749 14 Duplicate Cash Acct from the 1 to the 12 March 1749 15 Cash Account from the 13 to the 20th March 1749 To	4: Duplicate consultations from the 26th of February to the 8th of March 1749 5: First receipt for the packet by the Doddington 6: Second receipt for the packet by the Admiral Vernon 7: Duplicate Doddington account 8: Duplicate Chesterfield account 9: Somerset account 10: Pelham account 11: List of officers and servants taken the 20th of March 1749 12: Duplicate list of the packet by the Doddington 13: Duplicate cash account from the 23rd to the 28th of February 1749 14: Duplicate cash account from the 1st to the 12th of March 1749 15: Cash account from the 13th to the 20th of March 1749
64	60	To the Honble &ca Honble Sirs We wrote to you Yesterday by your Honours Ship Somerset, and as nothing Material has since occurd to advise your Honours off, we beg leave to Subscribe ourselves Honble Sirs St Helena Your most obedt & most humble Servants 21 March 1749 Signed Charles Hutchinson David Hunter John Clark List of the Honble Company Packet from St Helena P Ship Delawar with the foregoing Letter dated the 21 March 1749 Viz No 1 Govr & Councils General Letter dated the 21 March 1749 2 Duplicate Govr & Councils General Letter dated 20 Mar 1749 3 Consultation of the 21 Mar 1749 4 Duplicate Consultations from the 13 to the 19th Mar 1749 5 First receipt for the Packet P Ship Somerset 6 Second Receipt for the Packet P Ship Doddington 7 Duplicate Ship Somersets Account 8 Duplicate Ship Pelhams Account 9 Ship Delawar Account 10 Ship Rhodas Account 11 Ship Edgecotes Account	The Council addressed the Court, opening a fresh general letter. The Council's previous letter had gone the day before by the Court's ship the *Somerset*, and as nothing material had since occurred, it had only to subscribe itself. The letter closed at St Helena on 21 March 1749, signed by Charles Hutchinson, David Hunter and John Clark. The list of the Company's packet sent from St Helena by the *Delaware*, with the letter of 21 March 1749, ran as follows: 1: Governor and Council general letter dated the 21st of March 1749 2: Duplicate Governor and Council general letter dated the 20th of March 1749 3: Consultation of the 21st of March 1749 4: Duplicate consultations from the 13th to the 19th of March 1749 5: First receipt for the packet by the Somerset 6: Second receipt for the packet by the Doddington 7: Duplicate Somerset account 8: Duplicate Pelham account 9: Delaware account 10: Rhoda account 11: Edgecote account
65	61	12 List of Officers & Servants taken the 21 March 1749 13 Duplicate Cash Acct from the 13 to the 20th Mar 1749 14 Cash Acct from the 20 to the 21 March 1749 15 Duplicate List of the Packet P Ship Somerset To the Honble &ca Honble Sirs We wrote to you last by your Ship the Delawar Capt Wm Steevens that sailed from hence on the 21 day of last Month, with your Honours Ships Rhoda & Edgecote On the 24th day of the same Month Arrived your Ships Royal Duke from China, & a Dane Ship called the King of Denmark Capt Jesper With Burthen about one thousand Tons Mount 26 Guns & Carrys 175 Men loaded with Tea Chinaware & Sugar bound to	The remaining items of the packet list ran on as follows: 12: List of officers and servants taken the 21st of March 1749 13: Duplicate cash account from the 13th to the 20th of March 1749 14: Cash account from the 20th to the 21st of March 1749 15: Duplicate list of the packet by the Somerset The Council addressed the Court, opening a fresh general letter. The Council's previous letter had gone by the Court's ship the *Delaware* under Captain William Stevens, which sailed on the 21st of last month with the Court's ships *Rhoda* and *Edgecote*. On the 24th of the same month arrived the Court's ship *Royal Duke* from China, and a Danish ship called the *King of Denmark* under Captain Jesper With, of

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		Copenhagen As the last Quarters Receipts and Disbursements are made up to the 31 March, & those Accts not laid before us till the 16th instant, it makes it impossible to Balance the Cash untill that time, which is the reason that no other Cash Account except a Duplicate of the last goes to your Honours by this occasion The Govr hath paid into your Honours Cash £320 for which Sum we have given him Bills drawn on your Honours payable to himself for Order, Ninety days after Sight dated the 26 of last Month	about one thousand tons burthen, mounting twenty-six guns and carrying 175 men, laden with tea, chinaware and sugar and bound for Copenhagen. As the last quarter's receipts and disbursements were made up to 31 March, and those accounts were not laid before the Council until the 16th, it was impossible to balance the cash until then, which was the reason no other cash account except a duplicate of the last went home by this occasion. The Governor paid into the Court's cash £320 0s 0d, for which the Council gave him bills drawn on the Court, payable to himself or order, ninety days after sight, dated the 26th of last month. **Interpretations** The timing of the cash accounts turned once more on the fixed procedure that kept the last quarter's receipts and disbursements from the Council until the middle of the month, so that the cash could not be balanced until then and only a duplicate of the previous account could be sent. The Council gave the same explanation it had entered before, the reckoning tied to the day the quarter's papers came in, the delay set out to the Court as the necessary working of its own settled practice rather than any negligence. The Governor's payment of £320 0s 0d into the Court's cash for bills at ninety days after sight followed the standing device by which those with funds at the island remitted them home through the Council's drafts on London, the money received against the island's need of ready cash. The Governor here used the same channel as any private remitter, paying in his money and taking the Court's paper, the transaction serving the island's finance and his own the same way.
66	62	Your Honours Ship Griffen Capt Dettuck, is just now Arrived from China, & informs us that he left that place on the 28th December last, & that the Sandwich was to Sail about three days, & the Montfort in about three Weeks after him We are St Helena Honble Sirs 2 April 1750 Your most Obedt & most hum Servants (Signed) Charles Hutchinson David Hunter John Clark List of the Honble Companys Packet from St Helena P Ship Royal Duke with the foregoing Letter dated the 2nd April 1750 Vizt No 1 Govr & Councils General Letter dated the 2nd April 1750 2 Duplicate Govr & Councils General Letter dated the 21st Mar 1749 3 Consultation of the 26 March 1750 4 Duplicate Consultation of the 21 March 1749 5 Second Receipt for the Packet P Ship Somerset 6 First Receipt for the Packet P Ship Delawar 7 Duplicate Ship Delawar Account 8 Do Ship Rhodas Do 9 Do Ship Edgecotes Do 10 List of Officers & Servants taken the 2nd Apl 1750 11 Duplicate Cash Acct for the 21 March 1749 12 Duplicate List of the Packet P Ship Delawar 13 Ship Royal Dukes Account	The Court's ship *Griffin* under Captain Dettrick was just now arrived from China and reported that he left that place on 28 December, that the *Sandwich* was to sail about three days after, and the *Montfort* in about three weeks after him. The letter closed at St Helena on 2 April 1750, signed by Charles Hutchinson, David Hunter and John Clark. The list of the Company's packet sent from St Helena by the *Royal Duke*, with the letter of 2 April 1750, ran as follows: 1: Governor and Council general letter dated the 2nd of April 1750 2: Duplicate Governor and Council general letter dated the 21st of March 1749 3: Consultation of the 26th of March 1750 4: Duplicate consultation of the 21st of March 1749 5: Second receipt for the packet by the Somerset 6: First receipt for the packet by the Delaware 7: Duplicate Delaware account 8: Duplicate Rhoda account 9: Duplicate Edgecote account 10: List of officers and servants taken the 2nd of April 1750 11: Duplicate cash account for the 21st of March 1749 12: Duplicate list of the packet by the Delaware 13: Royal Duke account **Interpretations** The turn of the year in the reckoning fell here between the letters, the previous despatches dated 1749 in the old style and this one 2 April 1750, the year now advanced past the 25 March that ended the old calendar year. The Council's papers, made up to the fixed dates of the quarter and the accounting year, carried the settled machinery of the island's record across the change of year, the same run of consultations, receipts and ship accounts continuing without a break under the new date.

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67	63	To the Honble &ca Honble Sirs We wrote last to you by your Honours Ship Royal Duke Capt George Cumming that sailed from hence on the 3rd Instant On the 6th of this Month arrived a Dane Ship from China called the Queen of Denmark Capt Jens Werner Achelaye Burthen about 1000 Tons carrys 26 Guns & 170 Men loaded with Tea & China Ware bound to Copenhagen In our last Letter to your Honours we acquainted you with our reason for not Transmitting a State of the Cash to a later date, which is still the cause of our not sending one to your Honours by this occasion, as the last Quarters Accounts are not made up, and laid before us untill the 16th instant On the 31 of last Month died Mr Willm Hayes Adjutant, & as that Station requires one persons contant attendance, & Mr Thos Kirkpatrick having done that duty during Mr Hayes's illness, we have therefore thought proper to allow him half the Salary, Amounting to £31.2.6 P Annum, to continue in the Execution of that branch untill your Honours shall be pleased to send an Adjutant from England Your Honours Ship Montfort is just	The Council addressed the Court, opening a fresh general letter. The Council's previous letter had gone by the Court's ship the *Royal Duke* under Captain George Cumming, which sailed on the 3rd. On the 6th arrived a Danish ship from China called the *Queen of Denmark* under Captain Jens Werner Achelaye, of about one thousand tons burthen, carrying twenty-six guns and 170 men, laden with tea and chinaware and bound for Copenhagen. In its previous letter the Council had given the Court its reason for not transmitting a state of the cash to a later date, which was still the cause of its not sending one by this occasion, the last quarter's accounts not being made up and laid before the Council until the 16th. On 31 March Mr William Hayes, the adjutant, died. As that station required one person's constant attendance, and Mr Thomas Kirkpatrick had done that duty during Mr Hayes's illness, the Council thought proper to allow him half the salary, amounting to £34 2s 0d a year, to continue in the execution of that branch until the Court sent an adjutant from England. The Court's ship *Montfort* was just [...]. **Interpretations** An adjutant was the officer who assisted the commander in the daily administration and drilling of the garrison, a post requiring constant attendance, so that on the death of William Hayes the Council had at once to keep the duty filled. Its choice to appoint Thomas Kirkpatrick, who had already done the work through Hayes's illness, at half salary until the Court sent a replacement shows the island keeping an essential office running by a makeshift, the man on the spot confirmed in the duty he had already borne, the reduced pay marking the arrangement as temporary and the Court's own appointment awaited. The recurring difficulty over the cash accounts, entered yet again as the reason no fresh account went home, shows how firmly the island's reporting was bound to its fixed dates, the quarter's papers not ready until the middle of the month and the cash not to be balanced before. The Council's repeated setting out of the same explanation across successive letters shows its care to leave the Court in no doubt that the delay was procedural and unavoidable, the machinery of account keeping the same from ship to ship.
68	64	just now arrived from China & we are informed by Capt Vanslapp that he left Wampo the 17th January last & that the Sandwich sailed from thence about 9 days before him, he likewise, acquaints us that he saw two Ships in the Latitude of 36 South about 100 Leagues to the Eastward of the Cape one of which shewed Dutch Colours We are St Helena Honble Sirs 12th April 1750 Your most Obedt & most hum Sert Signed Charles Hutchinson David Hunter John Clark List of the Honble Companys Packet P Ship Griffin with the foregoing Letter dated the 12 April 1750 Vizt No 1 Govr & Councils General Letter dated the 12th April 1750 2 Duplicate Govr & Councils General Letter Dated 2nd April 1750 3 Consultations from the 2 to the 9th April 1750	Just now arrived from China. The Council was informed by Captain Vanslapp that he left Whampoa on 17 January, and that the *Sandwich* sailed from there about nine days before him. He likewise reported that he saw two ships in the latitude of 36 south, about 100 leagues to the eastward of the Cape, one of which showed Dutch colours. The letter closed at St Helena on 12 April 1750, signed by Charles Hutchinson, David Hunter and John Clark. The list of the Company's packet sent from St Helena by the *Griffin*, with the letter of 12 April 1750, ran as follows: 1: Governor and Council general letter dated the 12th of April 1750 2: Duplicate Governor and Council general letter dated the 2nd of April 1750 3: Consultations from the 2nd to the 9th of April 1750 4: Duplicate consultation of the 26th of March 1750 5: Second receipt for the packet by the Delaware 6: First receipt for the packet by the Royal Duke

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		4 Duplicate Consultations of the 26 March 1750 5 Second Receipt for the Packet P Ship Delawar 6 First Receipt for the Packet P Ship Royal Duke 7 List of the Honble Companys Officers & Servants taken 12 Apl 1750 8 Duplicate List of the Packet P Ship Royal Duke 9 Duplicate Ship Royal Dukes Account 10 Ship Griffins Account	7: List of the Company's officers and servants taken the 12th of April 1750 8: Duplicate list of the packet by the Royal Duke 9: Duplicate Royal Duke account 10: Griffin account **Interpretations** Whampoa was the anchorage below Canton where the European ships lay to load their China cargoes, the point from which the homeward China fleet took its departure, so that Captain Vanslapp's report of leaving there on 17 January fixed the start of his passage and that of the *Sandwich* before him. The Council gathered from each arriving China ship the dates of departure and the order of sailing of those still behind, building for the Court a picture of the homeward movement from Whampoa that no single ship could give. The sighting of two ships off the Cape, one under Dutch colours, was the ordinary stuff of the shipping intelligence the island collected, each arrival adding what it had seen on the passage to the Council's running account of the sea around the Cape. Such reports, thin and scattered as they were, were the only means by which the disposition of ships of every nation on the long road home could be known and forwarded, the island the gathering point for news that came only by chance meeting.
69	65	To the Honble &ca Honble Sirs We wrote last to you by your Honours Ship Griffin that Sailed from hence on the 12th Instant On the 16 day of this Month arrived your Honours Ship Suffolk from England, by which occasion we received a Packet from your Honours, which we opened, & read your Orders to us all which shall be punctually Obeyed This waits on your Honours by a Dane Ship called the Queen of Denmark & your Ship Montfort will be ready to Sail in a few days by which Opportunity we shall not omit answering your Honours Instructions to us P the Suffolk We are Honble Sirs St Helena Your most Obedt & most humble Servants 17th April 1750 Signed Charles Hutchinson David Hunter John Clark	The Council addressed the Court, opening a fresh general letter. The Council's previous letter had gone by the Court's ship the *Griffin*, which sailed on the 12th. On the 15th arrived the Court's ship the *Suffolk* from England, by which conveyance the Council received a packet from the Court. It opened the packet and read the Court's orders, all of which would be punctually obeyed. This letter went by a Danish ship called the *Queen of Denmark*. The Court's ship *Montfort* would be ready to sail in a few days, by which opportunity the Council would not omit answering the Court's instructions to it by the *Suffolk*. The letter closed at St Helena on 17 April 1750, signed by Charles Hutchinson, David Hunter and John Clark. **Interpretations** The arrival of the *Suffolk* from England with a packet of the Court's orders marked the turn of the correspondence from the island's reporting to the Court's commanding, the annual despatch from home carrying the directions the Council was bound to obey and answer point by point. The Council's practice of acknowledging the packet at once but reserving its full reply for the next departing ship shows the measured rhythm of the exchange, the orders received and read by one conveyance and answered in course by another, the long turn of ships between London and the island setting the pace of its governance.
70	66	To the Honble &ca Honble Sirs 1 We wrote to you last by a Dane Ship called the Queen of Denmark, that Sailed from hence on the 17th instant 2 By your Ship Suffolk we received your advices & instructions, & we are glad to find that your Honours have received our Letter to the 18th day of August last 3 By the List of Ships you sent Us we are pleased to find that they have Arrived in Safety	The Council addressed the Court, opening a fresh general letter. 1: The Council's previous letter had gone by a Danish ship called the *Queen of Denmark*, which sailed on the 17th. 2: By the Court's ship the *Suffolk* the Council received the Court's advices and instructions, and was glad to find that the Court had received its letters to 18 August. 3: From the list of ships the Court had sent, the Council was pleased to find they had arrived safely by 20 October. It hoped that season's ships would meet with the same good fortune. 4: The Court's directions with regard to the Committee of Secrecy would be punctually obeyed.

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		to the 20th of October last, & we hope that this Seasons Ships will meet with the same good fortune 4 Your Honours with regard to the Honble the Committee of Secrecy shall be punctually Obeyed 5 We will take all due care of the Stores you were pleased to send us P the Ship Suffolk, for which Supply we thank your Honours 6 The utmost Expedition shall be used to unload her in the ten Working Days, & the Commanders Dispatches delivered to him, & if he should not Sail then or soon after, we will have Sufficient reasons for his longer Stay, or protest against him, as your Honours have directed 7 We received a Copy of the Charterparty & shall not omit to transmit it in our Packet to your Honours Deputy Govr & Council of Fort Marlborough	5: The Council would take due care of the stores the Court had sent by the *Suffolk*, for which supply it thanked the Court. 6: The utmost expedition would be used to unload her in the ten working days, and the commander's despatches delivered to him. If he should not sail then or soon after, the Council would have sufficient reasons for his longer stay, or protest against him, as the Court had directed. 7: The Council received a copy of the charter party and would not omit to transmit it in its packet to the Court's Deputy Governor and Council of Fort Marlborough. **Interpretations** The Committee of Secrecy, a body of the Court like the earlier Secret Committee, handled the confidential business of the Company, its directions to be obeyed as a separate and guarded channel of command distinct from the ordinary correspondence. Its recurrence here, after the Secret Committee had been stood down at the peace, shows the Company keeping a confidential arm for matters not fit for the general letters, the island bound to its orders as to the Court's own. The provision for protesting against a commander who overstayed the ten working days turned on the charter party's discipline, the Council empowered to enter a formal protest laying the blame and the cost of any delay on the master, should he not sail when the terms required. A protest was a legal instrument preserving a claim, the Council's readiness to use it against a lingering captain the enforcement mechanism behind the unloading clause, the ship held to her time by the threat of a charge for demurrage recorded against her.
71	67	8 According to your Honours permission, we shall take one Chest of your Treasure, out of the Ship Suffolk, for the use of the Currant Year, of which we shall duely advise the Govr & Council of Fort Marlborough 9 If the Commander of the Swallow should pay any Money into your Cash here, we shall give him a Receipt for it & duely advise your Honours of what he so paid in 10 We will in all our Advices to your Honours be very carefull in inserting the Arrival & Departure of all Ships as you have been pleased to direct 11 And upon the Arrival of every Ship we will be very particular in enquiring after news relating to your Honours Affairs, & especially with regard to Shipping, which information we shall Communicate to you by the first Conveyance after we receive them 12 We shall take particular care to inform ourselves of the Quantity of Beef fit for Slaughter, early every Season & shall grant Licences to the Capts of your Ships that shall Arrive before the 25th of March to purchase such a Quantity of any of the Planters indifferently as we think can be Spared them, without distressing the Ships that shall Arrive after that time, of which we shall give timely & Publick Notice as your	8: According to the Court's permission, the Council would take one chest of the Court's treasure out of the *Suffolk* for the use of the current year, of which it would duly advise the Governor and Council of Fort Marlborough. 9: If the commander of the *Swallow* should pay any money into the Court's cash at the island, the Council would give him a receipt for it and duly advise the Court of what he paid in. 10: The Council would in all its advices to the Court be very careful in inserting the arrival and departure of all ships, as the Court had directed. 11: Upon the arrival of every ship the Council would be very particular in enquiring after news relating to the Court's affairs, and especially with regard to shipping, which information it would communicate to the Court by the first conveyance after it received it. 12: The Council would take particular care to inform itself of the quantity of beef fit for slaughter early every season, and would grant licences to the captains of the Court's ships that should arrive before 25 March to purchase such a quantity of any of the planters indifferently as it thought could be spared them, without distressing the ships that should arrive after that time, of which it would give timely and public notice, as the Court had directed. The ships that arrived after 25 March would be permitted to supply themselves with what quantity the commander required and the planters could spare. There would be no price fixed for the beef, the planters supplying the Court's own ships or selling at market, and they would be limited not to supply foreigners under a certain [...]. **Interpretations** The Court's answer to the contest over cattle set up the very regulation the Council had asked for a year before, the earlier ships to buy under licence a share the Council judged could be spared, the later ships to take what the planters could supply, and

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		Honours have been pleased to direct, & the ships that Arrive after the said 25th of March shall be permitted to Supply themselves with what Quantity the Commanders require, and the Planters can spare, there shall be no price fixed for the Beef the Planters Supply your own Ships or sell at Market & they shall be limitted not to supply Foreigners under Cognizance	public notice given of the date dividing the two. The scheme met the problem of the ships that could not touch at the Cape and relied wholly on the island, the licensing system rationing the earlier demand so that the later arrivals should not find the herd already drawn down, the Court resolving from London the difficulty the Council had laid before it. The direction that the planters be limited not to supply foreigners marked the Company's care to keep the island's provisions for its own and the King's ships, the foreign East India vessels that called for refreshment not to be served beyond a bound while the Company's ships had need. The reservation set the interest of the Company's own shipping above the trade the planters might drive with the Dutch, Danish and Swedish ships, the beef of the island kept as far as possible to the service for which the station existed. Speculations The Court chose to leave the beef price unfixed, the planters free to supply the Company's ships or sell at market as they would, though the Council had pressed a year before for a single fixed price to stop the planters holding back from the market for the better rate the ships paid. The reason shows in the Court's larger settlement of the cattle question, the whole difficulty met instead by the licensing of purchase before and after 25 March, so that the supply was rationed by permission rather than governed by a fixed rate. The Court passed over the Council's proposed remedy for a different one, preferring to control who might buy and when over dictating the price, and so met the same end by regulating the demand rather than the terms of sale.
72	68	13 We thank your Honours for complying with our Indent in so full a Manner, & we hope our next will meet with your Approbation 14 We shall fix upon a plan of a House to be built in the Country, with the Scantlings of the Timber & an exact description of the Materials wanted for it, which we shall transmit to your Honours by some of your latter Ships, & then Submit it to your Approbation, whether you will approve of it, or the alteration in the present House in our Letter of the 15th of September last, the Deals your Honours have been pleased to send, shall be laid by for the use you have directed 15 We shall pay Mr Frans Wrangham the Salary & Diet Money you have been pleased to order, from the time he was appointed Secretary, deducting what he has received in that time as Factor, for which he returns your Honours his most humble thanks 16 James Facey whom your Honours entertained to be your Gardener at this Island is not Arrived, so that we shall Still want a person Qualified in that Branch as Willm Down the present Gardener is not willing to remain here any Longer 17 We acquainted the Reverend Mr Wm Loveday with your Honours Orders relating to him, & accordingly discharged him your Service, with Orders to proceed to England as soon	13: The Council thanked the Court for complying with its indent in so full a manner and hoped its needs would meet with the Court's approval. 14: The Council would fix upon a plan of a house to be built in the country, with the scantlings of the timber and an exact description of the materials wanted for it, which it would transmit to the Court by some of its later ships and submit to its approval, whether the Court would approve of that or the alteration to the present house proposed in its letter of 15 September. The deals the Court had sent would be laid by for the use the Court had directed. 15: The Council would pay Mr Francis Wrangham the salary and diet money the Court had ordered from the time he was appointed secretary, deducting what he had received in that time as factor, for which he returned the Court his most humble thanks. 16: James Carey, whom the Court entertained to be its gardener at the island, was not arrived, so that the Council would still want a person qualified in that branch, as William Down, the present gardener, was not willing to remain any longer. 17: The Council informed the Reverend Mr William Loveday of the Court's orders relating to him, and accordingly discharged him from the Court's service with orders to proceed to England as soon as might be, the present ship not having room to accommodate him without inconvenience to the gentlemen supercargoes on board, and he not having time to settle his affairs [...]. **Interpretations** Scantlings were the measured dimensions to which timber was cut, the length, breadth and thickness of each piece, so that the Council's promise to send the scantlings with the house plan meant a specification exact enough for the Court to supply the very timber required. Deals were sawn planks of softwood, the boards the Court had sent to be kept for the building, the whole exchange showing how a house at a treeless island had to be framed from wood

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		as may be, the present Ship not having room to accommodate him without inconveniency to the Gentlemen Supra Cargoes that are on board, & he not having time to Settle his Affairs here	shipped out and cut to a plan settled by correspondence with London. The alternatives set before the Court, a wholly new house in the country or the enlargement of the present one, carried forward the matter left open in the September letter, the Council still offering both courses and awaiting the Court's choice. The careful reference back to the earlier proposal shows the deliberate pace of a decision made across half the world, the building held in suspense from one exchange of ships to the next while the Council prepared the plan and scantlings the Court would need to judge between the two.
73	69	we therefore permit him to stay untel a proper Opportunity Offers 18 The Reverend Mr John Debie who was to Succeed the aforesaid Mr Willm Loveday, Died about two days before, the Ship Suffolk arrived here, we therefore hope your Honours will be pleased to send us a Clergyman, to fill up that Vacancy by the next Storeship 19 Mr John Goodwin having represented to us that it would be very inconvenient to him to remove to the West coast, in the Ship Suffolk, on Account of his present bad State of Health begd leave to continue in his Station in your Honours Service here, which we have Consented to untel your Honours pleasure is further known as you have not been pleased to appoint any other person to Succeed him 20 Your Honours separate Letter to us with regard to the Employment of Benjamin Robins Esqr your Engineer General of all your Settlements in the East Indies, & of this your Island on his Arrival here shall be punctually Complyed with, unless we shall in the mean time receive any Orders from your Honours to the Contrary 21 The Land Mortgaged by Mr Wright for £70 has been sold for just that Sum, with the Interest thereon and shall be carried to the Credit of his Accounts, the Balance of which shall be paid to such persons only, as has a legal right to receive the same by Virtue of a probat of the Will or Letters of Administration 22 We never have lent any of the Honble Companys Money nor ever shall lend any of it, or Money belonging to any other person, that may be lodged in your Cash	The Council therefore permitted him to stay until a proper opportunity offered. 18: The Reverend Mr John Debie, who was to succeed Mr William Loveday, died about two days before the *Suffolk* arrived. The Council therefore hoped the Court would send a clergyman to fill that vacancy by the next store ship. 19: Mr John Goodwin represented that it would be very inconvenient for him to remove to the west coast in the *Suffolk* on account of his present bad state of health, and begged leave to continue in his station in the Court's service at the island, which the Council consented to until the Court's pleasure was further known, as the Court had not appointed any other person to succeed him. 20: The Court's separate letter with regard to the employment of Benjamin Robins Esq, its engineer general of all its settlements in the East Indies, and of the island on his arrival, would be punctually complied with, unless the Council should in the meantime receive any orders to the contrary. 21: The land mortgaged by Mr Wright for £70 0s 0d had been sold for just that sum, with the interest thereon, and would be carried to the credit of his account, the balance of which would be paid to such persons only as had a legal right to receive it by virtue of a probate of the will or letters of administration. 22: The Council had never lent any of the Company's money, nor would it ever lend any of it, or money belonging to any other person that might be lodged in the Court's cash. **Interpretations** A probate of the will or letters of administration were the legal authorities by which a dead man's estate passed to those entitled, the one proving a will and the other granting administration where none was made, so that the balance of Mr Wright's account could be paid out only to those who held such authority. The Council's insistence on this formality guarded the estate against wrongful claims, the money kept until the law had settled who might receive it, the same care for lawful title that governed the whole handling of the dead at the island. The appointment of an engineer general over all the Company's eastern settlements, whose orders the island was to obey on his arrival, marked the Company's concern for the fortification of its stations, a single officer set over the works of the whole eastern establishment. The Council's readiness to comply, subject only to any contrary order, shows the island fitted into a wider structure of command in matters of defence, its fortifications part of a system directed from a level above the local Council. Speculations The Council consented to let John Goodwin stay at the island rather than remove to the west coast in the *Suffolk* as the Court's arrangement required, though the plain course was to send him on as ordered. It chose to keep him in his station until the Court's pleasure was further known, resting the decision on his bad state of health and on the

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			Court's not having named any successor to him. The reason shows on the page in these two grounds set down together, the Council unwilling to force a sick man on a voyage and unable to fill his place if he went, and so holding him where he was against the Court's direction until London should resolve the matter, the local necessity preferred to the letter of the order.
74	70	23 We will pay the Amount of the Effects of Benjamin Bentley, to Capt Fowler, or the Commander for the time being of your Honours Ship Duke of Newcastle, when she Arrives, & take his Receipt, for the same, as you have been pleased to Order 24 We are glad to find that your Honours approve of the Notice we have taken of the Desertions of your Military which we shall continue to do, & remind every Commander that your Honours will highly, resent their carrying any person off the Island without an Order in Writing from us 25 We will not omit sending you the Names of any of your Military that should be hereafter Discharged in the same Ship on which they proceed the ten Shillings they paid for their Discharge, has been for many Years past a Customary Fee to the Secretary but according to your Honours Orders it shall be no longer Continued 26 We have not been able to procure, from his Majestys returning Ships any more than 13 Men & with those we have since enlisted we now want 31 Men to Compleat your Honours Military here 27 Mr James Repington arrived here, by the Ship Suffolk, who we have placed second Lieutenant to the first Company he shall be paid the usual Salary & Diet Money as your Honours have directed We have appointed Sergeant Kennedy to the other Vacancy, altho not one of the oldest sergeants but because we think him the best Qualified for an Officer which we suppose to be your Honours intentions	23: The Council would pay the amount of the effects of Benjamin Bentley to Captain Fowler, or the commander for the time being of the Court's ship *Duke of Newcastle*, when she arrived, and take his receipt for the same, as the Court had ordered. 24: The Council was glad to find the Court approved of the notice it had taken of the desertions of its military, which it would continue to do, and reminded every commander that the Court would highly resent their carrying any person off the island without an order in writing from the Council. 25: The Council would not omit sending the names of any of the Court's military that should thereafter be discharged, by the same ship on which they proceeded. The ten shillings paid for their discharge had for many years been a customary fee to the secretary, but according to the Court's orders it would be no longer continued. 26: The Council had not been able to procure from His Majesty's returning ships any more than thirteen men, and with those it had since enlisted, it now wanted thirty-one men to complete the Court's military at the island. 27: Mr James Repington arrived by the *Suffolk*, whom the Council placed as second lieutenant to the first company. He would be paid the usual salary and diet money, as the Court had directed. The Council appointed Sergeant Kennedy to the other vacancy, though not one of the oldest sergeants, because it thought him the best qualified for an officer, which it supposed to be the Court's intention [...]. **Interpretations** The customary fee of ten shillings paid to the secretary on a soldier's discharge, now stopped by the Court's order, was one of the many small perquisites that had grown up about the island's offices, an established charge on a routine act that the Court moved to abolish as an abuse. The Council's plain acceptance of its ending shows the Court reaching into the minor customs of the station to cut the incidental gains of its servants, the perquisite defended only as long usage before the order swept it away. The promotion of Sergeant Kennedy over older men because the Council judged him the best fitted for an officer shows the choice of merit over seniority in filling a commission, the Council reading the Court's intention as the advancement of the fittest rather than the longest served. The reasoning marked a deliberate departure from the claim of length of service, the Council justifying the leap by the Court's own supposed wish, the making of an officer treated as a matter of fitness for command and not of turn. Speculations The Council passed over the oldest sergeants and appointed Kennedy to the vacant commission, though seniority gave the elder men the stronger claim to promotion. It chose the man it thought best qualified for an officer, resting the decision on his fitness for command and on what it supposed to be the Court's own intention. The reason shows on the page in the plain admission that Kennedy was not one of the oldest sergeants, the Council setting aside the ordinary expectation of advancement by turn in favour of capacity, and grounding the departure in the Court's presumed preference for the fittest, so

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			that the choice of an officer was made on merit against the pull of service.
75	71	intentions & therefore hope it will meet with your Approbation there is Stile another Vacancy by the Resignation of Lieutenant Ashwick, which we shall not fill untel we know your Honours pleasure about it 28 We will for the future write all our Bills upon half a Sheet as your Honours have been pleased to Direct 29 All our Advices & Accounts shall for the time to come be wrote upon Demy Paper, & the Secretary directed to fold them up, as your Honours have Ordered 30 The List of Remains of Stores shall for the future be made out in the Manner your Honours have been pleased to direct except inserting the weights of the Anchors that now remain, there being no mark of any Weight to be seen upon them, and as there is no Conveniency in the Island, that we can weigh them with 31 We will continue to observe your Honours Orders in the Description of all Stores short delivered 32 According to your Honours approbation we shall Sell some of your old Furniture, if upon a due inspection it is found to be useless 33 None of your Military shall for the future be Discharged untel they have served their full Contract time on any pretence whatever 34 We acquainted the Inhabitants with your Honours Directions regarding their Rents, which are to be at the same rate as formerly, at the expiration of your indulgence 35 On Mr Browns Attorneys application to us we will	The Council hoped it would meet with the Court's approval. There was still another vacancy by the resignation of Lieutenant Astwick, which the Council would not fill until it knew the Court's pleasure about it. 28: The Council would in future write all its bills upon half a sheet, as the Court had directed. 29: All the Council's advices and accounts would in future be written upon demy paper, and the secretary was directed to fold them up as the Court had ordered. 30: The list of remains of stores would in future be made out in the manner the Court had directed, except inserting the weights of the anchors that then remained, there being no mark of any weight to be seen upon them, and no means at the island by which they could be weighed. 31: The Council would continue to observe the Court's orders in the description of all stores short delivered. 32: According to the Court's approval, the Council would sell some of the Court's old furniture, if on a due inspection it was found to be useless. 33: None of the Court's military would in future be discharged until they had served their full contracted time, on any pretence whatever. 34: The Council informed the inhabitants of the Court's directions regarding their rents, which were to be at the same rate as formerly at the expiration of their indulgence. 35: Mr Browne the attorney's application to the Council would [...]. **Interpretations** Demy paper was a standard size of writing paper, and the Court's instruction that advices and accounts be written on it and the bills on half a sheet shows the Company reaching even into the format of the island's correspondence, imposing a uniform make-up of paper and folding across its distant stations. The exactness of the direction, down to the folding of the sheets, marks the Company's concern for an orderly and consistent record, the paperwork of a station months distant regulated to a common standard for the ease of the office at home. The rents to be restored to the former rate at the expiration of the inhabitants' indulgence marked the ending of a period of relief, the reduced rents allowed as an indulgence during hard years now to return to their old level. The direction touched the standing tension between the Court's revenue and the planters' poverty, the relief granted for a time and withdrawn by order, the inhabitants' rents raised again to the customary rate once the term of grace ran out.
76	72	will give them all the Assistance we can, in the recovery of any Sums of Money that shall appear to be due to him from any person in the Island 36 We will likewise Assist Mr Dunbars Attorneys in disposing of the Effects of John Collem Decd at the best advantage on their application, as your Honours have directed 37 A List of the Surgeons Instruments & Utensils shall be sent as your Honours have Ordered, with his Yearly indent for Medicine & Drugs 38 Mr John Desfountain returns your Honours his heimble thanks for your favour, in Ordering his Slave, whom he has received to be returned to him	Give them all the assistance it could in the recovery of any sums of money that should appear to be due to him from any person at the island. 36: The Council would likewise assist Mr Dunbar the attorney in disposing of the effects of John Collett, deceased, at the best advantage on his application, as the Court had directed. 37: A list of the surgeon's instruments and utensils would be sent as the Court had ordered, with his yearly indent for medicines and drugs. 38: Mr John Desfountain returned the Court his humble thanks for its favour in ordering his slave, whom he had received to be returned to him. 39: There were several effects belonging to the late Reverend Mr John Debie on board the *Suffolk*. The Council would in some convenient time receive them ashore, and such as were perishable dispose of at public auction.

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		39 There are several Effects belonging to the late Reverend Mr John Dobie, on board the Ship Suffolk we will in some Convenient time receive them on Shore & such as are perishable, dispose of at Publick Auction 40 Within the last 10 or 12 days Inflamatory Colds have raged so much in the Island, that most of the Inhabitants have laboured under that disorder in a severe manner, as well Blacks as Whites Your Honours having upwards of 10 Slaves down at present, but it has not yet proved Mortal to any Body 41 We are very sorry to acquaint your Honours that our Summer Rains have failed very much this Year, & if we have not a favourable Winter, with a good Summer leaven the next we apprehend there will be but very little Beef for your Honours Ships We are Honble Sirs St Helena Your most Obedt & most heimble Servants 23 April 1750 (Signed) Charles Hutchinson David Hunter John Clark	40: Within the last ten or twelve days inflammatory colds had raged so much at the island that most of the inhabitants had laboured under that disorder in a severe manner, both blacks and whites. The Council had upwards of forty slaves down at present, but it had not yet proved mortal to anybody. 41: The Council was very sorry to report that its summer rains had failed very much that year, and if it had not a favourable winter with a good summer beyond the next, it apprehended there would be but very little beef for the Court's ships. The letter closed at St Helena on 23 April 1750, signed by Charles Hutchinson, David Hunter and John Clark. **Interpretations** The inflammatory colds that struck down most of the inhabitants and upwards of forty slaves within ten or twelve days marked one of the epidemics that swept so isolated a community, a respiratory sickness running quickly through blacks and whites alike, the Council watching for mortality that had not yet come. Such outbreaks bore hardest on the Court's slaves, on whose labour the island depended, the sickness of forty of them at once a blow to the work of the settlement as much as a danger to their lives. The renewed warning of a failing summer and the threat to the beef supply carried the drought thread to the end of the letter, the island's power to victual the Court's ships again cast in doubt by the weather. The Council's plain statement that a poor season following the present one would leave very little beef shows how narrowly the provisioning of the fleet hung on the rains, the settlement's central service to the Company always at the mercy of a climate it could not command.
77	73	List of the Honble Companys Packet from St Helena P Ship Montfort with the foregoing Letter dated 23 April 1750 Vizt No 1 Govr & Councils General Letter dated the 23rd April 1750 2 Do Do dated the 12th April 1750 3 Do Do dated the 17th April 1750 4 Consultations from the 15 to the 23 April 1750 5 Duplicate Consultations from the 2 to the 9th April 1750 6 Second Receipt for the Packet P Ship Royal Duke 7 First Receipt for the Packet P Ship Griffin 8 First Receipt for the Packet P the Queen of Denmark 9 List of Officers & Servants taken the 23 April 1750 10 Duplicate List of the Packet P Ship Griffin 11 Duplicate Ship Griffins Account 12 Ship Montforts Account 13 Cash Account from the 22 to the 31 March 14 Cash Account from the 1 to the 23 April 15 Governours Letter to the Secret Committee To the Honble &ca Honble Sirs Our last Advices to you were by your Honours Ship Montfort, that Sailed from hence on the 23rd of April On the 9th instant Arrived your Ship Sandwich Capt John Barton, from China who informs us that	The list of the Company's packet sent from St Helena by the *Montfort*, with the letter of 23 April 1750, ran as follows: 1: Governor and Council general letter dated the 23rd of April 1750 2: Duplicate of the same dated the 12th of April 1750 3: Duplicate of the same dated the 17th of April 1750 4: Consultations from the 15th to the 23rd of April 1750 5: Duplicate consultations from the 2nd to the 9th of April 1750 6: Second receipt for the packet by the Royal Duke 7: First receipt for the packet by the Griffin 8: First receipt for the packet by the Queen of Denmark 9: List of officers and servants taken the 23rd of April 1750 10: Duplicate list of the packet by the Griffin 11: Duplicate Griffin account 12: Montfort account 13: Cash account from the 22nd to the 31st of March 14: Cash account from the 1st to the 23rd of April 15: Governor's letter to the Secret Committee The Council addressed the Court, opening a fresh general letter. The Council's previous advices had gone by the Court's ship the *Montfort*, which sailed on the 23rd of April. On the 3rd arrived the Court's ship *Sandwich* under Captain John Barton from China, who reported that [...].
78	74	that he left Princess Island the 3rd of February & your Ship Marlborough there, that Capt Parks told him	He left Princes Island on 3 February with the Court's ship *Marlborough*, and that Captain Parks told him he should go from there to Batavia and then proceed for the island.

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		he should go from thence to Batavia & then proceed for this Island Capt Barton likewise, acquaints Us that on the 3 of March, he saw a Sail in the Latitude, of 24.22 South standing to the Westward, & that on the 5 of the same Month being in the Latitude of 23.22 South he descried a Ship bearing South West of him As we now have not any Chaplain here, we have appointed Mr Beale the Clerk to discharge, some parts of that Office, until your Honours are pleased to send one Lieutenant Clark went on Monday last to Muster the Company of your Ship Sandwich when Capt Barton declared to him he had a Deserter from Bombay on Board, that went by the Name of Cornilius Mahoning, who was Called for, but did not Appear, a Search was thereupon made, but he could not be found, By the Description given of him, he was since seen upon the Island by some of the Soldiers, who have been & now are in pursuit of him, the Capt having Offered a reward of 10/ to any one that should secure him Capt Wilson of your Honours Ship Suffolk acquaints us that he shall be ready to Sail on Tuesday or Wednesday next We are St Helena Honble Sirs 13th May 1750 Your most Obedt & most hum Servants (Signed) Charles Hutchinson David Hunter John Clark	Captain Barton likewise reported that on 3 March he saw a sail in the latitude of 24 south standing to the westward, and that on the 5th of the same month, being in the latitude of 23 south, he descried a ship bearing south-west of him. As the Council now had no chaplain at the island, it appointed Mr Beale the clerk to discharge some parts of that office until the Court sent one. Lieutenant Clark went the Monday before to muster the company of the Court's ship *Sandwich*, when Captain Barton declared to him that he had a deserter from Bombay on board who went by the name of Cornelius Mahoney. He was called for, but did not appear, and a search was made, but he could not be found. By the description given of him, he was since known at the island by some of the soldiers, who had been and were in pursuit of him, the captain having offered a reward of ten shillings to anyone who should secure him. Captain Wilson of the Court's ship *Suffolk* reported that he would be ready to sail on the Tuesday or Wednesday following. The letter closed at St Helena on 13 May 1750, signed by Charles Hutchinson, David Hunter and John Clark. **Interpretations** The mustering of a ship's company on arrival was the means by which the island checked the men aboard against the ship's books, the count that turned up the deserter Cornelius Mahoney, brought from Bombay and hidden when called for. The desertion here ran the opposite way to the island's own losses, a man fleeing a Company ship into the island rather than off it, the same traffic of runaways between ship and shore that troubled the Council now working to land an unwanted man, the soldiers set to hunt him for the captain's reward. The appointment of Mr Beale the clerk to discharge some parts of the chaplain's office shows the island keeping its religious duties covered by a makeshift when the post fell vacant, a layman standing in for those parts of the service he could perform until an ordained man arrived. The arrangement, like the temporary filling of the adjutant's and surgeon's places, marked the island's constant expedient of keeping an essential office running through a substitute, the want of a chaplain met as far as a clerk could meet it while the Court's appointment was awaited.
79	75	List of the Honble Companys Packet from St Helena P Ship Sandwich with the foregoing Letter dated the 13 May 1750 Vizt No 1 Govr & Councils General Letter dated the 13th May 1750 2 Duplicate Do dated the 23rd April Do 3 Consultations from the 27 April to the 7th May Do 4 Duplicate Do from the 15 to the 23 April Do 5 Second Receipt for the Packet P Ship Griffen 6 Second Receipt for Do P the Queen of Denmark 7 First Receipt for Do P Ship Montfort 8 List of Officers & Servants taken the 13 May 1750 9 Duplicate List of the Packet P Ship Montfort 10 Do Ship Montforts Account 11 Do Cash Acct from the 22 to the 31 March 1750 12 Do Cash acct from the 1 to the 23 April Do 13 Cash Acct from the 24 to the 30th April Do 14 Do from the 1 to the 13 May Do 15 Ship Sandwichs Account To the Honble &ca Honble Sirs We wrote to you last by your Honours Ship the Sandwich Capt John Barton that went from hence on the 13 day of May last On the 23 of the same Month Arrived your	The list of the Company's packet sent from St Helena by the *Sandwich*, with the letter of 13 May 1750, ran as follows: 1: Governor and Council general letter dated the 13th of May 1750 2: Duplicate of the same dated the 23rd of April 1750 3: Consultations from the 27th of April to the 7th of May 1750 4: Duplicate of the same from the 15th to the 23rd of April 1750 5: Second receipt for the packet by the Griffin 6: Second receipt for the packet by the Queen of Denmark 7: First receipt for the packet by the Montfort 8: List of officers and servants taken the 13th of May 1750 9: Duplicate list of the packet by the Montfort 10: Duplicate Montfort account 11: Duplicate cash account from the 22nd to the 31st of March 1750 12: Duplicate cash account from the 1st to the 23rd of April 1750 13: Cash account from the 24th to the 30th of April 1750

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		Ship	14: Cash account from the 1st to the 13th of May 1750 15: Sandwich account The Council addressed the Court, opening a fresh general letter. The Council's previous letter had gone by the Court's ship the *Sandwich* under Captain John Barton, which sailed on the 13th of last May. On the 23rd of the same month arrived the Court's ship [...].
80	76	Ship Duke of Newcastle Capt Frances Fowler from Anjengo but last from the Cape, who will be ready to sail in three or four days Capt Fowler informs Us that Mr Swellengrebble Govr of the Cape, told him the very day he left it, that he just had received Intelligence of Priates infesting the Seas about Madagascar This waits on your Honours by a Dutch Ship that Arrived here from the Cape, the 31 of May, called the Waaksaamheid Capt Hondorff, Burthen between 7 & 8 Hundred Tons Loaden with Spices Bale Goods & Salt Petre, carrys 30 Guns & 113 Men bound for Enkhuysen in North Holland the Capt informs us that the Eendrayt another Dutch Ship of 900 Tons with the same Loading, sailed from thence when he did, & designs as he says to touch here, & that the Hercules of about 1000 Tons Burthen Laden likewise with spice & Bale Goods bound for Holland came to the Cape two days before, his Departure from it Just now arrived your Honours Ship the Salisbury Capt Burrow, who left Anjengo the 13 of March About the 15th April he descerned a small Vessel off Madagascar which bore down upon him, but night coming on he lost sight of her, In the Latitude, of 33 about 90 Leagues to the Westward of the Cape, he saw two Sail, one of which shewed French Colours Capt Burrow likewise informs us that your Honours	Ship *Duke of Newcastle* under Captain Francis Fowler from Anjengo but last from the Cape, who would be ready to sail in three or four days. Captain Fowler reported that Mr Swellengrebel, Governor of the Cape, told him the very day he left it that he had just received intelligence of pirates infesting the seas about Madagascar. This letter went by a Dutch ship that arrived from the Cape on 31 May, called the *Waaksaamheid* under Captain Hondorff, of between seven and eight hundred tons burthen, laden with spices, bale goods and saltpetre, carrying thirty guns and 113 men and bound for Enkhuizen in North Holland. The captain reported that another Dutch ship of 900 tons with the same lading sailed from there when he did, and designed, as he said, to touch at the island, and that the *Hercules* of about one thousand tons burthen, laden likewise with spice and bale goods and bound for Holland, came to the Cape two days before his departure from it. The Court's ship the *Salisbury* under Captain Burrows was just now arrived, who left Anjengo on 12 March. About 15 April he descried a small vessel off Madagascar which bore down upon him, but night coming on he lost sight of her. In the latitude of 33, about twenty leagues to the westward of the Cape, he saw two sail, one of which showed French colours. Captain Burrows likewise reported that [...]. **Interpretations** The intelligence of pirates infesting the seas about Madagascar, carried both by the Governor of the Cape and by Captain Burrows's own sighting of a small vessel that bore down on him, marked the revival of an old danger on the eastern trade route, the waters about Madagascar long a haunt of pirates preying on the Indiamen. The Council forwarded the warning home as a matter touching the safety of the Company's shipping, the reports of a lurking vessel and the Cape Governor's word gathered into the running account of the perils of the passage. Enkhuizen was one of the chambers of the Dutch East India Company in North Holland, the *Waaksaamheid*'s port of destination, her lading of spices, bale goods and saltpetre the staple return of the Dutch eastern trade. The passage of Dutch ships of great burthen past the island, tracked and reported like the Company's own, shows the shared sea road home crowded with the shipping of the rival companies, the Council noting each as it came for the news it brought and the picture it gave of the traffic round the Cape.
81	77	Honours Ship the Dragon Capt Kent, sailed from Anjengo about seven days before him, bound to this place, & that the Boscawen Capt Braund went from Tellichery the beginning of March last to Mocha, & the Brittannia Capt Somner, & the Sevens, Capt Dorrill, were Freighted from Bengall, for Surat We are St Helena Honble Sirs 3 June 1750 Your most Obedt & most hum Sert	The Court's ship the *Dragon* under Captain Kent sailed from Anjengo about seven days before him, bound for the island. The *Boscawen* under Captain Braund went from Silletory the beginning of last March to Mocha, and the *Britannia* under Captain Somner and the *Severn* under Captain Dorrill were freighted from Bengal for Surat. The letter closed at St Helena on 3 June 1750, signed by Charles Hutchinson, David Hunter and John Clark. The Council addressed the Court, opening a fresh general letter.

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		(Signed) Charles Hutchinson David Hunter John Clark To the Honble &ca Honble Sirs 1 We wrote last to your Honours by a Dutch Ship called the Waaksaamheid, that Sailed from hence on the 3rd Instant 2 On the 5th of this Month arrived your Honours Ship the Dragon Capt Henry Kent from Anjengo 3 On the 5 Arrived a French Ship from Mauritius called the Dragon Capt Le Cerf Commander Burthen 750 Tons carrying 20 Guns & 95 Men Loaden with Pepper & some Bale Goods, bound to Port Loriant in France 4 The Capt informs us that he spoke with an	1: The Council's previous letter had gone by a Dutch ship called the *Waaksaamheid*, which sailed on the 3rd. 2: On the 4th arrived the Court's ship the *Dragon* under Captain Henry Kent from Anjengo. 3: On the 5th arrived a French ship from Mauritius called the *Dragon* under Captain Le Cerf, of 750 tons burthen, carrying twenty guns and 95 men, laden with pepper and some bale goods and bound for Port L'Orient in France. 4: The captain reported that he spoke with [...]. **Interpretations** Port L'Orient was the home port of the French East India Company on the coast of Brittany, the French *Dragon*'s destination, her lading of pepper and bale goods the return of the French eastern trade, so that here two ships of the same name, one English and one French, lay in or near the island's road at once. Surat, to which the *Britannia* and *Severn* were freighted from Bengal, was the great Mughal port on the west coast of India, a centre of the country trade between the Indian ports in which the Company's ships engaged alongside their voyages home. The gathering of English, Dutch and French East Indiamen at or about the island within days of one another shows St Helena as a common landfall on the sea road from the East, the ships of all the trading nations converging on the same watering place round the Cape. The Council recorded each as it came, the nationality, burthen, force and lading of every vessel entered alike, the island a neutral station where the shipping of rival and friendly powers alike touched and was noted for the Court.
82	78	an English Ship the 8th of May last NS in the Latitude of 35 South about 20 Degrees to the Eastward of the Cape, but cannot tell us either the name of the Ship or Capt but by his Description of both we believe it to have been your Honours Ship the Prince Edward Capt Haldane which had touched at the Cape & sailed from thence the 12th of April last as we are informed by Capt Fowler 5 As we received an Account by Capt Fowler who had it from Mr Swellengrebble Govr of the Cape that some Pirates were cruising off Madagascar we asked the French Capt whether he had any Intelligence of it at Mauritius, who assured us that they had not heard of it there 6 Mr John French Master Gunner died on the 20th of May last, & as some body was required to take care of the Ordnance Stores & Artillery Company Mr John Clark offered to do it, which we approved of untuil your Honours send a Gunner from England 7 We beg leave to recommend to your Honours Nathaniel Sampler one of the Gunners mates for a small addition to his pay, which is less than that of a Sergeant as he has been many Years in your Service, is a Sober carefull Man, & is very well Qualified to Assist your Gunner in many respects 8 Mr John Goodwin applyed to us for liberty to pay £200 into your Cash we received it, & gave him two Setts of Bills drawn on your Honours, one Sett	An English ship on 8 May in the latitude of 35 south, about 20 degrees to the eastward of the Cape, but could not tell the Council either the name of the ship or the captain. By his description of both, the Council believed it to have been the Court's ship the *Prince Edward* under Captain Haldane, which had touched at the Cape and sailed from there on 12 April, as the Council was informed by Captain Fowler. 5: As the Council received an account by Captain Fowler, who had it from Mr Swellengrebel, Governor of the Cape, that some pirates were cruising off Madagascar, it asked the French captain whether he had any intelligence of it at Mauritius. He assured the Council that they had not heard of it there. 6: Mr John French, master gunner, died on 20 May. As somebody was required to take care of the ordnance stores and the artillery company, Mr John Clark offered to do it, which the Council approved of until the Court sent a gunner from England. 7: The Council recommended to the Court Nathaniel Sampler, one of the gunner's mates, for a small addition to his pay, which was less than that of a sergeant, as he had been many years in the Court's service, was a sober and careful man and was very well qualified to assist the gunner in many respects. 8: Mr John Goodwin applied to the Council for leave to pay £200 0s 0d into the Court's cash. The Council received it and gave him two sets of bills drawn on the Court, one [...]. **Interpretations** The care of the ordnance stores and the artillery company falling vacant on the master gunner's death, and John Clark stepping in until the Court sent a replacement, shows once more the island keeping an essential office filled by a member on the spot until London supplied a trained man. The gunner had charge of the fort's guns and powder, a post of the first importance to a fortified station, so that its immediate filling by a councillor marked the same

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			standing expedient by which the adjutant's, the surgeon's and the chaplain's places had been kept in temporary hands. The recommendation of the gunner's mate Nathaniel Sampler for a small addition to his pay rested on long service and proven fitness, the Council pressing the Court to reward a capable subordinate whose pay fell below a sergeant's. The plea shows the Council acting as the advocate of its deserving men before the Court that alone could grant an increase, the merits of a sober and useful servant of many years set out so that his low pay might be raised, the reward of service referred home as always to the masters who held the purse.
83	79	Sett for the Sum of £150 & the other set for £50 Payable to himself for Order, Ninety days after Sight, both setts dated the 28th of last Month 9 Your Honours Ship the Prince William Capt Willm Webber arrived here the 9th instant from Vizagapatam, which place she left the 9th of Feb last by which occasion we received a Letter from your President & Council at Fort William dated the 13th January last acquaints us that your Honours Ship the Edgbaston, was soon to be despatched from thence 10 Capt Webber informs us that the Elizabeth Capt Wells was to Sail from Fort St David the 3rd of Feby & the Tavistock Capt Cash was to leave, Bengall the Begining of March, that the Lapwing Capt Cheney arrived at Fort St David from England the 8th Jan last, & that the Fort St George Capt Mortimore, was sent from Fort St David to Madagascar for Slaves, We likewise, learn from him that the Walpole, Capt Lowe, was Freighted by the Govr & Council of Bengall for Judda 11 We have sold all the late Mr Debies Effects at Publick Auction, except some of his Books, & his Gown, Hassock, the Account Sales is Entred in Consultation of the 4th instant, & the Nett Balance amounting to £259.11.7 1/2 we have deposited in your Honours Cash, & wrote it off to Account Courant London, his Letters & other papers, with 2 Seals & 2 Rings goe enclosed in a small Box under the care of Capt Burrow, which is Directed to your Honours 12 Pursuant to your Orders, we have paid the produce	Set for the sum of £150 0s 0d and the other set for £50 0s 0d, payable to himself or order ninety days after sight, both sets dated the 28th of last month. 9: The Court's ship the *Prince William* under Captain William Webber arrived on the 9th from Vizagapatam, which place she left on 9 February, by which occasion the Council received a letter from the Court's President and Council at Fort William dated 13 January, reporting that the Court's ship the *Edgbaston* was soon to be despatched from there. 10: Captain Webber reported that the *Elizabeth* under Captain Wells was to sail from Fort St David on 3 February, the *Tavistock* under Captain Cash was to leave Bengal the beginning of March, the *Lapwing* under Captain Cheney arrived at Fort St David from England on 17 January, and the *Fort St George* under Captain Mortimore was sent from Fort St David to Madagascar for slaves. The Council likewise learned from him that the *Walpole* under Captain Lowe was freighted by the Governor and Council of Bengal for Jedda. 11: The Council had sold all the late Mr Debie's effects at public auction, except some of his books and his gown and cassock. The account of sales was entered in the consultation of the 4th, and the net balance, amounting to £259 11s 7½d, it deposited in the Court's cash and wrote off to account current London. His letters and other papers, with two seals and two rings, went home enclosed in a small box under the care of Captain Burrows, directed to the Court. 12: Pursuant to the Court's orders, the Council had paid the [...]. **Interpretations** Fort William was the Company's seat in Bengal at Calcutta, its President and Council the governing body of that presidency, so that the letter received from them, and the reports of ships freighted by the Governor and Council of Bengal, show the island in correspondence with the Company's chief eastern governments and forwarding their news home. Jedda, the Red Sea port serving Mecca, and Surat marked the country trade in which the Company's ships were let out on freight between the eastern ports, a traffic distinct from the homeward voyages that the island tracked all the same. The despatch of the *Fort St George* from Fort St David to Madagascar for slaves marked the Company's continuing resort to Madagascar as a source of the slave labour its eastern settlements required, the same trade that had lately supplied St Helena by the chance arrival of the *Swift*. The Council noted the voyage among the shipping intelligence as an ordinary movement of the fleet, the fetching of slaves from Madagascar a settled branch of the Company's business in those seas. The handling of the dead chaplain's estate, his effects sold but his books, gown and cassock kept back, and his papers, seals and rings sent home in a sealed box, shows the careful winding-up of a

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			servant's affairs at the island, the perishable and saleable turned to money and the personal and clerical reserved. The net balance deposited in the Court's cash and written to London account, and the private effects forwarded to the Court, mark the same orderly disposal of the dead that governed every such estate, the man's substance accounted to the penny and his keepsakes carried safely home.
84	80	produce of the Effects of Benjamin Bentley late Carpenters Mate of your Ship Duke of Newcastle, to Capt Fowler, & taken his receipt for the same 13 The Land Mortgaged by the late Mr Wright for £70 belonging to Bentleys Orphans, has been Sold for the same Sum, which with 3 Years Interest for it Amounting in the whole to £80.10 is Deposited in your Honours Cash, & carried to the said Orphans Credit 14 On the 28th of last Month some of the Planters layd before us a representation which we beg leave to refear your Honours to in our Consultation of that day & we think it our Duty to inform your Honours of some particulars relating to that Affair Vizt Soon after the Gentlemen of the Island were informed of your Honours intention not to Limet the price of Provisions Either to the Markett or to your Ships, a few of them Namely Mr Thos Greentree James Greentree &ca told us that the Market cou'd not be Supplyed any longer at the Usual price, & told us at the same time this was not only their private opinion but that the Majority of the Island concurred in it, upon which we desired them to make that Appear to us under their Hands they accordingly gave us a paper Signd, referd to as above, but we take liberty to observe, that several of those who Subscribe this paper have no Cattle to dispose of, their Names are thus X Marked in our Consultation, & the rest do not make a Majority Either of Hands, or of Stock we have on this	Produce of the effects of Benjamin Bentley, late carpenter's mate of the Court's ship *Duke of Newcastle*, to Captain Fowler, and taken his receipt for the same. 13: The land mortgaged by the late Mr Wright for £70 0s 0d, belonging to Bradley's orphans, had been sold for the same sum, which with three years' interest amounted in the whole to £80 10s 0d. It was deposited in the Court's cash and carried to the orphans' credit. 14: On the 28th of last month some of the planters laid before the Council a representation, which it referred to the Court in its consultation of that day. The Council thought it its duty to inform the Court of some particulars relating to that affair. Soon after the gentlemen of the island were informed of the Court's intention not to limit the price of provisions either to the market or to the ships, a few of them, namely Mr Thomas Greentree, James Greentree and others, told the Council that the market could not be supplied any longer at the usual price. They told it at the same time that this was not only their private opinion, but that the majority of the island concurred in it, upon which the Council desired them to make that appear under their hands. They accordingly gave the Council a paper signed, referred to above, but the Council observed that several of those who subscribed the paper had no cattle to dispose of, their names being marked in the consultation, and the rest did not make a majority either of hands or of stock the Council had on [...]. **Interpretations** The planters' representation that the market could not be supplied any longer at the usual price turned the Court's own decision not to fix the price of provisions into an occasion for the sellers to press for higher rates, the market supply held back against the better terms the ships now paid. The Council's testing of their claim to speak for the majority, by requiring the paper under their hands and then examining who had subscribed, shows it probing the pretence behind a combination of sellers, the plea of general concurrence checked against the actual holders of cattle. The Council's observation that several signers had no cattle to dispose of, and that the rest made no majority either of hands or of stock, marked its exposure of a claim dressed up as the general voice of the island but got up by a few interested men. The marking of the names in the consultation and the reckoning of the subscribers against the real distribution of cattle show the Council building a record to discredit the representation before the Court, the appearance of a majority pulled apart to reveal a minority of sellers pressing their own advantage under cover of the whole. Speculations The Council chose not simply to forward the planters' representation to the Court but to inform the Court of the particulars behind it, taking the trouble to mark in the consultation which signers had no cattle and to reckon the rest against the island's stock. The plain course was to pass on the paper as the planters' own act, yet the Council set itself to undermine it, because it saw the representation as the work of a few interested sellers

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			falsely claiming the majority's voice. The reason shows on the page in the careful anatomy of the subscribers, the Council preferring to arm the Court against a combination it distrusted than to transmit the paper without comment, and grounding its resistance in the demonstrated gap between the claim of general concurrence and the actual holders of cattle who had signed.
85	81	this occasion Consulted Messrs Wrangham Senr & Junr Purling Goodwin Powell Bazett, & several others the most Substantial Planters on this Head who say they see no necessity for raising the price of their Provisions, & therefore, will not join the others in a Scheme that must distress your Honours Garrison & Servants we have therefore thought it Justice to set the latter & the former in their different lights 15 The Gentlemen Planters in their Representation seeming to hint, that so much of their Pork, had not been taken as they could spare, We acquainted them, as the Govr had often done before, That it being absolutely necessary to have a pretty large Quantity of Flour & Salt Provision in your Honours Magazine, especially in a Time of War, to answer the Demands of your Ships & Garrison if the Seasons which are very uncertain should fail, they having told us that their Stocks could not be depended on, to do it, and as your Ships had of late required but little of that Provision it would run a Risque, of perishing, if it was not issued to your Garrison who therefore, must for these Reasons be Supplied chiefly with it, until the Whole was expended, to prevent any Loss to your Honours 16 We Transmit to you by this occasion, a plan and Elevation of the Plantation House, as it now is, likewise a Plan & Elevation of the Alterations we proposed to make in it as mentioned in our Letter of the 15 Sepr 1749 with a Computation of the Materials required for it, & also a Plan & Elevation of a new House, with a description of the several Materials, as your Honours directed in our General	This occasion the Council consulted Messrs Wrangham senior and junior, Purling, Goodwin, Powell, Bazett and several others, the most substantial planters on that head, who said they saw no necessity for raising the price of their provisions, and therefore would not join the others in a scheme that must distress the Court's garrison and servants. The Council therefore thought it just to set the latter and the former in their different lights. 15: The gentlemen planters in their representation seemed to hint that so much of their pork had not been taken as they could spare. The Council informed them, as the Governor had often done before, that it being absolutely necessary to have a pretty large quantity of flour and salt provision in the Court's magazine, especially in a time of war, to answer the demands of the Court's ships and garrison if the seasons, which were very uncertain, should fail, they having told the Council that their stocks could not be depended on to do it. As the Court's ships had of late required but little of that provision, it would run a risk of perishing if it was not issued to the garrison, who must therefore for these reasons be supplied chiefly with it until the whole was expended, to prevent any loss to the Court. 16: The Council transmitted by this occasion a plan and elevation of the Plantation House as it then was, likewise a plan and elevation of the alterations it proposed to make in it, as mentioned in its letter of 15 September, with a computation of the materials required for it, and also a plan and elevation of a new house, with a description of the several materials, as the Court had directed in its general [...]. **Interpretations** The division the Council drew between the two bodies of planters, the few pressing for higher prices and the substantial men refusing to join a scheme that would distress the garrison, set the interested minority against the responsible majority in the Court's eyes. The naming of Wrangham, Purling, Goodwin, Powell, Bazett and the rest as the weightier planters who saw no necessity for the rise shows the Council marshalling the island's leading men against the combination, the pretence of a general demand answered by the plain refusal of those with most cattle to disturb the settlement's own provisioning. The management of the magazine's salt provision turned on the need to keep a store against the failure of the uncertain seasons, the imported pork issued to the garrison rather than left to perish because the ships had lately taken little of it. The Council's care to use the provision before it spoiled, and to keep a reserve in a time of war against the demands of ships and garrison should the harvest fail, shows the standing prudence of a station that could not count on its own produce, the stores managed so that nothing was lost and something always held back against want. The dispatch of three sets of plans, the house as it stood, the proposed alterations and a wholly new house, each with its materials computed, brought the long-deferred question of the Plantation House to the point of decision, the Court given every option fully drawn to choose between. The provision of complete specifications for each course shows the

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			deliberate thoroughness of a building decision made by correspondence, the Council laying before the Court all it needed to judge, the choice of mending or rebuilding reduced to a comparison of drawn plans and reckoned materials.
86	82	General Letter P Ship Suffolk 17 Capt Francis Fowler applyed to us for liberty to pay £150 into your Cash which Sum we have received, & given him Bills of Exchange for it drawn on your Honours, Payable to himself for Order, Ninety days after Sight dated this day 18 On the 12th instant died Robert Meacock, your Honours Cooper, & as a person was much wanted for that employment & Capt Burrows being willing to spare his Cooper James Sorbell we have therefore, entertained him in your Service, at the usual Salary 19 This waits on your Honours by your Ship Salisbury which sails in Company with your Ships Duke of Newcastle, & Dragon, & will be followed soon by your Ship Prince William We are Honble Sirs St Helena Your most Obedt & most hum Sert 14 June 1750 (Signed) Charles Hutchinson David Hunter John Clark List of the Honble Companys Packet from St Helena P Ship Salisbury with the foregoing Letter, dated the 14th of June 1750 Vizt No 1 Govr & Councils General Letter dated the 14th June 1750 2 Duplicate Do dated the 13 May Do 3 Do Do dated the 3 June Do	General letter by the *Suffolk*. 17: Captain Francis Fowler applied to the Council for leave to pay £150 0s 0d into the Court's cash, which the Council received, and gave him bills of exchange for it drawn on the Court, payable to himself or order ninety days after sight, dated that day. 18: On the 12th died Robert Meacock, the Court's cooper. As a person was much wanted for that employment, and Captain Burrows being willing to spare his cooper James Torbett, the Council entertained him in the Court's service at the usual salary. 19: This letter went by the Court's ship the *Salisbury*, which sailed in company with the Court's ships *Duke of Newcastle* and *Dragon*, and would be followed soon by the Court's ship *Prince William* Weare. The letter closed at St Helena on 14 June 1750, signed by Charles Hutchinson, David Hunter and John Clark. The list of the Company's packet sent from St Helena by the *Salisbury*, with the letter of 14 June 1750, ran as follows: 1: Governor and Council general letter dated the 14th of June 1750 2: Duplicate of the same dated the 13th of May 1750 3: Duplicate of the same dated the 3rd of June 1750 **Interpretations** A cooper made and repaired the casks in which the island's provisions, water and stores were kept and shipped, a trade essential to a station that received and sent everything by sea in barrels, so that on Robert Meacock's death the Council had at once to fill the place. Its taking of James Torbett, spared by a calling captain, shows the same recourse to the passing ships that supplied the island its surgeons, gunners and other tradesmen, the want of a skilled man met from the shipping in the road until the trade could be otherwise supplied. The engagement of a cooper from a ship, following the earlier taking of a surgeon's mate, a gunner's stand-in and a clerk to serve as chaplain, shows how far the island depended on the calling vessels to keep its establishment complete. The ships that touched for refreshment served also as a floating reserve of skilled men, from whom the Council drew to fill the gaps that death and departure left, the station's working staff maintained as much by what the shipping could spare as by what the Court sent out.
87	83	4 Consultations from the 14 May to the 11th June 1750 5 Duplicate Consultations from y 27th Apl to the y 7th May 1750 6 Second Receipt for the Packet P Ship Montfort 7 First Do for the Packet P Ship Sandwich 8 First Do for the Packet P the Waaksaamheid a Dutch Ship 9 List of Officers & Servants taken the 14th June 1750 10 Duplicate List of the Packet P Ship Sandwich 11 Do Ship Sandwichs Account 12 Ship Duke of Newcastles Account 13 Do Salisburys Account 14 Do Dragons Account 15 Do Suffolks Account	The remaining items of the packet list ran on as follows: 4: Consultations from the 14th of May to the 11th of June 1750 5: Duplicate consultations from the 27th of April to the 7th of May 1750 6: Second receipt for the packet by the Montfort 7: First receipt for the packet by the Sandwich 8: First receipt for the packet by the Waaksaamheid, a Dutch ship 9: List of officers and servants taken the 14th of June 1750 10: Duplicate list of the packet by the Sandwich 11: Duplicate Sandwich account 12: Duke of Newcastle account 13: Duplicate Salisbury account

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		16 Duplicate Cash Acct from the 24 to the 30th Apl 1750 17 Do Cash Acct from the 1 to the 13 May Do 18 Cash Acct from the 14 to the 31 May Do 19 Do from the 1 to the 14 June Do 20 Indent of Stores wanted at St Helena for the Year 1751 21 Do of Medicines & Druggs for the Year 1751, & remains of the Surgeons Utensils 22 List of Marriages &ca 23 List of Remains of Stores taken from y 1 Oct 1749 to y 30 Apl 1750 24 List of Gunrs & Garrison Stores remain y the 30th Apl 1750 25 Plan & Elevation of the Plantation House as it now is 26 Plan & Elevation of the Alterations proposed to make in it 27 Plan & Elevation of a new House 28 a Computation of the Materials required for the Alterations & additions proposed to be made, at the Plantation House 29 A Computation of y materials required to build a house at the Plantation Garden 30 A Box containg y papers of y late Revd Mr John Debie under the care of Capt Burrows	14: Duplicate Dragon account 15: Duplicate Suffolk account 16: Duplicate cash account from the 24th to the 30th of April 1750 17: Duplicate cash account from the 1st to the 13th of May 1750 18: Cash account from the 14th to the 31st of May 1750 19: Cash account from the 1st to the 14th of June 1750 20: Indent of stores wanted at St Helena for the year 1751 21: Indent of medicines and drugs for the year 1751, and remains of the surgeon's utensils 22: List of marriages and others 23: List of remains of stores taken from the 1st of October 1749 to the 30th of April 1750 24: List of gunner's and garrison stores remaining the 30th of April 1750 25: Plan and elevation of the Plantation House as it then was 26: Plan and elevation of the alterations proposed to make in it 27: Plan and elevation of a new house 28: A computation of the materials required for the alterations proposed to be made at the Plantation House 29: A computation of the materials required to build a house at the Plantation Garden 30: A box containing the papers of the late Reverend Mr John Debie, under the care of Captain Burrows
88	84	To the Honble &ca Honble Sirs We wrote last to you by your Honours Ship the Salisbury Capt Burrows that Sailed from hence on the 14th instant in Company with your Ships Dragon & Duke of Newcastle On the 23 instant Arrived your Honours Ship the Edgbaston Capt Siddeman from Bengal, and a Dutch ship called the Barzyande Capt Martin Haningman Commander from Batavia, which place she left the 7th of March last NS Burther about 700 Tons carrys 26 Guns & 98 Men Loaden with Pepper, & Tea bound to Enkhuysen in Holland, the Capt informs us that your Honours Ship the Marlborough arrived at Batavia, two days before he left it, with a Spring Mainmast, that Capt Park was getting a new one, & would be ready to Sail from thence in about 8 days after him On the 24th day of the same Month arrived your Ship the Tavistock, Capt Cash from Bengal, by which Occasion we received a Letter from your Honours President & Council there, acquainting us that your Ship the Lapwing came to that place the 24th Feby last & we are informed by Capt Cash, that he spoke with a French ship off the Cape, which Ship arrived Yesterday, & is called the Prince Capt Robinant Commander she	The Council addressed the Court, opening a fresh general letter. The Council's previous letter had gone by the Court's ship the *Salisbury* under Captain Burrows, which sailed on the 14th in company with the Court's ships *Dragon* and *Duke of Newcastle*. On the 23rd arrived the Court's ship the *Edgbaston* under Captain Siddeman from Bengal, and a Dutch ship called the *Barry* under Captain Martin Haringman, commander, from Batavia, which place she left on 7 March, of about one thousand tons burthen, carrying twenty-six guns and 98 men, laden with pepper and tea and bound for Enkhuizen in Holland. The captain reported that the Court's ship the *Marlborough* arrived at Batavia two days before he left it, with a sprung mainmast, that Captain Parks was getting a new one, and would be ready to sail from there in about eight days after him. On the 24th of the same month arrived the Court's ship the *Tavistock* under Captain Cash from Bengal, by which occasion the Council received a letter from the Court's President and Council there, reporting that the Court's ship the *Lapwing* came to that place on 24 February. The Council was informed by Captain Cash that he spoke with a French ship off the Cape, which ship arrived the day before and was called the *Prince* under Captain Bobinant, commander [...]. **Interpretations** The report of the *Marlborough*'s arrival at Batavia with a sprung mainmast, forced to refit before she could proceed, marked once more the toll the long eastern passage took on the Company's ships, a vessel crippled far from home and delayed at the Dutch headquarters to repair. Batavia served as the great refitting station of those seas for the shipping of every nation, the Company's own ships resorting to it in distress, the news of the *Marlborough*'s delay carried on to the island by a Dutch ship that had left the same port. The letters received from the Company's Presidents and Councils in Bengal, and the reports of ships spoken with off the Cape, show the island

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			gathering intelligence of the whole eastern establishment and the sea road home from every quarter, the movements of ships between the Indian ports and toward Europe assembled from the accounts of all who came. The Council forwarded this mass of shipping news to the Court, the station serving as the point where the scattered reports of a fleet spread across half the world were collected and sent home.
89	85	she came from Mauritius the 5th of April last NS Burthen 900 Tons carrys 230 Men & 16 Guns but can Mount 64 loaden with Bale Goods & Pepper, bound to Port Loriant in France, the Capt acquaints us that he left Pondichery the 13 of Feby last NS & that your Honours Ship the Elizabeth was then at Fort St David Capt Burrow having left John Bray his gunner here in a very low Sickley condition, without either Money or Credit We therefore Ordered him to be sent to the Hospital, & to be taken care of, & Subsisted there Captain Burrows acquainting us that he had about £12 due to him for Wages in the Ship Salesbury, we take the liberty to mention this that his Wages, or such a part of them, as your Honours think proper, may be stopd to defray the charge of his Maintenance here Deals being much wanted in the Island, & no more Indented for than will be required to compleat with those now in Fort, the Quantity Sufficent for the alteration or rebuilding the Plantation House We therefore, have added 100 Double, & 100 Single Yellow Deals, & likewise some Coopers Tools as there are few, or none here, to the foot of the Duplicate of the Indent we now transmit which we beg your Honours will be pleased to direct to be sent with the other Supplys, for this place Christr Whitland Soldier was missing the day that the Salesbury Dragon & Duke of Newcastle sailed, & not being since heard of, we apprehend that he descried in one of those Ships We are St Helena Honble Sirs 28 June 1750 Your most Obedt & most hum Sert Signed Charles Hutchinson David Hunter John Clark	She came from Mauritius on 5 April, of 900 tons burthen, carrying 230 men and sixteen guns but capable of mounting sixty-four, laden with bale goods and pepper and bound for Port L'Orient in France. The captain reported that he left Pondicherry on 13 February, and that the Court's ship the *Elizabeth* was then at Fort St David. Captain Burrows having left John Bray, his gunner, at the island in a very low and sickly condition, without either money or credit, the Council ordered him to be sent to the hospital and taken care of and assisted there. Captain Burrows reporting that he had about £12 0s 0d due to him for wages in the ship *Salisbury*, the Council took leave to mention it, that his wages, or such part of them as the Court thought proper, might be stopped to defray the charge of his maintenance at the island. Deals being much wanted at the island, and no more indented for than would be required to complete with those then in store, the quantity sufficient for the alteration or rebuilding of the Plantation House, the Council added 100 double and 100 single yellow deals. It likewise added some cooper's tools, as there were few or none at the island, to the foot of the duplicate of the indent it now transmitted, which it asked the Court to direct to be sent with the other supplies for the island. Christopher Whitland, a soldier, was missing the day the *Salisbury*, *Dragon* and *Duke of Newcastle* sailed, and not being since heard of, the Council apprehended that he had deserted in one of those ships. The letter closed at St Helena on 28 June 1750, signed by Charles Hutchinson, David Hunter and John Clark. **Interpretations** The Council's proposal to stop part of the sick gunner John Bray's wages to meet the cost of his keep at the hospital shows the island recovering the charge of a stranded man's maintenance from what the ship still owed him, the care given but the expense charged against his own earnings. The arrangement, like the earlier handling of Richard Daman, marked the settled way the island dealt with men left behind sick or destitute, relieving them at once but looking to their wages or effects to bear the cost, so that the Court was not left out of pocket for a burden the ships had dropped. The desertion of Christopher Whitland when three ships sailed together carried on the constant loss of men to the shipping, the same leakage through the departing vessels that ran through the whole run of letters. The Council's now settled reckoning of a missing man as a deserter aboard one of the ships shows how familiar the pattern had become, a soldier gone the day the ships left presumed carried off, the island's inability to stop the drain of its garrison through the road a grievance it could only report and not remedy. The addition of yellow deals and cooper's tools to the indent turned on the plain wants of a treeless island that had to import its timber and the tools of its trades, the deals needed for the Plantation House and the tools because there were few or none at the island. The careful adjustment of the indent to what the store already held, adding only what the building

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			and the trades required, shows the same economy in ordering that ran through the island's dealings, the supply from home matched to the actual need against the account of what remained.
90	86	List of the Honble Companys Packet from St Helena P Ship Prince William, with the foregoing Letter dated the 28 day June 1750 Vizt No 1 Govr & Councils General Letter dated the 28th June 1750 2 Duplicate Do dated the 14th June Do 3 Consultations from the 18 to the 25 June Do 4 Duplicate Consultns from the 14 May to the 11th June Do 5 Second Receipt for the Packet P Ship Sandwich 6 Do Do for the Packet P the Waaksaamheid a Dutch Ship 7 First Do for the Packet P the Salesbury 8 List of Officers & Servants taken the 28th June 1750 9 Duplicate List of the Packet P Ship Salesbury 10 Do Ship Duke of Newcastles Account 11 Do Ship Salesburys Account 12 Do Ship Dragons Account 13 Do Ship Suffolks Account 14 Do Cash Acct from the 14 to the 31 May 1750 15 Do Cash Acct from the 1 to the 14 June Do 16 Cash Acct from the 15 to the 28 June Do 17 Ship Prince Williams Acct 18 Duplicate Indent of Stores wanted at St Helena for y Year 1751 19 Duplicate Indent of Medicines & Druggs for the Year 1751, & remains of the Surgeons Utensils 20 List of Marria &ca Do from the 15 to the 28th June 1750 21 Duplicate List of Remains of Stores taken from the 1 Oct 1749 to the 30th Apl 1750 22 Duplicate List of Gunrs & Garrisons Stores rem y the 30th Apl 1750 23 Capt Burrows first Receipt for the Box sent P the Prince Mr John Debies papers	The list of the Company's packet sent from St Helena by the *Prince William*, with the letter of 28 June 1750, ran as follows: 1: Governor and Council general letter dated the 28th of June 1750 2: Duplicate of the same dated the 14th of June 1750 3: Consultations from the 18th to the 25th of June 1750 4: Duplicate consultations from the 14th of May to the 11th of June 1750 5: Second receipt for the packet by the Sandwich 6: Second receipt for the packet by the Waaksaamheid, a Dutch ship 7: First receipt for the packet by the Salisbury 8: List of officers and servants taken the 28th of June 1750 9: Duplicate list of the packet by the Salisbury 10: Duplicate Duke of Newcastle account 11: Duplicate Salisbury account 12: Duplicate Dragon account 13: Duplicate Suffolk account 14: Duplicate cash account from the 14th to the 31st of May 1750 15: Duplicate cash account from the 1st to the 14th of June 1750 16: Cash account from the 15th to the 28th of June 1750 17: Prince William account 18: Duplicate indent of stores wanted at St Helena for the year 1751 19: Duplicate indent of medicines and drugs for the year 1751, and remains of the surgeon's utensils 20: List of marriages and others from the 15th to the 28th of June 1750 21: Duplicate list of remains of stores taken from the 1st of October 1749 to the 30th of April 1750 22: Duplicate list of gunner's and garrison stores remaining the 30th of April 1750 23: Captain Burrows's first receipt for the box holding the late Reverend Mr John Debie's papers
91	87	To the Honble &ca Honble Sirs We wrote last to you by your Honours Ship the Prince William Capt Wm Webber, that Sailed from hence on the 28th day of last Month Messrs Rich Beale, & Martin Harper desired liberty to pay £100 into your Cash here, we have received it, & given them Bills drawn on your Honours for that Sum payable to themselves for Order, 90 days after Sight, dated the 2nd Instant William Avery who came here in a French ship applyed to us to be entred in this Garrison, until an opportunity offerd for his return to Fort St David, where he says, he was Sergeant in Capt James Copes Company who sent him as a Spy into the French Camp and to entice the English deserters to return, but was discovered & made Prisoner We therefore, agreed to his request, and Ordered him to be Subsisted at Private Centinels pay We discharged on Monday last the 2nd instant Joseph Woodman, Solomon Saunders & Charles Sigent from your Honours Garrison here, they having served their Contracted time, & did not incline to relist, the two	The Council addressed the Court, opening a fresh general letter. The Council's previous letter had gone by the Court's ship the *Prince William* under Captain William Webber, which sailed on the 2nd of last month. Messrs Richard Beale and Martin Harper desired leave to pay £100 0s 0d into the Court's cash at the island. The Council received it and gave them bills drawn on the Court for that sum, payable to themselves or order ninety days after sight, dated the 2nd. William Avery, who came to the island in a French ship, applied to the Council to be entered in the garrison until an opportunity offered for his return to Fort St David, where he said he was sergeant in Captain James Lopez's company. He was sent as a spy into the French camp and to entice the English deserters to return, but was discovered and made prisoner. The Council therefore agreed to his request and ordered him to be subsisted at private sentinel's pay. The Council discharged on Monday the 2nd Joseph Woodman, Solomon Saunders and Charles Sargent from the Court's garrison, they having served their contracted time and not inclining to re-enlist. The two former went to England in the Court's ship *Tavistock*, but the latter chose to remain at the island.

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		former goes to England in your Ships Tavistock, but the latter chuses to remain upon the Island We have bought of Capt Nathaniel Cush 26.2.7 Paddy P 4 P Hundred weight, for the use of your Honours Stock	The Council had bought of Captain Nathaniel Cush twenty-six hundredweight two quarters and seven pounds of paddy at four shillings per hundredweight, for the use of the Court's stock [...]. **Interpretations** The case of William Avery, a sergeant sent as a spy into the French camp at Fort St David to draw back English deserters and taken prisoner, opens a glimpse of the intelligence war on the Coromandel coast, where the Company and the French contended and each sought to suborn the other's men. His arrival at the island by a French ship and his plea to be entered in the garrison until he could return show a soldier cast up far from his post by the fortunes of that struggle, the Council relieving him at private's pay until the shipping could carry him back to his own service. The buying of paddy at four shillings the hundredweight, well below the ten shillings and more paid for cleaned rice in the season past, shows the island taking the cheaper unhusked grain for its stock as the drought pressed and prices told. The Council's resort to paddy for the cattle, as it had earlier for the slaves, marked the same husbandry of provisions under scarcity, the coarser and cheaper foodstuff bought to carry the beasts and spare the dearer grain, the whole a careful management of the island's feeding against the failure of its own ground.
92	88	There are now wanting to compleat your Honours Military Establishment here a Second Lieutenant an Adjutant & 32 private Men, & in May next the time of service of near 50 Men more will Expire As the last Quarters Accounts are not laid before us until the 16th instant, we cannot Balance the Cash until that time, which is the reason that no other Cash Account except a Duplicate of the last goes to your Honours by this occasion 8 We have the pleasure to acquaint your Honours that there has fallen very fine Rains for near two Month past, which has raised the Grass in most parts of the Island, & if we have a favourable Summer Season, we are in hopes of cutting a good quantity of Hay in the Longwood We are St Helena Honble Sirs 5 July 1750 Your most Obedt & most hum Sert Signed Charles Hutchinson David Hunter John Clark List of the Honble Companys Packet from St Helena P Ship Tavistock with the foregoing Letter dated the 5 July 1750 Vizt No 1 Govr & Councils General Letter dated the 5th July 1750 2 Duplicate Do dated the 28 June Do	There were now wanting to complete the Court's military establishment at the island a second lieutenant, an adjutant and thirty-two private men. In May the term of service of near fifty men more would expire. As the last quarter's accounts were not laid before the Council until the 16th, it could not balance the cash until then, which was the reason no other cash account except a duplicate of the last went home by this occasion. The Council had the pleasure to report that very fine rains had fallen for near two months past, which had raised the grass in most parts of the island. If it had a favourable summer season, it hoped to cut a good quantity of hay in the Longwood. The letter closed at St Helena on 5 July 1750, signed by Charles Hutchinson, David Hunter and John Clark. The list of the Company's packet sent from St Helena by the *Tavistock*, with the letter of 5 July 1750, ran as follows: 1: Governor and Council general letter dated the 5th of July 1750 2: Duplicate of the same dated the 28th of June 1750 **Interpretations** The turn of the season, the fine rains of two months raising the grass after the failures reported through the spring, brought the first relief to the drought that had threatened the cattle and the beef supply, the island's fortunes lifting with the weather. The Council's hope of cutting hay in the Longwood marked a move toward saving fodder against future want, the raising and storing of hay a provision against the next dry season, the same shift toward managed cultivation of feed that the earlier droughts had pressed on the island. The shortfall in the garrison, thirty-two men wanting and near fifty more due to be discharged in May, carried forward the standing difficulty of manning the establishment at a remote station, the losses to expiring terms outrunning the recruits the island could get. The Council's plain setting out of the coming deficiency shows the constant erosion of the garrison by the ending of contracts, the want of men a chronic condition the island could not mend from its own resources, dependent as it was on the

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			Court and the chance of the passing ships to fill the ranks.
93	89	3 Consultation of the 2nd July 1750 4 Duplicate Consultations from the 18 to the 25th June Do 5 Second Receipt for the Packet P the Salesbury 6 First Receipt for the Packet P the Prince William 7 List of Officers & Servants taken the 5th July 1750 8 List of Military Discharged the Honble Companys Service 9 Duplicate List of the Packet P Ship Prince William 10 Do Ship Prince Williams Account 11 Ship Tavistocks Account 12 Ship Edgbastons Account 13 Duplicate Cash Acct from the 15 to the 28th June 1750 14 Do List of Marriages &ca from the 15 to the 28 June Do 15 Capt Burrows Second Receipt for the Box containing the Reverend Mr John Debies Papers To the Honble &ca Honble Sirs We take this Opportunity by a French ship called the Prince, to acquaint your Honours, that your Ships Tavistock, & Edgbaston sailed from hence, on the 5th instant, by which occasion we wrote to your Honours, and transmitted the usual Papers Isaac Holmes Soldier was missing the day before, the Tavistock, & Edgbaston sailed, & notwithstanding the most deligent Search & Enquiry he could not be found on board either of them, & as he has not been since heard of on the Island, we apprehend he went in the latter	The remaining items of the packet list ran on as follows: 3: Consultation of the 2nd of July 1750 4: Duplicate consultations from the 18th to the 25th of June 1750 5: Second receipt for the packet by the Salisbury 6: First receipt for the packet by the Prince William 7: List of officers and servants taken the 5th of July 1750 8: List of military discharged the Company's service 9: Duplicate list of the packet by the Prince William 10: Duplicate Prince William account 11: Tavistock account 12: Edgbaston account 13: Duplicate cash account from the 15th to the 28th of June 1750 14: Duplicate list of marriages and others from the 15th to the 28th of June 1750 15: Captain Burrows's second receipt for the box containing the Reverend Mr John Debie's papers The Council addressed the Court, opening a fresh general letter. The Council took this opportunity by a French ship called the *Prince* to report that the Court's ships *Tavistock* and *Edgbaston* sailed on the 5th, by which occasion it wrote to the Court and transmitted the usual papers. Isaac Holmes, a soldier, was missing the day before the *Tavistock* and *Edgbaston* sailed. Notwithstanding the most diligent search and enquiry, he could not be found on board either of them, and as he had not been since heard of at the island, the Council apprehended he went in the latter. **Interpretations** The disappearance of Isaac Holmes the day before two ships sailed, and the Council's conclusion that he had got aboard despite a diligent search, repeats yet again the pattern of desertion through the shipping that ran unbroken through the correspondence. The taking of a French ship as the conveyance for the letter reporting the loss shows the island using whatever hull came to carry its advices, the foreign vessels serving the Company's correspondence as readily as its own when they were the ones in the road.
94	90	We suppose he was entised to desert by the Boatswain his acquaintance, who expressed a great desire, as we are informd to get his Discharge, having offered some Money for it, to the Officer of the Company that Holmes belonged to Major Cumming an Officer of the Troops that were under Admiral Boscawens Command who came here a passenger in the Prince, having desired liberty to remain here until an Opportunity offered for his going Directly to England we agreed to it We are St Helena Honble Sirs 7th July 1750 Your most Obedt & most hum Servant (Signed) Charles Hutchinson David Hunter John Clark To the Honble &ca Honble Sirs 1 We wrote last to you by a French ship called	The Council supposed he was enticed to desert by the boatswain, his acquaintance, who, as the Council was informed, expressed a great desire to get his discharge, having offered some money for it to the officer of the company Holmes belonged to. Major Cumming, an officer of the troops that were under Admiral Boscawen's command, who came to the island a passenger in the *Prince*, desired leave to remain until an opportunity offered for his going directly to England. The Council agreed to it. The letter closed at St Helena on 7 July 1750, signed by Charles Hutchinson, David Hunter and John Clark. The Council addressed the Court, opening a fresh general letter. 1: The Council's previous letter had gone by a French ship called the *Prince*, which sailed on the 7th of July. 2: On the 11th arrived the Court's ship *Marlborough* under Captain Parks, who reported that he left Manila on 27 January and came to Princes Island on 30 January, sailed on 5 February for Batavia, which he reached on 20 February, that he proceeded from

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		the Prince, that Sailed from hence, on the 7 day of July 2 On the 12th Instant Arrived your Honours Ship Marlborough Capt Parks who acquaints us he left Manila the 27 Janry & came to Princess Island the 30 of the same Month, & sailed the 5 of Feby for Batavia which he reached the 20 of Feb, that he proceeded from thence the 12 & from Java head the 30th of March keeping the Sea until the 10th of June, when he was Obliged to bear	there on the 12th, and from Java Head on 30 March, keeping the sea until 10 June, when he was obliged to [...]. **Interpretations** The boatswain's attempt to buy Isaac Holmes's discharge, offering money to the officer of his company before enticing him to desert, shows the trade in men that lay behind the island's losses, a ship's officer seeking to draw a soldier into the sea service by purchase and, failing that, by flight. The detail bore out the Council's standing charge that the desertions were worked from aboard the ships, the crews wanting hands and ready to pay for or steal away the garrison's men, the leakage the Council could not stop rooted in the ships' own need of seamen. The *Marlborough*'s long track from Manila through Batavia and past Java Head, kept at sea for months and forced at last to put in, marked once more the vast distances and hard passages of the eastern trade, a ship's voyage home reckoned in the ports touched and the weeks at sea. The Council entered the whole course of her passage as the master reported it, the island the point where such accounts of the long road from the China seas were gathered and set down for the Court.
95	91	bear away for Madagascar where he Arrived the 25th of July & left it the 25th of Aug, that he was enformed there by one of the Natives who spoke good English that your Honrs Ship the the Fort St George Capt Mortimore, from fort St David & the Swallow Capt Bell, with another ship from India whose name or Capt he coeld not learn had been there for Slaves, & that the Grantham Commanded as he was told by Capt Oliver bound for China had likewise, touched there, but he coeld get no Account to be depended on of the time when any of these Ships left Madagascar 3 Capt Parks also Acquaints us that there was a French Ship at Madagascar for Slaves & Rice which Sailed two days after he Arrived there 4 In your Honours last Invoice the Soldiers Shirts & Trollers are charged at 4 & 4 each which is exactly double the price they were ever Invoiced at before, therefore, if any should be wanted we have ordered them to be, Invoiced the former rate, presuming that it was a mistake, as the Quality of the Linnen is the same 5 On the 31 day of March last died Wm Hayes your Honrs Adjutant who leaving no Will, we Ordered his Effects to be Sold the Acct Sales is Entred in our Consultation of the 13 of Aug together with an Account of his Debts which are all paid & the Balance which Amounts to £12.8.2 1/2 we received into your Honours Cash & directed the Accomptant to write it off to Acct Courant London 6 On the 31 day of June died also intestate Patrick	Bear away for Madagascar, where he arrived on 25 July and left on 25 August. He was informed there by one of the natives who spoke good English that the Court's ship the *Fort St George* under Captain Mortimore from Fort St David, and the *Swallow* under Captain Bell with another ship from India whose name or captain he could not learn, had been there for slaves. The *Grantham*, commanded, as he was told by Captain Oliver, bound for China, had likewise touched there, but he could get no account to be depended on of the time when any of these ships left Madagascar. 3: Captain Parks likewise reported that there was a French ship at Madagascar for slaves and rice, which sailed two days after he arrived there. 4: In the Court's last invoice the soldiers' shirts and stockings were charged at four shillings and four shillings each, which was exactly double the price they were ever invoiced at before. The Council therefore, if any should be wanted, ordered them to be issued at the former rate, presuming that it was a mistake, as the quality of the linen was the same. 5: On 31 March died Mr William Hayes, the Court's adjutant, who leaving no will, the Council ordered his effects to be sold. The account of sales was entered in the consultation of the 13th of August, together with an account of his debts, which were all paid, and the balance, amounting to £12 8s 2½d, it received into the Court's cash and directed the accountant to write off to account current London. 6: On 31 June likewise died intestate Patrick Spink, late third mate of the ship *Chesterfield*. The Council likewise directed [...]. **Interpretations** The gathering of English, Company and French ships at Madagascar for slaves, reported by Captain Parks from the account of an English-speaking native, shows Madagascar as the standing market from which the Company and its rivals drew the slave labour their eastern settlements required. The Council forwarded the intelligence of which ships had touched there among its shipping news, the slave trade of Madagascar a settled branch of the traffic in those seas that the island tracked with the rest. The Council's refusal to accept the doubled invoice price for the soldiers' shirts and stockings, issuing them at the former rate on the presumption

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		Spink, late third mate of Ship Chesterfield we likewise, Directed	of a clerical mistake, shows the island checking the Court's own accounts against its knowledge of the goods, the quality unchanged and the price therefore judged an error. The care to catch and correct such a discrepancy, and to enter the ground of the correction, marks the same vigilance over the reckoning that ran through the island's dealings, the Council no more willing to overpay the Court's account than to see the Court cheated. The handling of the two intestate deaths, the adjutant Hayes and the mate Spink, each leaving no will and each estate sold, the debts paid and the balance carried to the Court's account, shows the settled machinery by which the island wound up the affairs of men who died without disposing of their goods. The entering of the sales in consultation and the writing of the balance to London account mark the orderly disposal of the intestate dead, their substance turned to money and accounted to the Court until lawful claimants should appear.
96	92	Directed his Effects to be sold, & his Debts to be paid, the Account Sales & Account Courant are Entred in our Consultation of the 6 Aug where your Honours will Observe there is a Balance remaining of £11.13.8 1/2 which we received into your Cash, & Ordered the same to be wrote off to Account Courant London 7 The Govr being informed by Capt Parks the day he Arrived that his Armourer Wm Cockhil died Suddenly after Quarrelling & fighting with another Man of his Ships Company thereupon directed Mr Falconer your Honours Surgeon here with Mr Stevenson his Mate to go on Board the said Ship, & in Conjunction with Mr Rutherford their Surgeon of her to open the Body of the Decd which they did accordingly, & after examining it they gave their Depositions upon oath of the Condition they found it in, which goe Enclosed in the Packet, we have desired Capt Parks to Secure Stephen Murray the person that fought, with Cockhil, until he receives your Honours Orders about him 8 Mrs Martha Scot desired liberty to pay £30 into your Cash to remit to her Husband in England we have received it, & given her Bills drawn on your Honours payable to herself for Order, Ninety days after Sight, dated the 15 instant 9 Capt Wm Parks petitioned to lodge £1300 in your Cash we have received it, & Granted him Certificates for it, which with what we have, we believe will be sufficient for the Expence of the Succeeding Year	Directed his effects to be sold and his debts to be paid. The account of sales and account current were entered in the consultation of the 6th of August, where the Court would observe there was a balance remaining of £11 13s 8½d, which the Council received into the Court's cash and ordered to be written off to account current London. 7: The Governor being informed by Captain Parks the day he arrived that his armourer William Corkhil died suddenly, after quarrelling and fighting with another man of his ship's company, thereupon directed Mr Falconer, the Court's surgeon at the island, with Mr Stevenson his mate, to go on board the ship and, in conjunction with Mr Rutherford the surgeon of her, to open the body of the deceased, which they did accordingly. After examining it, they gave their depositions upon oath of the condition they found it in, which went home enclosed in the packet. The Council desired Captain Parks to secure Stephen Murray, the person who fought with Corkhil, until the Court's orders about him were received. 8: Mrs Martha Scott desired leave to pay £30 0s 0d into the Court's cash to remit to her husband in England. The Council received it and gave her bills drawn on the Court, payable to herself or order ninety days after sight, dated the 15th. 9: Captain William Parks petitioned to lodge £1,300 0s 0d in the Court's cash. The Council received it and granted him certificates for it, which, with what it had, it believed would be sufficient for the expense of the succeeding [...]. **Interpretations** The examination of William Corkhil's body by three surgeons on oath, after he died suddenly following a fight, and the securing of Stephen Murray who fought with him, show the island applying the forms of legal enquiry to a suspicious death aboard ship, the medical evidence taken and preserved and the suspect held for the Court's judgement. The depositions sent home in the packet mark the same reserving of contested matters to the Court that governed all such cases, the island gathering and forwarding the proof while leaving the decision to the masters who employed both dead man and suspect. The large sum of £1,300 0s 0d lodged by Captain Parks against certificates, far exceeding the ordinary remittances, shows the island taking in a commander's substantial funds to supply its cash for the coming year, the Governor's certificates given in place of the usual bills. The transaction, with the smaller remittance of Mrs Scott to her husband entered beside it, marks the range of the island's service as a place of deposit and exchange, from a

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			wife's thirty pounds to a captain's thirteen hundred, all turned to the Court's credit against paper drawn or certified home. Speculations The Council chose to take Captain Parks's £1,300 0s 0d against certificates and hold it toward the succeeding year's expense, though it might have drawn bills for the coming charges only as they arose. It reasoned that the sum, with what it already had, would be sufficient for the year ahead, laying in a store of cash against future need rather than remitting piecemeal as the ordinary course would allow. The reason shows on the page in the plain statement that the money, with what the Council held, would answer the expense of the succeeding year, the Council preferring to secure a large sum at once when a willing depositor offered it than to trust to the chance of later remittances, and so providing beforehand against the island's want of ready money before the store ship should come.
97	93	Year, & therefore Apprehend we shall have no occasion to take any Money out of your Honours next Store Ship Bought of Capt Wm Parks 23 Ton of Paddy @ 4/ Ct Hundred Weight, for the use of your Honours Stock Most of the Casks of Flour that have been used which came by the last Store Ship have proved uncommonly Sour which we thought proper to acquaint your Honours with the Baker who served his time in London says he believes it was not fresh when first put up Your Honours Deputy Govr Councel of Bencoolen acquaint us by their Letter which comes by Capt Parks that they had sent us three Slaves by him, upon our enquiring for them Capt Parks told us that they made their escape from his Ship, when she lay at Batavia We have the pleasure to Acquaint your Honours that we have had as fine a Season as has been known for many Years past, & that every thing upon your Island is at present in a very flourishing way St Helena 23d October 1750 We are Honble Sirs Your most Obedt & most humb servts Signed Charles Hutchinson David Hunter John Clark	Since it would have enough for the coming year, the Council did not expect to draw any more money from the Court by its next store ship. 10: The Council bought of Captain William Parks 23 hundredweight 2 quarters of paddy at four shillings the hundredweight, for the use of the Court's stock. 11: Most of the casks of flour that had been used, which came by the last store ship, had proved uncommonly sour. The Council thought it right to let the Court know, and the baker, who had served his time in London, believed the flour was not fresh when it was first put up. 12: The Deputy Governor and Council of Bencoolen wrote to the Council by a letter carried by Captain Parks that they had sent three slaves by him. When the Council enquired after them, Captain Parks reported that they had made their escape from his ship while she lay at Batavia. 13: The Council recorded with pleasure that the season had been as fine as any known for many years, and that everything on the island stood at present in a very flourishing state. The letter closed at St Helena on 23 October 1750, signed by Charles Hutchinson, David Hunter and John Clark. **Interpretations** The sour flour by the last store ship exposes the difficulty of provisioning a mid-ocean station from England, where meal packed in the barrel had to survive months at sea in a warm hold before it was opened and eaten. The baker's judgement, resting on his London training, was that the fault lay not in the voyage but in the packing: the flour was already stale when barrelled. Reporting this to the Court was a matter of accountability over supply, since the island depended wholly on the annual store ship for bread and had no means to make good a spoiled consignment before the next arrived. The escape of the three Bencoolen slaves at Batavia records a loss the Council could neither prevent nor recover, the human cargo having absconded in a foreign Dutch port far from any English authority. Bencoolen, the Company's pepper settlement on the west coast of Sumatra, regularly forwarded slaves to St Helena to relieve its chronic labour shortage, and the notice by Captain Parks was the Council's only account of why the promised three never came. The detail that they fled at Batavia, a Dutch stronghold, underlines how little control the Company held over its own consignments once a ship touched at a port outside its jurisdiction. Paddy was unhusked rice, bought here to feed the Court's cattle and slaves through a season when the Council feared the yam crop would fall short. The

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			purchase from a homeward captain at a fixed price the hundredweight was the island's routine device for topping up its stock of provisions from whatever the calling ships could spare.
98	94	List of the Honble Companys Packet from St Helena with the foregoing Letter ℔ Ship Marlborough dated the 23 October 1750 Viz t No 1 Govr Councils General Lett dated the 23 Octr 1750 2 Duplicate Govr Councils Genl Lett dated the 5th July 1750 3 Do 9th Do 1750 4 Duplicate Consultation of the 2d July 1750 5 Consultations from the 9th July to the 22d Octr 1750 6 Furds Receipt for the Packet ℔ Ship Tavistock 7 Furds Receipt for the Packet ℔ a french Ship call ℔ Prince 8 Second Receipt for the Packet ℔ Ship Prince William 9 List of Officers & Servants taken the 23 Octr 1750 10 List of Military discharged the Honble Company since 11 List of Marriages &c from 3d July to the 23 Octr 1750 12 List of Families on ℔ Island St Helena taken ℔ 30 Sepr 1750 13 List of Rents taken the 30th Sepr 1750 14 List of the Honble Comps Blacks taken the 30 Sepr 1750 15 Duplicate List of the Packet ℔ Ship Tavistock 16 Duplicate Ship Tavistocks Account 17 Duplicate Ship Egbastons Account &c 18 Ship Marlboroughs Account 19 Cash Acct from the 24 to the 30 June 1750 20 Cash Acct for the Month of July 1750 21 Cash Acct for the Month of Aug 1750 22 Cash Acct for the Month of Sepr 1750 23 Cash Acct from the 1 to the 23 Octr 1750 24 Surgeons Deposition upon Examining the Body of Wm Corkhil dec late Armourer of Ship Marlborough	The list of the Court's packet sent from St Helena with the letter by the *Marlborough*, dated 23 October 1750, ran as follows. 1: The Council's general letter dated 23 October 1750 2: Duplicate of the Council's general letter dated 5 July 1750 3: Duplicate of the Council's general letter dated 7 July 1750 4: Duplicate of the consultation of 2 July 1750 5: Consultations from 9 July to 22 October 1750 6: First receipt for the packet by the ship Tavistock 7: First receipt for the packet by a French ship called the Prince 8: Second receipt for the packet by the ship Prince William 9: List of officers and servants taken 23 October 1750 10: List of military discharged by the Court since the last 11: List of marriages and deaths from 3 July to 23 October 1750 12: List of families on the island of St Helena taken 30 September 1750 13: List of rents taken 30 September 1750 14: List of the Court's slaves taken 30 September 1750 15: Duplicate list of the packet by the ship Tavistock 16: Duplicate of the ship Tavistock's account 17: Duplicate of the ship Edgbaston's account 18: The ship Marlborough's account 19: Cash account from 24 to 30 June 1750 20: Cash account for the month of July 1750 21: Cash account for the month of August 1750 22: Cash account for the month of September 1750 23: Cash account from 1 to 23 October 1750 24: Surgeons' deposition upon examining the body of William Corkhil, late armourer of the ship Marlborough
99	95	To the Honble Jnoa Honble Sirs We wrote last to you by your Honours Ship the Marlborough that sailed from hence on the 23 of October by which Occasion we transmitted all the Yearly Lists with the usual Papers 2 We have the pleasure to acquaint your Honours that since that time we have had as plentiful Rains as could be wished for, and there is at present a prospect of a very good Summers Harvest This waits on your Honours by a Dutch Ship called the Hope passing by with another Ship called the Overkerk from the Cape, the Officer who is come on Shore acquaints us that they left 11 Dutch Ships more there homeward bound, & that the Elephant a Dane Ship from Tranquebar was lost the 9th of August last in Mussel Bay near the Cape St Helena 24 Decr 1750 We are Honble Sirs Your most Obedt & most humb servts Signed Charles Hutchinson David Hunter John Clark	The Council addressed the Court of Directors in a letter to India House. The Council's last letter to the Court had gone by the Court's ship *Marlborough*, which sailed from the island on 23 October, and by that conveyance it had transmitted all the yearly lists with the usual papers. 2: The Council was glad to report that since that time the island had enjoyed as plentiful rains as could be wished for, and that there was at present a prospect of a very good summer harvest. This letter went by a Dutch ship called the *Hoop*, passing by in company with another Dutch ship called the *Overkerk* from the Cape. The officer who came ashore told the Council that eleven more Dutch ships were homeward bound with them, and that the *Oliphant*, a Danish ship from Tranquebar, had been lost on the 9th of August last in Mossel Bay near the Cape. The letter closed at St Helena on 24 December 1750, signed by Charles Hutchinson, David Hunter and John Clark.

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100	96	To the Honble &c Honble Sirs 1 We wrote last to you by your Honours Ship Marlborough that sailed from hence on the 23 of October 2 On the 5th instant arrived your Ship Lapwing Capt Cheque from Fort St David which place he left the 28 of Sept and your Honours Ship the Fort St George there which was to Sail from thence, about the middle of October, he likeways acquaints us that Commodore Lisle arrived at Fort St David the 22 of Sept, & that her Majestys Ship Ruby was than at Madrass 3 On the 8 of this Month arrived a French Ship called the Esperance Capt La Vigne Buisson Burthen 600 Ton carrig 100 Men & 20 Guns & have on Board 70 Passengers she is taken with Bale Goods from Bengall, bound to Port L'Orient in France, the Capt informs us that he left Marcareen the 25 Novr N.S. says that we may expect the Sultan another French Ship from Mauritius to touch here in about 13 days We have been likeways informed that the French have 11 Ships in India, 6 of which & 3 from China, & is said will proceed this Year for Europe 4 Messrs John Godwin & Matthew Purling the Attorneys to Mr John Brown representing to us that they could not get many of the Debtors to the said Mr	The Council addressed the Court of Directors in a letter to India House. 1: The Council's last letter to the Court had gone by the Court's ship *Marlborough*, which sailed from the island on 23 October. 2: On the 5th of the month the Court's ship *Lapwing* under Captain Cheyne arrived from Fort St David, which place he left on the 28th of September, together with the Court's ship *Fort St George*, which was to sail from there about the middle of October. He told the Council that Commodore Lisle had arrived at Fort St David on the 22nd of September, and that His Majesty's ship *Ruby* was then at Madras. 3: On the 8th of the month a French ship called the *Espérance* under Captain La Vigne Buisson arrived, of 700 tons burden, carrying 100 men and 20 guns and having aboard 70 passengers. She was laden with bale goods from Bengal and bound for Port L'Orient in France. Her captain reported that he left Mauritius on the 25th of November, old style, so that the Council might expect the *Sultan*, another French ship from Mauritius, to touch at the island in about thirteen days. The Council had also been told that the French had eleven ships in India, six of which, with three from China, would sail this year for Europe. 4: Messrs John Goodwin and Matthew Purling, the attorneys to Mr John Brown, told the Council that they could not get many of the debtors to the account of Mr Brown to pay.
101	97	Brown to settle any Account with them, & having laid before us his Charges upon several of them who refused Payment, we thereupon according to your Honours Orders Summons all those Persons to appear before us, & being their Objections in Writing to the said Mr Browns Demands which are all entered at length in our Consultation of the 7 instant to which we beg leave to refer your Honours 5 We transmit to your Honours by this occasion the General Books of Accounts Balanced to the 30th of July last, but cannot send the Cash Account to the 31 of Decr as the last Quarters Receipt & disbursements are not laid before us until next Monday 6 We have the pleasure to acquaint your Honours that our Season hitherto has been very favourable & by the Appearance of the Weather at present we have reason to think it will continue so St Helena 16 Janr 1750 We are Honble Sirs Your most Obedt & most humb servts Signed Charles Hutchinson David Hunter John Clark	The attorneys reported that they could not get Mr Brown to settle any account with them, and had laid before the Council his charges upon several of the debtors who had refused payment. Under the Court's orders the Council summoned all those persons to appear, and required them to give their objections to Mr Brown's demands in writing. These objections were entered in full in the consultation of the 7th of the month, to which the Council referred the Court. 5: The Council transmitted by this conveyance the general books of accounts balanced to the 30th of September last, but could not send the cash account to the 31st of December, since the last quarter's receipts and disbursements were not laid before the Council until the following Monday. 6: The Council was glad to report that the season had so far been very favourable, and by the look of the weather at present it had reason to think it would continue so. The letter closed at St Helena on 16 January 1751, signed by Charles Hutchinson, David Hunter and John Clark.
102	98	List of the Honble Company Packet from St Helena ꝑ Ship Lapwing with the foregoing Letter dated the 16 of Janr 1750 Viz No 1 Govr Councils General Letter dated the 16 Janr 1750 2 Duplicate Do Do dated the 23 Octr Do	The list of the Court's packet sent from St Helena by the ship *Lapwing* with the letter dated 16 January 1751 ran as follows. 1: The Council's general letter dated 16 January 1751 2: Duplicate of the same, dated 23 October 1750 3: Duplicate of the same, dated 24 December 1750

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		3 Do Do Do dated the 24 Decr Do 4 Duplicate Consultations from 29 July to the 22 Octr Do 5 Consultations from the 29 Octr to the 14 Janr 1750 6 Furds Receipt for the Packet ℔ Ship Marlborough 7 Furd Receipt for the Packet ℔ the Hope a Dutch Ship 8 Second Receipt for the Packet ℔ Ship Tavistock 9 Second Receipt for the Packet a French Ship called ℔ Prince 10 List of Officers & Servants taken the 16 Janr 1750 11 List of Marriages &c from the 3 Aug to the 9 Janr 1750 12 Duplicate List of Familys on the Island St Helena taken the 30th Sepr 1750 13 Do List of Rents taken the 30th Sepr 1750 14 Do List of the Honble Company Blacks taken ℔ 30 Sepr 1750 15 Do List of the Packet ℔ Ship Marlborough 16 Do Ship Marlboroughs Account 17 Ship Lapwings Account 18 Duplicate Cash Acct from ℔ 23 to the 30 June 1750 19 Do Cash Acct for the Month of July 1750 20 Do Cash Acct for the Month of Aug 1750 21 Do Cash Acct for the Month of Sepl 1750 22 Do Cash Acct from the 1 to the 23 Octr 1750 23 Cash Acct from the 24 to the 31 Octr 1750 24 Cash Acct for the month of Nov 1750 25 General Books of Accounts	4: Duplicate consultations from 29 July to 22 October 1750 5: Consultations from 29 October to 14 January 1751 6: First receipt for the packet by the ship Marlborough 7: First receipt for the packet by the Hoop, a Dutch ship 8: Second receipt for the packet by the ship Tavistock 9: Second receipt for the packet by a French ship called the Prince 10: List of officers and servants taken 16 January 1751 11: List of marriages and deaths from 3 August to 9 January 1751 12: Duplicate list of families on the island of St Helena taken 30 September 1750 13: Duplicate list of rents taken 30 September 1750 14: Duplicate list of the Court's slaves taken 30 September 1750 15: Duplicate list of the packet by the ship Marlborough 16: Duplicate of the ship Marlborough's account 17: The ship Lapwing's account 18: Duplicate cash account from 24 to 30 June 1750 19: Duplicate cash account for the month of July 1750 20: Duplicate cash account for the month of August 1750 21: Duplicate cash account for the month of September 1750 22: Duplicate cash account from 1 to 23 October 1750 23: Cash account from 24 to 31 October 1750 24: Cash account for the month of November 1750 25: General books of accounts
103	99	To the Honble &c Honble Sirs 1 We wrote last to you by your Honours Ship the Lapwing Capt Francis Cheque that sailed from hence on the 16 January 2 On the 17 instant Arrived your Honours Ships the Boscawen Capt Braund, the Elizabeth Capt Willis & the Fort St George Capt Burdett from the Cape which they left the 31 Jany we learn from them that your Honours Ship the Swallow will be dispatched from Fort St David about the middle of Jany, & that the Kent Capt Robson the London Capt Sedgwick and the Benjamin Capt Meard are to Sail from Bengal in December, they likeways acquaint us that 8 Dutch Ships homeward bound sailed from the Cape 8 days before them, & that there were three others to proceed for Holland from thence, in a short time after 3 We are further acquainte that there were no Ships at the Cape outward bound, except one Dane for Tranquebar, & two French for Pondecherry with Soldiers & it is said that there are twelve Sail more of French Ships expected from Europe each having some Troops for that place 4 Capt Burdett also tells us that Commodore Lisle sailed from Fort St David the 16 Octr for Bombay where he proposed refitting his Ships, & intended to Sail	The Council addressed the Court of Directors in a letter to India House. 1: The Council's last letter to the Court had gone by the Court's ship *Lapwing* under Captain Francis Cheyne, which sailed from the island on the 16th of January. 2: On the 17th of the month the Court's ships *Boscawen* under Captain Braund, *Elizabeth* under Captain Willis and *Fort St George* under Captain Burdett arrived from the Cape, which they left on the 31st of January. The Council learned from them that the Court's ship *Swallow* would be dispatched from Fort St David about the middle of January, and that the *Kent* under Captain Robson, the *London* under Captain Sedgwick and the *Benjamin* under Captain Meard were to sail from Bengal in December. They also reported that eight Dutch ships homeward bound had sailed from the Cape eight days before them, and that three others were to proceed for Holland a short time after. 3: The Council was further told that there were no ships at the Cape outward bound except one Danish ship for Tranquebar and two French ships for Pondicherry with soldiers, and that twelve more French ships were said to be expected from Europe, each carrying some troops for that place. 4: Captain Burdett also reported that Commodore Lisle had sailed from Fort St David on the 16th of October for Bombay, where he proposed to refit his ships, and intended to sail.

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104	100	from thence with his whole Squadron time enough if possible to reach the Cape for Provision, & to proceed hither, but if he found that impracticable, he designed to Winter at Madagascar 5 Capt Willis acquaints us that he left Fort St David the 15 Febr 1749/50 & that the Ship Sppиnging a Leak soon after and having about 50 Men Sick & short of Water, he stood for Delagoa which place he reached the 22 of June after having been exposed to many Dangers where he remained until the 11 Novr when he proceeded for the Cape & arrived there the 12th December 6 We are sorry to acquaint your Honours that our Summer Rains were very backward this Year there having been but little & so as fallen lately & no appearance of any at present 7 This waits on your Honours by your Ship the Boscawen that Sails from hence with your Ships the Elizabeth & Fort St George St Helena 24 Febr 1750 We are Honble Sirs Your most Obedt & most humb servants Signed Charles Hutchinson David Hunter John Clark	Commodore Lisle intended to sail from Bombay with his whole squadron in time, if possible, to reach the Cape for provisions and then proceed to the island, but if he found that impracticable he meant to winter at Madagascar. 5: Captain Willis told the Council that he left Fort St David on the 15th of February 1751, and that his ship sprang a leak soon after. Having about thirty men sick and being short of water, he made for Delagoa, which place he reached on the 22nd of June after being exposed to many dangers. He remained there until the 11th of November, when he proceeded for the Cape, arriving there on the 12th of December. 6: The Council was sorry to report that the summer rains had been very backward this year, little or none having fallen lately, with no sign of any at present. 7: This letter went by the Court's ship *Boscawen*, which sailed from the island in company with the Court's ships *Elizabeth* and *Fort St George*. The letter closed at St Helena on 24 February 1751, signed by Charles Hutchinson, David Hunter and John Clark. **Interpretations** The voyage of the *Elizabeth* under Captain Willis shows how a single fault in a hull could throw a homeward Indiaman a thousand miles off her track and cost the better part of a year. A leak sprung soon after leaving Fort St David, joined to sickness among the crew and a shortage of water, forced her to bear away for Delagoa on the south-east African coast rather than press on toward the Cape. From the middle of February to the middle of December, close to ten months, she was either limping toward refuge or lying up to recover, a reminder that the sea road home was governed less by distance than by the soundness of the ship and the health of her men. Delagoa was the bay and Portuguese trading station on the coast of what later became Mozambique, a recognised place of refuge and water for ships in distress on the eastern passage but well off the direct route between India and the Cape. A captain who put in there had abandoned the ordinary track and accepted a long delay in exchange for survival.
105	101	List of the Honble Companys Packet from St Helena ℔ Ship Boscawen with the foregoing Letter dated the 24 Febr 1750 Vizt No 1 Govr Councils General Letter dated the 24 Febr 1750 2 Duplicate Govr Councils Genl Letter dated the 16 Janr Do 3 Consultations from the 21 Janr to the 18 Febr Do 4 Duplicate Consultations from the 29 Octr to the 14 Janr Do 5 Second Receipt for the Packet ℔ Ship Marlborough 6 Second Receipt for the Packet ℔ the Hope a Dutch Ship 7 Furd Receipt for the Packet ℔ Ship Lapwing 8 List of Officers & Servants taken the 24 Febr 1750 9 List of Marriages &c dated the 20 Febr 1750 10 Duplicate List of the Packet ℔ Ship Lapwing 11 Duplicate Ship Lapwings Account 12 Ship Boscawens Account 13 Ship Elizabeths Account 14 Ship Fort St Georges Account 15 Duplicate Cash Acct from 24 to the 31 Octr 1750 16 Duplicate Cash Acct for the Month of Nov Do 17 Cash Account for the Month December 1750 18 Do for the Month January Do 19 Do from the 1 to the 24 Febr Do	The list of the Court's packet sent from St Helena by the ship *Boscawen* with the letter dated 24 February 1751 ran as follows. 1: The Council's general letter dated 24 February 1751 2: Duplicate of the Council's general letter dated 16 January 1751 3: Consultations from 21 January to 18 February 1751 4: Duplicate consultations from 29 October to 14 January 1751 5: Second receipt for the packet by the ship Marlborough 6: Second receipt for the packet by the Hoop, a Dutch ship 7: First receipt for the packet by the ship Lapwing 8: List of officers and servants taken 24 February 1751 9: List of marriages and deaths dated 20 February 1751 10: Duplicate list of the packet by the ship Lapwing 11: Duplicate of the ship Lapwing's account 12: The ship Boscawen's account 13: The ship Elizabeth's account 14: The ship Fort St George's account 15: Duplicate cash account from 24 to 31 October 1750

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			16: Duplicate cash account for the month of November 1750 17: Cash account for the month of December 1750 18: Cash account for the month of January 1751 19: Cash account from 1 to 24 February 1751
106	102	To the Honble &c Honble Sirs Our last Advices to you went by your Honours Ship Boscawen that Sailed from hence on the 24 of Feb in company with your Ships the Fort St George and Elizabeth This waits on you by a Dutch Ship that just now Arrived from the Cape, in company with four Sail more & a Hooker under the Command of Mr Swellengreeble late Govr of the Cape, which they left the 24 of last Month, the Officer that came on Shore acquaints us that there has been no English outward bound Ship there as yet, which is all the News we learn We are St Helena 11 March 1750 Honble Sirs Your most Obedt & most humb servts Signed Charles Hutchinson David Hunter John Clark	The Council addressed the Court of Directors in a letter to India House. The Council's last advice to the Court had gone by the Court's ship *Boscawen*, which sailed from the island on the 24th of February in company with the Court's ships *Fort St George* and *Elizabeth*. This letter went by a Dutch ship that had just arrived from the Cape, in company with four more sail and a hooker, under the command of Mr Swellengrebel, late Governor of the Cape, which they left on the 24th of last month. The officer who came ashore told the Council that no English outward-bound ship had yet reached the Cape, which was all the news the Council learned. The letter closed at St Helena on 11 March 1751, signed by Charles Hutchinson, David Hunter and John Clark. **Interpretations** The passing of Hendrik Swellengrebel homeward through the sea road marks the return of a notable Company man of the rival Dutch service, he having been the first Governor of the Cape born at the settlement itself before laying down the office. A retiring governor sailing for Europe in a small fleet with a hooker in company was the kind of intelligence the Council gathered from every officer who came ashore, the movement of senior men and the strength of passing squadrons being as much worth reporting to London as cargoes and dates. A hooker was a small two-masted vessel of Dutch build, used for coastal and fishing work and often kept in company with a larger fleet as a tender or dispatch boat. Its presence among the homeward sail marked a working escort rather than a trading ship in her own right.
107	103	To the Honble &c Honble Sirs We wrote last to you by a Dutch Ship that Sailed from hence on the 11 instant, with four Sail more that passed the Island 1 On the 13 of this Month Arrived your Ship the Onslow Capt Thos Hinde from England, by which occasion we received your Honours Orders to us & we are glad to find that our Letter to the 9 July last, came Safe to your Honours hands 2 We observe that Richd Chauncy Esqr Harry Draghton Esqr & Saml Leake Esqr are appointed to be the committee of Secrecy, who the Govr will address as occasion may require 3 By the Invoice & Bill of Loading ℔ Ship Onslow we find that your Honours have been pleased to consign to us a large Cargoe of Goods, Stores & Necessarys, which shall be taken great care of 4 We have been careful in unloading the Onslow in the ten Working days allowed by Charterparty & in case the Capt should make any unnecessary Stay here, we shall Protest against him for all Damages that may arrise	The Council addressed the Court of Directors in a letter to India House. The Council's last letter to the Court had gone by a Dutch ship, which sailed from the island on the 11th of the month with four more sail that passed the island. 1: On the 13th of the month the Court's ship *Onslow* under Captain Thomas Hinde arrived from England, by which the Council received the Court's orders, and was glad to find that its letter of the 7th of July last had reached the Court safely. 2: The Council noted that Richard Chauncey Esq, Harry Vansittart Esq and James Leake Esq were appointed to be the Committee of Secrecy, to whom the Governor would apply as occasion might require. 3: By the invoice and bill of lading of the ship *Onslow* the Council found that the Court had consigned to it a large cargo of goods, stores and necessaries, which would be taken great care of. 4: The Council would be careful to unload the *Onslow* within the ten working days allowed by charter party, and should the captain make any unnecessary stay it would protest against him for all damages that might arise, as the Court had directed. 5: The Council had given the commander orders to proceed to Fort Marlborough in keeping with the directions he received from the Court, and had transmitted the ship's charter party to the Court's Deputy Governor and Council there. 6: Having received a large sum of money amounting to £1,300 0s 0d into the Court's cash from Captain William Parks in October last.

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		therefore, as your Honours have been pleased to Direct 5 We have given the Commander Orders to proceed to Fort Marlborough Agreeable to the Directions he received from you, & have transmitted the Ships Charterparty, to your Honours Deputy Govr Councel there 6 Having received a large Sum of Money amounting to £1300, in your Cash from Capt Wm Parks, in October last	
108	104	last as was mentioned to you in our Letter dated the 23 of that Month, We have therefore taken no Treasure out of your Ship Onslow, but as we apprehend that many of the Soldiers will assist on Account of your extraordinary Bounty We granted Bills of Exchange drawn on your Honours for the Sum of £600, that we might not be short of Money 8 We are much pleased that our advices last Year were satisfactory to your Honours & we shall continue to be very particular in them for the future 9 Agreable to your Honours Directions we shall acquaint all the Commanders of your returning Ships that they must by us no ways neglect to forward to you by the first Conveyance from hence, as well as to dispatch letters to you by their Purser, from the first Port they arrive at in England, Copys of their Bills of Loading & we will likeways require a Sight of them & transmit to your Honours an Abstract thereof as you have been pleased to Order 10 We have made the Strictest enquiry we could about the loss of the old Long Boat & Pinnace in July last, & could not get any further Account of the matter than that the Patron declares he saw them Safe Moored in the Evening, & that they must have been cast loose by some Mischievous Person, who we have not yet been able to find out, there were some Boats of the Planters out a[...] left at the same time, one of which was likeways lost 11 We are pleased that our Buying a Launch from Capt Cash met with your Honours Approbation	Captain Parks had lodged the £1,300 0s 0d in October last, as the Council mentioned in its letter of the 23rd of that month. The Council had therefore taken no treasure out of the Court's ship *Onslow*, but as it apprehended that many of the soldiers would enlist on account of the extraordinary bounty, it granted bills of exchange drawn on the Court for the sum of £600 0s 0d, so that it might not be short of money. 8: The Council was much pleased that its advices last year were satisfactory to the Court, and would continue to be very particular in them for the future. 9: In keeping with the Court's directions, the Council would tell all the commanders of the Court's returning ships that they must give an account to the Council of anything worth reporting to the Court by the first conveyance from the island, and dispatch letters to the Court by their pursers from the first port they reached in England. The Council would likewise require copies of their bills of lading and a sight of them, and would transmit an abstract of them to the Court, as it had been ordered. 10: The Council had made the closest enquiry about the loss of the old longboat and pinnace in July last, but could get no further account of the matter than that the patron declared he saw them safely moored in the evening, and that they must have been cast loose by some mischievous person, whom the Council had not yet been able to find out. Some books belonging to the planters had been left in the boats at the same time, one of which was likewise lost. 11: The Council was pleased that its purchase of a launch from Captain Cush met with the Court's approbation. **Interpretations** The distinction the Council drew between lodged cash and the treasure aboard the *Onslow* shows how the island balanced its books without draining a ship's silver. Because Captain Parks had already put £1,300 0s 0d into the cash, the Council could leave the incoming treasure untouched and instead raise the money it needed by drawing bills of exchange on the Court in London. The £600 0s 0d in bills was called for by an expected run of soldiers taking the extraordinary enlistment bounty, a charge in ready coin that the island had to meet on the spot, and the drawing of paper on London was the standard way of turning a local obligation into a debt settled at home. The patron named in the matter of the lost boats was the man in charge of a ship's boat and its crew, answerable for its safe keeping. His sworn account that the longboat and pinnace lay safely moored in the evening turned a question of negligence into one of sabotage, since if his word held, the boats must have been deliberately cast loose by an unknown hand rather than lost through carelessness.
109	105	and shall take care to Supply ourselves with such Boats as	The Council would take care to supply itself with such boats as were necessary from the commanders

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		are Necessary from the Commander of your returning Ships if we can purchase them reasonably 12 We are greatly pleased to find that our representation to Admiral Boscawen on his Demand for Provision from this Island, proved Satisfactory to your Honours 13 We thank your Honours for the Supply of Goods & Necessarys you have been pleased to Consign to us by the Onslow 14 If upon a further examination of the Walls of the Plantation House we should find them in any respect Defective, we shall not proceed upon the Addition we proposed but Build a new House, according to the Plan we transmitted to your Honours, which you have been pleased to approve of 15 We will be careful to date all our Consultations for the future as your Honours have been pleased to direct 16 We cannot Account for nor find out how the Second Bill drawn by Capt Ulrick Wortman on Mr John Bolieu for £279 Payable to your Honours could be Conveyed to him in a private Letter, as Mr Wrangham the Secretary and his Assistant assure us that the Bill was put in the Packet agreable to the entry made in the List of it, We are much Concerned that such a thing should happen, the Papers having been twice examined by the List before the Packet was made up, we shall however take care that they are more Strictly looked over for the future to prevent any such mistake 17 We have according to your Honours Orders debited the Estate of the late Govr Goodwin the Money you paid Capt	of the Court's returning ships, if it could purchase them at a reasonable rate. 12: The Council was greatly pleased to find that its representation to Admiral Boscawen, on his demand for provisions from the island, had proved satisfactory to the Court. 13: The Council thanked the Court for the supply of goods and necessaries it had consigned by the *Onslow*. 14: If on a further examination of the walls of the Plantation House the Council should find them in any respect defective, it would not proceed upon the addition it had proposed, but build a new house according to the plan it transmitted to the Court, which the Court had approved. 15: The Council would be careful to date all its consultations for the future, as the Court had directed. 16: The Council could not account for nor find out how the second bill drawn by Captain Ulrich Wortman on Mr John Collet for £299 0s 0d, payable to the Court, could have been conveyed to him in a private letter, since Mr Wrangham the secretary and his assistant assured the Council that the bill was put in the packet in keeping with the entry made in the list of it. The Council was much concerned that such a thing should happen, the papers having been twice examined by the list before the packet was made up. It would take care that they were more strictly looked over for the future to prevent any such mistake. 17: The Council had, in keeping with the Court's orders, charged the estate of the late Governor Goodwin with the money he had paid Captain [...]. **Interpretations** The missing bill for £299 0s 0d exposes the risk that ran through the whole system of settling accounts by paper drawn on London. A bill of exchange was as good as the money it named, so a draft that left the island in a private letter rather than the official packet, contrary to the entry in the checking list, could be presented and paid without the Court knowing how it had travelled or whether it was genuine. The Council's alarm, and its promise to look the papers over more strictly, reflected how much the credit of the station depended on every bill passing through a single controlled channel and being accounted for line by line before a packet was sealed. The charging of the late Governor Goodwin's estate continued the Court's long pursuit of the deficiency he left behind, the money he had improperly paid out being recovered from what he owned after his death. Under the Court's standing orders the Council was the instrument of that recovery, setting the sums against his estate so that the loss fell on his property rather than the Company's account.
110	106	Capt Joseph Nelson, Amounting to the Sum of £15/1/1 upon your General Books of Accounts 18 As your Honours observe there has been but little Money paid lately by the Debtors of Govr Goodwin Dec we therefore Summoned them all to appear before us on Thursday the 21 instant to pay their respective Debts but few of them appearing, & those with such blind Accounts that we find it will take some time to Settle them properly, which we shall set about very soon, & transmit to your Honours a particular State of each Persons Accounts & at the same time gett in all the Money we can 19 The Sum of £289.14.7½ which your Honours paid the late Mr Debier Executor is exactly right, &	The money charged to Governor Goodwin's estate was that which he had paid Captain Joseph Colson, amounting to £15 7s 0d upon the Court's general books of accounts. 18: As the Court had noted, little money had lately been paid by the debtors to Governor Goodwin's account. The Council therefore summoned them all to appear before it on Tuesday the 21st of the month to pay their respective debts, but few of them appeared, and their accounts were so confused that the Council found it would take some time to settle them properly. It would set about this very soon and transmit to the Court a particular statement of each person's account, and at the same time get in all the money it could. 19: The sum of £259 11s 7½d which the Court paid the late Mr Debie's executor was exactly right.

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		you will please to Observe that Sum is wrote off to Account Courant London in your last set of Books transmitted to you by the Lapwing, the Govr Sabook & Books left unsold we find will be most to the Advantage of the dec Estate to be sent to England therefore shall forward them by the next Opportunity 20 It gives us great Satisfaction to find that your Honours approve of our enquiry after Deserters from your Settlements in India, & of our endeavours to prevent the Desertion of your Military from hence which method we shall constantly pursue 21 Your Honours Orders for our Purchasing Beef & Pork from your homeward bound Shipping shall be punctually Observd We have constantly expended that part of the Salt Provision first, which has been longest in the stores, & great care always has been	That sum was written off to account current in London in the last set of books transmitted to the Court by the *Lapwing*. The Council would keep the gowns and books left until it could send them to the best advantage by the *Delaware*, to be sent to England, and would forward them by the next opportunity. 20: The Council was very glad to find that the Court approved of its enquiry after deserters from its Indian settlements, and of its endeavours to prevent the desertion of its military from the island, a course it would constantly pursue. 21: The Court's orders for the purchase of beef and pork from its homeward-bound shipping would be punctually observed. The Council had constantly used up that part of the salt provisions first which had lain longest in the stores, and great care had always been taken. **Interpretations** The confused state of the debtors' accounts on Governor Goodwin's books shows the practical difficulty of unwinding a fraudulent administration years after the man himself was dead. Debtors summoned to pay simply failed to appear, and the records were so tangled that the Council could not readily tell who owed what, so recovery meant reconstructing each person's account line by line before a penny could be demanded. The promise to send the Court a particular statement of every account reflects the Company's insistence that the loss be traced to named individuals rather than written off in a lump. The gowns and books held back for the late Mr Debie were the vestments and volumes of a clergyman, Debie having been the minister who died before he could take up his place. Rather than sell such specialised goods cheap into the island's small market, where they would fetch little, the Council chose to hold them and ship them home where they could be disposed of to better advantage, a small instance of the care taken to get full value for a dead man's estate on the Court's behalf.
111	107	and shall be taken of it in every other respect, to prevent it from Spoiling 22 We Assembled those Planters that refused to furnish their Quotas of Provision to the Market at the Usual price, & read to them the Paragraph in your Honours Letter upon that head, they afterwards withdrew, and after a short conference acquainted Us that they would Supply their Proportion at the Customary rate & if any of them should fail to do it, we shall acquaint your Honours with their Names as you have been pleased to Direct 23 We have acquainted Mr Goodwin that your Honours have been pleased to consent to his continuing in your Service here, in the same manner as if you had given no Directions for his proceeding to the West Coast 24 We are sorry it happened that your Honours were disappointed in your expectations of this Garrison being Compleated by the returning Soldiers, under the Command of Admiral Boscawen 25 We have received only thirty one of the Recruits that your Honours were pleased to send us ℔ the Onslow one of them having Died in the Passage 26 The Govr ordered the Garrison under Arms & acquainted them with your Honours Indulgence, that every Man who would relist to serve five Years longer	Great care would be taken of the salt provisions in every other respect to prevent them from spoiling. 22: The Council assembled those planters who had refused to furnish their quotas of provisions to the market at the usual price, and read to them the paragraph in the Court's letter on that head. They afterwards withdrew, and after a short conference told the Council that they would supply their proportion at the customary rate. If any of them should fail to do so, the Council would send the Court their names, as it had been directed. 23: The Council told Mr Goodwin that the Court had consented to his continuing in its service on the island in the same manner as if it had given no directions for his proceeding to the west coast. 24: The Council was sorry the Court had been disappointed in its expectation of the garrison being completed by the returning soldiers under the command of Admiral Boscawen. 25: The Council had received only thirty-one of the recruits the Court sent by the *Onslow*, one of them having died on the passage. 26: The Governor ordered the garrison under arms and told them of the Court's indulgence, that every man who would enlist to serve five years longer, after his contracted time was expired, should receive a bounty of ten pounds instead of the five guineas usually given. 27: The Governor likewise told them of the augmentation of a sentinel's pay, to commence on the arrival of the *Onslow*.

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		after his Contracted time was expired, should receive a Bounty of ten pounds instead of the five Guineas usually given 27 He likewise informed them of the Augmentation of Sentinels pay, to commence on the arrival of the Onslow 28 Upon enquiring into the Circumstances of John Gold representation to your Honours we find that all	28: On enquiring into the circumstances of John Gold's representation to the Court, the Council found that all his [...]. **Interpretations** The reading of the Court's own paragraph to the recalcitrant planters shows how the distant authority of London was brought to bear on a local dispute over the price of beef. The planters had held out for more than the usual price from the market on which the garrison and the Court's servants depended, and the Council's remedy was to gather them, put the Court's words directly before them, and hold over them the threat of having their names sent home. The tactic worked to the extent of a verbal promise, but the standing instruction to report defaulters by name reveals how little the Council could compel and how much it relied on the planters' fear of being marked out to the Company. The graduated bounty for re-enlistment addressed the island's chronic difficulty in keeping its garrison up to strength. A man whose contracted term had expired was free to take ship home, so the Court raised the inducement to stay from five guineas to ten pounds and added an increase to a sentinel's daily pay, a deliberate loosening of the purse to hold soldiers who might otherwise slip away on the next homeward hull. The measure sat against the steady drain of men to the departing ships that ran through the Council's letters of these years.
112	108	his Allegations are most Notoriously false, as appears by the Testimony of Messrs Kendall Falconer & Wrangham who severally declare that they never received any Money from him, & by all the pay List & Accounts he never stood or had pay as Corporal & we cannot discover that he ever Worked at the Fortifications, if he did it was not by any Compulsion but by his own Consent, for which he received one Shilling ℔ day, the usual price given to Soldiers that work for the Company, & Eglestone the Man that changed with Gold, has declard upon Oath before us that Gold never gave him one farthing for it, but on the Contrary he paid five Shillings towards purchasing a lot Gold having either broke or lost his 29 We are glad that your Honours approved of our allowing Lieut Kirkpatrick half the Adjutants pay to do that Duty after the Dec of William Harper and as there is no Sergeant here properly Qualifyed for that post, We agreed to continue Mr Kirkpatrick in the discharge of it, until your Honours think proper to send us an Adjutant from England 30 We have told Mr Nathan Sample of the favour you have been pleased to bestow upon him, for which he returns your Honours his most humble thanks 31 James Sheridan who your Honours have chosen for your Gardener arrived ℔ Ship Onslow, and shall be duly paid & Dieted as you have Directed 32 Conformable to your Honours positive Orders we have not Detained one of the Recruits consigned to your Deputy Govr Councel of Fort Marlborough	John Gold's allegations were found to be utterly false, as appeared by the testimony of Messrs Kendall, Falconer and Wrangham, who each declared that they never received any money from him. By all the pay lists and accounts he had never stood or drawn pay as a corporal, and the Council could not discover that he ever worked at the fortifications. If he did so, it was not under any compulsion but by his own consent, for which he received one shilling a day, the usual price given to soldiers who worked for the Company. Eaglestone, the man who fought with Gold, declared upon oath that Gold never gave him one farthing, but on the contrary paid five shillings toward purchasing a boat, Gold having either broken or lost his own. 29: The Council was glad the Court approved of its allowing Lieutenant Kirkpatrick half the adjutant's pay to do that duty after the death of William Hayes, and, as there was no sergeant on the island properly qualified for that post, it agreed to continue Mr Kirkpatrick in the discharge of it until the Court thought proper to send an adjutant from England. 30: The Council had told Mr Nathaniel Sampler of the favour the Court had bestowed upon him, for which he returned the Court his most humble thanks. 31: James Sheridan, whom the Court had chosen for its gardener, arrived by the ship *Onslow*, and would be duly paid and dieted as the Court had directed. 32: In keeping with the Court's positive orders, the Council had not detained one of the recruits consigned to the Court's Deputy Governor and Council of Fort Marlborough. **Interpretations** The dismantling of John Gold's complaint shows how the Council answered a soldier's representation to London by testing it against the station's own written record. Gold appears to have claimed money withheld, service as a corporal and forced labour at the fortifications, and each head was met in turn, the officers denying any payment, the pay lists showing he never held corporal's rank, and the works showing no compulsion but voluntary labour at the standing shilling a day. The detail that his opponent Eaglestone swore Gold had in fact paid five shillings

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			toward a boat, far from being cheated of a farthing, turned the grievance on its head, and the whole exercise reveals how completely a private man's word could be checked and overthrown by the muster rolls and sworn evidence the Council held. A farthing was the smallest English coin, a quarter of a penny, used here to mark that Gold received nothing whatever from Eaglestone. The shilling a day paid for voluntary work at the fortifications was the recognised rate for a soldier who chose to labour for the Company beyond his duty, the same rate that recurs through the island's building accounts.
113	109	33 We are very sorry for the unhappy Accident that happened to your Ship the Duke of Cumberland, & for the loss your Honours are likely to Sustain as it seems almost impossible to recover any of the Treasure 34 According to your Honours Orders we have Balanced the late Mr Wrights Accounts, & after Deducting the Funeral Charges, & Expences of his Auction, there remains the Sum of £288.11.2½ which we agreable to your Instructions Directed the Accomptant to Credit the said late Mr Wrights Estate with & to write the same off to Account Courant London 35 The reason that the Money arising from the Sale of Mr Wrights Effects was not carried on the Books of Accounts & wrote off to Account Courant London before now was, that we waited for your Honours Directions on that head, as it never has been Customary to do it, but when any Person dies intestate 36 Mr Wm Lee who your Honours have been pleased to Appoint your Chaplain at this Island shall be duly paid the Customary Appointments to persons in that Station, but as all the Companys Houses are possessed, We have allowed him the usual Sum of Ten Pounds ℔ Annum to pay for the Appartment he lives in, till we can otherwise accommodate him; His Bond for £50 shall be regularly cancelled when he has fully Discharged it 37 Mr Thomas Halterton your Honours Master Gunner shall be paid the same Sallary, & Appointments that the late Gunner Mr French was allowed Agreeable to your Orders 38 We find by our Books that Mr Thos French had no extraordinary pay allowed him during the time he Acted	33: The Council was very sorry for the unhappy accident that had happened to the Court's ship *Duke of Cumberland*, and for the loss the Court was likely to sustain, as it seemed almost impossible to recover any of the treasure. 34: In keeping with the Court's orders the Council had balanced the late Mr Wright's account, and after deducting the funeral charges and the expense of his auction, there remained the sum of £288 11s 2½d, which the Council, in keeping with the Court's instructions, had directed the accountant to credit to the late Mr Wright's estate and write off to account current in London. 35: The reason that the money arising from the sale of Mr Wright's effects was not carried on the books of account and written off to account current in London before now was that the Council had waited for the Court's directions on that head, since it had never been customary to do it, except when any person died intestate. 36: Mr William Lee, whom the Court had appointed to be chaplain on the island, would be duly paid the customary appointments of persons in that station. As all the Company's houses were occupied, the Council had allowed him the usual sum of ten pounds a year to pay towards the apartment he lived in, until it could otherwise accommodate him. His bond for fifty pounds would be regularly cancelled when he had fully discharged it. 37: Mr Thomas Halverson, the Court's master gunner, would be paid the same salary and appointments that the late gunner Mr French was allowed, in keeping with the Court's orders. 38: The Council found by its books that Mr Thomas French had no extraordinary pay allowed him during the time he acted. **Interpretations** The handling of the chaplain's lodging shows the shift the island was making from payment in kind to payment in money. With every Company house already occupied, the Council could not give the new chaplain the free quarters that went with his office, so it allowed him ten pounds a year toward renting a room instead, a housing allowance standing in for a house. The bond he had entered, to be cancelled once discharged, was the usual security taken from an incoming servant against his obligations, and its mention marks how each appointment carried a paper instrument binding the man to the Company until he had made good whatever he owed. The distinction drawn over Mr Wright's money reveals a point of accounting principle the Council would not settle on its own authority. It had held the proceeds of a dead man's effects rather than writing them off to London, because the custom was to do so only when a person died intestate, and Wright's case evidently did not fit that rule. Rather than act without warrant the Council waited for the Court's express direction, a caution that shows how tightly the disposal of estates was bound to fixed procedure and how reluctant the island was to depart from settled practice in the movement of money home.

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114	110	Acted as Secretary, therefore according to your Honours Orders we directed the Paymaster to pay him for the time he did that Duty at the rate of £70 ℔ Annum Salary & £60 ℔ Annum Diet Money, but to deduct what he received in that time, no Factor 39 We are sorry to acquaint your Honours that not one of the Sergeants here is either Capable or Deserving of a Commission, so that we have no Capt fill the Vacant second Lieuts place, & beg that your Honours will be pleased to send us one from England 40 On the 15 of this Month arrived your Honours Ship the Suffolk Capt Wm Wilson from Fort Marlborough which place he left the 3d Jany the same day came in the Augusta Capt Thos Purser, & on the 17 the Portfield Capt Carteret & Leycqub both from China, the former left it on the 8 Novr, & the latter on the 4 Decr we are informed by Capt Leycqub that he left your Ships the Stafford Capt Baker, the Grantham Capt Oliver, the York Capt Ward & the Prince Edward Capt Haldane, there, & that the Stafford was to Sail from thence the 10 & the Grantham the 20 of Decr the York the 22 & the Prince Edward the 30 of Jany, Capt Leycqub likeways acquaints us that he saw a Ship under Swedish Colours give to Windward of this Island the day before he Arrived 41 Capt Wm Wilson Applyed to us to pay £200 in your Cash, We have received it, & given him Bills of Exchange, drawn on your Honours for that Sum payable to himself or Order Ninety Days after Sight, dated the 29 instant	Mr French acted as secretary, and in keeping with the Court's orders the Council directed the paymaster to pay him for the time he did that duty at the rate of £50 a year salary and £50 a year diet money, deducting whatever he received in that time as an actor. 39: The Council was sorry to report that not one of the sergeants on the island was either capable or deserving of a commission, so that it had no captain to fill the vacant second lieutenant's place, and asked the Court to send one from England. 40: On the 15th of the month the Court's ship *Suffolk* under Captain Wilson arrived from Fort Marlborough, which place she left the 22nd of January. The same day came in the *Augusta* under Captain Thomas Parker, and on the 18th the *Portfield* under Captain Carteret and the *Lapwing*, both from China. The *Portfield* left China on the 2nd of November and the *Lapwing* on the 1st of December. Captain Carteret told the Council that he left the Court's ships *Stafford* under Captain Baker, the *Grantham* under Captain Oliver, the *York* under Captain Ward and the *Prince Edward* under Captain Haldane there, and that the *Stafford* was to sail from thence on the 10th, the *Grantham* on the 20th of December, the *York* on the 22nd and the *Prince Edward* on the 30th of January. Captain Carteret likewise reported that he saw a ship under Swedish colours just to windward of the island the day before he arrived. 41: Captain William Wilson asked leave to pay £200 0s 0d into the Court's cash. The Council received it and gave him bills of exchange drawn on the Court for that sum, payable to himself or order ninety days after sight, dated the 29th of the month.
115	111	42 Mr John Purling Applyed to us to pay £250 in your Cash, we have received it, & given him Bills of Exchange drawn on your Honours for that Sum, payable to himself (or Order) Ninety days after Sight, dated the 29 instant 43 Capt Thos Hinde applied to us to pay £200 in your Cash we have received it, & given him Bills of Exchange drawn on your Honours for that Sum payable to himself (or Order) Ninety days after Sight, dated the 29 instant 44 Mr John Doveton Wm Young, & Rd Beale Executors of Saml Doveton dec: applyed to us to pay £100 in your Cash we have received it, & given them Bills of Exchange drawn on your Honours for that Sum payable to themselves (or Order) Ninety days after sight, dated the 29 instant 45 We have bought of Capt Carteret & Leycqub 19 Tons dr Rice at 4/ ℔ hundred Weight, for the use of your Honours Blacks 46 By your Ship Suffolk we received three of your	42: Mr John Purling asked leave to pay £250 0s 0d into the Court's cash. The Council received it and gave him bills of exchange drawn on the Court for that sum, payable to himself or order ninety days after sight, dated the 29th of the month. 43: Captain Thomas Hinde asked leave to pay £200 0s 0d into the Court's cash. The Council received it and gave him bills of exchange drawn on the Court for that sum, payable to himself or order ninety days after sight, dated the 29th of the month. 44: Mr John Doveton, William Young and Richard Beale, executors of Samuel Doveton deceased, asked leave to pay £100 0s 0d into the Court's cash. The Council received it and gave them bills of exchange drawn on the Court for that sum, payable to themselves or order ninety days after sight, dated the 29th of the month. 45: The Council had bought of Captain Carteret of the *Lapwing* 19 hundredweight of rice at ten shillings the hundredweight, for the use of the Court's slaves. 46: By the Court's ship *Suffolk* the Council received three of the Court's soldiers from Fort Marlborough, whom the Court's Deputy Governor and Council there told the Council were sentenced by them to serve the remaining part of their contracted times at the island, they having been convicted of attempting piracy. 47: Since the Council's last advices to the Court there had been no rain to do any service, and the

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		Soldiers from Fort Marlborough who your Honours Deputy Govr Councel there inform us are Sentenced by them to serve the remaining part of their Contracted times at this Island they having been detected of attempting Piracy 47 Since our last Advices to you we have had no Rains to do any Service, & we are sorry to acquaint you that the fabb new begin to grow bad, & if we have not some wet Weather soon, most of the Grass upon the Island will be entirely burnt up, but if that should happen your Honours have a pretty large Quantity of Hay in the Longwood which will support the Honble Companys Stock, for some time 48 This waits on your Honours by your Ship Augusta that	Council was sorry to report that the salt now began to grow scarce. If there were no wet weather soon, most of the grass on the island would be entirely burnt up, but should that happen the Court had a fairly large quantity of hay in the Longwood, which would support the Court's stock for some time. 48: This letter went by the Court's ship *Augusta*. **Interpretations** The four deposits taken in a single day, from Purling, Hinde and the Doveton executors as well as the earlier payment by Captain Wilson, show the island working at full stretch as a remittance house for the Company world. Private persons, homeward captains and the executors of a dead man all brought silver to the Council and carried away paper drawn on London at ninety days' sight, the standard interval, sparing themselves the danger of shipping coin across a sea beset by privateers and pirates. The volume passing through the cash in these March days reflects the arrival of the homeward China ships, whose officers and passengers reached the island with funds accumulated in the East and wanting a safe channel home. The transfer of three convicted men from Fort Marlborough marks the use of St Helena as a place to work out a sentence passed elsewhere in the Company's dominions. The Deputy Governor and Council at the west-coast pepper settlement had tried the soldiers for attempting piracy and, rather than discharge or execute them, sentenced them to complete their enlistment on the island, so that St Helena received them as men already condemned. The reservation of hay in the Longwood against the failing grass shows the same forward provision the Council had begun the year before, laying up fodder in the wetter high ground as a hedge against the drought that recurs through these letters.
116	112	that Sails from hence, with your Ships the Suffolk, and Portfield St Helena 30 March 1751 We are Honble Sirs Your most Obedt & most humb servts Signed Charles Hutchinson David Hunter John Clark List of the Honble Company Packet from St Helena ℔ Ship Augusta with the foregoing Letter dated the 30 March 1751 &c No 1 Govr Councils Genl Letter dated the 30 March 1751 2 Duplicate Govr Councils Genl Letter dated the 24 Febr 1751 3 Do Do Do dated the 11 Mar Do 4 Do Consultations from the 21 Janr to the 18 Febr Do 5 Consultations from the 25 Febr to the 29 Mar 1751 6 Second Receipt for the Packet ℔ Ship Lapwing 7 First Do for the Packet ℔ Ship Boscawen 8 First Do for the Packet ℔ the Dutch Ship dated the 11 March 1750 9 List of Officers & Servants taken the 30 March 1751 10 List of Marriages &c dated the 30 March Do 11 Duplicate List of the Packet ℔ Ship Boscawen 12 Do Ship Boscawens Account 13 Do Ship Elizabeths Account 14 Do Ship Fort St Georges Account 15 Ship Augustas Account 16 Ship Suffolks Account	The Court's ship *Augusta* sailed from the island in company with the Court's ships *Suffolk* and *Portfield*. The letter closed at St Helena on 30 March 1751, signed by Charles Hutchinson, David Hunter and John Clark. The list of the Court's packet sent from St Helena by the ship *Augusta* with the letter dated 30 March 1751 ran as follows. 1: The Council's general letter dated 30 March 1751 2: Duplicate of the Council's general letter dated 24 February 1751 3: Duplicate of the same, dated 11 March 1751 4: Duplicate consultations from 21 January to 18 February 1751 5: Consultations from 25 February to 29 March 1751 6: Second receipt for the packet by the ship Lapwing 7: First receipt for the packet by the ship Boscawen 8: First receipt for the packet by the Dutch ship, dated 11 March 1751 9: List of officers and servants taken 30 March 1751 10: List of marriages and deaths from the 4th of March 1751 11: Duplicate list of the packet by the ship Boscawen 12: Duplicate of the ship Boscawen's account 13: Duplicate of the ship Elizabeth's account 14: Duplicate of the ship Fort St George's account 15: The ship Augusta's account 16: The ship Suffolk's account

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117	113	No 17 Ship Portfields Account 18 Duplicate Cash Acct for the Month of Decr 1750 19 Do Do for the Month of Janr Do 20 Do Do from the 1 to the 24 Febr Do 21 Cash Account from the 25 to the 28 Febr Do 22 Do from the 1 to the 30 March 1751 23 Abstract of the Bill of Loading ℔ Ship Augusta 24 Do of the Bill of Loading ℔ Ship Portfield 25 Capt Wm Wilsons Acct of the Loading of the Ship Suffolk 26 Mr Kendalls Answer to John Golds representation to the Honble Company 27 Mr Falconers Answer to John Golds representation to the Honble Company 28 Govr Letter to the Honble Committee of Secrecy To the Honble &c Honble Sirs We wrote last to your Honours by your Ship the Augusta, that Sailed from hence on the 31 day of last Month in Company with your Ships Suffolk & Portfield This waits on you by a Swedish Ship that arrived here on the 1 instant from China called the Adolph Frederick, Capt Peter Petersen Burthen 800 Tons carrig 26 Guns & 136 Men Loaden with Tea China Ware, Wilk the Capt informs Us that he sailed from Canton the 23 of Decr & left your Ships the Grantham	17: The ship Portfield's account 18: Duplicate cash account for the month of December 1750 19: Duplicate cash account for the month of January 1751 20: Duplicate cash account from 1 to 24 February 1751 21: Cash account from 25 to 28 February 1751 22: Cash account from 1 to 30 March 1751 23: Abstract of the bill of lading of the ship Augusta 24: Abstract of the bill of lading of the ship Portfield 25: Captain William Wilson's account of the loading of the ship Suffolk 26: Mr Kendall's answer to John Gold's representation to the Court 27: Mr Falconer's answer to John Gold's representation to the Court 28: The Governor's letter to the Committee of Secrecy The Council addressed the Court of Directors in a letter to India House. The Council's last letter to the Court had gone by the Court's ship *Augusta*, which sailed from the island on the 31st of last month in company with the Court's ships *Suffolk* and *Portfield*. This letter went by a Swedish ship that arrived on the 1st of the month from China, called the *Adolph Friedrich* under Captain Peter Petersen, of 800 tons burden, carrying 26 guns and 136 men, laden with tea and chinaware. Her captain told the Council that he sailed from Canton on the 23rd of December, and left the Court's ship *Grantham* there.
118	114	Grantham Capt Oliver, the York Capt Ward, & the Prince Edward Capt Haldane there & says that the Stafford Capt Baker sailed from thence, five days before him, he likewise acquaints us that two days after he left Java head, he saw a Ship under English Colours, which he Supposes to have been the Stafford Capt Baker St Helena 5 April 1751 We are Honble Sirs Your most Obedt & most humb servts Signed Charles Hutchinson David Hunter John Clark To the Honble &c Honble Sirs We wrote last to you by a Swedish Ship that Sailed from hence, on the 5 instant, by which occasion we advised your Honours of the Arrival & Departure of your Ships the Augusta Suffolk & Portfield On the 15 of this Month arrived a french Ship from Mauritius called the Machault Capt Palliere Christy, Burthen 600 Tons, carrig 28 Guns & 200 Men, Loaden with Coffee bound to France she Sails from hence on the 19 instant	The Swedish captain likewise reported that he left the Court's ships *Grantham* under Captain Oliver, the *York* under Captain Ward and the *Prince Edward* under Captain Haldane at Canton, and that the *Stafford* under Captain Baker sailed from there five days before him. He also told the Council that two days after he left Java Head he saw a ship under English colours, which he supposed to have been the *Stafford* under Captain Baker. The letter closed at St Helena on 5 April 1751, signed by Charles Hutchinson, David Hunter and John Clark. The Council addressed the Court of Directors in a letter to India House. The Council's last letter to the Court had gone by a Swedish ship, which sailed from the island on the 5th of the month, by which it advised the Court of the arrival and departure of the Court's ships *Augusta*, *Suffolk* and *Portfield*. On the 15th of the month a French ship arrived from Mauritius called the *Machault* under Captain Pallière, of 600 tons burden, carrying 28 guns and 200 men, laden with coffee and bound for France. She sailed from the island on the 19th of the month.
119	115	We beg leave to recommend to your Honours Consideration a Remonstrance of your Honours Officers of the Garrison which was exhibited to us the 22 instant as ℔ Consultation of that day We are quite Sensibly of the distress they must frequently be in from the dearness and Scarcity of provision, & we therefore, humbly hope your Honours will favourably hearken to their request John Davis, Petr Vansteenkirk, John Hanks and	The Council recommended to the Court the consideration of a representation from the Court's officers of the garrison, exhibited to the Council on the 22nd of the month and entered in the consultation of that day. The Council was fully aware of the distress they must frequently be in from the dearness and scarcity of provisions, and humbly hoped the Court would favourably attend to their request. John Davis, Peter Vansteenkirk, John Hanks and Francis Sereney had been left at the island by the Court's ship *Suffolk*. As none of them had any

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		Franz Sereny were left here by your Ship Suffolk, none of them having any Money, we ordered them to be Subsisted at 10 ℔ day Soldiers pay, Davis went with Capt Hindes the Onslow, & was paid for 9 Days the other 3 for 13 Vansteenkirk & Hanks taking a passage to go on board the Stafford Sereny having been missing ever since the French Ship Sailed, we presume, he went off in her, We thought proper to Signify this to your Honours as we were obliged to maintain them at your Expence, that you might recover the £2.12.6 the expence we have been at on this Account, from the Owners of the Ship, they belonged to, there being Wages due to them all from them as they assured Us Mr Rd Beale who read Prayers in the Church from the dismission of Mr Loveday until the Arrival of the Reverend Mr Lee, petitioned to us in Consultation of the 15 instant, for the same allowances that your Honours were pleased to appoint him in the like Circumstance after the death of the late Mr Alcock, We therefore agreed to pay him at the rate of £40 ℔ Annum upon condition	money, the Council ordered them to be subsisted at ten pence a day, a soldier's pay. Davis went with Captain Hinde on the *Onslow* and was paid for nine days, the other three for thirteen. Vansteenkirk and Hanks took ship to go aboard the *Stafford*, while Sereney, having been missing ever since the French ship sailed, was presumed to have gone off in her. The Council thought it right to report this to the Court, since it had been obliged to maintain the men at the Court's expense, so that the Court might recover the £2 12s 6d it had laid out on their account from the owners of the ship they belonged to, there being wages due to them all from the owners, as the men assured the Council. Mr Richard Beale, who read prayers in the church from the dismission of Mr Loveday until the arrival of the Reverend Mr Lee, petitioned the Council in the consultation of the 15th of the month for the same allowance the Court had appointed him in the like circumstance after the death of the late Mr Alcock. The Council therefore agreed to pay him at the rate of £40 0s 0d a year, upon condition. **Interpretations** The subsistence of the four stranded seamen shows the island absorbing the cost of men its own service had not engaged, and the Council's care to record it exactly reflects where the burden was meant to fall. Left without money by the *Suffolk*, the men had to be fed at ten pence a day, a soldier's rate, until they could be got away on other ships or, in Sereney's case, slipped off aboard the French vessel. Because wages were owed them by the owners of the ship they belonged to, the Council entered the £2 12s 6d it had spent so that the Court could reclaim it in London from those owners, turning a charge met on the spot into a debt recoverable at home. The engagement of Richard Beale to read prayers marks the makeshift by which the island kept up public worship between ordained ministers. With Mr Loveday dismissed and the Reverend Mr Lee not yet arrived, a layman was paid to conduct the service, and Beale grounded his claim on the precedent of a like arrangement after the death of an earlier chaplain named Alcock. The allowance of forty pounds a year, granted on condition, shows the Council treating the reading of prayers as a paid office to be filled by whatever qualified person was at hand when no clergyman was present, the continuity of the church maintained by expedient rather than by a settled incumbent.
120	116	condition that he returns that Money in case your Honours should not approve of it We have sent by this Conveyance the Books Gown and Cassock belonging to the late Reverend Mr John Debie, packt up in a Box directed to your Honours, which are all his remaining Effects 7 We are sorry to acquaint your Honours that we have lost our Summer Rains, & that altho the Weather is now Showry the Cattle will daily fall off from the want of a proper quantity of food This waits on you by your Honours Ship the Stafford Capt Felix Baker that Arrived here on the 17 instant from Canton, which place he saild from the 23 of December, & left your Ships the Grantham Prince Edward & York there, the first of which was to follow him in a few days, & the other two by the 20 of Jany as he informs us St Helena 24 April 1751 We are Honble Sirs Your most Obedt & most humb servts Signed Charles Hutchinson David Hunter	Beale's allowance was granted on condition that he return the money in case the Court should not approve of it. The Council had sent by this conveyance the books, gown and cassock belonging to the late Reverend Mr John Debie, packed up in a box directed to the Court, which were all his remaining effects. 7: The Council was sorry to report that it had lost its summer rains, and that although the weather was now showery the cattle would fall off daily from the want of a proper quantity of fodder. This letter went by the Court's ship *Stafford* under Captain Felix Baker, which arrived on the 4th of the month from Canton, which place he sailed from the 23rd of December. He left the Court's ships *Grantham*, *Prince Edward* and *York* there, the first of which was to follow him in a few days and the other two by the 20th of January, as he told the Council. The letter closed at St Helena on 24 April 1751, signed by Charles Hutchinson, David Hunter and John Clark.

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		John Clark	
121	117	List of the Honble Companys Packet from St Helena ℔ Ship Stafford with the foregoing Letter dated the 24 Apr 1751 Viz No 1 Govr Councils General Letter dated the 24 April 1751 2 Duplicate Govr Councils Genl Letter dated the 30 Mar Do 3 Do Do Do dated the 5 April Do 4 Consultations from the 1 to the 22 April Do 5 Duplicate Consultations from the 25 Febr to the 29 Mar Do 6 Second Receipt for the Packet ℔ Ship Boscawen 7 Do Do for the Packet ℔ the Dutch Ship dated 11 March 1750 8 First Receipt for the Packet ℔ Ship Augusta 9 Do Do for the Packet ℔ the Adolph Frederick Sweed Ship 10 List of Officers & Servants taken the 24 April 1751 11 List of Books &c belonging to the Reverend Mr John Debie 12 Duplicate List of the Packet ℔ Ship Augusta 13 Do Ship Augustas Account 14 Do Ship Suffolks Account 15 Do Ship Portfields Account 16 Ship Onslows Account 17 Do Stafford Account 18 Duplicate Cash Acct from the 25 to the 28 Febr 1750 19 Do Do from the 1 to the 30 March 1751 20 Cash Accounts for the 31 March 1751 21 Do from the 1 to the 24 April Do 22 Abstract of the Bill of Loading ℔ Ship Stafford 23 Representation from the Military Officers	The list of the Court's packet sent from St Helena by the ship *Stafford* with the letter dated 24 April 1751 ran as follows. 1: The Council's general letter dated 24 April 1751 2: Duplicate of the Council's general letter dated 30 March 1751 3: Duplicate of the same, dated 5 April 1751 4: Consultations from 1 to 22 April 1751 5: Duplicate consultations from 25 February to 29 March 1751 6: Second receipt for the packet by the ship Boscawen 7: Duplicate receipt for the packet by the Dutch ship, dated 11 March 1751 8: First receipt for the packet by the ship Augusta 9: First receipt for the packet by the Adolph Friedrich, a Swedish ship 10: List of officers and servants taken 24 April 1751 11: List of books and other things belonging to the Reverend Mr John Debie 12: Duplicate list of the packet by the ship Augusta 13: Duplicate of the ship Augusta's account 14: Duplicate of the ship Suffolk's account 15: Duplicate of the ship Portfield's account 16: The ship Onslow's account 17: Duplicate of the Stafford's account 18: Duplicate cash account from 25 to 28 February 1751 19: Duplicate cash account from 1 to 30 March 1751 20: Cash account for the 31st of March 1751 21: Cash account from 1 to 24 April 1751 22: Abstract of the bill of lading of the ship Stafford 23: Representation from the military officers
122	118	To the Honble &c Honble Sirs We wrote to you last by your Ship the Stafford Capt Felix Baker that sailed from hence on the 24 of last Month On the 29 of that Month arrived your Ship the Prince Edward Capt Robt Haldane, who informs us that your Honours Ship the York, left the Ladrone one day before him On the 2 instant arrived a Dane Ship from China called the Crown Prince of Denmark, Capt Hendrick Fischer, Burthen 900 Tons, carrig 26 Guns ℔ 160 Men, Loaden with Tea China Ware, bound to Copenhagen, the Capt acquaints us that he saw with an English Ship outward bound on the 28 of last Month, going into the Cape, it blowing hard he could not hear distinctly, but believes it to have been the Prince of Wales On the 3 of this Month arrived your Honours Ship the Severn Capt Rich Dennis with a French Ship from China call the La Ville flou Capt La Porte Burthen 600 Tons, carrig 24 Guns & 160 Men, Loaden with Tea China Ware & Silks bound to France, And a Dane Ship from the same place, called the Fyen Capt Knud Christian Utrecht, Burthen 1000 Tons, carrig 28 Guns & 180 Men Loaden with Tea China Ware, bound to Copenhagen	The Council addressed the Court of Directors in a letter to India House. The Council's last letter to the Court had gone by the Court's ship *Stafford* under Captain Felix Baker, which sailed from the island on the 24th of last month. On the 29th of that month the Court's ship *Prince Edward* under Captain Robert Haldane arrived, who told the Council that the Court's ship *York* left the Ladrones one day before him. On the 2nd of the month a Danish ship from China arrived called the *Crown Prince of Denmark* under Captain Hendrick Tucker, of 900 tons burden, carrying 26 guns and 160 men, laden with tea and chinaware and bound for Copenhagen. Her captain told the Council that he saw an English ship outward bound on the 28th of last month, going into the Cape. It blowing hard, he could not hear distinctly, but believed it to have been the *Prince of Wales*. On the 3rd of the month the Court's ship *Severn* under Captain Richard Danet arrived, with a French ship from China called the *La Ville de Lille* under Captain La Porte, of 600 tons burden, carrying 24 guns and 160 men, laden with tea, chinaware and silks and bound for France; and a Danish ship from the same place called the *Fyen* under Captain Knud Christian Utrecht, of 1,000 tons burden, carrying 28 guns and 180 men, laden with tea and chinaware and bound for Copenhagen.
123	119	We are acquainted by Capt Dorrill that he Saild from Bengall the 3 of Jany where he left the Walpole	Captain Danet told the Council that he sailed from Bengal on the 5th of January, where he left the

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		which was to proceed for England about the 10 of Febr, that the Kent was Stationed for Bombay & Surat, & the Vansol was to Sail in a few days for Coast & England, that the London went for India the latter end of Decr, & the Benjamin Cargo was not fixed expecting the Britannia & Vansol from Bombay Capt Dorrill further acquaint us that he arrived at Madrass the 10 of Jany at which place he found the Brittannia, She having lost her Passage from Bombay is to takeaway the Vansol which he heard had put into Vizagapatam On the 21 Jany Capt Dorrill sailed from Madrass to Fort St David, & reached it the day following, the French had than got possession of Arcot, & Collected the Duties of the Country for some hundred Miles & had sent a new Govr to Maslapatam which it is said he is to Fortify in the best manner he can The 4 of Febr arrived at Fort St David your Honours Ship Swallow from Bencoolen & was preparing to Sail for Bengall with Mr Robins on board, is to was to call at Devipoint & take Possession of that place in Virtue of an old Grant from the Nabob to the English to Settle there; She was to return Directly from Bengall to the Coast, & to be Dispatched from thence to England some time in May; that by Letters from Tillicherry	*Walpole*, which was to proceed for England about the 10th of February. He reported that the *Kent* was stationed for Bombay and Surat, and the *Severn* was to sail in a few days for the Coast and England, and that the *London* went for India the latter end of December. The *Benjamin*'s cargo was not fixed, she expecting the *Britannia* and *Warren* from Bombay. Captain Danet further told the Council that he arrived at Madras on the 10th of January, where he found the *Britannia*, she having lost her passage from Bombay, and that he likewise left the *Warren* there, which he heard had put into Vizagapatam. On the 21st of January Captain Danet sailed from Madras for Fort St David, and reached it the day following. The French had then got possession of Arcot and collected the duties of the country for some hundred miles, and had sent a new governor to Masulipatam, which it was said he was to fortify in the best manner he could. On the 4th of February the Court's ship *Swallow* arrived at Fort St David from Bencoolen, and was preparing to sail for Bengal with Mr Roberts on board. She was to call at Devi Point and take possession of that place, in virtue of an old grant from the Nabob to the English to settle there. She was to return directly from Bengal to the Coast, and to be dispatched from there to England some time in May. By letters from Tellicherry [...]. **Interpretations** The intelligence Captain Danet carried shows how far the war between the European powers in southern India had turned against the English interest by the opening of 1751. The French had taken Arcot, the seat of the Carnatic, and were levying the revenues of the country for hundreds of miles around, while installing their own governor at Masulipatam with orders to fortify it. For the Council at St Helena, gathering such reports from every homeward captain and forwarding them to London, the news marked the reach of French power along the Coromandel coast at a moment when the Company's own position at Fort St David and Madras was closely pressed. Devi Point was a place on the Indian coast to which the *Swallow* was directed to take formal possession under an old grant from the Nabob, the local ruler whose authority the Company relied on for its footholds. The taking of possession by virtue of such a grant was the legal form by which the English secured a new settlement, an act of occupation resting on a prince's written concession rather than on conquest, and the detail shows the Company still extending its stations by paper title even as the French overran the interior.
124	120	they had two Cargoes of Pepper ready there, & desired Ships might be sent for it, that on the 7 of Febr arrived the Norfolk at Fort St David, which place Capt Dorrill left the 9, when he heard that the Norfolk would be Dispatched from thence about the 25 We learn further from Capt Dorrill that the Squadron of his Majestys Ships under the Command of Commodore Lisle, were to Winter at Madagascar as it was reported, & to proceed from thence for Europe We are told by Capt La Porte of the French Ship La Ville flou that on the 24 of Febr last N.S. between the Hours of one & two in the Morning, being than about four or five Leagues distant from Princes Island, and the Weather very Squally, & extremely Dark, his Ship & your Honours Ship the Grantham, unfortunately run	By letters from Tellicherry the English had two cargoes of pepper ready there, and desired ships might be sent for it. On the 5th of February the *Norfolk* arrived at Fort St David, which place Captain Danet left on the 9th, when he heard that the *Norfolk* would be dispatched from there about the 25th. The Council learned further from Captain Danet that the squadron of His Majesty's ships under the command of Commodore Lisle was to winter at Madagascar, as it was reported, and to proceed from there for Europe. Captain La Porte of the French ship *La Ville de Lille* told the Council that on the 24th of February last, old style, between the hours of one and two in the morning, being then about four or five leagues distant from Princes Island, and the weather very squally and extremely dark, his ship and the Court's ship *Grantham* unfortunately ran foul of each other, and continued so for some time. By this accident the *Grantham* lost great part of her fresh water and was hurt in some other respects, which obliged Captain

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		foul of each other, & continued so for some time, by which accident the Grantham lost great part of her fresh Water, & was hurt in some other respect, which obliged Capt Oliver to go for Batavia to repair the Damage he had received Capt La Porte further acquaints us that between the 12 & 14 of Febr N.S. his Ship having touched upon the Banks of Coze of Palymbam, they saw along the Coast of Sumatra to the Westward of them, at about a League Distant, three small Vessels that appeared like China Junks, two of which he judged might be of 50 or 60 Tons, that they were	Oliver to go to Batavia to repair the damage he had received. Captain La Porte further told the Council that between the 12th and 14th of February, old style, his ship having touched upon the banks off Coze of Palembang, they saw along the coast of Sumatra to the westward of them, at about a league's distance, three small vessels that appeared like Chinese junks, two of which he judged might be of 50 or 60 tons. That they were [...].
125	121	told by a Dutch Boat, called the Imhoff, these Vessels were Corsairs or Pirates, with Siam Colours, Commissioned and that there were several European Deserters from Batavia, among their Crews, & that the largest of these Vessels carried seventy Men, & 14 small Guns or Swivels the same Dutch Boat anchored near his Ship, fearing to be insulted in the Night by these Pirates On the 7 instant in the Evening came off the Road a Dutch Ship called Degeregtigheyd, bound from Ceylon to Zealand, by a Boat that went along side of that Ship, we hear that the Capt touched at the Cape, & sailed from it the 23 Apl N.S. where he then left two English Ships but could not remember their or the Captains Names he said that one of them was a new Ship bound for Fort St David, the other for China, & that Mr Hyde was Supracargoe, he likewise said that two French Ships homeward bound, were at the Cape at the same time, & a Dane, in False Bay, & that there were some disturbances at Batavia between the Dutch & the Natives the Cape Brandy proving a hot & fiery Spirit Sells but very Slowly, We therefore desire that your Honours will not order any more of it, to be brought here as it will be some time before that which is now in your Stores, will be disposed of We have bought of Capt Robt Haldane 17 Casks of Salt Provision at £8.10 ℔ Cask for the use of your Honours Garrison Capt Haldane acquainting us that he has got	Captain La Porte was told by a Dutch boat called the *Imhoff* that these vessels were corsairs or pirates flying Siamese colours, and that there were several European deserters from Batavia among their crews, and that the largest of these vessels carried seventy men and 14 small guns or swivels. The same Dutch boat anchored near his ship, fearing to be attacked in the night by these pirates. On the 7th of the month in the evening a Dutch ship called the *Deregtigheyt* came off the road, bound from Ceylon to Zeeland. By a boat that went alongside that ship, the Council heard that her captain touched at the Cape and sailed from it on the 23rd of April, old style, where he then left two English ships, but could not remember either their names or the captains'. He said that one of them was a new ship bound for Fort St David and the other for China, and that Mr Hyde was supercargo. He likewise reported that two French ships homeward bound were at the Cape at the same time, and a Danish ship in False Bay, and that there had been some disturbance at Batavia between the Dutch and the natives. The Cape brandy, proving a hot and fiery spirit, sold but very slowly, so the Council desired the Court would order no more of it to be brought to the island, since it would be some time before that which was now in the stores could be disposed of. The Council had bought of Captain Robert Haldane 17 casks of salt provisions at £8 10s 0d the cask, for the use of the Court's garrison. Captain Haldane told the Council that he had got [...]. **Interpretations** The report of armed junks off Sumatra manned partly by European deserters from Batavia shows the disorder that shadowed the eastern trade routes, where the line between a trading vessel and a pirate was thin. A craft flying Siamese colours, carrying seventy men and mounting fourteen swivel guns, was a serious threat to a lone merchantman, and the Dutch boat that anchored close to the Frenchman for fear of a night attack shows how ships of rival nations drew together against a common danger. Such intelligence, gathered from a French captain and passed on to London, reflects the Council's standing role as a clearing house for the hazards of the whole passage home. The rejection of the Cape brandy marks a plain judgement about what the island's small market would bear. Described as a hot and fiery spirit, it moved so slowly in the stores that the Council asked the Court to send no more until the present stock was cleared, a rare instance of the island refusing a supply rather than pressing for it. The preference told against a harsh liquor the inhabitants and garrison would not readily buy, and shows the Council managing the Court's imports by what actually sold, not merely by what was shipped. A supercargo was the officer aboard a merchant ship who took charge of the cargo and conducted

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			the buying and selling on the owners' behalf, a man of commercial rather than navigational authority. The naming of Mr Hyde in that office, carried in the general run of shipping intelligence, shows how closely the movements of particular Company men were tracked and reported along with the ships they sailed in.
126	122	gett no Bills of Loading we therefore are not able to give your Honours an Account of his Ships Cargo He applyed to us for liberty to pay £70 into your Cash, we have received it, & given him Bills of Exchange drawn on your Honours for that Sum Payable to himself, or Order Ninety days after Sight dated the 6 instant This waits on you by your Honours Ship the Prince Edward that sails in Company with your Ship Severn St Helena 8 May 1751 We are Honble Sirs Your most Obedt & most humb servts Signed Charles Hutchinson David Hunter John Clark List of the Honble Company Packet from St Helena ℔ Ship Prince Edward with the foregoing Letter dated the 8 May 1751 Vizt No 1 Govr Councils Genl Letter dated the 8 May 1751 2 Duplicate Govr Councils Genl Lett dated the 24 Apr Do 3 Consultations from the 22 Apl to the 6 May Do 4 Duplicate Consultations from the 1 to the 22 Apl Do 5 Second Receipt for the Packet ℔ Ship Augusta 6 Second Receipt for the Packet ℔ the Adolph Frederick Sweed Ship	Captain Haldane had got no bills of lading, so the Council was not able to give the Court an account of his ship's cargo. Captain Haldane asked leave to pay £70 0s 0d into the Court's cash. The Council received it and gave him bills of exchange drawn on the Court for that sum, payable to himself or order ninety days after sight, dated the 6th of the month. This letter went by the Court's ship *Prince Edward*, which sailed in company with the Court's ship *Severn*. The letter closed at St Helena on 8 May 1751, signed by Charles Hutchinson, David Hunter and John Clark. The list of the Court's packet sent from St Helena by the ship *Prince Edward* with the letter dated 8 May 1751 ran as follows. 1: The Council's general letter dated 8 May 1751 2: Duplicate of the Council's general letter dated 24 April 1751 3: Consultations from 22 April to 6 May 1751 4: Duplicate consultations from 1 to 22 April 1751 5: Second receipt for the packet by the ship Augusta 6: Second receipt for the packet by the Adolph Friedrich, a Swedish ship
127	123	7 First Receipt for the Packet ℔ Ship Stafford 8 First Receipt from Capt Baker for the Box containing the late Reverend Mr Debies Effects 9 List of Officers & Servants taken the 8 May 1751 10 Duplicate Ship Onslows Account 11 Duplicate Ship Stafford Account 12 Ship Prince Edwards Account 13 Ship Severns Account 14 Duplicate Cash Acct for the 31 March 1751 15 Duplicate Cash Acct from the 1 to the 24 Apl 1751 16 Cash Acct from the 25 to the 30 Apl 1751 17 Cash Acct from the 1 to the 8 May 1751 18 Copy of Ship Severns Bill of Loading 19 Duplicate List of the Packet ℔ Ship Stafford 20 List of one Man, that takes his Passage on board the Ship Prince Edward having his discharge from the Garrison To the Honble &c Honble Sirs 1 We wrote last to you by your Honours Ship the Prince Edward Capt Roberts Haldane that sailed on the 8 Instant, in Company with your Ships the Severn Capt Richard Dorrill 2 On the 18 of this Month Arrived a French Ship from Bengall called the Maurepas Capt Beaurezaird Burthen	7: First receipt for the packet by the ship Stafford 8: First receipt from Captain Baker for the box containing the late Reverend Mr Debie's effects 9: List of officers and servants taken 8 May 1751 10: Duplicate of the ship Onslow's account 11: Duplicate of the ship Stafford's account 12: The ship Prince Edward's account 13: The ship Severn's account 14: Duplicate cash account for the 31st of March 1751 15: Duplicate cash account from 1 to 24 April 1751 16: Cash account from 25 to 30 April 1751 17: Cash account from 1 to 8 May 1751 18: Copy of the ship Severn's bill of lading 19: Duplicate list of the packet by the ship Stafford 20: List of one man that takes his passage on board the ship Prince Edward, having his discharge from the garrison The Council addressed the Court of Directors in a letter to India House. 1: The Council's last letter to the Court had gone by the Court's ship *Prince Edward* under Captain Robert Haldane, which sailed on the 8th of the month in company with the Court's ship *Severn* under Captain Richard Danet. 2: On the 18th of the month a French ship from Bengal arrived called the *Maurepas* under Captain Beauregard.

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128	124	Burthen 650 Tons, carrig 120 Men & 20 Guns Loaden with Bale Goods bound to Port L'orient the Capt informs us that he left Bengall the 17 Febr N.S. & that he saw two English Ships in the Road of Goodpy & a Frigate at Ingelee, & that he met an English Ship the 6 of May in the Latitude of 36.30 near the Cape, off of which he descried one French & three Dutch Ships Standing to the East ward 3 On the 19 Arrived your Honours Ships the Walpole Capt Fea from Bengall, & the York Capt Ward from China, the former acquaints us that he sailed from Bengall the 13 of Febr & left your Ships the Benjamin & Warren there, & that Capt Meard was to Sail from thence for Europe in about ten or twelve days after him, & Capt Glover about the middle of March; that the Norfolk Capt Hancock sailed from Bengall for Madrass the 20 Jany & was to be dispatched from thence for Europe; Capt Fea likewise says that he saw three Dutch Ships off the Cape outward bound; And Capt Ward acquaints Us that he spoke with a Dutch Ship in the Straits of Sunday bound for Europe, about the Middle of Febr that had the Govr of Hughly on board, who told him that an English Ship had put back to Batavia from her Voyage homeward bound, having received some damage, but will not tell either the name of the Ship or Capt but we believe it must have been your Honours Ship the Grantham Capt Oliver	The *Maurepas* was of 650 tons burden, carrying 120 men and 20 guns, laden with bale goods and bound for Port L'Orient. Her captain told the Council that he left Bengal on the 17th of February, old style, and that he saw two English ships in the road of Godevy and a frigate at Ingelee, and that he met an English ship on the 6th of May in the latitude of 36 degrees 30 minutes near the Cape, off which he saw one French and three Dutch ships standing to the eastward. 3: On the 19th the Court's ships *Walpole* under Captain Lee from Bengal and *York* under Captain Ward from China arrived. Captain Lee told the Council that he sailed from Bengal on the 13th of February and left the Court's ships *Benjamin* and *Warren* there, and that Captain Meard was to sail from thence for Europe in about ten or twelve days after him, and Captain Glover about the middle of March. He reported that the *Norfolk* under Captain Hancock sailed from Bengal for Madras on the 20th of January and was to be dispatched from there for Europe. Captain Lee likewise reported that he saw three Dutch ships off the Cape outward bound. Captain Ward told the Council that he spoke with a Dutch ship in the Straits of Sunda, bound for Europe about the middle of February, that had the pilot of Hooghly on board, who told him that an English ship had put back to Batavia from her homeward voyage, having received some damage, but would not tell either the name of the ship or the captain. The Council believed it must have been the Court's ship *Grantham* under Captain Oliver.
129	125	4 We hear that the Squadron of her Majestys Ships under the Command of Commodore Lisle, were to Sail from Bombay the latter end of Febr for England 5 On the same day Arrived another French Ship from Bengall called the Laticence Capt Placelieuse Burthen 600 Tons, carrig 130 Men & 24 Guns Loaden with Bale Goods bound to Port Loriant 6 On the 25 Arrived a third French Ship from Bengall called the Diana Capt Raucour Burthen 400 Tons, carrig 80 Men & 26 Guns, Loaden with Bales, bound likewise to Port Loriant, the Capt informs us that he met the 16 May, N.S. a Ship under Dutch Colours attempting to get round the Cape in her way to India 7 There having been many Foreign Gentlemen here who were very desirous, & seem to think it hard that they are not allowed to see a little of the Country, which we did not think proper to admit of, until we knew your pleasure concerning it, we therefore beg that you will Signify to us, whether any of them may be indulged in this particular, if they go in Company with any of the Gentlemen in your Honours Service 8 Several Soldiers that were discharged on the 30 April last, & 9 instant, which had served their Contracted times could not get their Passage to England either on the Prince	4: The Council heard that the squadron of His Majesty's ships under the command of Commodore Lisle was to sail from Bombay the latter end of February for England. 5: On the same day another French ship from Bengal arrived, called the *Lauriston* under Captain Plazelieu, of 600 tons burden, carrying 130 men and 24 guns, laden with bale goods and bound for Port L'Orient. 6: On the 25th a third French ship from Bengal arrived, called the *Diana* under Captain Raucour, of 400 tons burden, carrying 80 men and 20 guns, laden with bales and bound likewise for Port L'Orient. Her captain told the Council that on the 16th of May, old style, he met a ship under Dutch colours attempting to get round the Cape on her way to India. 7: Many foreign gentlemen had been at the island who were very desirous, and seemed to think it hard, that they were not allowed to see a little of the country. The Council did not think it proper to admit of this until it knew the Court's pleasure, and so asked the Court to tell it whether any of them might be indulged in this particular, if they went in company with any of the gentlemen in the Court's service. 8: Several soldiers who were discharged on the 30th of April last, and the 9th of the month, having served their contracted times, could not get their passage to England either on the *Prince Edward* or the *Severn* except they paid for it. They were therefore obliged to remain on the island, and having no money to support themselves with, and not inclining to enlist, they applied to the Council for subsistence. The Council therefore agreed to allow them [...]. **Interpretations** The Council's refusal to let foreign visitors tour the island without the Court's leave shows how tightly St Helena guarded itself as a fortified station in a time of war. The many French, Dutch and Danish officers who came ashore from the ships

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		Edward or Severn, except they paid for it, they therefore were obliged to remain upon the Island, & having no Money to support themselves with, & not inclining to relist; they applyed to Us for Subsistance we therefore agreed to allow them	sharing the sea road were natural sources of intelligence, but they were also potential observers of the island's own defences, so the Council held them to the settlement and referred the question of any wider liberty to London. The suggestion that visitors might be indulged only in the company of the Court's own servants reveals the compromise it had in mind, access under escort rather than free movement, with the decision reserved to the Court. The plight of the discharged soldiers exposes a hard edge in the way men left the Company's service at a remote station. A soldier whose term had expired was free, but freedom on St Helena meant no passage home unless he could pay a homeward captain for it, and no means of living if he would not re-enlist. Caught between a garrison they had quit and ships that would not carry them for nothing, the men had no recourse but to ask the Council for subsistence, so that the island once more bore the cost of people its service had released, the same difficulty that recurs whenever a contracted time ran out far from England.
130	126	them 6 ℔ day until they could procure a passage, by Wishing for it, which we hope will meet with your Honours approbation, most of them now go on your Ships Walpole & York, as ℔ Lists of them in the Packet 9 There being at present near 100 Horses & Mares here, & among them several Breeders which we think is an over stock for the Island we therefore thought proper to mention this for your Honours Notice & Directions concerning them 10 We beg that your Honours will be pleased to send us the Sash Windows for the Plantation House, & likewise some Portland Stone, & Marble Dote for the Hall and some of the Offices, as it will be full as Cheap & much more Durable than the flooring them with Deals, the quantity of each is particularized at the foot of our Indent, to which we refer your Honours 11 We transmit to you by this occasion the Accounts of the late Govr Goodwin drawn out in a seperate Book, in as particular a manner as possible, together with what Money has been received on that Account, what is likely to be recovered, & what we deem irrecoverable, your Honours will also see it, at one View in an Abstract sent to you herewith 12 Lieutenant James Repington applyed to us in Consultation of last Monday for leave to go to England on the Ship York, we Granted his request, & gave Capt Ward a permission to receive him on board	The Council agreed to allow the discharged soldiers ten pence a day until they could get a passage by working for it, which it hoped would meet with the Court's approbation. Most of them now went on the Court's ships *Walpole* and *York*, a list of them being in the packet. 9: There were at present near 100 horses and mares on the island, and among them several breeders, which the Council thought an overstock for the island, so it thought it right to mention this for the Court's notice and directions concerning them. 10: The Council asked the Court to send the sash windows for the Plantation House, and likewise some Portland stone and marble dust for the hall and some of the offices, since it would be far cheaper and much more durable than flooring them with deals. The quantity of each was set out at the foot of the Council's indent, to which it referred the Court. 11: The Council transmitted by this conveyance the accounts of the late Governor Goodwin, drawn out in a separate book in as particular a manner as possible, together with what money had been received on that account, what was likely to be recovered and what the Council deemed irrecoverable. The Court would also see it at one view in an abstract sent herewith. 12: Lieutenant James Repington asked the Council in the consultation of last Monday for leave to go to England on the ship *York*. The Council granted his request and gave Captain Ward permission to receive him on board. **Interpretations** The overstock of horses points to a persistent difficulty in managing the island's limited pasture against competing uses. With near a hundred horses and mares, several of them breeding, eating grass that the Council needed for the cattle on which the ships and garrison depended, the animals had become a burden rather than a convenience, and the Council referred the question to London rather than reduce the stock on its own authority. The care to seek the Court's directions over so domestic a matter shows how closely the disposal of the Company's property was bound to instruction from home. The request for Portland stone and marble dust in place of deal flooring shows the Council weighing durability against the cost and decay of imported softwood. Timber shipped to a warm, damp island rotted, and a hard-wearing stone or composition floor, though dearer to lay, would outlast a boarded one and spare the constant charge of renewal. The

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			reasoning marks the same forward calculation that ran through the island's building decisions, choosing the more lasting material for the Plantation House even where the first outlay was greater, and setting the quantities down in the indent for London to supply.
131	127	13 Enclosed herewith is the Indent of Stores that we shall want for the use of the ensuing Year, which we hope, your Honours will approve of St Helena 31 May 1751 We are Honble Sirs Your most Obedt & most humb servts Signed Charles Hutchinson David Hunter John Clark List of the Honble Company Packet from St Helena ℔ Ship York, with the foregoing Letter dated the 31 May 1751 Viz No 1 Govr Councils General Letter dated the 31 May 1751 2 Duplicate Govr Councils Genl Lett dated the 8 May Do 3 Do Consultations from the 29 Apl to the 6 May Do 4 Consultations from the 13 to the 27 May Do 5 Second Receipt for the Packet ℔ Ship Stafford 6 Second Receipt from Capt Baker for the Box containing the late Reverend Mr Debies Effects 7 First Receipt for the Packet ℔ Ship Prince Edward 8 List of Officers & Servants taken the 31 May 1751 9 Duplicate Ship Prince Edward Account 10 Do Ship Severns Account 11 Ship Yorks Account 12 Ship Walpoles Account	13: The Council enclosed herewith the indent of stores it would want for the use of the coming year, which it hoped the Court would approve. The letter closed at St Helena on 31 May 1751, signed by Charles Hutchinson, David Hunter and John Clark. The list of the Court's packet sent from St Helena by the ship *York* with the letter dated 31 May 1751 ran as follows. 1: The Council's general letter dated 31 May 1751 2: Duplicate of the Council's general letter dated 8 May 1751 3: Duplicate consultations from 29 April to 6 May 1751 4: Consultations from 13 to 27 May 1751 5: Second receipt for the packet by the ship Stafford 6: Second receipt from Captain Baker for the box containing the late Reverend Mr Debie's effects 7: First receipt for the packet by the ship Prince Edward 8: List of officers and servants taken 31 May 1751 9: Duplicate of the ship Prince Edward's account 10: Duplicate of the ship Severn's account 11: The ship York's account 12: The ship Walpole's account 13: Duplicate
132	128	No 13 Duplicate Cash Acct from the 25 to the 30 Apl 1751 14 Do Do from the 1 to the 8 May Do 15 Cash Account from the 9 to the 31 May Do 16 Duplicate List of the Packet ℔ Ship Prince Edward 17 Abstract of the Bill of Loading ℔ Ship York 18 Do of the Bill of Loading ℔ Ship Walpole 19 List of Military Discharged the Honble Company since 20 A Book Containing Govr Goodwins Account 21 Abstract of Govr Goodwins Acct drawn from ℔ above Book 22 Indent of Stores wanted at St Helena, for the Year 1752 23 Do of Medicines & Drugs for the Year 1752 24 List of Remains of Stores taken from the 1 October 1750 to the 30 Apl 1751 25 List of Gunrs & Samson Stores remaing the 30 Apl 1751 26 List of Marriages &c 27 Papers containing the Claims upon Govr Goodwins Estate from Gentlemen in the Island To the Honble &c Honble Sirs The Enclosed is the Duplicate of our Indent for the Service of the ensuing Year, which We thought proper to transmit to your Honours, by this occasion as it grows late in the Year, & it is uncertain whither any other Ship may arrive time enough for it to go by St Helena	13: Duplicate cash account from 25 to 30 April 1751 14: Duplicate cash account from 1 to 8 May 1751 15: Cash account from 9 to 31 May 1751 16: Duplicate list of the packet by the ship Prince Edward 17: Abstract of the bill of lading of the ship York 18: Abstract of the bill of lading of the ship Walpole 19: List of military discharged by the Court since the last 20: A book containing Governor Goodwin's accounts 21: Abstract of Governor Goodwin's accounts drawn from the above book 22: Indent of stores wanted at St Helena for the year 1752 23: Indent of medicines and drugs for the year 1752 24: List of remains of stores taken from 1 October 1750 to 30 April 1751 25: List of gunner's and armourer's stores remaining the 30th of April 1751 26: List of marriages and deaths 27: Paper containing the claims upon Governor Goodwin's estate from gentlemen on the island The Council addressed the Court of Directors in a letter to India House. The enclosed was the duplicate of the Council's indent for the service of the coming year, which it thought right to transmit to the Court by this conveyance, since it grew late in the year and it was uncertain whether any other ship might arrive in time enough for it to go by.

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		31 May 1751 We are Honble Sirs Your most Obedt & most humb servts Signed Charles Hutchinson David Hunter John Clark	The letter closed at St Helena on 31 May 1751, signed by Charles Hutchinson, David Hunter and John Clark.
133	129	To the Honble &c Honble Sirs We wrote to you last by your Honours Ship the York Capt Ward that Sailed from hence on the 31 of May, in Company with your Ship Walpole This waits on your Honours by a French Ship called the Bristol Capt Sanguinet that arrived here on the 9 instant from Bengall, Burthen 450 Tons, carrig 97 Men & 16 Guns Loaden with Bales & Pepper bound to Port Loriant By this occasion we thought proper to acquaint you that on the 6 & 9 of this Month arrived your Honours Ships the Grantham & Benjamin, which will sail in two or three days, Capt Meard acquaints us, that the Norfolk, sailed from Bengall for the Coast to fill up for England about the 20 Jany, that Capt Sumner arrived at Bengall the 16 Febr & that Capt Glover of the Warren, was to be dispatched from that place, for England a few days after him he likeways says that he spoke with a Dutch Ship off the Cape, bound to Batavia from which he learnt no News; but Capt Oliver informs us that he spoke with another Dutch Ship the 7 May 1751 four days from the Cape; that gave him an Account of two English Ships being there, one homeward bound & one bound to Bengall, but could not tell either the Names of the Ships or Captains, We are St Helena 16 June 1751 Honble Sirs As your most Obedt & most humb servts Signed Charles Hutchinson David Hunter John Clark	The Council addressed the Court of Directors in a letter to India House. The Council's last letter to the Court had gone by the Court's ship *York* under Captain Ward, which sailed from the island on the 31st of May in company with the Court's ship *Walpole*. This letter went by a French ship called the *Bristol* under Captain Sanguinet, which arrived on the 9th of the month from Bengal, of 450 tons burden, carrying 97 men and 14 guns, laden with bales and pepper and bound for Port L'Orient. The Council thought it right to report that on the 6th and 9th of the month the Court's ships *Grantham* and *Benjamin* arrived, which would sail in two or three days. Captain Meard told the Council that the *Norfolk* sailed from Bengal for the Coast to fill up for England about the 20th of January, that Captain Sumner arrived at Bengal on the 4th of February, and that Captain Glover of the *Warren* was to be dispatched from that place for England a few days after him. He likewise reported that he spoke with a Dutch ship off the Cape bound for Batavia, from which he learned no news. Captain Oliver told the Council that he spoke with another Dutch ship on the 7th of May 1751, four days from the Cape, that gave him an account of two English ships being there, one homeward bound and one bound for Bengal, but could not tell either the names of the ships or the captains. The letter closed at St Helena on 16 June 1751, signed by Charles Hutchinson, David Hunter and John Clark. **Interpretations** The reappearance of the *Grantham* under Captain Oliver, safely arrived and himself supplying shipping intelligence, closes the earlier alarm over the damaged ship the Council had traced through the reports of passing vessels. The ship that struck the Frenchman off Princes Island and put back to Batavia to repair, which the Council had guessed at from the account of a Dutch pilot months before, now stood in the road and gave news of her own, showing how the scattered fragments of report the island gathered from every hull could take weeks to resolve into the plain fact of a ship come in. The detail marks the value of the running record the Council kept, each rumour held until a later arrival confirmed or corrected it.
134	130	To the Honble &c Honble Sirs We wrote last to you by a French Ship called the Bristol that Sailed from hence on the 16 instant Yesterday arrived your Honours Ship the Norfolk Capt Nathaniel Hancock from Fort St David, which place he left the 23 of Febr last, he acquaints us that he Doubled the Cape the 18 May and spoke with the Uchester Capt Fead the day before and likewise arrived a French Ship called the La Paix Commanded by Capt Denumel, Burthen 850 Tons, carrig 18 Guns & 130 Men, Loaden with Pepper Hardamoms from Mahee she having left it the 3 of March N.S. By your Ship the Benjamin nine discharged Soldiers have got their Passage to England a List of	The Council addressed the Court of Directors in a letter to India House. The Council's last letter to the Court had gone by a French ship called the *Bristol*, which sailed from the island on the 16th of the month. Yesterday the Court's ship *Norfolk* under Captain Nathaniel Hancock arrived from Fort St David, which place he left the 23rd of February last. He told the Council that he doubled the Cape on the 18th of May and spoke with the *Rochester* under Captain Ladd the day before. There likewise arrived a French ship called the *La Paix* under Captain Denemel, of 850 tons burden, carrying 18 guns and 130 men, laden with pepper and cardamoms from Mahé, she having left it the 3rd of March, old style. By the Court's ship *Benjamin* nine discharged soldiers had got their passage to England, a list of their names being enclosed in the packet. Robert Cavendish and Francis Reed, the two men that

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		their Names is enclosed in the Packet; Robert Gwendth & Franz Reed, the two Men that Capt Fea set on Shore he might he sailed for what reason we do not know go likewise on this Ship, & are enclosed in the above number There is now wanted to compleat the Establishment of your Honours Garrison here, two second Lieutenants, an Adjutant, & 37 Private Men We have bought of Capt George Meard eleven Casks of Beef & Pork, containing 9279 lb at 2⅜ ℔ piece for	Captain Sea set ashore, he might have sailed for what reason the Council did not know, went likewise on this ship, and were included in the above number. There was now wanted to complete the establishment of the Court's garrison two second lieutenants, an adjutant and 37 private men. The Council had bought of Captain George Meard eleven casks of beef and pork, containing 9,277 pounds, at twopence halfpenny the pound, for [...]. **Interpretations** The passage of the discharged soldiers home on the *Benjamin* marks a resolution of the difficulty that had run through the Council's recent letters, the men who had served their time but could not pay for a passage at last carried off on a Company ship. Their names went home in the packet as a record, and the two men Captain Sea had earlier set ashore for reasons the Council could not explain were carried in the same number, showing how the island gathered up the loose seamen and time-expired soldiers left on its hands and shipped them off when a hull could be found to take them. The standing want of two lieutenants, an adjutant and thirty-seven private men, recited yet again, marks how far the garrison remained below its proper strength even as men were leaving. Cardamoms were the aromatic seed-pods of a plant grown on the Malabar coast, a valuable spice of the pepper trade carried home from ports such as Mahé. Their mention among the *La Paix*'s lading, alongside the pepper, shows the range of the spice cargoes the French drew from the same Indian coasts the English worked, the intelligence of such ladings being part of what the Council noted from every vessel that came into the road. Mahé was the French settlement on the Malabar coast of India, a station of their pepper and spice trade, from which the *La Paix* had sailed. The naming of the port fixes the source of her cargo and marks the French commercial presence on the western coast of India, set against the English factories the Council's letters more often reported.
135	131	for the use of your Honours Garrison, which causes a Balance of £85.9 due to him in making up his Ships Accounts Mr Matthew Purling applyed to us for liberty to pay £232 in your Cash to remit to his Brother being part of his Fortune here, we have received it & given him Bills drawn on your Honours for that Sum payable to himself (or Order) Ninety days after Sight dated the 17 instant Captain Meard likewise applyed to us for liberty to pay £40 in your Cash we have received it & given him Bills drawn on your Honours for that Sum payable to himself (or Order) Ninety days after Sight dated the 17 instant This waits on you by your Honours Ship Benjamin that sails in Company with the Grantham St Helena 18 June 1751 We are Honble Sirs Your most Obedt & most humb servts Signed Charles Hutchinson David Hunter John Clark To the Honble &c Honble Sirs An Officer is just now come on Shore with a Letter from Capt Fead informing us that your Honours	The eleven casks were bought for the use of the Court's garrison, which caused a balance of £85 9s 0d due to Captain Meard in making up his ship's accounts. Mr Matthew Purling asked leave to pay £232 0s 0d into the Court's cash to remit to his brother, being part of his fortune. The Council received it and gave him bills drawn on the Court for that sum, payable to himself or order ninety days after sight, dated the 17th of the month. Captain Meard likewise asked leave to pay £40 0s 0d into the Court's cash. The Council received it and gave him bills drawn on the Court for that sum, payable to himself or order ninety days after sight, dated the 17th of the month. This letter went by the Court's ship *Benjamin*, which sailed in company with the *Grantham*. The letter closed at St Helena on 18 June 1751, signed by Charles Hutchinson, David Hunter and John Clark. The Council addressed the Court of Directors in a letter to India House. An officer had just now come ashore with a letter from Captain Ladd, telling the Council that the Court's ship *Rochester* was now in the offing, and that he sailed from Anjengo on the 3rd of March last. The officer likewise told the Council that they left Bombay the 18th of January, where [...].

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		Ship the Uchester is now in the Offing, & that he sailed from Anjengo the 3 of March last, the Officer likewise acquaints us, that they left Bombay the 18 Jany where his	
136	132	his Majestys Ships Vigilant & Ruby were preparing to Careen, & were afterwards to proceed for Europe, as it was said, that the Syren Man of War sailed from Bombay, for Surat, & your Honours Ship the Shaftesbury Capt Bevhay for Gumboroon, the latter end of Decr, & that the Lord Anson Capt Foulis, sailed from Tellicherry the 2 of Sept for Bombay, he the Officer likewise acquaints us that they spoke with two outward bound French Ships to the Eastward of the Cape, the beginning of May, but could learn no news from them St Helena 18 June 1751 We are Honble Sirs Your most Obedt & most humb servts Signed Charles Hutchinson David Hunter John Clark List of the Honble Companys Packet from St Helena ℔ Ship Benjamin, with the foregoing Letters, dated the 18 June 1751 Viz No 1 Govr Councils Genl Letter dated 18 June 1751 2 Duplicate Govr Councils Genl Lett dated 31 May Do 3 Do Do Do dated 16 June Do 4 Do Consultations from 13 to 27 May Do 5 Consultations from the 3 to the 17 June Do 6 Second Receipt for the Packet ℔ Ship Prince Edward	At Bombay His Majesty's ships *Vigilant* and *Ruby* were preparing to careen, and were afterwards to proceed for Europe, as it was said. The officer reported that the *Syren* man of war sailed from Bombay for Surat, and the Court's ship *Shaftesbury* under Captain Bewley for Gombroon the latter end of December, and that the *Lord Anson* under Captain Fowlis sailed from Pondicherry the 2nd of February for Bombay. He likewise told the Council that they spoke with two outward-bound French ships to the eastward of the Cape the beginning of May, but could learn no news from them. The letter closed at St Helena on 18 June 1751, signed by Charles Hutchinson, David Hunter and John Clark. The list of the Court's packet sent from St Helena by the ship *Benjamin* with the letters dated 18 June 1751 ran as follows. 1: The Council's general letter dated 18 June 1751 2: Duplicate of the Council's general letter dated 31 May 1751 3: Duplicate of the same, dated 16 June 1751 4: Duplicate consultations from 13 to 27 May 1751 5: Consultations from 3 to 17 June 1751 6: Second receipt for the packet by the ship Prince Edward
137	133	No 7 First Receipt for the Packet ℔ Ship York 8 First Receipt for Do ℔ Ship Walpole 9 First Receipt for Do ℔ the Bristol French Ship 10 List of Officers & Servants taken the 18 June 1751 11 Duplicate Ship Yorks Account 12 Do Ship Walpoles Account 13 Do Cash Account from the 9 to 31 May 1751 14 Cash Acct from the 1 to the 18 June Do 15 Duplicate List of the Packet ℔ Ship York 16 Abstract of the Bill of Loading ℔ Ship Benjamin 17 Abstract of the Bill of Loading ℔ Ship Grantham 18 List of Military discharged the Honble Companys Service 19 Duplicate List of Remains of Stores taken from the 1 Octr 1750 to the 30 Apl 1751 20 Duplicate List of Gunrs & Garrison Stores remaining 30 April 1751 21 Ship Granthams Account 22 Ship Benjamins Account 23 Copy of the Bill of Loading ℔ Ship Norfolk To the Honble &c Honble Sirs We wrote last to you by your Ship the Benjamin Capt Meard that Sailed from hence, on the 18 instant, in Company with your Honours Ship the Grantham Capt Oliver	7: First receipt for the packet by the ship York 8: First receipt for the packet by the ship Walpole 9: First receipt for the packet by the Bristol, a French ship 10: List of officers and servants taken 18 June 1751 11: Duplicate of the ship York's account 12: Duplicate of the ship Walpole's account 13: Duplicate cash account from 9 to 31 May 1751 14: Cash account from 1 to 18 June 1751 15: Duplicate list of the packet by the ship York 16: Abstract of the bill of lading of the ship Benjamin 17: Abstract of the bill of lading of the ship Grantham 18: List of military discharged by the Court since the last 19: Duplicate list of remains of stores taken from 1 October 1750 to 30 April 1751 20: Duplicate list of gunner's and garrison stores remaining 30 April 1751 21: The ship Grantham's account 22: The ship Benjamin's account 23: Copy of the bill of lading of the ship Norfolk The Council addressed the Court of Directors in a letter to India House. The Council's last letter to the Court had gone by the Court's ship *Benjamin* under Captain Meard, which sailed from the island on the 18th of the month in company with the Court's ship *Grantham* under Captain Oliver.

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138	134	On the 24 of this Month arrived your Ship the Warren Capt Glover from Bengall, which he left the 3 of March, the Capt informs us, that he spoke with the Wager Capt Hindman the 10 instant Eighty Leagues to the Westward of the Cape, who told him that he had parted Company from the Duke of Dorset Capt Frognal ten days before Captain Denumel Commander of the Ship La Paix applyed to us for 600 Dollars, which we advanced him out of your Honours Cash at 6/5 ℔ Dollar, & have taken Bills of Exchange, for £105 Sterling drawn on Mr Samuel Rouge, Merchant in London, Payable to your Honours (or Order) 14 days after Sight, the first Bill we transmit you herewith with a Letter for Mr Rouge, & another for the Directors of the French East Indies Company at Paris, which Letter Capt Denumel requested us to forward to them Bought of Capt Nathaniel Hancock, 8 Casks of Beef & Pork containing 676 lb at 2 ℔ piece, for the use of your Honours Garrison, which makes a Balance of £56.3.5½ due to him, at this Ships Account and to be paid in England This waits on your Honours by your Ship the Uchester which is to Sail from hence in Company with your Ship the Norfolk St Helena 24 June 1751 We are Honble Sirs Your most Obedt & most humb servts Signed Chas Hutchinson David Hunter John Clark	On the 24th of the month the Court's ship *Warren* under Captain Glover arrived from Bengal, which he left the 1st of March. He told the Council that he spoke with the *Wager* under Captain Hindman on the 10th of the month, eighty leagues to the westward of the Cape, who told him that he had parted company from the *Duke of Dorset* under Captain Frognal ten days before. Captain Denemel, commander of the ship *La Paix*, asked the Council for 600 dollars, which it advanced him out of the Court's cash at five shillings the dollar. The Council had taken bills of exchange for £105 0s 0d sterling, drawn on Mr Samuel Rouge, merchant in London, payable to the Court or order 14 days after sight. The Council transmitted the first bill herewith, with a letter for Mr Rouge, and another for the Directors of the French East India Company at Paris, which letter Captain Denemel asked the Council to forward to them. The Council had bought of Captain Nathaniel Hancock 8 casks of beef and pork, containing 676 pounds, at twopence halfpenny the pound, for the use of the Court's garrison, which made a balance of £56 3s 5½d due to him on his ship's account, to be paid in England. This letter went by the Court's ship *Winchester*, which was to sail from the island in company with the Court's ship *Norfolk*. The letter closed at St Helena on 24 June 1751, signed by Charles Hutchinson, David Hunter and John Clark. **Interpretations** The advance to the French captain shows the island acting as banker not only to the Company's own men but to the ships of a rival nation passing through the road. Denemel of the *La Paix* wanted ready coin, and the Council gave him 600 Spanish dollars at five shillings each, taking in return bills drawn on a London merchant payable to the Court, so that the silver handed over at St Helena would be made good in England. The care to forward not only the first bill and a covering letter to the London drawee, but a second letter to the French East India Company's directors at Paris, shows the Council facilitating the credit of a foreign service while keeping its own security in a bill it could present at home. The dollar passed here at five shillings, the Spanish silver dollar being the common coin of the eastern trade and a recognised medium in which the island settled large payments with passing ships. The fixed rate at which the Council advanced it marks the standing value the coin held in the island's dealings, the same piece that ran through its accounts with captains of every nation.
139	135	List of the Honble Company Packet from St Helena ℔ Ship Uchester, with the foregoing Letter dated the 28 June 1751 Viz No 1 Govr Councils Genl Letter dated 28 June 1751 2 Duplicate Govr Councils Genl Letter dated 18 June Do 3 Do Do Do dated 18 June Do 4 Do Consultations from the 3 to the 17 June Do 5 Consultations from the 24 to the 27 June Do 6 First Bill of Exchange, drawn on Mr Saml Rouge, Merchant in London 7 Second Receipt for the Packet ℔ Ship York 8 Second Receipt for Do ℔ the Bristol French Ship 9 Second Receipt for Do ℔ Ship Walpole 10 First Receipt for Do ℔ Ship Benjamin 11 First Receipt for the second Do ℔ Ship Benjamin	The list of the Court's packet sent from St Helena by the ship *Winchester* with the letter dated 24 June 1751 ran as follows. 1: The Council's general letter dated 28 June 1751 2: Duplicate of the Council's general letter dated 18 June 1751 3: Duplicate of the same, dated 18 June 1751 4: Duplicate consultations from 3 to 17 June 1751 5: Consultations from 24 to 27 June 1751 6: First bill of exchange drawn on Mr Samuel Rouge, merchant in London 7: Second receipt for the packet by the ship York 8: Second receipt for the packet by the Bristol, a French ship 9: Second receipt for the packet by the ship Walpole 10: First receipt for the packet by the ship Benjamin 11: First receipt for the second packet by the ship Benjamin

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		12 List of Officers & Servants taken the 28 June 1751 13 Duplicate Ship Benjamins Account 14 Do Ship Granthams Account 15 Ship Uchesters Account 16 Do Norfolks Account 17 Cash Acct from the 19 to the 28 June 1751 18 Duplicate Cash Acct from the 1 to the 18 June Do 19 Do List of the Packet ℔ Ship Benjamin 20 Copy of the Bill of Loading ℔ Ship Warren	12: List of officers and servants taken 28 June 1751 13: Duplicate of the ship Benjamin's account 14: Duplicate of the ship Grantham's account 15: The ship Winchester's account 16: Duplicate of the ship Norfolk's account 17: Cash account from 19 to 28 June 1751 18: Duplicate cash account from 1 to 18 June 1751 19: Duplicate list of the packet by the ship Benjamin 20: Copy of the bill of lading of the ship Warren
140	136	To the Honble &c Honble Sirs Our last Letter to you went by your Honours Ship ℔ Uchester, that Sailed on the 24 of June as did your Ship the Norfolk, the night before We desire that your Honours will be pleased to add to our former Indent one two Inch Hauser, cable laid, for the use of the Long Boat, and 1000 Weight of Whiting, which we find will be much wanted By this occasion we transmit to you the second Bill of Exchange drawn on Mr Saml Rouge Merchant in London for £105 Sterling payable to your Honours (or Order) 14 days after Sight, with a Second Letter to the French East India Company As the last Quarters Account will not be laid before us until next Monday, we cannot Balance the Cash until that time no other State of it except a Duplicate of the last, can therefore be sent to your Honours by this Opportunity Bought of Capt Glover 30 Weight of Paddy at 5/ ℔ hundred for the use of your Honours Stock John Smith & William Harris Soldiers whose Contracted time will Expire in December next, having procured two Good men William Perry and	The Council addressed the Court of Directors in a letter to India House. The Council's last letter to the Court had gone by the Court's ship *Winchester*, which sailed on the 24th of June, as did the Court's ship *Norfolk* the night before. The Council asked the Court to add to its former indent one two-inch hawser cable laid for the use of the longboat, and 1,000 pounds of whiting, which it found would be much wanted. By this conveyance the Council transmitted the second bill of exchange drawn on Mr Samuel Rouge, merchant in London, for £105 0s 0d sterling, payable to the Court or order 14 days after sight, with a second letter to the French East India Company. As the last quarter's account would not be laid before the Council until the following Monday, it could not balance the cash until that time, so no other statement of it except a duplicate of the last could be sent to the Court by this opportunity. The Council had bought of Captain Glover 30 hundredweight of paddy at five shillings the hundredweight, for the use of the Court's stock. John Smith and William Harris, soldiers whose contracted time would expire in December next, having procured two good men, William Perry and [...]. **Interpretations** Whiting was ground chalk, used in whitewash, putty and for cleaning and polishing, a cheap but constantly needed material for the upkeep of the fort and its buildings. The request for a thousand pounds of it, added to the standing indent alongside a cable for the longboat, shows the running list of small necessaries the island had to draw from England, ordinary building and maintenance stores that could not be got on so bare a rock and had to be shipped out year by year. The mention of Smith and Harris finding substitutes points to the practice by which a soldier nearing the end of his term could ease his own discharge by procuring replacements. With the garrison chronically short and men reluctant to stay once their time expired, a soldier who brought in two good recruits to take his place made himself easier to release, a small mechanism by which the island tried to hold its numbers steady against the constant loss of time-expired men that ran through these letters.
141	137	and Adolph Christianmous to serve your Honours as Soldiers for five Years, without any Bounty Money, petitioned for their Discharge, that they might now take Passage for England we therefore agreed to their Request, and Enlisted the said Perry & Christianmous Mr Martin Harper & James Powell Attorneys for Mr James DuBois, who was lately in your	William Perry and Adolph Christianmores agreed to serve the Court as soldiers for five years without any bounty money. Smith and Harris petitioned for their discharge, that they might now take passage for England, so the Council agreed to their request and enlisted Perry and Christianmores. Mr Martin Harper and James Powell, attorneys for Mr James Du Bois, who was lately in the Court's service on the island as surgeon's mate, asked leave to pay £40 0s 0d into the Court's cash to remit to him. The Council received it and gave them bills of exchange drawn on the Court, payable to themselves

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		Honours Service here, Surgeons Mate Applyed to Us for liberty to pay £40 in your Cash to remit to him, we have received it, & given them Bills of Exchange, drawn on your Honours Payable to themselves, or Order, Ninety days after Sight dated the 8 instant 8 We have the pleasure to acquaint your Honours that for about 17 days past, we have had some fine Rains, & by the Appearance of the Weather at Present, we are in great hopes it will Continue, but it has been so flattering all this year, that it is not much to be depended upon St Helena 16 July 1751 We are Honble Sirs Your most Obedt & most humb servts Signed Charles Hutchinson David Hunter John Clark	or order ninety days after sight, dated the 8th of the month. 8: The Council was glad to report that for about seventeen days past it had had some fine rain, and by the look of the weather at present it was in great hopes it would continue, but the weather had been so flattering all this year that it was not much to be depended upon. The letter closed at St Helena on 16 July 1751, signed by Charles Hutchinson, David Hunter and John Clark. **Interpretations** The enlistment of two fresh men without bounty, in exchange for the discharge of the two who found them, shows the substitution device working in practice. Smith and Harris wanted their release and passage home before their time was fully out, and by bringing in Perry and Christianmores to serve a full five years they secured it, the Council taking two new soldiers on a long engagement in place of two whose term was nearly spent. That the replacements engaged without bounty money, when the Court had lately been offering ten pounds to hold existing men, marks the value to the island of a recruit who came already willing, costing nothing to secure where enlistment otherwise had to be bought. The remittance by Du Bois's attorneys shows the reach of the island's banking function to a man no longer even on the station. Du Bois had served as surgeon's mate and gone, yet money owing to him could still be paid into the Court's cash on the island by men acting under his power of attorney, and carried home in bills drawn on London. The arrangement reveals how the island's credit machinery followed the Company's servants beyond their departure, settling the affairs of the absent through agents left behind to act in their name.
142	138	List of the Honble Company Packet from St Helena ℔ Ship Warren with the foregoing Letter Dated the 10 July 1751 Viz No 1 Govr Councils General Letter dated the 10 July 1751 2 Duplicate Govr Councils Genl Lett dated 28 June Do 3 Do Consultations from the 24 to the 27 June Do 4 Consultations from the 1 to the 8 July Do 5 Second Bill of Exchange drawn on Mr Saml Rouge Merchant in London 6 Second Receipt for the Packet ℔ Ship Benjamin 7 Second Receipt for the second Do ℔ Ship Benjamin 8 List of Officers & Servants taken 10 July 1751 9 Duplicate Ship Uchesters Account 10 Do Ship Norfolks Account 11 Do Cash Account from the 19 to the 28 June 1751 12 Do List of the Packet ℔ Ship Uchester 13 List of Marriages &c 14 Ship Warrens Account 15 Indent for more Stores wanted for the Service of the Year 1752 16 List of Military Discharged the Honble Companys Service 17 First Receipt for the Packet ℔ Ship Uchester	The list of the Court's packet sent from St Helena by the ship *Warren* with the letter dated 16 July 1751 ran as follows. 1: The Council's general letter dated 16 July 1751 2: Duplicate of the Council's general letter dated 28 June 1751 3: Duplicate consultations from 24 to 27 June 1751 4: Consultations from 1 to 8 July 1751 5: Second bill of exchange drawn on Mr Samuel Rouge, merchant in London 6: Second receipt for the packet by the ship Benjamin 7: Second receipt for the second packet by the ship Benjamin 8: List of officers and servants taken 16 July 1751 9: Duplicate of the ship Winchester's account 10: Duplicate of the ship Norfolk's account 11: Duplicate cash account from 19 to 28 June 1751 12: Duplicate list of the packet by the ship Winchester 13: List of marriages and deaths 14: The ship Warren's account 15: Indent for more stores wanted for the service of the year 1752 16: List of military discharged by the Court since the last 17: First receipt for the packet by the ship Winchester
143	139	To the Honble &c Honble Sirs We wrote last to you by your Honrs Ship the Warren Capt Glover that sailed from hence on the 10 of July On the 26 of last Month Arrived your Ship the Swallow Capt John Bell from Fort St David	The Council addressed the Court of Directors in a letter to India House. The Council's last letter to the Court had gone by the Court's ship *Warren* under Captain Glover, which sailed from the island on the 16th of July. On the 26th of last month the Court's ship *Swallow* under Captain John Bell arrived from Fort St David,

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		which place he left the 15 of August & got to the Cape the 30 of October, where he heard that your Ship Stretham Capt Mason sailed from thence Outward bound about a Month before his Arrival, he likewise informs us that two Dutch Ships came in there in the beginning of November Outward bound, where he left them Capt Bell further Acquaints us that it is said your Ships the Doddington Capt Kent and the Bridadea Capt Sumner were to be Dispatched for Europe from Fort St David some times in Octr last By the Swallow we have received for your Honrs Account 1570 Gallons of Cape Brandy Capt Bell having £170 of your Honrs money remaining, applyed to us to pay it into your Cash here, which we have recd accordingly Your Honrs General Books of Accounts for the year past, are Balanced to the 30 of Sept & are now Copying as fast as possible & will be ready we hope to transmit to you by the next Oppertunity 7 We are Sorry to Acquaint your Honrs that the last Winter Rains have Entirely faild, so that the Cattle at present are many of them very lean & weak, and if we have not an early Summer Season, the Island will be in a very Melancholly Condition St Helena 3 Decr 1751 We are Honble Sirs Your most Obedt & most Humb servts Signed Chas Hutchinson David Hunter John Clark	which place he left the 15th of August, and got to the Cape the 30th of October, where he heard that the Court's ship *Stretham* under Captain Mason sailed from there outward bound about a month before his arrival. He likewise told the Council that two Dutch ships came in there in the beginning of November outward bound, where he left them. Captain Bell further told the Council that it was said the Court's ships *Dragon* under Captain Kent and the *Bristol* under Captain Sumner were to be dispatched for Europe from Fort St David some time in October last. By the *Swallow* the Council had received for the Court's account 1,370 gallons of Cape brandy. Captain Bell, having £170 0s 0d of the Court's money remaining, asked leave to pay it into the Court's cash on the island, which the Council received accordingly. The Court's general books of accounts for the year past were balanced to the 30th of September, and were now copying as fast as possible, and would be ready, the Council hoped, to transmit to the Court by the next opportunity. 7: The Council was sorry to report that the last winter rains had entirely failed, so that the cattle at present were many of them very lean and weak, and if there were not an early summer season the island would be in a very unhappy condition. The letter closed at St Helena on 3 December 1751, signed by Charles Hutchinson, David Hunter and John Clark. **Interpretations** The arrival of 1,370 gallons of Cape brandy sits oddly against the Council's own recent plea, in its letter of a few months before, that no more of that harsh spirit be sent since it sold so slowly. The consignment had plainly been shipped before the request could reach London and take effect, and its landing marks the long delay built into every exchange with the Court, an order given at the island taking the better part of a year to work back through England and alter what the ships carried. The island had to receive and hold what was already in train whatever it had lately asked for. The failure of the winter rains reopens the recurring anxiety over the island's cattle, on which the ships and garrison depended for fresh meat. Without the wet season to raise the grass, the beasts fell lean and weak, and the Council could only warn the Court and hope for an early summer, having no power to make good a drought on so exposed a place. The plain statement of a possible unhappy condition marks how narrow the margin was between sufficiency and want when the whole provision of the station rested on a pasture that a single dry season could burn away.
144	140	List of the Honble Company Packet from St Helena ℔ Ship Swallow with the foregoing Letter dated the 3 December 1751 Viz No 1 Govr Councils General Letter dated the 3 Decr 1751 2 Duplicate Govr Councils Genl Lett dated 10 July Do 3 Do Consultations from 1 to the 8 July Do 4 Consultations from 15 July to the 2 Decr Do 5 List of Officers & Servants taken the 3 Decr 6 List of Military who takes their passage on board the Ship Swallow having their Discharge from the Garrison 7 List of Marriages &c 8 Duplicate List of the Packet ℔ Ship Warren 9 Do Ship Warrens Account 10 Second Receipt for the Packet ℔ Ship Uchester	The list of the Court's packet sent from St Helena by the ship *Swallow* with the letter dated 3 December 1751 ran as follows. 1: The Council's general letter dated 3 December 1751 2: Duplicate of the Council's general letter dated 16 July 1751 3: Duplicate consultations from 1 to 8 July 1751 4: Consultations from 15 July to 2 December 1751 5: List of officers and servants taken 3 December 1751 6: List of military who take their passage on board the ship Swallow, having their discharge from the garrison 7: List of marriages and deaths 8: Duplicate list of the packet by the ship Warren 9: Duplicate of the ship Warren's account 10: Second receipt for the packet by the ship Winchester

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		11 First Receipt for the Packet ℔ Ship Swallow 12 Cash Accounts from the 29 to the 30 June 1751 13 Do for the Month of July Do 14 Do for the Month of August Do 15 Do for the Month of September Do 16 Do for the Month of October Do 17 Do for the Month of November Do 18 Do from the 1 to the 3 December Do 19 List of Families taken the 30 September Do 20 Do of Rents taken the 30 September Do 21 Do of the Honble Company Blacks taken 30 Sepr Do 22 Account of the Cargo of the Ship Swallow 23 Ship Swallows Account	11: First receipt for the packet by the ship Warren 12: Cash account from 29 to 30 June 1751 13: Cash account for the month of July 1751 14: Cash account for the month of August 1751 15: Cash account for the month of September 1751 16: Cash account for the month of October 1751 17: Cash account for the month of November 1751 18: Cash account from 1 to 3 December 1751 19: List of families taken 30 September 1751 20: List of rents taken 30 September 1751 21: List of the Court's slaves taken 30 September 1751 22: Account of the cargo of the ship Swallow 23: The ship Swallow's account
145	141	To the Honble &c Honble Sirs We wrote last to you by your Honours Ship the Swallow Capt John Bell that sailed from hence on the 3 of December On the 23 of the same Month arrived your Ship the Dragon Capt Henry Kent, from Fort St David which place he left the 2 of Octr last, & says that your Ship the Bettannia was to be Dispatched from thence about three Weeks after him, Capt Kent further acquaints Us that he was told by the Captain of a Country Ship that he left Commodore Lisle with his Squadron off Ceylon in April bound to Madagascar, & it was reported that they were to sail from thence homeward about the middle of October We transmit to your Honours by this occasion the General Books of Accounts Balanced to the 30 of Sepr last, but cannot send the Cash Accounts to the 31 of Decr as the last Quarters receipt & disbursments are not laid before us until the 20 instant Captain Kent having Applyed to us to pay £180 into your Honours Cash here, we have received it, & given him three Certificates for that Sum, dated the 6 instant 5 Since our last advices to your Honrs we have had some Rain, & it has often appeared as if it would continue, but we are sorry to acquaint you that what has yet fallen has been of very little service to the Island St Helena 7 Jany 1751 We are Honble Sirs Your most Obedt & most humb servts Signed Chas Hutchinson David Hunter John Clark	The Council addressed the Court of Directors in a letter to India House. The Council's last letter to the Court had gone by the Court's ship *Swallow* under Captain John Bell, which sailed from the island on the 3rd of December. On the 23rd of the same month the Court's ship *Dragon* under Captain Henry Kent arrived from Fort St David, which place he left the 2nd of October last. He reported that the Court's ship *Britannia* was to be dispatched from there about three weeks after him. Captain Kent further told the Council that he was told by the captain of a country ship that he left Commodore Lisle with his squadron off Ceylon in April, bound for Madagascar, and it was reported that they were to sail from there homeward about the middle of October. The Council transmitted by this conveyance the general books of accounts balanced to the 30th of September last, but could not send the cash accounts to the 31st of December, since the last quarter's receipts and disbursements were not laid before the Council until the 20th of the month. Captain Kent, having asked leave to pay £180 0s 0d into the Court's cash on the island, the Council received it and gave him three certificates for that sum, dated the 3rd of the month. 5: Since the Council's last advices to the Court there had been some rain, and it had often appeared as if it would continue, but the Council was sorry to report that what had yet fallen had been of very little service to the island. The letter closed at St Helena on 7 January 1752, signed by Charles Hutchinson, David Hunter and John Clark. **Interpretations** A country ship was a vessel owned and worked within the Eastern seas, trading between the ports of India and beyond rather than sailing home to Europe, and often commanded by a European in the private or local trade. The intelligence Captain Kent drew from such a ship's master, on the movements of Commodore Lisle's squadron off Ceylon, shows how the Council's picture of naval and shipping affairs was pieced together from every source that touched the island, the reports of private country traders standing alongside those of the Company's own commanders in the running record sent home.
146	142	List of the Honble Companys Packet from St Helena ℔ Ship Dragon with the foregoing Letter dated the 7 Jany 1751 Viz No 1 Govr Councils General Letter dated the 7 Jany 1751 2 Duplicate Govr Councils Genl Letter dated the 3 Decr Do 3 Do Consultations from the 15 July to the 2 Decr Do	The list of the Court's packet sent from St Helena by the ship *Dragon* with the letter dated 7 January 1752 ran as follows. 1: The Council's general letter dated 7 January 1752 2: Duplicate of the Council's general letter dated 3 December 1751 3: Duplicate consultations from 15 July to 2 December 1751

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		4 Consultations from the 9 Decr to the 6 Jany Do 5 List of Officers & Servants taken the 7 Jany Do 6 Duplicate List of the Packet ♆ Ship Swallow 7 Do of Ship Swallows Account 8 Ship Dragons Account 9 Second Receipt for the Packet ♆ Ship Warren 10 First Receipt for the Packet ♆ Ship Swallow 11 Duplicate Cash Acct from the 29 to the 30 June 1751 12 Do for the Month of July Do 13 Do for the Month of August Do 14 Do for the Month of September Do 15 Do for the Month of October Do 16 Do for the Month of November Do 17 Do from the 1 to the 3 December Do 18 Do List of Families taken the 30 Sepr Do 19 Do List of Rents taken the 30 Sepr Do 20 Do List of the Honble Comps Blacks taken the 30 Sepr Do 21 Account of the Cargo of the Ship Dragon 22 General Books of Accounts	4: Consultations from 9 December to 6 January 1752 5: List of officers and servants taken 7 January 1752 6: Duplicate list of the packet by the ship Swallow 7: Duplicate of the ship Swallow's account 8: The ship Dragon's account 9: Second receipt for the packet by the ship Warren 10: First receipt for the packet by the ship Swallow 11: Duplicate cash account from 29 to 30 June 1751 12: Duplicate cash account for the month of July 1751 13: Duplicate cash account for the month of August 1751 14: Duplicate cash account for the month of September 1751 15: Duplicate cash account for the month of October 1751 16: Duplicate cash account for the month of November 1751 17: Duplicate cash account from 1 to 3 December 1751 18: Duplicate list of families taken 30 September 1751 19: Duplicate list of rents taken 30 September 1751 20: Duplicate list of the Court's slaves taken 30 September 1751 21: Account of the cargo of the ship Dragon 22: General books of accounts
147	143	To the Honble &c Honble Sirs We wrote last to you by your Honours Ship the Dragon that Sailed from hence on the 7 of January On the 9 instant arrived your Ship the Britannia Capt John Sumner from Fort St David which place he left the 23 of October, and says that he shall Sail from hence for England on the 26 of this Month On the same day Arrived a French Ship from Mauritius (by which this goes to your Honours) called the Reville Capt Ernault, Burthen 500 Tons carrig 20 Guns & 240 Men including Passengers, Loden with several sorts of Goods from the Coast of Coromandel Yesterday arrived also your Ship Cæsar Capt Court who sailed from China the 29 of November, & got to Princes Island the 21 December following, he came from thence the 23, where he left your Ships the Lord Anson Capt Foulis and the True Briton Capt Broadley, with a Dane from Canton, that were to sail the same day, Capt Court, likewise acquaints Us, that your Ships the Essex Capt Jackson, St George Capt Robinson, Anson Capt Ramsey and Tryton Capt Baker, were to be dispatched from Wampo the 15 of December being all of them near Loaden, and further informs Us that he spoke with a Dutch Ship off the Cape, called the Doorlandt Capt Harmanuszet which had been in there the 6 Febr & told him that he left four	The Council addressed the Court of Directors in a letter to India House. The Council's last letter to the Court had gone by the Court's ship *Dragon*, which sailed from the island on the 7th of January. On the 9th of the month the Court's ship *Britannia* under Captain John Sumner arrived from Fort St David, which place he left the 23rd of October, and reported that he would sail from the island for England on the 26th of the month. On the same day a French ship from Mauritius arrived, by which this letter went to the Court, called the *Réville* under Captain Ernault, of 900 tons burden, carrying 20 guns and 240 men including passengers, laden with several sorts of goods from the Coromandel coast. Yesterday the Court's ship *Caesar* under Captain Court arrived, who sailed from China the 29th of November and got to Princes Island the 21st of December following. He came from there the 23rd, where he left the Court's ships *Lord Anson* under Captain Fowlis and the *True Briton* under Captain Broadley, with a Danish ship from Canton, that were to sail the same day. Captain Court likewise told the Council that the Court's ships *Essex* under Captain Jackson, *St George* under Captain Robinson, *Anson* under Captain Ramsey and *Royal George* under Captain Baker were to be dispatched from Whampoa the 15th of December, being all of them near laden. He further reported that he spoke with a Dutch ship off the Cape, called the *Doorland* under Captain Harmanusset, which had been in there the 6th of February, and told him that he left [...].

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148	144	four of his Majestys Ships that were to Sail about the 8 instant, for this Island, and that Commodore Lisle Died the latter end of January last 6 We have nothing more to acquaint your Honours with by this Occasion only that Alarm just now was made for a Ship to Windward, and that St Helena 24 Febr 1751 We are Honble Sirs Your most Obedt & most Humble servants Signed Charles Hutchinson David Hunter John Clark To the Honble &c Honble Sirs We wrote to you last by a French Ship called the Reville that sailed from hence on the 24 instant, a Duplicate of which Letter we herewith enclose to your Honours This waits upon you by your Ship the Britannia, which will be followed in a few Days by your Ship the Cæsar the Accounts of their Cargoes we transmit to your Honours by this occasion 3 We acquainted you by your Ship the Dragon with the Drought we have had for some time past, and are sorry to tell your Honours that there has lately	The Dutch captain told Captain Court that he left four of His Majesty's ships that were to sail about the 8th of the month for the island, and that Commodore Lisle died the latter end of January last. 6: The Council had nothing more to report by this conveyance, only that an alarm had just now been made for a ship to windward. The letter closed at St Helena on 24 February 1752, signed by Charles Hutchinson, David Hunter and John Clark. The Council addressed the Court of Directors in a letter to India House. The Council's last letter to the Court had gone by a French ship called the *Réville*, which sailed from the island on the 24th of the month, a duplicate of which letter the Council enclosed herewith. This letter went by the Court's ship *Britannia*, which would be followed in a few days by the Court's ship *Caesar*, the accounts of whose cargoes the Council transmitted to the Court by this conveyance. 3: The Council had told the Court by the Court's ship *Dragon* of the drought it had had for some time past, and was sorry to report that there had [...].
149	145	but very little Rain fallen since that time, so that we fear many Cattle must unavoidably Die, even if the Weather should now prove as wet as we could desire it St Helena 26 February 1751 We are Honble Sirs Your most Obedt & most humb servts Signed Charles Hutchinson David Hunter John Clark List of the Honble Company Packet from St Helena ℔ Ship Britannia with the foregoing Letter, dated the 26 Febr 1751 Viz No 1 Govr Councils General Letter dated the 26 Febr 1751 2 Duplicate Govr Councils Genl Letter dated the 7 Jany Do 3 Do Govr Councils General Letter dated the 24 Febr Do 4 Do Consult from the 9 Decr to the 6 Jany Do 5 Consultns from the 6 Janr to the 24 Febr Do 6 Duplicate List of the Packet ℔ Ship Dragon 7 List of Officers & Servts taken the 26 Febr 1751 8 List of Marriages &c 9 Duplicate Ship Dragons Account 10 Second Receipt for the Packet ℔ Ship Swallow 11 First Receipt for Do ℔ Ship Dragon 12 First Receipt for Do ℔ the Reville a French Ship 13 Cash Acct from the 4 to the 31 Decr 1751 14 Do for the Month of Jany Do 15 Do from the 1 to the 26 Febr Do 16 Acct of the Cargo of Ship Cæsar 17 Do of the Cargo of Ship Britannia 18 Ship Britannias Account	There had been very little rain fallen since that time, so that many cattle must unavoidably die, even if the weather should now prove as wet as the Council could desire it. The letter closed at St Helena on 26 February 1752, signed by Charles Hutchinson, David Hunter and John Clark. The list of the Court's packet sent from St Helena by the ship *Britannia* with the letter dated 26 February 1752 ran as follows. 1: The Council's general letter dated 26 February 1752 2: Duplicate of the Council's general letter dated 7 January 1752 3: Duplicate of the Council's general letter dated 24 February 1752 4: Duplicate consultations from 9 December to 6 January 1752 5: Consultations from 13 January to 24 February 1752 6: Duplicate list of the packet by the ship Dragon 7: List of officers and servants taken 26 February 1752 8: List of marriages and deaths 9: Duplicate of the ship Dragon's account 10: Second receipt for the packet by the ship Swallow 11: First receipt for the packet by the ship Dragon 12: First receipt for the packet by the Réville, a French ship 13: Cash account from 4 to 31 December 1751 14: Cash account for the month of January 1752 15: Cash account from 1 to 26 February 1752 16: Account of the cargo of the ship Caesar 17: Account of the cargo of the ship Britannia 18: The ship Britannia's account
150	146	To the Honble &c Honble Sirs We wrote to you last by your Ship the Britannia that sailed from hence, on the 27 of Febr On the 28 of the same Month arrived a	The Council addressed the Court of Directors in a letter to India House. The Council's last letter to the Court had gone by the Court's ship *Britannia*, which sailed from the island on the 27th of February.

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		Danes Ship from China called the Queen of Denmark Capt Jens Werner Ackerlay, Burthen abut 1000 Tons carrig 28 Guns & 204 Men, Loaden with Tea China Ware & Silk, bound to Copenhagen On the 1 instant arrived your Honours Ship the Lord Anson Capt Foulis from China, but last from Princes Island, where he left your Ship the True Briton Capt Court having Applyed to Us for liberty to pay £100 into your Cash here, we have received it, & given him Bills of Exchange drawn on your Honours for that Sum dated the 2 instant, Payable to himself (or Order) 90 days after sight One of your Long Boats having been constantly in use, & is much worn, that she is rendered almost unserviceable, & Capt Court, having a good one to dispose off, We thought it necessary to purchase her as your Honours Business for these sort of Boats cannot conveniently done, with less than two Yesterday came in from the Cape his	On the 28th of the same month a Danish ship from China arrived, called the *Queen of Denmark* under Captain Jens Werner Achelaye, of about 1,000 tons burden, carrying 28 guns and 204 men, laden with tea, chinaware and silk and bound for Copenhagen. On the 1st of the month the Court's ship *Lord Anson* under Captain Fowlis arrived from China, but last from Princes Island, where he left the Court's ship *True Briton*. Captain Court, having asked leave to pay £600 0s 0d into the Court's cash on the island, the Council received it and gave him bills of exchange drawn on the Court for that sum, dated the 2nd of the month, payable to himself or order ninety days after sight. One of the Court's longboats, having been constantly in use, was much worn and rendered almost unserviceable. As Captain Court had a good one to dispose of, the Council thought it necessary to purchase her, since the Court's business could not conveniently be done with less than two of these sort of boats. Yesterday there came in from the Cape [...].
151	147	his Majestys Ships, Ruby, Vigilant, Lastar Pink, and Syren, by which we are Informed that your Honours Ship the Doddington Capt Drake arrived there, the 8 Decr sailed the 12 of December last, with Mr Cockly, the two Masters & every Body well on board St Helena 4 March 1751 We are Honble Sirs Your most Obedt & most humb servts Signed Charles Hutchinson David Hunter John Clark List of the Honble Company Packet from St Helena ℔ Ship Cæsar with the foregoing Letter dated the 4 March 1751 Viz No 1 Govr Councils Genl Letter dated the 4 March 1751 2 Duplicate Govr Councils Genl Letter dated the 26 Febr Do 3 Do Consultations from the 15 Janr to the 26 Febr Do 4 Consultations of the 3 March 1751 5 Duplicate List of the Packet ℔ Ship Britannia 6 List of Officers & Servants taken the 4 March 1751 7 Second Receipt for the Packet ℔ Ship Dragon 8 Second Receipt for Do ℔ the Reville a French Ship 9 First Receipt for Do ℔ Ship Britannia 10 Duplicate Cash Acct from the 4 to the 31 Decr 1751 11 Do for the Month of Jany Do 12 Do from the 1 to the 26 Febr Do 13 Cash Acct from the 27 to the 4 Febr Do 14 Do from the 1 to the 4 March Do 15 Acct of the Cargo of Ship Lord Anson 16 Ship Cæsars Account 17 Duplicate Ship Britannias Account	There came in from the Cape His Majesty's ships *Ruby*, *Vigilant*, *Lascar* pink and *Syren*, by which the Council was told that the Court's ship *Durrington* under Captain Drake arrived there. She sailed the 18th of December last with Mr Cockly, the two masts and everybody well on board. The letter closed at St Helena on 4 March 1752, signed by Charles Hutchinson, David Hunter and John Clark. The list of the Court's packet sent from St Helena by the ship *Caesar* with the letter dated 4 March 1752 ran as follows. 1: The Council's general letter dated 4 March 1752 2: Duplicate of the Council's general letter dated 26 February 1752 3: Duplicate consultations from 13 January to 26 February 1752 4: Consultations to the 3rd of March 1752 5: Duplicate list of the packet by the ship Britannia 6: List of officers and servants taken 4 March 1752 7: Second receipt for the packet by the ship Dragon 8: Second receipt for the packet by the Réville, a French ship 9: First receipt for the packet by the ship Britannia 10: Duplicate cash account from 4 to 31 December 1751 11: Duplicate cash account for the month of January 1752 12: Duplicate cash account from 1 to 26 February 1752 13: Cash account from 27 to 29 February 1752 14: Cash account from 1 to 4 March 1752 15: Account of the cargo of the ship Lord Anson 16: The ship Caesar's account 17: Duplicate of the ship Britannia's account
152	148	To the Honourable &c Honourable Sirs Captain Knight Commander of the Squadron of his Majestys Ships now here, having just come to a Sudden resolution of Sailing this Evening, We have only time to acquaint your Honours by this	The Council addressed the Court of Directors in a letter to India House. Captain Knight, commander of the squadron of His Majesty's ships now at the island, had come to a sudden resolution of sailing that evening, so the Council had only time to tell the Court by this opportunity that it wrote by the Court's ship *Caesar*,

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		Opportunity that we wrote to you by your Ship Cæsar that Sailed from hence Yesterday and that your Ship the Lord Anson Captain Foulis, will be ready to proceed for England in a few days St Helena 6 March 1751 We are Honble Sirs Your most Obedt & most humb servts Signed Charles Hutchinson David Hunter John Clark	which sailed from the island yesterday, and that the Court's ship *Lord Anson* under Captain Fowlis would be ready to proceed for England in a few days. The letter closed at St Helena on 6 March 1752, signed by Charles Hutchinson, David Hunter and John Clark.
153	149	To the Honble &c Honble Sirs We wrote last to you by the Ruby Man of War that sailed from hence, on the 27 of Febr with his Majestys Ships, Vigelant, Lastar Pink, & Syren On the 9 instant arrived your Honours Ship Onslow Capt Thos Hinde from Fort Marlen & has on board your Deputy Govr of that Place Josr Hurlock Esqr who resigned the Chair, & is going to England on Account of his bad state of Health William Laurence one of your Soldiers is sent to us by your Honours Deputy Govr Councel of Bencoolen to serve ten Months here, the remainder of his Contracted time, for having been the Death of another Man by an unfortunate blow Yesterday arrived your Ship True Briton from China & Capt Broadley, informs us that he saw two Dutch Ships off the Cape which he judged to be outward bound Capt Hinde being served with the Usual Letter requiring a sight of his Bill of Loading, Acquainted us that he had no Copy of it, but says that he have 642 Tons of Pepper on board St Helena 13 March 1751 We are Honble Sirs As your most Obedt & most humb servts Signed Charles Hutchinson David Hunter John Clark	The Council addressed the Court of Directors in a letter to India House. The Council's last letter to the Court had gone by the *Ruby* man of war, which sailed from the island on the 27th of February with His Majesty's ships *Vigilant*, *Lascar* pink and *Syren*. On the 9th of the month the Court's ship *Onslow* under Captain Thomas Hinde arrived from Fort Marlborough, having on board the Court's Deputy Governor of that place, Josiah Hurlock Esq, who had resigned the chair and was going to England on account of his bad state of health. William Laurence, one of the Court's soldiers, was sent to the island by the Court's Deputy Governor and Council of Bencoolen to serve ten months of the remainder of his contracted time, for having been the death of another man by an unfortunate blow. Yesterday the Court's ship *True Briton* under Captain Broadley arrived from China. He told the Council that he saw two Dutch ships off the Cape, which he judged to be outward bound. Captain Hinde, being served with the usual letter requiring a sight of his bill of lading, told the Council that he had no copy of it, but reported that he had 642 tons of pepper on board. The letter closed at St Helena on 13 March 1752, signed by Charles Hutchinson, David Hunter and John Clark. **Interpretations** The transfer of William Laurence from Bencoolen shows St Helena again receiving a man to work out a sentence passed at another of the Company's settlements, the island serving as a place of penal service within the Company's own dominions. Laurence had killed another man by an unlucky blow, and rather than being tried capitally he was sent to complete ten months of his enlistment on the island, so that his punishment took the form of continued military service far from where the death occurred. The arrangement reflects how the Company disposed of its offending servants by moving them between stations under sentence, keeping their labour while marking the offence, the same practice by which the convicted men from Fort Marlborough had lately been sent to St Helena.
154	150	List of the Honble Companys Packet from St Helena ℔ Ship Lord Anson with the foregoing Letter dated the 13 March 1751 Viz No 1 Govr Councils Genl Lett dated the 13 March 1751 2 Duplicate Govr Councils Genl Lett dated the 4 Mar Do 3 2d Do Govr Councils General Letter dated the 6 Mar Do 4 Do Consultation of the 2 March Do 5 Consultation of the 9 Mar Do 6 List of Officers & Servants taken the 13 Mar Do 7 Duplicate List of the Packet ℔ Ship Cæsar 8 Second Receipt for the Packet ℔ Ship Britannia	The list of the Court's packet sent from St Helena by the ship *Lord Anson* with the letter dated 13 March 1752 ran as follows. 1: The Council's general letter dated 13 March 1752 2: Duplicate of the Council's general letter dated 4 March 1752 3: Duplicate of the Council's general letter dated 6 March 1752 4: Duplicate consultations to the 3rd of March 1752 5: Consultations of the 9th of March 1752 6: List of officers and servants taken 13 March 1752 7: Duplicate list of the packet by the ship Caesar

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		9 First Receipt for Do ℔ Ship Cæsar 10 Duplicate Cash Acct from the 27 to the 29 Febr 1751 11 Do Cash Acct from the 1 to the 4 Mar Do 12 Cash Acct from the 5 to the 13 March Do 13 Duplicate Ship Cæsars Account 14 Ship Lord Ansons Account 15 Account of the Cargo of Ship True Briton To the Honble &c Honble Sirs We wrote last to you by your Ship the Lord Anson, that sailed from hence on the 13 instant On the 17 of this Month arrived your Honours Ship the Essex Capt George Jackson from China	8: Second receipt for the packet by the ship Britannia 9: First receipt for the packet by the ship Caesar 10: Duplicate cash account from 27 to 29 February 1752 11: Duplicate cash account from 1 to 4 March 1752 12: Cash account from 5 to 13 March 1752 13: Duplicate of the ship Caesar's account 14: The ship Lord Anson's account 15: Account of the cargo of the ship True Briton The Council addressed the Court of Directors in a letter to India House. The Council's last letter to the Court had gone by the Court's ship *Lord Anson*, which sailed from the island on the 8th of the month. On the 17th of the month the Court's ship *Essex* under Captain George Jackson arrived from China [...].
155	151	China, which place he left the 10 of December & got to Princes Island the 6 Jany where he was informed that your Ship the True Briton had saild from thence, four days before Captain Geo Hinde acquainted Us that he was indulged by your Honours, to pay into your Cash what Money he could not Invest, Applyed for liberty to Lodge £200 here which we received accordingly upon his Assurance, & have given him Bills of Exchange, drawn on your Honours for that Sum dated this day, payable to himself (or Order) Ninety days after Sight Mr Gabriel Steward Third Mate of your Ship True Briton & Native of this place, likewise Petitioned for liberty to pay £200 into your Cash here, which being part of his Fortune, We Agreed to receive it, and have also given him Bills of Exchange drawn on your Honours dated this day & payable to himself (or Order) 90 days after Sight 5 We are sorry to acquaint your Honours, that We have as yet, had no change of Weather, for the better & at present there is very little prospect of it St Helena 21 March 1751 We are Honble Sirs Your most Obedt & most humb servts Signed Chas Hutchinson David Hunter John Clark	Captain Jackson left China the 10th of December and got to Princes Island the 6th of January, where he was told that the Court's ship *True Briton* had sailed from there four days before. Captain Thomas Hinde, being permitted by the Court to pay into the Court's cash whatever money he could not invest, asked leave to lodge £200 0s 0d on the island. The Council received it accordingly upon his assurance, and gave him bills of exchange drawn on the Court for that sum, dated this day, payable to himself or order ninety days after sight. Mr Gabriel Steward, third mate of the Court's ship *True Briton* and a native of the island, likewise asked leave to pay £200 0s 0d into the Court's cash, being part of his fortune. The Council agreed to receive it, and gave him bills of exchange drawn on the Court, dated this day and payable to himself or order ninety days after sight. 5: The Council was sorry to report that it had as yet had no change of weather for the better, and at present there was very little prospect of it. The letter closed at St Helena on 21 March 1752, signed by Charles Hutchinson, David Hunter and John Clark. **Interpretations** The remittance by Gabriel Steward marks a rare instance of the island's own children returning through its banking machinery. Steward was a native of St Helena serving as third mate on a homeward Company ship, and the money he lodged, part of his fortune, was carried home in bills drawn on London like any officer's, showing that the island bred seamen who rose in the Company's service and sent their earnings back through the same channel that served strangers. The detail that he was born on the place, set beside the more usual captains and merchants, reveals St Helena as not merely a waystation for others but a small community whose people entered the maritime world and used the Council's credit as their own.
156	152	List of the Honble Companys Packet from St Helena ℔ Ship True Briton with the foregoing Letter dated the 21 Mar 1751 Viz No 1 Govr Councils General Letter dated the 21 March 1751 2 Duplicate Govr Councils General Letter dated ℔ 13 March Do 3 Do Consultation of the 9 March Do 4 Consultations from the 16 to the 21 March Do 5 List of Officers & Servants taken the 21 March Do 6 Duplicate List of the Packet ℔ Ship Lord Anson 7 Second Receipt for the Packet ℔ Ship Cæsar 8 First Receipt for Do ℔ Ship Lord Anson	The list of the Court's packet sent from St Helena by the ship *True Briton* with the letter dated 21 March 1752 ran as follows. 1: The Council's general letter dated 21 March 1752 2: Duplicate of the Council's general letter dated 13 March 1752 3: Duplicate consultations of the 9th of March 1752 4: Consultations from 16 to 21 March 1752 5: List of officers and servants taken 21 March 1752 6: Duplicate list of the packet by the ship Lord Anson 7: Second receipt for the packet by the ship Caesar

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		9 Duplicate Cash Acct from the 5 to the 13 March 1751 10 Cash Account from the 14 to the 21 March Do 11 Duplicate Ship Lord Ansons Account 12 Ship True Britons Account 13 Do Onslows Account 14 Account of the Cargo of Ship Essex To the Honble &c Honble Sirs We wrote to you last by your Ship the True Briton that Sailed from hence, with your Honours Ship the Onslow, on the 22 instant One of your Slaves Named Jack Defence to who was very usefull here in Assisting the Armourer was missed on Saturday last, & not being since seen or heard of upon the Island, we Apprehend that	8: First receipt for the packet by the ship Lord Anson 9: Duplicate cash account from 5 to 13 March 1752 10: Cash account from 14 to 21 March 1752 11: Duplicate of the ship Lord Anson's account 12: The ship True Briton's account 13: Duplicate of the ship Onslow's account 14: Account of the cargo of the ship Essex The Council addressed the Court of Directors in a letter to India House. The Council's last letter to the Court had gone by the Court's ship *True Briton*, which sailed from the island with the Court's ship *Onslow* on the 22nd of the month. One of the Court's slaves, named Jack Defence, who was very useful on the island in assisting the armourer, was missing on Saturday last. Not having since been seen or heard of on the island, the Council apprehended that [...].
157	153	that he has deserted & got on board one of those Ships which we thought proper to acquaint your Honours with Your Ship Exeter Capt Kirnell arrived this Morning with every body well on board, but the Packet coming on Shore so late, & Capt Jackson of your Ship Essex intending to Sail this evening, we have not time to Answer your Honours Letter by this Occasion, which Obliges Us to defer it untill the next Oppertunity St Helena 29 March 1752 We are Honble Sirs Your most Obedt & most humb servts Signed Chas Hutchinson David Hunter John Clark List of the Honble Companys Packet from St Helena ℔ Ship Essex with the foregoing Letter dated the 29 Mar 1752 Viz No 1 Govr Councils Genl Letter dated the 29 March 1752 2 Duplicate Govr Councils Genl Letter dated the 21 March 1751 3 Do Consultations from the 16 to the 21 March Do 4 Consultation of the 23 March Do 5 List of Officers & Servants taken the 29 March 1752 6 Duplicate List of the Packet ℔ Ship True Briton 7 Second Receipt for the Packet ℔ Ship Lord Anson 8 First Receipt for Do ℔ Ship True Briton 9 Duplicate Cash Acct from the 14 to the 21 Mar 1751 10 Cash Acct from the 22 to the 29 March 1752 11 Duplicate Ship True Britons Account 12 Do Ship Onslows Account 13 Ship Essexs Account	The Council apprehended that the slave had deserted and got on board one of the ships, which it thought right to report to the Court. The Court's ship *Exeter* under Captain Kirnell arrived that morning with everybody well on board, but the packet coming ashore so late, and Captain Jackson of the Court's ship *Essex* intending to sail that evening, the Council had no time to answer the Court's letter by this conveyance, which obliged it to defer it until the next opportunity. The letter closed at St Helena on 29 March 1752, signed by Charles Hutchinson, David Hunter and John Clark. The list of the Court's packet sent from St Helena by the ship *Essex* with the letter dated 29 March 1752 ran as follows. 1: The Council's general letter dated 29 March 1752 2: Duplicate of the Council's general letter dated 21 March 1752 3: Duplicate consultations from 16 to 21 March 1752 4: Consultations of the 23rd of March 1752 5: List of officers and servants taken 29 March 1752 6: Duplicate list of the packet by the ship True Briton 7: Second receipt for the packet by the ship Lord Anson 8: First receipt for the packet by the ship True Briton 9: Duplicate cash account from 14 to 21 March 1752 10: Cash account from 22 to 29 March 1752 11: Duplicate of the ship True Briton's account 12: Duplicate of the ship Onslow's account 13: The ship Essex's account
158	154	To the Honble &c Honble Sirs We wrote last to you by your Honours Ship the Essex that sailed from hence on the 29 of March last, and on the 31 arrived your Ship the St George Capt Robinson from China, which he left the 25 Decr, and Acquaints Us that your Ship True Briton Sailed from thence Eighteen & your Ship the Anson Six days before	The Council addressed the Court of Directors in a letter to India House. The Council's last letter to the Court had gone by the Court's ship *Essex*, which sailed from the island on the 29th of March last. On the 31st the Court's ship *St George* under Captain Robinson arrived from China, which he left the 25th of December, and told the Council that the Court's ship *True Briton* sailed from there eighteen days, and the Court's ship *Anson* six days, before him.

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		him On the 1 instant arrived a French Ship called the Duke of Parma by which this goes to your Honours from Mauritius Capt Dargu delas Hattes, Burthen 600 Tons, carrig 30 Guns, & 160 Men including Passengers Loaden with Bale Goods from Bengall bound to Port Loriant the Capt Acquaints Us that he left Mauritius the 23 of Febr N.S. & that one of your Honours Ships from China came in there, two days before, having lost her Mizen Mast, and Main Topmast the Capt could not recollect either the Names of the Supracargoes or of the Ship or her Commander but by the description he gave of them, We concluded it to be the Anson St Helena 4 April 1752 We are Honble Sirs Your most Obedt & most humb servts Signed Chas Hutchinson David Hunter John Clark	On the 1st of the month a French ship arrived called the *Duke of Parma*, by which this letter went to the Court, from Mauritius under Captain Dargne de la Chatre, of 600 tons burden, carrying 30 guns and 160 men including passengers, laden with bale goods from Bengal and bound for Port L'Orient. Her captain told the Council that he left Mauritius the 23rd of February, old style, and that one of the Court's ships from China came in there two days before, having lost her mizzen mast and main topmast. The captain could not recollect either the name of the supercargo or of the ship or her commander, but by the description he gave of them the Council concluded it to be the *Anson*. The letter closed at St Helena on 4 April 1752, signed by Charles Hutchinson, David Hunter and John Clark.
159	155	To the Honble &c Honble Sirs Our last Letter to your Honours we wrote by the Duke of Parma a French Ship, that Sailed from hence, on the 4 Instant 1 On the 29 of last Month arrived your Ship the Exeter Capt Wm Kirnell, from England, by which we received your Honours Directions to Us under date of the 29 November & we are glad to find, our Advices of last Year, came safe to your Hands 2 It gives Us great Pleasure, that the Accounts we sent you of the Arrival & Departures of Ships with the News we collected from the Gentlemen of them, have been have been Satisfactory to your Honours, & we beg leave to Assure you that we shall be as Punctual in transmitting them for the future 3 We hope the 17 Ships, you mention to have been taken into your Service this Year, will prove successful 4 The two Ships of Force that your intend to send to India, for the Security of your Trade on the Mallabar Coast, we likeways hope will be of great Service to your Honours in that respect 5 We thank your Honours for the List of the Arrival & Departure of Ships 6 The Order of Roger Drake Wm Baker & Wm Mabbot Esqr whom your Honours have appointed to be the	The Council addressed the Court of Directors in a letter to India House. The Council's last letter to the Court had gone by the *Duke of Parma*, a French ship, which sailed from the island on the 4th of the month. 1: On the 29th of last month the Court's ship *Exeter* under Captain William Kirnell arrived from England, by which the Council received the Court's directions under date of the 29th of November, and was glad to find that its advices of last year had reached the Court safely. 2: The Council was very glad that the accounts it sent the Court of the arrival and departure of ships, with the news it collected from the gentlemen of them, had been satisfactory to the Court, and it would be as punctual in transmitting them for the future. 3: The Council hoped the seventeen ships the Court mentioned to have been taken into its service this year would prove successful. 4: The Council likewise hoped the two ships of force the Court intended to send to India for the security of its trade on the Malabar coast would be of great service in that respect. 5: The Council thanked the Court for the list of the arrival and departure of ships. 6: The order of Roger Drake, William Baker and William Mabbot Esq, whom the Court had appointed to be [...]. **Interpretations** The two ships of force intended for the Malabar coast mark the Company's turn toward armed protection of its western Indian trade at a time of open danger there. A ship of force was a heavily armed vessel meant to guard the Company's commerce against enemies rather than to carry cargo, and the sending of two to the Malabar coast reflects the pressure the trade was under, whether from the French, from local powers or from the pirates that shadowed those seas. For the Council at St Helena, forwarding its approval to London, the measure was part of the wider war footing on which the Company's eastern affairs now stood, of which every passing ship brought fresh report.
160	156	the Secret Committee of Secrecy, shall be punctually Obeyed	The Council would punctually obey the orders of the Secret Committee of Secrecy.

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		7 By the Invoice & Bill of Loading of the Exeter, we see that you have been pleased to send Us a large quantity of Goods, which shall be regularly carried to Account & Issued for the Uses intended by your Honours 8 Having received several Sums of Money into your Cash here, for which we Granted Bills of Exchange drawn on your Honours, We therefore have not occasion to take any of your Treasure out of the Exeter 9 We have given Capt Kirnell all the Assistance that was in our power to unload his Ship, and shall press her Departure from hence, & protest against him as your Honours have directed, if we find he makes any unnecessary delays 10 The ten Working days allowed for the unloading your Ship Exeter, expiring on the 10 instant, we then gave Capt Kirnell Orders in Writing to make the best of his way to Fort Marlborough Consonant to the Instructions he received from your Honours by whom we have forwarded the Charterparty, & all other usual Papers to your Deputy Govr Councel of that place 11 Your honours Cash here has been duly Credited with the Sum of £160 that we Advanced Capt Denumel Commander of the French Ship La Paix, for which we Observe you have received the Amount of the Bill we drew on him for £105 of Mr Rouge, Agent to the French East India Company 12 We have Acquainted Mr Jn Powell and	7: By the invoice and bill of lading of the *Exeter* the Council saw that the Court had sent it a large quantity of goods, which would be regularly carried to account and used for the purposes the Court intended. 8: Having received several sums of money into the Court's cash on the island, for which it granted bills of exchange drawn on the Court, the Council had therefore no occasion to take any of the Court's treasure out of the *Exeter*. 9: The Council had given Captain Kirnell all the assistance in its power to unload his ship, and would press his departure and protest against him, as the Court had directed, if it found he made any unnecessary delays. 10: The ten working days allowed for unlading the *Exeter* expiring on the 10th of the month, the Council then gave Captain Kirnell orders in writing to make the best of his way to Fort Marlborough, in keeping with the instructions he received from the Court. The Council had forwarded the charter party and all other usual papers to the Court's Deputy Governor and Council of that place. 11: The Court's cash on the island had been duly credited with the sum of £105 0s 0d that the Council advanced Captain Denemel, commander of the French ship *La Paix*, for which the Council had received the amount of the bill drawn on him for £105 0s 0d from Mr Rouge, agent to the French East India Company. 12: The Council had told Mr John Powell [...]. **Interpretations** The clearing of the advance to Captain Denemel shows a foreign transaction carried through to its close, the credit the island extended to a French ship the year before now made good in London. The Council had lent Denemel silver at St Helena against a bill drawn on the French East India Company's London agent, and that bill had since been honoured by Mr Rouge, so the whole dealing balanced without loss. The care to record the closing of the account marks how the island tracked each such advance from the handing over of coin to the final receipt of value, keeping its books straight across the credit of a rival nation's service. The recurring reliance on lodged cash to spare the incoming treasure shows the working logic of the island's finances. Because private persons and captains had paid sums into the Court's cash against bills on London, the Council held enough coin on the spot to meet its needs and could leave the *Exeter*'s treasure untouched to go forward to the eastern settlements. The arrangement turned the island's role as a remittance house to the Company's direct advantage, the silver others wished to send home serving to fund the station without breaking into the chests meant for India.
161	157	and Mr Kirk Falconer who were the Masters of the three Men & one Woman Slaves that deserted in a French from hence last Year, thereby, that the French Ship Deanna, sailed ℔ Capt De Raucour's & assurances of their not getting, on board his Ship, which they very readily believe, but as there was very little Wind when she weighed Anchor they imagined the Boat their Slaves deserted in might possibly reach her, which was the reason of their Warping to France We shall for the future inform your Honours of every such Accident, but	The Council had told Mr John Powell and Mr [...] Falconer, who were the masters of the three men and one woman slave that deserted in a boat from the island last year, that it thought the French ship *Diana* under Captain Raucour, by his account of their not getting on board his ship, which they very nearly did, was the cause of their escape. There was very little wind when she weighed anchor, so the Council imagined the boat with the deserting slaves might possibly reach her, which was the reason for their going off to France. The Council would for the future tell the Court of every such accident, but notwithstanding all its precautions and endeavours to prevent it, some of these unthinking slaves might get away, as several of the planters sent their boats to fish in different parts of the island.

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		Notwithstanding all our precautions & Endeavours to prevent it, some of these unthinking black People may get away as several of the Planters send their Boats to Fish in different parts of the Island 13 We thank your Honours for the Supply of Goods & Necessarys Consigned to Us by the Exeter 14 We are much pleased that your Honours have approved of our reasons for the discontinuance of Cape Brandy to be sent here 15 As it is very probable that the Flour which came by the Onslow might have received some Damage on board in your Honours Service we shall if any such Accidents should happen for the future, be very particular in our Description of the Damage it received 16 The reason of our Indenting for Bread being merely for the Occasion's of your Ships, whose Commanders frequently want it, for their People's freedom in choice to take more than a Barrel or two of Flour for their own use, we imagine that very little of this fifty Barrels you have sent	13: The Council thanked the Court for the supply of goods and necessaries consigned to it by the *Exeter*. 14: The Council was much pleased that the Court approved of its reasons for the discontinuance of Cape brandy being sent to the island. 15: As it was very probable that the flour which came by the *Onslow* might have received some damage on board the Court's ship, the Council would, if any such accident should happen for the future, be very particular in its description of the damage it received. 16: The reason for the Council's indenting for bread being nearly for the officers of the Court's ships, whose commanders frequently wanted it for their people, and seldom inclining to take more than a barrel or two of flour for their own use, the Council imagined that very little of the fifty barrels the Court had sent [...]. **Interpretations** The escape of the four slaves to a French ship shows how the very traffic that made St Helena useful, the constant coming and going of shipping, opened a road out for those held on the island. The runaways took a boat and pulled for the *Diana* as she lay becalmed weighing anchor, and the slack wind that kept her slow let them very nearly reach her, so that they got away to France aboard a passing vessel. The Council's admission that it could not wholly prevent such flights, since the planters' own boats lay about the coast for fishing, reveals the limit of control on an island whose shores were open to small craft and whose waters were never empty of ships bound for other lands. The reasoning over the bread indent shows the Council fitting its orders from England to the actual pattern of demand at the island. Bread and flour were wanted chiefly by the officers of calling ships for their crews, the commanders taking little for themselves, so the Council judged that much of the fifty barrels sent would remain on hand. The care to explain this to the Court marks how closely the island's requisitions were meant to track real consumption, ordering against known use rather than laying in stores that would sit and spoil.
162	158	sent more than our Indent will be taken by them, & as such Assortment, will be Considerably larger, we believe than the Garrison will consume in a Year, some of it possibly may grow bad before it can be Issued altho the greatest care is taken to prevent it 17 We shall take care to Observe your Honours Orders, with regard to our buying Beef & Pork out of your returning Ships, when ever we find we are likely to want any, & can have it at reasonable Prices 18 We thank your Honours for the Sashes for the new Plantation House 19 We have again looked over the Invoice ℔ Ship Suffolk & find that the Soldiers Shirts & Rollers are charged in it at double the price, by these Sum carried out for them which is £333.6.8 to what they were in the preceeding Invoices ℔ Ships Grantham, Godolphin, & Marlborough where they stand only at 4/2 a Shirt & Roller together, at which price they have been always Sold with their Percentage upon it, as they lately were, by Us, & therefore	The Council imagined that very little of the fifty barrels the Court had sent, more than its indent, would be taken by the officers. As such a supply would be considerably larger than the garrison would consume in a year, some of it might possibly grow bad before it could be issued, though the greatest care was taken to prevent it. 17: The Council would take care to observe the Court's orders with regard to buying beef and pork out of its returning ships, whenever it found it was likely to want any and could have it at reasonable prices. 18: The Council thanked the Court for the sashes for the new Plantation House. 19: The Council, having again looked over the invoice of the ship *Suffolk*, found that the soldiers' shirts and rollers were charged in it at double the price, the sum carried out for them being £333 0s 8d against what they stood at in the preceding invoices of the ships *Grantham*, *Godolphin* and *Marlborough*, where they stood only at fivepence a shirt and roller together. At that price they had always been sold, with their percentage upon it, as they lately were by the Council, so it presumed the Court had not suffered by it, but that the mistake was in the transcriber of that invoice. For the Court's further satisfaction the Council thought it right to transmit the original invoices of all those ships herewith. 20: The Council had received from the Court a copy of the representation the planters sent it,

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		Presume your Honours have not suffered by it, but that the mistake was in the Transcriber of that Invoice, & for your further Satisfaction we have thought proper to transmit to you herewith, the Original Invoices of all those Ships 20 We have received from your Honours a Copy of the Remonstrance, the Planters sent Yout, Complaining of several hardships they suffered, & of their not being allowed	complaining of several hardships they suffered, and of their not being allowed [...]. **Interpretations** The discovery of the doubled charge in the *Suffolk*'s invoice shows the island checking the Court's own paperwork against its running record of prices. The soldiers' shirts and rollers had been billed at twice their usual rate, and the Council caught it by setting the figure against the invoices of three earlier ships where the same goods stood at fivepence, a price the island had always sold them at. Rather than let the error stand or assume dishonesty, the Council traced the fault to a copyist and sent home the original invoices as proof, an instance of the two-way scrutiny by which figures moved between London and the island, each end able to correct the other from its own books. A roller was a length of cloth wound as a bandage or worn as a band, issued to soldiers as part of their basic clothing along with shirts. The pairing of shirts and rollers at a single low price marks them as standard garrison necessaries, cheap goods supplied in bulk and sold on to the men with the Company's small percentage added, the kind of routine issue whose settled price let the Council spot at once when an invoice charged too much.
163	159	allowed to dispose of their Beef to Shipping to the best Advantage we shall according to your Order, make a Strict Inquiry into the several Allegations it contains, & state the same & transmit them to you, with our Opinion upon the whole, by one of your Ships of this Season, as your Honours have been pleased to direct 21 We fear we may be at some loss for the want of the Iron Pots we Indented for, all the smaller one that were then remaining having been since Issued to the Garrison, we shall for the future be as particular as possible, in the description of every thing in our Indents, & of the uses they are required for, & in the Account of Remains, the sorts sizes & Nature of the Stores shall likewise be inserted as your Honours have directed 22 Your Honours Commission Officers & the rest of your Military here have been acquainted with your favour to them in Augmenting their pay, for which they return you their humble thanks 23 The Diet Money & Honour Rent shall according to your directions be continued to all your Officers as has been usual, who we make no doubt will be deserving of this your Honours favour to them 24 Your Honours may be Assured, that we shall not detain any of your Military Recruits, that are assigned for your Settlements on the West Coast 25 We are very glad to find that your Honours intend to Compleat your Garrison here by the next Years Store Ships as we have now 40 Men short of your Establishment & shall probably before that time want several more	The planters complained of their not being allowed to dispose of their beef to the best advantage. The Council would, in keeping with the Court's orders, make strict enquiry into the several allegations the representation contained, and state the same and transmit them to the Court with its opinion upon the whole, by one of the ships of the season, as the Court had directed. 21: The Council feared it might be at some loss for the want of the iron pots it had indented for, all the small ones that were then remaining having been since issued to the garrison. For the future the Council would be as particular as possible in the description of everything in its indents, and of the uses they were required for, and in the account of remains the sorts, sizes and nature of the stores would likewise be inserted, as the Court had directed. 22: The Court's commissioned officers and the rest of the Council's military on the island had been told of the Court's favour to them in augmenting their pay, for which they returned the Court their humble thanks. 23: The diet money and house rent would, in keeping with the Court's directions, be continued to all the Court's officers as had been usual, who the Council made no doubt would be deserving of the Court's favour to them. 24: The Council assured the Court that it would not detain any of the Court's military recruits that were designed for the settlements on the west coast. 25: The Council was very glad to find that the Court intended to complete its garrison on the island by the next year's ships, as the Council was now 40 men short of its establishment, and would probably before that time want several more. **Interpretations** The exchange over the planters' beef grievance shows the island caught between the Court in London and the planters on the spot, obliged to test one against the other. The planters wanted freedom to sell their beef where it fetched most, which ran against the Council's need to hold the price down for the garrison and the Court's servants, so the Council undertook to enquire into each of their claims and lay its own opinion before the Court. The care to send the whole matter home by a ship of the season, rather than settle it on the island, marks how a standing dispute over the local market was referred

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			upward for the Court to weigh, the Council furnishing the evidence and its judgement but leaving the decision to London. The want of iron pots, small and dull as it was, points to how narrow the island's stock of ordinary utensils could run. The small pots had all been issued to the garrison, leaving none against the indent, and the Council's promise to describe every item and its use more exactly reflects the difficulty of provisioning so remote a place from a list drawn up a year ahead. The care over the account of remains, setting down the sort and size of every store, shows the same discipline the Court pressed on the island throughout, that nothing be ordered vaguely or held unaccounted, since a single gap in so isolated a supply could not be quickly filled.
164	160	26 Mr Stephen Herbert & Mr Frances Mowatt have been Appointed second Lieuts to the First & second Companys, where those Vacancies were who shall be duly pd according to the Establishment your Honours sent Us by the Exeter 27 Lieutenant Josr Kendall is Appointed Adjutant & shall receive the pay you have Ordered for him as such over & above his Appointments as a first Lieutenant 28 We are much pleased that you approve of our allowing the Soldiers that are Discharged from this Garrison, after serving their Contracted time 6 ℔ day, for their Subsistance, until they could get a passage for England, and we will be careful to prevail if possible, upon such, to go to Fort Marlborough in your Service, where we have told them they will receive a Bounty of eight Pounds, or their enlisting to serve five Years, and the same pay they have here, & wherever any incline to go, we shall transmit a List of them thither, & another to your Honours 29 The Complaints that were laid before your Honours by some of the discharged Soldiers, of here having been frequently Obliged to take spoiled Provisons, you will find from the Testimonies of your Storekeeper his Assistants, & the Cooper to be without Foundation, And it will likewise be proved to you that their Allegations, of being Obliged to pay fifty ℔ Cent for the Necessaries they had from their Officers, are entirely false, the Commanding Officers of the several Companys having declared under their Hands, that none of them ever did charge more to any Soldier, for whatever	26: Mr Stephen Herbert and Mr Francis Mowatt had been appointed second lieutenants to the first and second companies, where those vacancies were, who would be duly paid in keeping with the establishment the Court sent by the *Exeter*. 27: Lieutenant Joseph Kendall was appointed adjutant, and would receive the pay the Court had ordered for him, over and above his appointment as a first lieutenant. 28: The Council was much pleased that the Court approved of its allowing the soldiers who were discharged from the garrison, after serving their contracted time, ten pence a day for their subsistence until they could get a passage for England. The Council would be careful to prevail, if possible, upon such to go to Fort Marlborough in the Court's service, where it had told them they would receive a bounty of eight pounds on their enlisting to serve five years, and the same pay they had on the island, and wherever any inclined to go the Council would transmit a list of them to Fort Marlborough and another to the Court. 29: The complaints laid before the Court by some of the discharged soldiers, of their having been frequently obliged to take perished provisions, the Court would find, by the testimonies of its storekeeper, his assistant and the cooper, to be without foundation. It would likewise be proved that their allegations of being obliged to pay fivepence for the necessaries they had from their officers were entirely false, the commanding officers of the several companies having declared under their hands that none of them ever charged more to any soldier for whatever [...]. **Interpretations** The offer to send discharged soldiers on to Fort Marlborough shows the Company trying to keep the labour it had trained rather than lose it home to England. A soldier whose time was up at St Helena, and who could not get a passage, was pressed to re-enlist for the west-coast pepper settlement on the promise of an eight-pound bounty and his island pay, so that the man passed from one Company station to another instead of leaving the service altogether. The Council's undertaking to send lists both to Fort Marlborough and to the Court marks how the movement of such men between settlements was tracked and recorded, the island acting as a point where soldiers leaving one post could be turned toward another within the same eastern establishment. The rebuttal of the discharged soldiers' complaints shows the Council once more answering charges made to London by marshalling the sworn word of its own officers. The men had alleged they were made to take spoiled provisions and overcharged for necessaries, and the Council met both with the testimony of the storekeeper, his assistant and the cooper, and with the officers' signed declaration that

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			none had ever charged above the set price. The pattern is the same that ran through the John Gold affair, a private man's grievance carried home being weighed against the station's records and the oaths of those it accused, and found wanting when set against them.
165	161	whatever Necessarys they provided them with, than they themselves paid for them, these Attestations, with Copies of the Regulations of Subsistence & Stoppages that have been made from time to time for furnishing your Military, (who are paid Weekly, by their Officers) with Diet & Necessarys, & the Amount of the several sorts of Provisions issued to them from the little Company & since on Issues of a large Quantity of fresh Pork they have had from the Market, we have transmitted to your Honours in a Paper marked No 20 which will give you a clear View & Information of every thing you require relating to your Soldiery, & fully convince you we hope, that all possible care has been taken of them in every respect 30 As a part of the abovementioned Provisions that has been delivered, though quite inconsiderable was for your Artificers we thought proper to Acquaint your Honours that a very small deduction, is for this Reason to be allowed for it from the Whole 31 Agreeable to your Honours Orders we have given Charles Snow his discharge from this Garrison, upon his Applying to Us for it, he goes upon the Ship St George Capt Robinson, who has Permission to receive him on board, & carry him to England, he paying or Working for his Passage 32 We shall not fail to treat all Foreigners with the utmost Civility, but as your Honours disapprove of Allowing them to go into the Country, none of them shall be permitted to see it on any pretence whatever, & we shall prevent them as much as we can from viewing or making remarks on the Fortifications 33 The Dates of our Books, Accounts & Proceedings shall	None of the officers ever charged a soldier more for whatever necessaries they had than the officers themselves paid for them. The Council enclosed those attestations with copies of the regulations of subsistence and stoppages that had been made from time to time for furnishing the Court's military, who were paid weekly by their officers with diet and necessaries, and the account of the several sorts of provisions issued to them from the Court's stores, as well as of a large quantity of pork they had had from the market. The Council had transmitted these to the Court in a paper marked number 20, which would give a clear view and information of everything the Court required relating to its soldiers, and fully convince the Court, the Council hoped, that all possible care had been taken of them in every respect. 30: As a part of the above-mentioned provisions that had been delivered, though quite inconsiderable, was for the Court's artificers, the Council thought it right to tell the Court that a very small deduction was for that reason to be allowed for it from the whole. 31: In keeping with the Court's orders the Council had given Charles Snow his discharge from the garrison, upon his applying for it. He went on the ship *St George* under Captain Robinson, who had permission to receive him on board and carry him to England, he paying or working for his passage. 32: The Council would not fail to treat all foreigners with the utmost civility, but as the Court disapproved of allowing them to go into the country, none of them would be permitted to see it on any pretence whatever, and the Council would prevent them as much as it could from viewing or making remarks on the fortifications. 33: The dates of the Council's books, accounts and proceedings [...]. **Interpretations** The Court's plain refusal to let foreign visitors see the country, now settled against the Council's earlier request for guidance, closes the question the island had raised the year before. Where the Council had asked whether foreign officers might be indulged with a sight of the interior if escorted, London answered that none were to be admitted on any pretence, and the Council undertook to keep them from viewing or remarking on the fortifications. The exchange shows the balance struck between the courtesy owed to the many French, Dutch and Danish men who came ashore and the secrecy a fortified station kept in wartime, the decision reserved to the Court and coming down firmly on the side of guarding the defences. The weekly payment of the soldiers by their officers in diet and necessaries, rather than in money, reveals the truck system by which the garrison was in part maintained. The men drew provisions and goods from their officers, the price stopped from their pay, and the officers were bound to charge no more than they themselves paid, the whole regulated by the standing rules of subsistence and stoppage the Council sent home. The system tied the soldier's wage to what he consumed and put the officer between the man and the stores, an arrangement open to the very abuse the discharged men had alleged, which is why the Council was at such pains to send the regulations and the officers' oaths together as proof the rules were kept.

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166	162	shall be Altered Conformable to the Act of Parliament, which your Honours have been pleased to send Us 34 We are glad to find that you have Approved of our giving Mr Beale at the rate of £40 ℔ Annum for Officiating in the Church, during the time, we were without a Clergyman 35 We Assure your Honours that we were not acquainted with Mr John Desfountains claim upon the Estate of Govr Goodwin for his Fathers Wives fortune which by the Copy of his Petition to you we see Amounts to £100.15.11 but we think the Estate of Isaac Wove is not liable, to the Debts of the late Govr Goodwin, therefore we believe that the Sum of £306.17.3¾ is as likely to be recovered 36 We have acquainted Mr Jno Desfountains with your Honours reasons for Supposing there is little or no foundation for his claim of £100.15.11 on the Estate of the late Govr Goodwin & have therefore required him to pay it the half of which has been already, received from him, and the remainder he promises to pay within a Month 37 We are sorry to say that we apprehend the Sum of £51.3.11¼ is hardly to be recovered, it being due from three Soldiers & two very poor Inhabitants 38 The Heirs & Executors of Govr Johnson have been before Us, & were Acquainted with your Honours Sentiments with respect to the Debt of £55.17.2½ due from the said Johnson to the late Govr Goodwin as Appears by his Book, which we Ordered them to pay forthwith, notwithstanding the Receipt in full as Mr John Goodwin as surviving Witness	The dates of the Council's books, accounts and proceedings would be altered in keeping with the Act of Parliament the Court had ordered it to follow. 34: The Council was glad to find that the Court approved of its granting Mr Beale £40 0s 0d a year for officiating in the church during the time it was without a clergyman. 35: The Council assured the Court that it was not acquainted with Mr John Desfountain's claim upon the estate of Governor Goodwin for his father's wife's fortune, which by the book of his petition to the Council amounted to £100 15s 11d. It thought the estate of Francis Wills was not liable for the debt of the late Governor Goodwin, so it believed that the sum of £306 17s 3¾d was not likely to be recovered. 36: The Council had told Mr John Desfountain of the Court's reasons for supposing there was little or no remuneration for his claim of £100 15s 11d on the estate of the late Governor Goodwin, and had therefore required him to pay it. The half of that had been already received from him, and the remainder he promised to pay within a month. 37: The Council was sorry to say that it apprehended the sum of £51 3s 11½d was hardly to be recovered, it being due from three soldiers and two very poor inhabitants. 38: The heirs and executors of Governor Johnson had been before the Council, and were told of the Court's sentiments with respect to the debt of £55 17s 2½d due from Johnson to the late Governor Goodwin, as appeared by his book, which the Council ordered them to pay forthwith, notwithstanding the receipt in full as Mr John Goodwin, as surviving [...]. **Interpretations** The tangle of claims upon Governor Goodwin's estate shows how far the recovery of a dead servant's deficiency reached into the affairs of others long after his death. Goodwin owed the Court, and to gather what was due the Council had to pursue money owed to him in turn, including a debt of Governor Johnson's, while at the same time defending the estate against outside claimants such as Desfountain who sought payment from it. The competing pulls, the Court's demand on one side and private claims on the other, left the Council sorting genuine debts from doubtful ones and pressing each debtor in turn, a slow untangling of accounts that bound together the estates of two dead governors and the fortunes of several private persons. The frank marking of certain sums as hardly to be recovered reveals the practical limit of the whole recovery. Money due from three soldiers and two very poor inhabitants stood little chance of being got in, and the Council said so plainly rather than carry the debt as though it were good, distinguishing what could realistically be recovered from what could not. The candour marks the difference between a debt on paper and money in hand, the Council writing off against the poverty of the debtors what no amount of demand would bring, even as it pressed hard on those, like Desfountain and Johnson's heirs, who could actually pay.
167	163	still avers that the said Debt is yet due 39 When we have Collected what can be recovered of these estates & desperate Debts, we shall inform your Honours of it, by the first Opportunity that offers 40 We acquainted Mr Fra Wrangham that as your Honours were by no means satisfied with his Claim upon the	Mr John Goodwin, as surviving executor, still maintained that the debt was yet due. 39: When the Council had collected what could be recovered of those estates and debts, it would tell the Court by the first opportunity that offered. 40: The Council had told Mr Francis Wrangham that the Court was by no means satisfied with his claim upon the late Governor Goodwin's estate, so he must make it appear in a plainer manner.

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		late Govr Goodwins Estate, therefore he must make it appear in a plainer manner 41 The rest of the Claimants have been likewise before Us who we have directed to give in more clear Accounts, as your Honours have Ordered, which shall be transmitted to you by one of these Ships of this Season 42 Agreable to your Directions we have Ordered all the Stone Horses Sone Colts & Rigs to us forthwith Gelt, & if we can find out any Method for to bring the present Number of Horses & Mares, we shall inform your Honours of it 43 John Black & Marks Hawkens Executors of Robert Meacock Dec: have brought Us in an Account, & lodged some Money with the Governor that they have received in Virtue of their Executors Ship, & have promised to Invest the Widows what will & Power as she has required of them & when their Affair is fully Settled as we hope it will be very soon, we shall Acquaint your Honours with it 44 Your Lieut Govr David Hunter Esq takes his Passage on your Ship the Exeter, we shall give Capt Kirnell Orders to receive him & his Family on board, & Agreable to your Honours Directions he shall be provided at your Expence, with all sorts Provisions & Necessarys as he may require	41: The rest of the claimants had been before the Council, who it had directed to give in more clear accounts, as the Court had ordered, which would be transmitted to the Court by one of the ships of the season. 42: In keeping with the Court's directions the Council had ordered all the stone horses, sows and boars to be gelt forthwith, and if it could find out any method for lessening the present number of horses and mares, it would tell the Court of it. 43: John Blake and Mark Hawkins, executors of Robert Meacock deceased, had brought the Council an account, and lodged some money with the Governor that they had received in virtue of their executorship. The Council had promised to guard the widow's rights and powers, as she required of them, and when their affair was fully settled, as it hoped it would be very soon, the Council would tell the Court of it. 44: The Court's Lieutenant Governor David Hunter Esq took his passage on the Court's ship *Exeter*. The Council would give Captain Kirnell orders to receive him and his family on board, and in keeping with the Court's directions he would be provided, at the Court's expense, with all sorts of provisions and necessaries as he might require [...]. **Interpretations** The order to geld the stone horses, sows and boars addresses the overstock the Council had reported the year before, when it feared the island carried more breeding animals than its pasture could bear. A stone horse was an ungelded stallion, kept for breeding, and by cutting the entire males of horses and swine alike the Council checked the increase at its source, stopping the herds from growing rather than culling what already stood. The measure marks a deliberate turn from breeding to holding, the island choosing to curb its own stock so that the grass might serve the cattle on which the ships and garrison depended, and shows the Council acting on the Court's direction to bring the numbers down by the surest means. The departure of Lieutenant Governor David Hunter, one of the three men who had signed every letter of these years, marks a change in the Council itself. Hunter had sat with Governor Hutchinson and John Clark through the whole run of this correspondence, and his going home with his family on the *Exeter*, provided for at the Court's charge, removes a settled member of the island's small government. The provision made for his passage reflects the standing due to a senior servant returning to England, and the naming of his family marks how the leading men of the island moved between the station and home with their households, the government passing through such departures as one man was replaced by another.
168	164	and we can supply him with 45 As the last Quarters Accounts are not laid before us, until the 20 instant, we have no other Cash Account to send your Honours by this Occasion, but a Duplicate of that which went by your Ship the Essex 46 On the 6 of this Month arrived your Ship the London Capt Rd Allwright late Sedgwick from Bengall which place he left the 24 of Jany, your Ships the Hardwicke, Scarbrough & Duke of Dorset were than at Rogues River the two former we are told had all their Salt Petre & some Bales on board and the latter no Salt Petre only, the Hardwicke it was thought could be ready to Sail by the last of Jany or early in Febr & that the	David Hunter would be provided with all the provisions and necessaries the Council could supply him with. 45: As the last quarter's account was not laid before the Council until the 20th of the month, it had no other cash account to send the Court by this conveyance except a duplicate of that which went by the Court's ship *Essex*. 46: On the 6th of the month the Court's ship *London* under Captain Richard Allwright, late Sedgwick, arrived from Bengal, which place he left the 24th of January. The Court's ships *Hardwicke*, *Scarborough* and *Duke of Dorset* were then at Rogues River, the two former, the Council was told, had all their saltpetre and some bales on board, and the latter had saltpetre only. The *Hardwicke*, it was thought, would be ready to sail by the last of January or early in February, and the *Scarborough* would soon

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		Scarbrough would soon follow her, & it was hoped that the Duke of Dorset would be Dispatched in Charter Party time 47 We are likewise informed that your Ship the Wager sailed the latter end of December for Bombay 48 On the 7 Arrived your Honours Ship the York Capt William, late Robson likewise from Bengall, the Capt Acquaints Us that on the 19 of March last he spoke with Capt Domineau of your Ship Delaware, at Cape Salguillic who informed him that every Body was well on board, but the Weather being bad he had no opportunity of learning any thing farther from him 49 On the 30 Arrived your Ship the Anson Capt Ramsay from China but last from Mauritius, where the Capt says he was Obliged to go to repair some Damage he	follow her, and it was hoped the *Duke of Dorset* would be dispatched in charter-party time. 47: The Council was likewise told that the Court's ship *Wager* sailed the latter end of December for Bombay. 48: On the 7th the Court's ship *Kent* under Captain Wilson, late Robson, likewise arrived from Bengal. Her captain told the Council that on the 19th of March last he spoke with Captain Dominicus of the Court's ship *Delaware* at Cape Agulhas, who told him that everybody was well on board, but the weather being bad he had no opportunity of learning anything farther from him. 49: On the 8th the Court's ship *Anson* under Captain Ramsay arrived from China but last from Mauritius, where the captain reported he was obliged to go to repair some damage [...].
169	165	the Ship sustained in a Gale of Wind at Sea, he informs us that he was very well treated, & that he left the 24 of Febr & two French China Ships there, bound to Port Loriant 50 This waits on you by your Ship the St George which will soon be followed by your Honours Ships London, Kent & Anson St Helena 12 April 1752 We are Honble Sirs Your most Obedt & most humb servts Signed Charles Hutchinson David Hunter John Clark List of the Honble Companys Packet from St Helena ℔ Ship St George with the foregoing Letter dated the 12 Apl 1752 Viz No 1 Govr Councils General Letter dated the 12 April 1752 2 Duplicate Govr Councils Genl Lett dated the 29 March Do 3 Do Govr Councils General Letter dated the 4 April Do 4 Do Consultation of the 23 March 1751 5 Consultations from the 20 March to the 10 April 1752 6 List of Officers & Servants taken the 12 April Do 7 Duplicate List of the Packet ℔ Ship Essex 8 Second Receipt for the Packet ℔ Ship True Briton 9 First Receipt for Do ℔ Ship Essex 10 First Receipt for Do ℔ the Duke of Parma a French Ship 11 Duplicate Cash Acct from 24 to the 20 March 1752	Captain Ramsay reported that his ship sustained the damage in a gale of wind at sea, and that he was very well treated at Mauritius. He left it the 24th of February, and two French China ships there, bound for Port L'Orient. 50: This letter went by the Court's ship *St George*, which would soon be followed by the Court's ships *London*, *Kent* and *Anson*. The letter closed at St Helena on 12 April 1752, signed by Charles Hutchinson, David Hunter and John Clark. The list of the Court's packet sent from St Helena by the ship *St George* with the letter dated 12 April 1752 ran as follows. 1: The Council's general letter dated 12 April 1752 2: Duplicate of the Council's general letter dated 29 March 1752 3: Duplicate of the Council's general letter dated 4 April 1752 4: Duplicate consultations of the 23rd of March 1752 5: Consultations from 20 March to 10 April 1752 6: List of officers and servants taken 12 April 1752 7: Duplicate list of the packet by the ship Exeter 8: Second receipt for the packet by the ship True Briton 9: First receipt for the packet by the ship Essex 10: First receipt for the packet by the Duke of Parma, a French ship 11: Duplicate cash account from 24 to 29 March 1752
170	166	No 12 Duplicate Ship Essex Account 13 Ship St Georges Account 14 Account of the Cargo of Ship St George 15 Do of the Cargo of Ship London 16 Do of the Cargo of Ship Kent 17 Do of the Cargo of Ship Anson 18 List of Military Discharged 19 Four Original Invoices 20 Allegations relating to the Issues of Provisions & Necessarys Supplyed and the Manner of paying the Military 21 A Letter directed to the Honble the Court of Directors	12: Duplicate of the ship Essex's account 13: The ship St George's account 14: Account of the cargo of the ship St George 15: Account of the cargo of the ship London 16: Account of the cargo of the ship Kent 17: Account of the cargo of the ship Anson 18: List of military discharged 19: Four original invoices 20: Attestations relating to the issues of provisions and necessaries supplied and the manner of paying the military 21: A letter directed to the Court from David Hunter Esq

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		from David Hunter Esqr To the Honble &c Honble Sirs We wrote to you last by your Ship the St George Capt Robt Robinson that Sailed from hence on the 13 instant Lieutenant John Clark having desired leave to pay £161 into your Cash we have received it, & given him Bills of Exchange drawn on your Honours for that Sum dated the 13 instant & payable to himself (or Order) 90 days after Sight Capt John Ramsay having Applyed to Us for liberty, to lodge £417.10 into your Honours Cash here we have received it, & given him three Certificates for that Sum dated the 13 instant Since	The Council addressed the Court of Directors in a letter to India House. The Council's last letter to the Court had gone by the Court's ship *St George* under Captain Robert Robinson, which sailed from the island on the 13th of the month. Lieutenant John Clark, having asked leave to pay £161 0s 0d into the Court's cash, the Council received it and gave him bills of exchange drawn on the Court for that sum, dated the 13th of the month, payable to himself or order ninety days after sight. Captain John Ramsay, having asked leave to lodge £417 10s 0d in the Court's cash on the island, the Council received it and gave him three certificates for that sum, dated the 13th of the month. Since [...].
171	167	Since the Ship Kent was Mustered, we have discovered two Fellows Josr Johnson & Mich Duck to be Deserters from your Settlement of Bengall as your Honours will please to Observe by our Consultation of this day, we have taken them from that Ship & shall return them by the Exeter to the Factory they belonged to St Helena 16 Apl 1752 We are Honble Sirs Your most Obedt & most humb servts Signed Charles Hutchinson David Hunter John Clark List of the Honble Companys Packet from St Helena ℔ Ship Anson with the foregoing Letter dated the 16 April 1752 Viz No 1 Govr Councils Genl Lett Dated the 16 April 1752 2 Duplicate Govr Councils Genl Lett dated the 12 Apl Do 3 Do Consultations from the 29 March to the 10 Apl Do 4 Consultations from the 13 to the 16 April Do 5 List of Officers & Servants taken the 16 April Do 6 Duplicate List of the Packet ℔ Ship St George 7 Second Receipt for the Packet ℔ Ship York 8 Second Receipt for Do ℔ the Duke of Parma a French Ship 9 First Receipt for Do ℔ Ship St George 10 Duplicate Ship St Georges Account 11 Ship Ansons Account 12 Ship London Account 13 Ship Kents Account 14 Govr Letter to the Honble the Committee of Secrecy 15 List of one Soldier who takes his Passage on Ship London	Since the ship *Kent* was mustered, the Council had discovered two fellows, Joseph Johnson and Michael Quick, to be deserters from the Court's settlement of Bengal. As the Court would note by the Council's consultation of their examination, it had taken them from that ship, and would return them by the *Exeter* to the factory they belonged to. The letter closed at St Helena on 16 April 1752, signed by Charles Hutchinson, David Hunter and John Clark. The list of the Court's packet sent from St Helena by the ship *Anson* with the letter dated 16 April 1752 ran as follows. 1: The Council's general letter dated 16 April 1752 2: Duplicate of the Council's general letter dated 12 April 1752 3: Duplicate consultations from 29 March to 10 April 1752 4: Consultations from 13 to 16 April 1752 5: List of officers and servants taken 16 April 1752 6: Duplicate list of the packet by the ship St George 7: Second receipt for the packet by the ship Essex 8: Second receipt for the packet by the Duke of Parma, a French ship 9: First receipt for the packet by the ship St George 10: Duplicate of the ship St George's account 11: The ship Anson's account 12: The ship London's account 13: The ship Kent's account 14: The Governor's letter to the Committee of Secrecy 15: List of one soldier who takes his passage on the ship London
172	168	To the Honble &c Honble Sirs We wrote to you last by your Ship the Anson that sailed from hence on the 16 day of last Month with your Honours Ships the Suffolk & Kent On the 27 your Ship the Exeter sailed on her Voyage from hence to Bencoolen with David Hunter Esqr & his Family on board	The Council addressed the Court of Directors in a letter to India House. The Council's last letter to the Court had gone by the Court's ship *Anson*, which sailed from the island on the 16th of last month with the Court's ships *London* and *Kent*. On the 27th the Court's ship *Exeter* proceeded on her voyage from the island to Bencoolen, with the Court's Lieutenant Governor David Hunter Esq and his family on board.

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		On the 30 Arrived your Honours Ship the Suffolk Capt Gilbert Slater from China, the Capt informs us that he was in a very Violent Storm on the 25 of Jany in which he lost both his Main & Fore mast & that his Ship had Sustained some other Damages which Obliged him to put into the Cape to repair, where he arrived the 18 of March the Capt acquaints us that on the same day came in there the Edgcote Capt Peace, & the Draper Capt Baker from England, the Prince of Wales Capt Pecke arrived the 19, & the Protector Capt Cheyne the 29, & on the 8 April the Colchester Capt Manwarring, the Edgcote, Draper & Prince of Wales sailed from thence the 5, & the Protector the 10 of April, Capt Slater left the Cape the 11 of the same Month, & your Honours Ship the Colchester there the Capt further informs us, that while he lay in Table bay there came in two Danish Merchant Ships bound to China & a Danish Man of War, one of	On the 30th the Court's ship *Suffolk* under Captain Gilbert Slater arrived from China, but last from the Cape. He told the Council that he was in a very violent storm on the 25th of January, in which he lost both his main and foremasts, and that his ship had sustained some other damages which obliged him to put into the Cape to repair, where he arrived the 18th of March. The captain told the Council that on the same day there came in there the *Edgecote* under Captain Pearce and the *Draper* under Captain Slater from England, the *Prince of Wales* under Captain Peck arrived the 19th and the *Protector* under Captain Cheyne the 29th, and on the 8th of April the *Colchester* under Captain Manwarring. The *Edgecote*, *Draper* and *Prince of Wales* sailed from there the 3rd, and the *Protector* the 10th of April. Captain Slater left the Cape the 11th of the same month, and the Court's ship *Colchester* there. The captain further told the Council that while he lay in Table Bay there came in two Danish merchant ships bound for China, and a Danish man of war [...].
173	169	sixty & the other of forty Guns, bound to the Coast of Coromondel, likewise two french Ships, for China, & that it was reported by the French Gentlemen that they should have five Ships at Canton this Year Capt Slater also tells us that he found riding at the Cape nine Dutch Ships, & that six More arrived there before he left it, three of which from Europe, & one of them bound to China Thomas Thompson, Fras Sandys, & Rich Lee Esqrs having £235.15 of your Honours Money remaining in Dollars, Applyed to Us to receive it into your Cash here, which we have accordingly done, & have given them a Receipt for it dated the 1 instant Capt Gilbert Slater Applyed to us for liberty, to lodge £447 into your Honours Cash here, which we have likewise received, & have given him three Certificates for it dated also the 1 instant the Balance of Capt Slaters Account due to your Honours Amounting to £14.3.1½ is wrote off by Account Courant London, he not haveing paid it here St Helena 2 May 1752 We are Honble Sirs Your most Obedt & most humb servants Signed Charles Hutchinson John Clark	The Danish man of war was of forty guns, bound for the Coromandel coast. There likewise came in two French ships for China, and it was reported by the French gentlemen that they should have five ships at Canton this year. Captain Slater also told the Council that he found riding at the Cape nine Dutch ships, and that six more arrived there before he left it, three of which were from Europe, and one of them bound for China. Thomas Thompson, Thomas Sandys and Richard Sea Esq, having £235 15s 0d of the Court's money remaining in dollars, asked leave to pay it into the Court's cash on the island, which the Council accordingly did, and gave them a receipt for it, dated the 1st of the month. Captain Gilbert Slater asked leave to lodge £417 0s 0d in the Court's cash on the island, which the Council likewise received, and gave him three certificates for it, dated also the 1st of the month. The balance of Captain Slater's account due to the Court, amounting to £14 3s 7½d, was written off to account current in London, he not having paid it on the island. The letter closed at St Helena on 2 May 1752, signed by Charles Hutchinson and John Clark.
174	170	List of the Honble Company Packet from St Helena ℔ Ship Suffolk with the foregoing Letter dated the 2 May 1752 Viz No 1 Govr Councils General Letter dated the 2 May 1752 2 Duplicate Govr Councils Genl Letter dated the 16 Apl Do 3 Do Consultations from the 13 to the 16 April Do 4 Consultations from the 20 April to the 2 May Do 5 List of Officers & Servants taken the 2 May Do	The list of the Court's packet sent from St Helena by the ship *Suffolk* with the letter dated 2 May 1752 ran as follows. 1: The Council's general letter dated 2 May 1752 2: Duplicate of the Council's general letter dated 16 April 1752 3: Duplicate consultations from 13 to 16 April 1752 4: Consultations from 20 April to 1 May 1752 5: List of officers and servants taken 2 May 1752 6: Duplicate list of the packet by the ship Anson

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		6 Duplicate List of the Packet ℔ Ship Anson 7 Second Receipt for the Packet ℔ Ship St George 8 First Receipt for Do ℔ Ship Anson 9 Duplicate Ship Ansons Account 10 Do Ship London Account 11 Do Ship Kents Account 12 Ship Suttons Account 13 Cash Acct from the 29 to the 31 March 1752 14 Do for the Months of April Do 15 Do from the 1 to the 2 May Do 16 List of one Man on board the Ship Sutton who is to serve five Years as a Steward at Fort Marlborough being Discharged from the Garrison having serve the Honble Company his Contracted time here 17 Ship Suttons Account 18 Accounts of the Cargo of Ship Sutton	7: Second receipt for the packet by the ship St George 8: First receipt for the packet by the ship Anson 9: Duplicate of the ship Anson's account 10: Duplicate of the ship London's account 11: Duplicate of the ship Kent's account 12: The ship Suffolk's account 13: Cash account from 29 to 31 March 1752 14: Cash account for the month of April 1752 15: Cash account from 1 to 2 May 1752 16: List of one man on board the ship Suffolk who is to serve five years as a soldier at Fort Marlborough, being discharged from the garrison, having served the Court his contracted time on the island 17: The ship Suffolk's account 18: Account of the cargo of the ship Suffolk
175	171	To the Honble &c Honble Sirs Our last Advices to your Honours went by your Ship the Sutton Capt Slater that Sailed from hence, on the 2 instant On the 17 of this month arrived a French Ship called the Duke of Chartres from China, last from the Isle of Bourbon Capt De Kerglat by whom this goes to your Honours, Burthen 500 Tons carrig 20 Guns & 163 Crew including Passengers, Loaden with Tea & China Ware the Capt informs us that he left Bourbon the 15 March N.S. & that he spoke with a Dane Ship the 30 of April following, Outward bound, & that on the 4 May he saw two outward bound Ships, one under English & the other French Colours, in the Latitude of 33.45 South On the 18 arrived your Ship the Hardwicke Capt Samson from Bengall which place he sailed from the 17 of Febr & left your Ships the Duke of Dorset & Scarbrough there that were to be dispatched the latter end of the same Month, the Capt acquaints us that the Swallow Sloop of War went from Bengall for Fort St David about twelve days before he came from thence This Morning arrived your Ship the Shaftesbury Capt Wm Bockey who informs us that he left Bombay the 5 of December, and Anjengo the 7 Febr following, Captain Bockey acquaints us they heard by Advices sent to the chief &c at Tillicherry that the Presidency had resolved to Dispatch this Season the Prince Henry & Eastcourt that the Stretham arrived at Tillicherry the 4 Jany & they Wager	The Council addressed the Court of Directors in a letter to India House. The Council's last advices to the Court had gone by the Court's ship *Suffolk* under Captain Slater, which sailed from the island on the 2nd of the month. On the 17th of the month a French ship arrived called the *Duke of Chartres* from China, last from the Isle of Bourbon, under Captain De Roglat, by whom this letter went to the Court, of 500 tons burden, carrying 20 guns and 163 crew including passengers, laden with tea and chinaware. Her captain told the Council that he left Bourbon the 15th of March, old style, and that he spoke with a Danish ship the 30th of April following, outward bound, and that on the 4th of May he saw two outward-bound ships, one under English and the other French colours, in the latitude of 33 degrees 45 minutes south. On the 18th the Court's ship *Hardwicke* under Captain Samson arrived from Bengal, which place he sailed from the 17th of February, and left the Court's ships *Duke of Dorset* and *Scarborough* there, that were to be dispatched the latter end of the same month. The captain told the Council that the *Swallow* sloop of war went from Bengal for Fort St David about twelve days before he came from there. That morning the Court's ship *Shaftesbury* under Captain William Bockey arrived, who told the Council that he left Bombay the 3rd of December and Anjengo the 7th of February following. Captain Bockey reported that they heard by advices sent to the chief and Council at Tellicherry that the presidency had resolved to dispatch this season the *Prince Henry* and *Eastcourt*, and that the *Stretham* arrived at Tellicherry the 4th of January, and the [...].
176	172	Wager from Bengall the 21 of that Month, they were to Sail in a few days up the Coast, with the Commodore & Drake Sloop; the Capt further tells us that a Dane Ship was at Callicut, where she took in 300 Candys of Pepper, & when she Sailed left a gentleman to Endeavour Establishing a Factory at that Place, they got a considerable quantity of Pepper from the King of Travencore, for which they gave a very great Price	The *Wager* left Bengal the 21st of that month, and they were to sail in a few days up the coast, with the *Commodore* and *Drake* sloop. The captain further told the Council that a Danish ship was at Calicut, where she took in 300 candies of pepper, and when she sailed left a gentleman to try to establish a factory at that place. They got a considerable quantity of pepper from the King of Travancore, for which they gave a very great price.

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		St Helena 22 May 1752 We are Honble Sirs Your most Obedt & most humb servants Signed Charles Hutchinson John Clark To the Honble &c Honble Sirs Our last Letter went to your Honours by a French Ship, called the Duke of Chartres that Sailed from hence, on the 22 instant On the 24 arrived another French Ship called the East India Company from the Isle of Bourbon Capt Chantoiseau Burthen 600 Tons carrig 20 Guns & has on board 120 Persons including Passengers Loaden with Bengall Goods, bound to Port Loriant the Capt informs us that in the 18 Apl N.S. he saw a Ship standing for the Channel of Mozambique, & on the 10 of May following he discovered a Ship under Dutch Colours	The letter closed at St Helena on 22 May 1752, signed by Charles Hutchinson and John Clark. The Council addressed the Court of Directors in a letter to India House. The Council's last letter to the Court had gone by a French ship called the *Duke of Chartres*, which sailed from the island on the 22nd of the month. On the 24th another French ship arrived called the *East India Company* from the Isle of Bourbon under Captain Chantereau, of 600 tons burden, carrying 20 guns and having on board 120 persons including passengers, laden with Bengal goods and bound for Port L'Orient. Her captain told the Council that on the 15th of April, old style, he saw a ship standing for the Channel of Mozambique, and on the 10th of May following he saw a ship under Dutch colours [...]. **Interpretations** A candy was a weight of the Indian trade, used on the western coast for bulk goods such as pepper, amounting to several hundredweight, so that 300 candies marked a very substantial lading of the spice. The mention of the Danish ship taking in so large a quantity at Calicut, and of the great price paid to the King of Travancore, shows the competition among the European nations for the pepper of the Malabar coast, where Danes and others bid against the English for the crop of the local rulers. The Danish attempt to plant a factory at Calicut by leaving a gentleman behind marks the spread of rival European trading stations along the same Indian coasts the English worked. A factory was a fortified trading post where a company's agents resided to buy and store goods against the arrival of ships, and the leaving of a man to establish one shows the Danes seeking a permanent footing on the pepper coast. For the Council gathering such intelligence from passing ships, the news measured the pressure of competition on the trade the Company itself depended on, every nation reaching for the same sources of supply.
177	173	Colours, in the Latitude of 37 South, but did not speak to either We informed your Honours by your Ship Essex of the Desertion of one of your Slaves Named Jack Defence who we apprehend got on board the True Briton or Onslow, as he has never been heard of, or seen here since they sailed We thought proper to mention this again as he is a very usefull Man in assisting your Armourer, & therefore request that your will Order him to be returned to us, if he should arrive in England As there are now two Danish Ships of War in India that probably may touch here, in their return from thence, & as from the want of a Precedent, being at a loss to know whether your Honours would have us insist on their Saluting your Fort first as his Majestys Union Flag is hoisted there, we hope you will Signify your pleasure to us hereupon, and likeways Direct whether we should pay any or what Compliments to the Kings Ships, or Companys Governors of other Nations that may at any time hereafter come to this	The French captain saw the ship under Dutch colours in the latitude of 37 degrees south, but did not speak to either. The Council had told the Court by the Court's ship *Essex* of the desertion of one of the Court's slaves named Jack Defence, who it apprehended got on board the *True Briton* or *Onslow*, as he had never been heard of or seen on the island since they sailed. The Council thought it right to mention this again, as he was a very useful man in assisting the armourer, and therefore asked that the Court would order him to be returned to the island if he should arrive in England. As there were now two Danish men of war in India that might probably touch at the island on their return, the Council, for want of a precedent, was at a loss to know whether the Court would have it insist on their saluting the fort, as His Majesty's Union flag was hoisted there. It hoped the Court would tell it its pleasure upon this, and likewise direct whether it should pay any, or what, compliments to the King's ships or the Company's governors of other nations that might at any time come to the island. The thirty bushels of salt brought by the *Onslow* were not sufficient for the year's consumption, and no more than that quantity coming by the *Exeter*, the Council feared it would want some before it could have a supply. This put it upon asking the Court to order that all it had indented for this year, or should indent for hereafter, might be sent by the store ship, as it was always much wanted on the island. Having as yet received no paddy by any [...]. **Interpretations**

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		your Island the thirty Bushels of Salt which was brought by the Onslow, was not sufficient for the years Consumption, & no more than that Quantity coming by the Exeter, we fear we shall require some before we can have a supply, which puts us upon requesting of your Honours to Order that all we have indented for this year, or shall indent for in any for the time to come, may be sent by the Store ships, as it is always much wanted here We having as yet received no Paddy by any of your	The Council's uncertainty over saluting reveals a nice question of precedence and sovereignty at a fortified outpost flying the King's colours. With Danish men of war likely to call, and the Union flag hoisted over the fort, the Council did not know whether to require a foreign warship to salute, nor what courtesies to return to the ships or governors of other nations, and rather than risk giving offence or conceding too much it referred the whole matter to London for a rule. The exchange shows how the ceremonial of the sea, the firing of guns in salute and the honours paid between flags, carried real weight in an age of shifting alliances, so that a small island had to be told exactly how to bear itself toward the vessels of rival powers. The recurring shortage of salt points to the narrow margin of so basic a necessity at the island. Salt was needed to preserve the beef and pork on which the garrison and the ships depended, and the small quantities sent by the *Onslow* and *Exeter* fell short of a year's use, so the Council pressed that its whole indent come by the store ship rather than be split among chance vessels. The plea marks the difficulty of provisioning a remote place from a distance, where a staple that could not be got locally had to be shipped in full measure and in good time, since a failure of salt meant a failure to keep meat through the season.
178	174	your Ships from India, altho we indented for some, we are on this Account so short of that Grain for the support of your Stock, that we found it necessary to buy 8 Ton of Capt Anson, for which we paid him 5/ ℔ hundred Weight There being 43 Firelocks & 30 Carbins that are unfixed Locks, & may be made serviceable as the Armourer assures Us by haveing new ones, we believe it would be much Cheaper to your Honours for him to put them in order here, than to have them sent to England to be fitted up, A plate of each sort of Lock goes in the Packet, in a Paper marked No 24 which will shew the Size they are to be of, if you approve of sending the Locks We beg leave to recommend to your Honours that they may be double bridled, & not any of them to be stampt thus & on the inside of the Plate as that which we now send is, & a great many more that we have here, are they being the Mark that the Lock viewer at the Tower puts upon those he rejects a sussle for the Kings service There is likeways a Bayonet Scabbard which is the sort those we have Indented for may be of, as they are much the best & most lasting We transmit to you by this occasion the List of the Remains of your Stores to the 30 of April last with our Indent for what will be wanting for the service of the ensuing Year, which we hope your Honours will be pleased to supply us with Having occasion for Salt Petre to make the composition for	The Council had received no paddy by any of the Court's ships from India, and although it had indented for some, it was on this account so short of that grain for the support of the Court's stock that it found it necessary to buy 30 hundredweight of Captain Lawson, for which it paid him fivepence the hundredweight. There being 43 firelocks and 30 carbines that wanted new locks, and might be made serviceable, as the armourer assured the Council, by having new ones, it believed it would be much cheaper for the Court for him to put them in order on the island than to have them sent to England to be filled up. A plate of each sort of lock went in the packet, in a paper marked number 24, which would show the size they were to be of, if the Court approved of sending the locks. The Council recommended to the Court that they might be double-bridled, and any of them to be stamped thus on the inside of the plate, as that which the Council now sent, and a great many more than it had, showing the mark that the lock viewer at the Tower put upon those he passed for the King's service, and rejected a refuse. It likewise recommended a bayonet scabbard, which was the sort those the Council had indented for might be of, as they were much the best and most lasting. The Council transmitted by this conveyance the list of the remains of the Court's stores to the 30th of April last, with its indent for what would be wanting for the service of the coming year, which it hoped the Court would supply it with. Having occasion for saltpetre to make the composition for signal rockets and other uses, the Council had taken a bag weighing 156 pounds of the Court's cargo out of the ship *Hardwicke*, and given Captain Samson a receipt for it. The letter closed at St Helena on 30 May 1752, signed by Charles Hutchinson and John Clark. **Interpretations** The proposal to mend the firelocks and carbines on the island rather than ship them home shows the Council weighing the cost of local repair against the long haul to England. Rather than send 73 damaged weapons across the world to be fitted with new locks and returned, the armourer could refit them on the spot far more cheaply, so the Council asked only for

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		Signals Rockets & other uses, we have taken a bag weighing 156 of your Honours Cargo out of the Ship Hardwicke, & given Capt Samson a Receipt for it St Helena 30 May 1752 We are Honble Sirs Your most Obedt & most humb servants Charles Hutchinson John Clark	the locks themselves, sending patterns to show the size wanted. The care to specify that the locks be double-bridled and bear the Tower viewer's proof mark reveals the concern that even parts made good at the island match the standard of the King's service, the small stamp of the Tower armoury standing as the guarantee of a serviceable lock. A firelock was a musket fired by a flintlock mechanism, the standard infantry weapon, and a carbine a shorter, lighter firearm of the same kind. The lock was the firing mechanism, the part most liable to wear or failure, so that a weapon otherwise sound could be made serviceable again by the fitting of a new lock alone. The distinction between refitting the lock and replacing the whole arm marks the practical economy of maintaining a garrison's weapons at a distance, where a single worn part need not condemn the entire piece if the armourer had the means to renew it. Saltpetre was the essential ingredient of gunpowder, and the composition for signal rockets required it along with other materials. The taking of a bag from the *Hardwicke*'s cargo, against a receipt, shows the island drawing on the Company's homeward freight to meet its own immediate need, the saltpetre bound for England serving in part to supply the fort's powder for signals and other uses, the receipt keeping the Court's account straight for what was taken in transit.
179	175	List of the Honble Companys Packet from St Helena ℔ Ship Hardwicke, dated the 30 May 1752 Viz No 1 Govr Councils General Letter dated the 30 May 1752 2 Duplicate Govr Councils Genl Letter dated 22 May Do 3 Do Govr Councils General Letter dated the 2 May Do 4 Do Consultations from the 20 April to the 2 May Do 5 Consultations from the 4 to the 23 May Do 6 List of Officers & Servants taken the 30 May Do 7 Duplicate List of the Packet ℔ Ship Sutton 8 Second Receipt for the Packet ℔ Ship Anson 9 First Receipt for Do ℔ Ship Sutton 10 First Receipt for Do ℔ the Duke of Chartres a French Ship 11 Duplicate Ship Suttons Account 12 Do Ship Sutton Account 13 Do Cash Account from the 29 to the 31 March 1752 14 Do for the Month of April Do 15 Do from the 1 to the 2 May Do 16 Cash Acct from the 3 to the 30 May Do 17 Copy of the Bill of Loading ℔ Ship Hardwicke 18 Account of the Cargo of Ship Shaftesbury 19 Indent of Stores wanted at St Helena for the Year 1753 20 Do of Medicines & Drugs for the Year 1753 21 List of Remains of Stores taken from the 1 Octr 1751 to the 30 April 1752 22 List of Gunners & Samson Stores remaining the 30 April 1752 23 Ship Hardwicke Account 24 Paper containing two Plates of Gun Locks	The list of the Court's packet sent from St Helena by the ship *Hardwicke* with the foregoing letters, dated 30 May 1752, ran as follows. 1: The Council's general letter dated 30 May 1752 2: Duplicate of the Council's general letter dated 22 May 1752 3: Duplicate of the Council's general letter dated 2 May 1752 4: Duplicate consultations from 20 April to 1 May 1752 5: Consultations from 4 to 23 May 1752 6: List of officers and servants taken 30 May 1752 7: Duplicate list of the packet by the ship Suffolk 8: Second receipt for the packet by the ship Anson 9: First receipt for the packet by the ship Suffolk 10: First receipt for the packet by the Duke of Chartres, a French ship 11: Duplicate of the ship Suffolk's account 12: Duplicate of the ship Suffolk's account 13: Duplicate cash account from 29 to 31 March 1752 14: Duplicate cash account for the month of April 1752 15: Duplicate cash account from 1 to 2 May 1752 16: Cash account from 3 to 30 May 1752 17: Copy of the bill of lading of the ship Hardwicke 18: Account of the cargo of the ship Shaftesbury 19: Indent of stores wanted at St Helena for the year 1753 20: Indent of medicines and drugs for the year 1753 21: List of remains of stores taken from 1 October 1751 to 30 April 1752 22: List of gunner's and armourer's stores remaining 30 April 1752 23: The ship Hardwicke's account 24: Paper containing two plates of gun locks
180	176	To the Honble &c Honble Sirs 1 We wrote to you last by your Honours Ship the Hardwicke Capt John Samson that Sailed from hence on the 30 of May 2 On the 1 instant Sailed the French Ship East	The Council addressed the Court of Directors in a letter to India House. 1: The Council's last letter to the Court had gone by the Court's ship *Hardwicke* under Captain John Samson, which sailed from the island on the 30th of May.

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		India Company for Port Loriant 3 Persuant to your Orders we have made a strict Enquiry into the Allegations contained in the Remonstrance your Honours received the last Year from some of the Planters 4 In order to set the several Circumstances they complain of in their true Light, we shall lay before your Honours the real Fact, & make such Remarks upon them as may be necessary, to Assist you to form a true Judgement of the Whole 5 The Planters have asserted we find that the Market when first established, was intended for the Benefit of your Soldiers only, this we can assure your Honours is entirely false, for it was as much designed for the Advantage of your Officers Civil & Military, & the Artificers, & others in your Service, who then were, & now are, at a loss for fresh Meat, they were therefore thought, as we presume, they may be, to have a Right to be Supplyed from the Market 6 Among your Servants there are eight, that have Stocks & Plantations of their own, And as some of these, furnish more Beef to the Market, than many of the Planters do, & what they have taken at it, has never	2: On the 1st of the month the French ship *East India Company* sailed for Port L'Orient. 3: In keeping with the Court's orders the Council had made strict enquiry into the allegations contained in the representation it received last year from some of the planters. 4: To set the several circumstances they complained of in their true light, the Council would lay before the Court the real facts, and make such remarks upon them as might be necessary to help the Court to form a true judgement of the whole. 5: The planters had asserted, the Council found, that the market when first established was intended for the benefit of the Court's soldiers only. This the Council could assure the Court was entirely false, for it was as much designed for the advantage of the Court's officers, civil and military, and the artificers and others in the Court's service, who then were and now are at a loss for fresh meat. They were therefore thought, the Council presumed, to have a right to be supplied from the market. 6: Among the Court's servants there were eight that had stocks and plantations of their own, and some of these furnished more beef to the market than many of the planters did, and what they had taken at it was never [...]. **Interpretations** The dispute over whom the market was meant to serve reveals the competing interests that pulled at the island's supply of fresh meat. The planters claimed the market had been set up for the soldiers alone, a reading the Council flatly denied, insisting it was meant equally for the officers, artificers and other servants who had no cattle of their own and depended on it for meat. Behind the argument lay the planters' wish to sell their beef more freely and dearly, against the Council's duty to keep the market open and its prices down for the whole body of the Court's people, so that the question of the market's purpose was in truth a question of who controlled the price and flow of the island's beef. The detail that eight of the Court's own servants held stocks and plantations, some supplying more beef than the planters themselves, complicates the neat division between planter and servant on which the grievance rested. The line the planters drew, between themselves as producers and the servants as mere consumers, did not hold where Company servants were among the largest suppliers, and the Council's noting of it undercut the planters' claim to speak for the island's beef trade. The observation shows how the interests of the Company's establishment and the private planters overlapped rather than opposed, several men standing on both sides of the market at once.
181	177	never represented to Us as a Grievance, by those who signed the Memorial, until after they were, acquainted with the Paragraph relating to them which came, in your Honours Letter by the Onslow; we could not for the foregoing Reasons, suppose they thought it one 7 These Planters who have endeavoured to persuade your Honours of their great Zeal for the Support as they call it, of your Garrison, have very little cause we think, to assume any Merit to themselves on this account, As a proof of it, we have transmitted you an Abstract from the Clerk of the Markets Books, & from their Return's to us, of what Beef	What the Court's servants had taken at the market was never represented to the Council as a grievance by those who signed the memorial, until after they were told of the paragraph relating to them in the Court's letter by the *Onslow*. The Council could not, for the foregoing reasons, suppose the planters thought it one. 7: The planters who had tried to persuade the Court of their great zeal for the support, as they called it, of its garrison, had very little cause, the Council thought, to assume any merit to themselves on this account. As a proof of it the Council transmitted the Court an abstract from the clerk of the market's books, and from their returns to the Council, of what beef had been sent to the market and supplied by them to the Court's own and foreign ships from the 1st of January 1750 to the 9th of June 1752 inclusive. 8: From this it was evident that one third of the complainants had not furnished even an ounce of

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		has been sent to the Market, & Supplyed by them to your own & Foreign Ships, from the 1 of Jany 1750 to the 9 of June 1752 inclusive 8 From this it is evident, that one third of the Complainants have not furnished even an Ounce of Meat to the Market, & that the rest have killed only 23 Cattle for it, among them all, in upwards of seventeen Months although they disposed of 133 to the Ships, within these times And the two Mr Greentrees Sold a much greater Quantity of Beef to foreign ones at 6 ℔ pound than they have to your Honours Ships & the Market together 9 That the Planters have been debarred from selling as much fresh Provision to foreign Ships, & especially to those that arrive early, as their Commanders have required is very true, as such a Restraint we have found to be absolutely necessary when the Demands for those Ships have been large, & the Cattle upon the Island fewer in Number than usual, And was this precaution neglected to be taken in this Situation of things, it is more than probable	meat to the market, and that the rest had killed only 23 cattle for it among them all in upwards of seventeen months, although they disposed of 133 to the ships within those times. The two Mr Greentrees sold a much greater quantity of beef to foreign ones, at sixpence the pound, than they had to the Court's ships and the market together. 9: The planters had been debarred from selling as much fresh provisions to foreign ships, and especially to those that arrived early, as their commanders required, which was very true, as such a restraint the Council had found to be absolutely necessary when the demands for those ships had been large and the cattle on the island fewer in number than usual. Whether this precaution was neglected to be taken in this situation of things, it was more than probable [...]. **Interpretations** The Council's use of the market clerk's own books to test the planters' claims shows the running record turned against those who kept it at arm's length. The planters had boasted of their zeal in supplying the garrison, but the abstract of beef sent to the market against beef sold to the ships exposed the reverse, that a third had supplied no meat at all and the rest had killed far more cattle for the ships than for the market. The figures, 23 beasts to the market against 133 to the ships in seventeen months, gave the lie to the planters' professions in their own numbers, and mark how the Council answered a political claim not with counter-assertion but with the plain tally of what each man had actually sold and where. The Greentrees' preference for selling to foreign ships at sixpence the pound lays bare the true grievance behind the planters' memorial. The restraint the Council imposed, holding beef back from foreign vessels when cattle were scarce and the Court's own ships pressing, cut across the planters' most profitable trade, the sale of meat at a good price to the French, Dutch and Danish ships that shared the road. What the planters framed as a complaint about the market's purpose was at bottom a resistance to that restraint, and the Council's evidence showed them selling to foreigners the very beef they claimed the market denied to the garrison, the higher foreign price the real object of their combination.
182	178	probable that your Honours Ships would want the Refreshment for we are too well convinced that the penny ℔ pound which the foreign ones pay more, for their Beef, than they do would outweigh all other Considerations, with the selfish & mercenary part of the Planters whatever they may pretend to the contrary 10 Some time ago, a French Capt who lodged at Mr Thos Greentrees required 30 Cattle, 60 Sheep, near 20 Dozen of Fowls, many Turkeys, & some Hogs for his People, and as we looked upon this Demand to be unreasonable, & much too large, to be complyed with, we reduced it, to about half which was thought a mighty hardship, by Mr Greentree & several other 11 And were some of the Planters to be left at full liberty to supply the Foreigners as amply as their Interest, & consequently their inclination would prompt them to do, it is much to be feared that these Strangers would soon reap more Benefit from your Island than those who have the only just Right to expect to have all they can require, of what it produces	It was more than probable that the Court's ships would want the refreshment, for the Council was too well convinced that the penny a pound more the foreign ones paid for their beef, than the Court's own ships would, outweighed all other considerations with the selfish and mercenary part of the planters, whatever they might pretend to the contrary. 10: Some time ago a French captain who lodged at Mr Thomas Greentree's required 30 cattle, 60 sheep, near 20 dozen of fowls, many turkeys and some hogs for his people. As the Council looked upon this demand to be unreasonable and much too large to be complied with, it reduced it to about half, which was thought a mighty hardship by Mr Greentree and several others. 11: Were some of the planters to be left at full liberty to supply the foreigners as amply as their interest, and consequently their inclination, would prompt them to do, it was much to be feared that strangers would soon reap more benefit from the island than those who had the only just right to expect to have all they could require of what it produced. 12: It was not, the Council assured the Court, from the want of an opportunity to sell their beef, but the want of having one to sell it at the high prices, that was the real cause of the planters'

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		12 It is not we are sure, your Honours from the want of an Opportunity, to sell their Beef, but the want of having one to sell it at the high prices that is the real Cause of their Complaints, because the Market, they very well know, as they have been often told it, would to be all they send thither, But they are particularly careful to supply that in a very sparing & scanty manner, for they allow only one Beast a Week to it, & this is generally the least & often the worst they have, in every other Respect, For these they appoint	complaints. Because the market, they very well knew, as they had often tried it, would take all they sent to it, but they were particularly careful to supply that in a very sparing and scanty manner, for they allowed only one beast a week to it, and that was generally the least, and often the worst, they had. In every other respect [...]. **Interpretations** The French captain's demand at Greentree's lodging shows the scale of the foreign trade the planters wished to keep open, and why the Council held it in check. A single ship wanting 30 cattle, 60 sheep, twenty dozen fowls and more at once would have stripped the island of provisions the Court's own ships needed, so the Council cut the demand in half, a reduction the planters resented as a hardship. The episode lays bare the tension at the heart of the beef dispute, the planters standing to profit greatly by such large foreign sales while the Council had to guard the island's limited stock against being carried off to feed the ships of other nations. The Council's charge that the planters starved the market deliberately reveals the mechanism of their combination. They knew the market would take all they sent, yet allowed it only one beast a week, and that the poorest, holding back their good cattle for the higher foreign price, so that the market's apparent failure was contrived rather than real. The distinction the Council drew, between wanting an opportunity to sell and wanting to sell dear, cuts to the root of the matter, exposing the planters' complaint as a demand for higher prices dressed as a grievance about access, and showing how the island's whole beef supply turned on the gap between what the Court's ships would pay and what a foreign captain would.
183	179	appoint, for this use, having upon an Average made, or all they have supplyed in the Year been found not to exceed 220 Weight each, And after the Sick in the Hospital, which sometimes are many, are served with four days permission, at a pound each day for every one, there will remain so small a Quantity for your Officers, & other Servants, that some of them must go without any, these therefore, as well as your Military must be contented with Pork, if they would have fresh Meat, & was it left to the Choice of the Soldiers, as the Clerk of the Market informs us, they would rather have the Salt Provision from your Stores 13 As for Mutton it is so seldom any is brought to the Market, that it is scarce worth the mentioning: and of the little which has been sent, more than a fourth of it, was from three of your own Servants, & all that went from the Complainants was much short of this 14 What is affirmed by them of its being engrossed by particular Persons, amounts only to its having been Sold to some of your Officers & Servants at the Market, for it was disposed of there, in that, & no other manner, they ought therefore to be ashamed, of their unjust Charge, if they can be ashamed of any thing, as likeways of their asserting	The one beast a week the planters allotted for that use had, upon an average, made no more than they had supplied in the year, being found not to exceed 220 pounds each. After the sick in the hospital, who were sometimes many, were served with four days' permission at a pound each day for every one, there would remain so small a quantity for the Court's officers and other servants that some of them must go without any. These therefore, as well as the Court's military, must be content with pork if they would have fresh meat, and it was left to the choice of the soldiers, as the clerk of the market told the Council, that they would rather have the salt provisions from the Court's stores. 13: As for mutton, so seldom any was brought to the market that it was scarce worth the mentioning, and of the little which had been sent, more than a fourth of it was from three of the Court's own servants, and all that went from the complainants was much short of theirs. 14: What was affirmed by the planters, of the beef being engrossed by particular persons, amounted only to its having been sold to some of the Court's officers and servants at the market, for it was disposed of there in that and no other manner. They ought therefore to be ashamed of their unjust charge, if they could be ashamed of anything, and likewise of their asserting that the trade was engrossed, and more especially those of them who had so large a share in providing the foreign ships, when they must be conscious to themselves at the same time that everyone on the island was left at full and free liberty to sell to, and buy from, whom they pleased, as the captains of the Court's ships and others who had anything to dispose of could tell the Court. **Interpretations** The turning of the planters' own charge of engrossing back upon themselves shows the

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		that the Trade is engrossed, and more especially those of them who had so large a share, in providing the foreign Ships, when they must be conscious to themselves, at the same time that every one upon your Island is left at full & free liberty to sell to, & buy from whom they please, as the Captains of your Honours Ships, & others who have had any thing to dispose of here, can inform you	Council's command of the argument. The planters had accused unnamed persons of cornering the beef, but the Council answered that the only engrossing was the ordinary sale of meat to the Court's officers and servants at the open market, while the planters themselves, who had complained, were the ones supplying the foreign ships in bulk. The retort exposed the emptiness of the accusation, since everyone on the island bought and sold freely, and the charge of monopoly came from the very men most engaged in the profitable foreign trade they wished to protect, the captains of the Court's ships standing as witnesses to the open dealing. The soldiers' preference for salt provisions from the stores over the market's poor beef reveals how thin the supply of good fresh meat had grown. With one lean beast a week going first to the hospital sick, little was left for the officers and servants, so that the men chose the Company's salted meat rather than depend on what the market offered, and the fresh beef the planters withheld drove the garrison back onto preserved stores. The detail marks the practical failure of the market the planters had contrived, the island's own defenders eating salt pork from the Court's stores while the planters held their cattle for a better price from passing foreigners.
184	180	15 We cannot here omit to observe to your Honours that if your Commanders, are in want of Poultry, many of the Planters who have any, will not part with a Dozen of Fowls, except they buy a Beast of them, & this they must take away, which is much to their Disadvantage, these Conditions unreasonable as they are, some of them are however, obliged to submit to, their Necessitys compelling them to do it, as Capt Samson Capt Bockey, & some others we believe, can attest, to your Honours, from their own experience of these Impositions 16 The necessarys of all sort which the Planters have occasion to purchase out of your Honours Stores, come much Cheaper to them now than ever they did as likewise Arrack, Candy, & c they at any time, buy out of your Ships, & should they pay a little more, for the few things they have from your Store Ships, this difference, is fully made up to them by the encrease of price they have on their Beef which formerly was but 3 & is now at N.S. & 6 ℔ pound, they have therefore No cause, to think themselves agrieved in this respect 17 The Complainants have also as little Reason for insinuating to your Honours that they are apprehensive they shall be obliged to throw up their Leases upon your discontinuing of your late Indulgence to them in these Points as the not permitting them to raise the Beef they send to Market, to 6 ℔ pound, because Land, as well as its hold, as they have sold for much more lately than ever it did, & when either has been put up to Sale, there has hitherto been no want of Purchasers, from whence it is manifest we think, that what they have urged to your	15: The Council could not omit to observe to the Court that if its commanders were in want of poultry, many of the planters who had any would not part with a dozen of fowls except they bought a beast of them, which the commanders must take along, much to their disadvantage. These conditions were unreasonable, as some of the planters were, however, obliged to submit to their necessity by compelling them to do it. Captain Samson, Captain Bockey and some others, the Council believed, could attest to the Court from their own experience of these impositions. 16: The necessaries of all sorts which the planters had occasion to purchase out of the Court's stores came much cheaper to them now than ever they did, as likewise arrack and candles, if they at any time bought any of the Court's ships. Should they pay a little more for the few things they had from the store ships, this difference was fully made up to them by the increase of price they had on their beef, which formerly was but fivepence and was now at sixpence the pound. They had therefore no cause to think themselves aggrieved in this respect. 17: The complainants had also as little reason for insinuating to the Court that they were apprehensive they should be obliged to throw up their leases upon the Court's discontinuing its late indulgence to them in their rents, or the not permitting them to raise the beef they sent to market to sixpence the pound. Because land, as well as leaseholds, they had sold for much more lately than ever it did, and when either had been put up to sale, there had hitherto been no want of purchasers, from whence it was manifest, the Council thought, that what they had urged to the Court [...]. **Interpretations** The planters' condition of forcing a beast on any commander who wanted only fowls shows the coercive edge of their command over the island's provisions. A ship's captain needing poultry could not buy a dozen fowls without taking a whole ox he did not want, an imposition the Council named plainly and offered the captains themselves as witnesses to. The practice reveals how the planters used their hold on scarce commodities to compel larger and dearer purchases, tying the sale of what was wanted to the sale of what was not, and the Council's citing of named commanders as proof

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		Honours	marks the same reliance on testimony against the planters that ran through the whole enquiry. The rebuttal of the planters' plea about rents and leases exposes the weakness of their claim to be hard pressed. They had hinted they might give up their leases if the Court withdrew its indulgence on rents or held the beef price down, but the Council answered that land and leaseholds had lately sold dearer than ever, with no want of buyers whenever any was offered. The plain fact of a rising land market gave the lie to the planters' pretence of distress, showing that men who could sell their holdings at a profit were in no danger of being forced off them, and that their appeal to the Court rested on complaint rather than on any real hardship in their circumstances.
185	181	Honours on these Heads is groundless 18 As we have already answered the several Articles in the Planters Remonstrance in as particular a manner as we can, & given your Honours our Opinion upon them, which we hope will be to your Satisfaction, we have only one Remark more to make to you, which is, that the Planters who Signed it are but little above a third of the Whole, that are upon your Island; & all of them except Seven much inferior in their Fortunes to most of those who did not Subscribe it 19 Your Honours by your last Letter were pleased to appoint Lieut Kendall to be Adjutant who is a very fit person for that Employment; But as you might not be thoroughly acquainted that this is a post which is not quite consistent with his other as first Lieut, & cannot be discharged as it ought to be, by any Officer that has other Dutys to do likewise, as not only the disciplining of your Soldiery, but their Dress & Regularity in manning, greatly greatly depend on his care & constant Inspection 20 For these Reasons & Lieut Kendalls being full as well Satisfied to resign as to keep the Adjutancy, we hope your Honours will be pleased to have some body appointed to it at the full Salary, & that may have no other Employment to interrupt him in, or interfere with his Duty in this 21 And if your Honours comply with this Request there cannot be a better qualified person for it we think, than one of the Officers that came by the last Store ship, & he was a Drill Sergeant in a Regiment of the Guards, & is perfectly master of every branch of the Business of an Adjutant; And as a farther Recommendation, he is a sober and	What the planters had urged to the Court on this head was groundless. 18: As the Council had already answered the several articles in the planters' representation as particularly as it could, and given the Court its opinion upon them, which it hoped would be to the Court's satisfaction, it had only one remark more to make, which was that the planters who signed it were but little above a third of the whole that were on the island, and all of them except seven much inferior in their fortunes to most of those who did not subscribe it. 19: The Court by its last letter had appointed Lieutenant Kendall to be adjutant, who was a very fit person for that employment. But as the Court might not be thoroughly aware that this was a post not quite consistent with his other as first lieutenant, and could not be discharged as it ought by any officer that had other duties to do likewise, since not only the discipline of the Court's soldiers but their dress and regularity in manning the works greatly depended on his care and constant inspection. 20: For these reasons, and Lieutenant Kendall being fully as well satisfied to resign as to keep the adjutancy, the Council hoped the Court would have somebody appointed to it at the full salary, who might have no other employment to interrupt him in or interfere with his duty in this. 21: If the Court complied with the Council's request, there could not be a better qualified person for it, it thought, than one of the officers that came by the last ship, who was a drill sergeant in a regiment of the Guards and was perfectly master of every branch of the business of an adjutant. As a further recommendation, he was a sober [...]. **Interpretations** The Council's closing observation on who signed the memorial undercuts the planters' claim to speak for the island. The signatories were barely a third of the planters, and all but seven of lesser fortune than those who held aloof, so that the representation came not from the body of the island's landholders but from a minority of the poorer sort. By setting the wealth and number of the signers against the substantial planters who did not join them, the Council reduced the memorial from the voice of the island's planters to the grievance of an interested few, the same distinction it had drawn throughout between the combination of a faction and the settled interest of the whole. The argument over the adjutancy reveals the Council's insight into how a garrison's efficiency depended on the undivided attention of a single officer. Kendall, though fit, held the post alongside his lieutenancy, and the Council pressed that the adjutant's work of discipline, dress and the manning of the works needed a man free of all other duty, one who could give it constant inspection. Rather than leave the office as an addition to another rank,

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			the Council urged a dedicated appointment at full salary, and named a drill sergeant of the Guards lately arrived as the ideal man, showing its concern that the practical soldiering of the island rest on professional competence rather than on an officer stretched across two charges.
186	182	Sober, & well behaved Man 22 The Vacancy as second Lieut your Honours will find no Difficulty to fill by a Gentleman from England but you may be at a loss to find one that is so proper for an Adjutant, as they are but Seldom to be met with 23 Mr Joshua Johnsons Debt to the late Govr Goodwin, of £55.17.2½ has been paid as have likeways all the Debts that were mentioned to your Honours as likely to be recovered, & of those, that were thought desperate one from John Hayes of £12.13.2¾ is also discharged, as there will be another from Roger Nevanson a Gunners Mate if he lives a year longer of £7.10.8¼ 24 And among those that we thought irrecoverable there has been £3.12 paid in part of Thos Allen's Debt which we got by an accidental discovery 25 In the 36 Paragraph of your Honours Letter ℔ the Suffolk, you directed us to Assist your late Govr Dunbars Attorneys in case they made any Application to us in behalf of the Children John Collins late a Sergant here; but Mr John Goodwin declined the Attorneyship, Mr John Dunbar went to England, & Robt Meacock, the remaining Attorney Died the 12 June 1750 26 Upon enquiring into the said Meacocks Affairs according to your Orders by your last Letter, we find them so Blended with Collins, that we thought proper to transmit all the Information we could get into them to your Honours, & there accordingly goes in the Packet a particular Account of each of their Effects & Meacocks Executors John Bland, & Mark Hawkins Account Courant with this Estate, with several Depositions	The drill sergeant was a sober and well-behaved man. 22: The vacancy as second lieutenant the Court would find no difficulty to fill by a gentleman from England, but it might be at a loss to find one so proper for an adjutant, as they were but seldom to be met with. 23: Mr Joshua Johnson's debt to the late Governor Goodwin, of £55 17s 2½d, had been paid, as had likewise all the debts that were mentioned to the Court as likely to be recovered. Of those that were thought desperate, one from John Hayes of £12 13s 2½d was also discharged, and there would be another from Roger Nevanson, a gunner's mate, if he lived a year longer, of £7 10s 8½d. 24: Among those that the Council thought irrecoverable, there had been £5 12s 0d paid in part of Thomas Allis's debt, which it got by an accidental discovery. 25: In the 36th paragraph of the Court's letter by the *Suffolk*, the Court directed the Council to assist its late Governor Dunbar's attorneys, in case they made any application to it on behalf of the children of John Collins, late a sergeant on the island. But Mr John Goodwin declined the attorneyship, Mr John Dunbar went to England, and Robert Meacock, the remaining attorney, died the 12th of June 1750. 26: On enquiring into Meacock's affairs, in keeping with the Court's orders by its last letter, the Council found them so muddled with Collins's that it thought it right to transmit all the information it could get into them to the Court. There accordingly went in the packet a particular account of each of their effects, and Meacock's executors John Blake and Mark Hawkins's account current with his estate, with several depositions [...]. **Interpretations** The recovery of part of Thomas Allis's debt by accidental discovery shows how much of the collection of dead or doubtful debts depended on chance rather than system. A sum written off as irrecoverable was partly got back only because something came to light unexpectedly, revealing assets or obligations the Council had not known of. The detail marks the difficulty of closing the accounts of the poor and the departed on a small island, where a debtor's true circumstances might surface by accident long after the debt was despaired of, and the Council took what it could when such discoveries fell in its way. The tangle of Meacock's affairs with those of the dead sergeant Collins illustrates how the estates of the island's people became knotted together over time. Meacock had acted as attorney for Collins's children, and his own death left the two sets of accounts so mixed that they could not readily be separated, obliging the Council to send home a full statement of both with the executors' account and sworn depositions. The episode shows the same slow untangling that ran through the recovery of Governor Goodwin's deficiency, the affairs of one dead man reaching into another's, so that settling a single estate meant unpicking the obligations it had become entwined with.
187	183	Depositions by people here, relating to the different Claims for your Honours perusal & Determination 27 We likewise send to you an Abstract, or Minutes	The depositions by people on the island related to the different claims, for the Court's perusal and determination.

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		of the several circumstances, in order to inform you the more ready how they stand 28 The Balance due from & paid by Meacocks Executors Amounting as ℔ their Accounts to £4/11/2 we have received into your Honours Cash, & wrote the same off to Account Courant London 29 And as the Will of Nicholas Cleather your late Steward, we find was proved in England, although the Witnesses to it are here, we thought it proper likewise, to receive the Money for his Effects &c Amounting to £100.5.1 into your Cash, & write it off also to Account Courant London, that your Honours might direct it to be paid to his Executor Wm Dorve, if such a Probat of his Will is sufficient to give him a title to it 30 There are now wanting 42 Men to compleat your Honours Garrison here, & we shall probably want several more before the Store ship arrives with Recruits 31 As the sending back any of your Soldiers that we may find to be Deserters from your Settlements in India is attended with some expence to your Honours, besides the risque of their getting away on their Passage, & after their Arrival to their respective Garrisons, we desire to know whether you would for the future have them returned, or serve the remainder of their time here 32 We have remaining in your Honours Stores between five & six hundred Gallons of Bombay & Goa Arrack, besides two	27: The Council likewise sent the Court an abstract, or minute, of the several encumbrances, to inform it the more readily how they stood. 28: The balance due from and paid by Meacock's executors, amounting as by their accounts to £54 11s 7½d, the Council had received into the Court's cash and written off to account current in London. 29: As the will of Nicholas Cleather, the Court's late steward, the Council found was proved in England, although the witnesses to it were on the island, it thought it right likewise to receive the money for his effects, amounting to £105 5s 1d, into the Court's cash and write it off also to account current in London, so that the Court might direct it to be paid to his executor William Down, if such a probate of his will was sufficient to give him a title to it. 30: There were now wanting 42 men to complete the Court's garrison on the island, and it would probably want several more before the store ship arrived with recruits. 31: As the sending back of any of the Court's soldiers that it might find to be deserters from its settlements in India was attended with some expense to the Court, besides the risk of their getting away on their passage, the Council desired to know whether the Court would, for the future, have them returned, or serve the remainder of their time on the island. 32: The Council had remaining in the Court's stores between five and six hundred gallons of Bombay and Goa arrack, besides [...]. **Interpretations** The Council's question about deserters returned from India raises a plain calculation of cost against principle. Sending a man caught at the island back to the settlement he had fled from carried both the charge of his passage and the risk of his escaping again on the way, so the Council asked whether it would not be better to keep such men and have them serve out their time on the island instead. The query shows the practical mind the Council brought to the movement of soldiers between the Company's stations, weighing the expense and uncertainty of returning a deserter against the simpler course of retaining his labour where he was caught, and leaving the choice of policy to the Court. The handling of Nicholas Cleather's estate turns on a nice point of legal title across two jurisdictions. His will had been proved in England, yet the witnesses to it were on the island, an awkwardness that left the Council uncertain whether the English probate gave his executor a good claim to the money for his effects. Rather than pay it out on its own judgement, the Council took the sum into the Court's cash and referred the question of title to London, showing the caution with which it treated the disposal of a dead man's estate when the proof of a will and the persons who could attest it lay on opposite sides of the world.
188	184	two hundred & seventy received by the Shaftesbury notwithstanding we discontinued our Indent for these two Years past for that sort of Liquor, on Account of its being extremely weak, & that at the rates your Honours have fixed the sale of Spirituous Liquors viz 7/ ℔ to your Servants, & 6 ℔ Gallon to others, which is so Dear, that we have great reason to apprehend, from the small demand there has been for it, for some time past, that we shall not be able to dispose of it, unless your Honours will be pleased	Besides 275 gallons received by the *Shaftesbury*, notwithstanding the Council had discontinued its indent for these two years past for that sort of liquor on account of its being extremely weak. At the rates the Court had fixed the sale of spirituous liquors, fivepence a gallon to the Court's servants and sixpence a gallon to others, which was so dear that the Council had great reason to apprehend, from the small demand there had been for it for some time past, that it would not be able to dispose of it, unless the Court would be pleased to order it to sell it at a lower price. 33: Captain William Bockey asked the Council for £100 0s 0d for the use of the ship *Shaftesbury*. The Council advanced him that sum out of the Court's cash, and took bills of exchange drawn on Charles

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		to Order us to sell it at a lower price 33 Capt Wm Bockey applyed to Us for £200 for the use of the Ship Shaftesbury, we have advanced him that Sum out of your Cash & taken Bills of Exchange drawn, on Charles Raymond Esqr Payable to your Honours (or Order) dated the 8 instant, the first Bill goes herewith 34 Your Honours Ship the Duke of Dorset is now in the Offing coming in & by the Capt Letter to the Govr he informs him that he left Bengall the 1 of March last, & the officer told him that the Scarborough Capt Bonham sailed from thence five days before they did, & that they have not seen any Ships on their Passage St Helena 9 June 1752 We are Honble Sirs Your most Obedt & most humb servants Signed Charles Hutchinson John Clark	Raymond Esq, payable to the Court or order, dated the 8th of the month, the first bill going herewith. 34: The Court's ship *Duke of Dorset* was now in the offing coming in, and by the captain's letter to the Governor he told him that he left Bengal the 1st of March last, and the officer told him that the *Scarborough* under Captain Bonham sailed from there five days before they did, and that they had not seen any ship on their passage. The letter closed at St Helena on 9 June 1752, signed by Charles Hutchinson and John Clark. **Interpretations** The difficulty over the weak arrack shows the island caught between the Court's fixed prices and the actual willingness of the inhabitants to buy. The Council had stopped ordering this poor liquor two years before, yet more kept arriving, and at the prices London set it sold so slowly that the Council feared it would be left on hand, and asked leave to sell it cheaper. The episode marks the same tension that ran through the affair of the Cape brandy, a supply the island could not readily move at the rate imposed from home, the Council pressing the Court to let local price follow local demand rather than sit with unsold stores that only spoiled with keeping. Goa arrack was the spirit distilled at the Portuguese settlement of Goa on the western coast of India, and Bombay arrack that of the Company's own presidency there, both reckoned weaker and less esteemed than the arrack of Batavia. The distinction the Council drew among these sources, and its dislike of the Goa and Bombay sorts as extremely weak, shows how particular the island's market was even in a rough spirit, the inhabitants and garrison preferring the stronger Batavia arrack and leaving the poorer kinds unsold, so that the origin of the liquor bore directly on whether it could be disposed of at all.
189	185	List of the Honble Companys Packet from St Helena ℔ Ship Shaftesbury with the foregoing Letter dated the 9 of June 1752 Viz No 1 Govr Councils General Letter dated the 9 of June 1752 2 Duplicate Govr Councils Genl Letter dated the 30 May Do 3 Do Consultations from the 4 to the 26 May Do 4 Consultations from the 17 to the 8 June Do 5 List of Officers & Servants taken the 9 June Do 6 Duplicate List of the Packet ℔ Ship Hardwicke 7 Second Receipt for the Packet ℔ Ship Suffolk 8 Second Receipt for Do ℔ the Duke of Chartres a french Ship 9 First Receipt for Do ℔ the Hardwicke 10 Duplicate Cash Acct from the 3 to the 30 May 1752 11 Cash Acct for the 31 May Do 12 Do from the 1 to the 9 June Do 13 Ship Shaftesburys Account 14 Duplicate Ship Hardwicke Account 15 Do Indent of Stores wanted at St Helena for the Year 1753 16 Do Indent of Medecines & Drugs for the Year 1753 17 Do List of Remains of Stores taken from the 1 October 1751 to the 30 April 1752 18 Duplicate List of Gunrs & Garrison Stores rem the 30 Apl 1752 19 List of Marriages &c 20 List of Cattle Killed by the Planters that Signed the Remonstrance 21 Papers relating to Meacocks & Collins's Affairs	The list of the Court's packet sent from St Helena by the ship *Shaftesbury* with the letter dated 9 June 1752 ran as follows. 1: The Council's general letter dated 9 June 1752 2: Duplicate of the Council's general letter dated 30 May 1752 3: Duplicate consultations from 4 to 26 May 1752 4: Consultations from 1 to 8 June 1752 5: List of officers and servants taken 9 June 1752 6: Duplicate list of the packet by the ship Hardwicke 7: Second receipt for the packet by the ship Suffolk 8: Second receipt for the packet by the Duke of Chartres, a French ship 9: First receipt for the packet by the ship Hardwicke 10: Duplicate cash account from 3 to 30 May 1752 11: Cash account for the 31st of May 1752 12: Cash account from 1 to 9 June 1752 13: The ship Shaftesbury's account 14: Duplicate of the ship Hardwicke's account 15: Duplicate indent of stores wanted at St Helena for the year 1753 16: Duplicate indent of medicines and drugs for the year 1753 17: Duplicate list of remains of stores taken from 1 October 1751 to 30 April 1752 18: Duplicate list of gunner's and armourer's stores remaining 30 April 1752 19: List of marriages and deaths 20: List of cattle killed by the planters that signed the representation 21: Papers relating to Meacock's and Collins's affairs 22: First bill of exchange drawn on Charles Raymond Esq

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		22 First Bill of Exchange, drawn on Charles Raymond Esqr	
190	186	To the Honble & cap Honble Sirs We wrote to you last by your Ship Shaftesbury Capt Wm Bovkey that sailed from hence on the 9 instant On the 11 of this Month arrive your Honours Ship Eastcourt Capt Art Evans who acquaint us that he left Anjengo the 27 of March, & that your Ship the Prince Henry was then expected to arrive there from Tellicherry to fill up & would certainly be Dispatched for England soon after him, he likewise informs us that he saw an outward bound Ship off the Cape under Dutch Colours On the 13 arrived your Ship the Warwick from Madrass which place Capt Webb tells us he sailed from the 2d of Feby & that he saw an outward bound Ship off the Cape under English Colours but did not speak with her Captain Webb having delivered us Wm Thomson one of your Soldiers that deserted from Madrass on board his Ship, we have detained him to serve your Honours the remainder of his time here This waits upon your Honours by your Ship the Duke of Dorset that will be soon followed by your Ship Warwick We are Jo Helena 18 June 1762 Honble Sirs Your most Obedt & most humble Servants signed Cha Hutchinson John Slack	The Council reported to the Court in London that its last letter had gone home in the Court's ship *Shaftesbury* under Captain William Bockey, which sailed from St Helena on 9 June 1752. On the eleventh of the month the Court's ship *Eastcourt* under Captain Arthur Evans arrived, and her commander reported that he had left Anjengo on 27 March. He added that the Court's ship *Prince Henry* was then expected there from Fillicherry to complete her lading, and would certainly be dispatched for England close behind him. Captain Evans further reported sighting an outward-bound ship off the Cape flying Dutch colours. On the thirteenth the Court's ship *Warwick* arrived from Madras. Her commander Captain Webb reported that he had sailed from that place on 25 February and had seen an outward-bound ship off the Cape under English colours, though he did not speak with her. Captain Webb delivered up one of the Court's soldiers, William Thompson, who had deserted from Madras aboard his ship. The Council detained him at St Helena to serve out the remainder of his time there. The letter went home in the Court's ship *Duke of Dorset*, which was to be closely followed by the Court's ship *Warwick*. It was signed at St Helena on 18 June 1752 by Charles Hutchinson and John Clark. **Interpretations** The detention of the deserter William Thompson shows how St Helena served as a filter on the homeward sea road. A soldier who had run from the Madras garrison and slipped aboard a passing ship could be taken off at the island and made to serve out his contracted time there, so that desertion at one settlement was turned to the manning of another. The island's position on the route home let the Council recover men who would otherwise have reached England and vanished, and its chronic shortage of soldiers, set out in the manning thread running through the letters of these years, made every recovered man worth keeping rather than forwarding. The reporting of outward-bound ships off the Cape under Dutch and English colours reflects the standing value the Council placed on shipping intelligence gathered from every hull that called. Each commander was questioned on what he had sighted and spoken with on his passage, and the sightings were forwarded to the Court, so that London might piece together the movements of its own scattered fleet and of the Dutch, French and other companies that shared the passage. A single ship seen in the distance and never hailed still went into the record.
191	187	List of the Honble Companys Packet from St Helena p Ship Duke of Dorset with the foregoing Letter dated the 18 June 1762 No 1 Govr Councils Genl Lettr dated the 18 June 1762 2 Duplicate Govr Councils Genl Lettr dated the 9 June Do 3 Do Consultations from the 1 to the 8 June Do 4 Consultation of the 13 June Do 5 List of Officers & Servants taken the 18 June Do 6 Duplicate List of the Packet p Ship Shaftesbury 7 Second Receipt for the Packet p Ship Hardwicke 8 First Receipt for Do p Ship Shaftesbury 9 Duplicate Cash Account for the 31 May 1762 10 Do from the 1 to the 9 June Do 11 Cash Acc from the 10 to the 13 June Do	The list of the packet the *Duke of Dorset* carried home with the letter of 18 June 1752 included the following. 1: Governor and Council's general letter dated 18 June 1752 2: Duplicate of the Governor and Council's general letter dated 9 June 1752 3: Duplicate consultations from the first to the eighth of June 1752 4: Consultation of 13 June 1752 5: List of officers and servants taken 18 June 1752 6: Duplicate list of the packet of the ship Shaftesbury 7: Second receipt for the packet of the ship Hardwicke 8: First receipt for the packet of the ship Shaftesbury

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		12 Duplicate Ship Shaftesbury Account 13 Ship Duke of Dorset Account 14 Do Eastcourt Account 15 Second Bills of Exchange drawn on Cha Raymond Esqr 16 Duplicate List of Cattle killed by the Planters that signed the Remonstrance 17 Acc of the Cargo of Ship Duke of Dorset 18 Do of the Cargo of Ship Eastcourt 19 Do of the Cargo of Ship Warwick	9: Duplicate cash account for 31 May 1752 10: Duplicate cash account from the first to the ninth of June 1752 11: Cash account from the tenth to the thirteenth of June 1752 12: Duplicate ship Shaftesbury account 13: Ship Duke of Dorset account 14: Ship Eastcourt account 15: Second bill of exchange drawn on Charles Raymond Esq 16: Duplicate list of cattle killed by the planters that signed the remonstrance 17: Account of the cargo of the ship Duke of Dorset 18: Account of the cargo of the ship Eastcourt 19: Account of the cargo of the ship Warwick
192	188	To the Honourable &c Honourable Sirs 1 In our last address to your Honours which went by your Ship the Duke of Dorset that sailed from hence on the 18th June we gave you a true State of several Circumstances that had been Misrepresented to you by the remonstrating Planters and Shewed to your worthiness by our remarks upon them that they have had no just cause to trouble your Honours with any Complaints 2 That you may be further convinced of their great Unreasonableness in taking such a Step and how ready and forward one of them in Particular has been to Sow the Seeds of Dissention and to Spirit up others to joyn wth him in the Same detestable Practice the two following instances we believe will clearly Demonstrate 3 The first of these Instances the inclosed will evince, by Making it appears to your Honours at one View how inconsiderable the Difference is between their receiving 4 or 5 pence p ft for the whole Quantity of Beef each of them finds Annually to the Market, to him who supply's the most it amounts to no more than 52 Shillings and to the greatest part of them it does not exceed 20s in a Year 4 Besides upon the first establishing the Market the Price was fixed by the Planters themselves and is even now agreed to by the Majority of them as your Honours plainly See by their not having Signed the Remonstrance	1: The Council's last letter to the Court went home in the Court's ship *Duke of Dorset*, which sailed from St Helena on 18 June 1752. In it the Council gave a true account of several matters that the planters behind the remonstrance had misrepresented, and by its comments on those matters showed that the planters had no just cause to trouble the Court with their complaints. 2: To convince the Court further of how unreasonable the planters had been in taking such a step, and how ready one of them in particular had been to sow discord and to stir others up to join him in the same practice, the Council set down the two instances that followed, which it believed would demonstrate the point plainly. 3: The first instance was shown in an enclosure. From this the Council held that a single glance would show the Court how small the difference was between the planters who supplied most and least. A man who sold the whole yearly quantity of his beef to the market received no more than five shillings, and for the greater part of them the sum did not exceed 20d in a year. 4: When the market was first set up, the price had been fixed by the planters themselves, and even now the majority of them agreed to it, as the Court could plainly see from the greater part of them not having signed the remonstrance. **Interpretations** The figures the Council placed before the Court were the pivot of its whole answer to the remonstrance. By showing that the most active supplier drew only five shillings a year from the market and most drew a mere 20d, the Council meant to prove that the planters could not be suffering under the market price as they claimed, since almost none of them sold enough meat to the market for the price to matter to them. The point rested on the enclosed account of what each planter had actually killed for the market, the same tally set out in the beef combination enquiry recorded on 9 June 1752, where the Council answered the planters by the record of their own sales rather than by argument. The contrast the Council drew was between the trifling sums the market yielded each man and the far larger trade in cattle sold to the calling ships and to foreign vessels at a higher price, which the planters were accused of protecting by starving the market. The Council's stress on the small number of signatures did similar work. By noting that the greater part of the planters had not signed the remonstrance, and that the price had first been fixed by the planters themselves and was still accepted by most, the Council sought to strip the complaint of any claim to speak for the body of planters, reducing it to the work of a faction led by one man. This turned a petition framed as a collective grievance into evidence of a single troublemaker spiriting up a

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			minority, and let the Council treat the remonstrance as a disciplinary matter rather than a genuine representation of hardship.
193	189	5 Did it not appear under their Hands it is scarce to be Imagined that any party of Men that are Members of a Community could be so void of thought as to disturb the Peace and Tranquility of that Community for so Trifling a Consideration as a few Shillings in a Twelvemonth was their claim to them founded on the Strongest Right But when they have not the least pretence to the least part of them in any Respect their Crimes becomes almost as inexcusable as it is great 6 In support of our last Instance it will be proved to your Honours how dangerous and Pernicious one Man of this Selfish, Perverse and dissatisfied turn of Mind may be to a Community if he is permitted to go in without controul This is exemplified in Mr Thomas Greentree who immediately after the 12th Paragraph of your Honours Letter to us of the 8th of December 1749 by the Suffolk directing us to limit the Quantity of Beef to be taken by the Captains of your Ships that should Arrive before the 25th of March &c was read to the Planters whom we had assembled Mr Greentree with great warmth and Emotion said "Then we have lost our Liberties & so and Expression In this indecent Behaviour he was 7 repremanded by the Governour We were in hopes this would have had such an Influence on his Conduct for the future as to have restrained him from taking any Measures that might give the least Room to Conclude that these Words came from his Heart But we have since discovered from his Actions that there is too good Reason to believe they did, and that he was the Projector and Mover of the Remonstrance, and has, with two or three Others, been the Means of inveigling most of the rest to Sign it Which some of them we hear did inadvertently, and are sorry for it And when he tried to perswade Mr Isaac Wrangham	5: Had the matter not appeared under the planters' own hands, the Council could scarcely have imagined that men who belonged to a community would disturb its peace and quiet over so small a thing as a few shillings in a twelvemonth, even had their claim been founded on an undoubted right. Since they had not the least pretence to any part of that claim, the Council held that their offence was almost as inexcusable as it was great. 6: In support of its second instance, the Council undertook to prove to the Court how dangerous and harmful one man of a selfish, perverse and discontented turn of mind could be to a community if allowed to go on unchecked. This was shown in the case of Thomas Greentree. Immediately after the twelfth paragraph of the Court's letter of 8 December 1749, carried by the *Suffolk*, which directed the Council to limit the quantity of beef the commanders of the Court's arriving ships might take before 25 March, was read to the assembled planters, Greentree said with great heat and emotion that they had then lost their liberties. 7: For this improper behaviour and expression Greentree was reprimanded by Governor Hutchinson. The Council had hoped the reprimand would so influence his conduct in future as to restrain him from anything that might give the least ground to conclude the words came from his heart. It had since found from his actions too much reason to believe they did, and that he was the contriver and mover of the remonstrance, having with two or three others been the means of enticing most of the rest to sign it. Some of the signers, the Council heard, had signed without proper thought and were sorry for it. Greentree had then tried to persuade the secretary Francis Wrangham to join the others. **Interpretations** The Council's whole treatment of Thomas Greentree turned on separating the man from the body of planters. By naming him the contriver and mover of the remonstrance and casting the other signers as men he had enticed or who had signed without thinking, the Council reduced a collective petition to the work of one discontented individual, so that the grievance could be answered as a matter of discipline rather than met as a genuine representation. Greentree was the same planter whose large sales of beef to foreign ships at sixpence the pound the Council had already set before the Court in the beef combination enquiry of 9 June 1752, which gave the Council a motive to fix on him as the ringleader and to weigh his complaint against the market price against his own profitable foreign trade. Greentree's outburst that the planters had lost their liberties marks the constitutional nerve the Court's order had touched. The twelfth paragraph of the letter of 8 December 1749 directed the Council to cap the beef the arriving commanders might buy before 25 March, cutting into the planters' freedom to sell their cattle to the ships at the best price they could get, and Greentree's words framed a commercial restraint as an attack on the standing of the planters as free men. The Council's answer, a reprimand from the Governor rather than any formal charge, shows the island government managing such friction below the level of the courts, hoping the mark of authority would settle the man, and only reporting the affair to London when his continued activity in getting up the remonstrance persuaded the Council that the first words had been sincerely meant.

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			Speculations The Council reprimanded Greentree for his outburst rather than proceeding against him at the time, and only set the whole affair before the Court once the remonstrance had been got up. The obvious course, given that Greentree had spoken openly of lost liberties before the assembled planters, was to treat the words as the serious matter the Council plainly thought them and act on them at once. The Council instead chose to let a reprimand stand and to wait, hoping the man would be governed by it, and moved to report him only when his later actions in contriving the remonstrance convinced the Council that the sentiment was rooted and shared. The gap between the mild first response and the grave later reporting is visible in the record itself, and the reason the Council gives, its hope that the reprimand would restrain him and its wish not to conclude too readily that the words came from his heart, shows a deliberate choice to manage the man quietly first and escalate only when that failed.
194	190	to set his name to it the Elder, (who is the most considerable Planter upon your Island) he refused him with the Disdain he deserved To which Greentree replyed "If you wont Sign it we can do without you" So Obstinately bent was he to persecute his malicious Scheme at all Events 8 Was it not for this Man and the very small Number more which we have Just now named that are of the same discontented Temper who mislead some of your Inhabitants here by their Artifices, we are fully perswaded that all of them would be quite Satisfied For to do them justice they are in themselves a good sort of People 9 We Assure your Honours that no Encroachments have been or shall be made upon their Liberties or Priviliges and that we shall do every thing in our Power to make them perfectly easie We are Ho Helena June 24 1752 Honourable Sirs your most Humble Servants (Signed) Charles Hutchinson John Slack	When Thomas Greentree tried to persuade the secretary Francis Wrangham the elder, the most considerable planter on the island, to add his name to the remonstrance, Wrangham refused him with the disdain he deserved. Greentree replied that if Wrangham would not sign it they could do without him. The Council held that so obstinate a determination to press his malicious scheme showed the man's temper at all events. 8: The Council was fully persuaded that were it not for Greentree and the very few others of the same discontented turn, who had misled some of the inhabitants by their tricks, all the planters would be quite satisfied. To do them justice, the Council held, they were in themselves a good sort of people. 9: The Council assured the Court that no encroachments had been or would be made on the planters' liberties or privileges, and that it would do everything in its power to make them perfectly easy. The letter was signed at St Helena on 24 June 1752 by Charles Hutchinson and John Clark. **Interpretations** The Council's closing distinction between Greentree and the general body of planters completed the strategy that ran through the whole letter. By insisting that the inhabitants were in themselves a good sort of people, misled only by the tricks of one man and a few of his temper, the Council reassured the Court that the settlement was fundamentally loyal and that the remonstrance reflected no real discontent among the planters at large. This let the Council treat a signed collective petition as the work of a small faction rather than a grievance to be conceded, isolating Greentree, who had already been marked in the beef combination enquiry of 9 June 1752 as the largest seller of beef to foreign ships, as the single point of trouble. The final assurance that no encroachments had been or would be made on the planters' liberties addressed the constitutional charge at the heart of the affair. Greentree's cry that the planters had lost their liberties, raised when the Court's cap on the beef the ships might buy was read out, had framed a commercial restraint as an attack on the standing of free men, and the Council answered that framing directly by promising to preserve the planters' privileges while doing everything to keep them content. The exchange shows the island government managing a dispute over cattle prices as a question of allegiance and good order, the Council anxious to present itself to London as holding the settlement's loyalty secure against a lone agitator.

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195	191	List of the Honble Companys Packet p Ship Warwick with the foregoing Letter dated the 24th June 1752 Vizt No 1 Governour and Councils General Letter dated 24 June 1752 2 Duplicate Do dated 18 June Do 3 Duplicate Consultation of the 15th June Do 4 Consultation of the 22d June Do 5 List of Officers and Servants taken the 24th June Do 6 Duplicate List of the Packet p Ship Duke of Dorset Do 7 Second Receipt for the Packet p Ship Shaftesbury 8 First receipt for Do p Ship Duke of Dorset 9 Duplicate Cash Account from 10th to 18th June Do 10 Cash Account from 19th to the 24th June Do 13 Duplicate Ship Duke of Dorset acct Do 14 Do Ship East Courts Account Do To the Honble &ca Honourable Sirs 1 Our last Letter to you is sent by your Ship the Warwick which Sailed from hence on the 24th June 1752 2 Messrs Martin Harper and James Powell Attorneys for Mr James DuBois who was lately Surgeons Mate in your Honours Service here applied to us for liberty to pay 26 - n into your Honours Cash to remit to him, which is for part of his Effects here; and we being Sensable he is much in want of Money we therefore have received it and given them Bills of Exchange drawn on your Honours dated the 22d Instant for that Sum and payable	The list of the packet the *Warwick* carried home with the letter of 24 June 1752 included the following. 1: Governor and Council's general letter dated 24 June 1752 2: Duplicate of the general letter dated 18 June 1752 3: Duplicate consultation of 15 June 1752 4: Consultation of 22 June 1752 5: List of officers and servants taken 24 June 1752 6: Duplicate list of the packet of the ship Duke of Dorset 7: Second receipt for the packet of the ship Shaftesbury 8: First receipt for the packet of the ship Duke of Dorset 9: Duplicate cash account from the tenth to the thirteenth of June 1752 10: Cash account from the nineteenth to the twenty-fourth of June 1752 13: Duplicate ship Duke of Dorset account 14: Duplicate ship Eastcourt account 1: The Council's last letter to the Court went home in the Court's ship *Warwick*, which sailed from St Helena on 24 June 1752. 2: Martin Harper and James Powell, attorneys for James Du Bois, who had lately been surgeon's mate in the Court's service at St Helena, applied to the Council for leave to pay 26 [...] into the Court's cash to remit to him, which was for part of his effects on the island. Knowing him to be much in want of money, the Council received the sum and gave the attorneys bills of exchange drawn on the Court, dated the twenty-second of the month, for that amount and payable [...]. **Interpretations** The transaction shows the standing service the island performed as a channel for remitting money home. James Du Bois, a former surgeon's mate now absent, could recover part of the effects he had left at St Helena through his attorneys Martin Harper and James Powell, who paid the money into the Court's cash and took bills of exchange drawn on the Court in London in return. The same two men had already remitted £40 0s 0d to Du Bois by this means in 1751, and the device let a departed servant realise property left behind on a remote island without any coin passing across the sea, the Council taking the local money for its own use and the payee drawing on the Court at home. The mechanism ran throughout these years as the island acted as a private banker and clearing house for the funds of servants, commanders and inhabitants.
196	192	to themselves or Order Ninety Days After sight 3 We Acquainted your Honours in a former Letter that Mr James Stevenson who was Surgeons Mate here had quitted your Service; and took his Passage for Bencoolen upon your Ship Exeter As we have failed in our Endeavour to procure one out of your returning Ships we hope you will be pleased to send us by the Next Store ship a Skilful Person to succeed him For as we have only a Surgeon now upon your Island we shall be left without any Body that is capable of doing, or of directing, what is necessary to be done in the Many Disorders and Accidents that People are	The bills were payable to the attorneys or their order, ninety days after sight. 3: The Council had reported in an earlier letter that James Stevenson, who had been surgeon's mate at St Helena, had left the Court's service and taken his passage for Bencoolen aboard the Court's ship *Exeter*. Having failed to find a successor among the Court's returning ships, the Council asked the Court to send out a skilled man by the next store ship to replace him. With only one surgeon now on the island, the Council would be left with no one else able to do or to direct what the many disorders and accidents people were subject to required, should that surgeon die or be disabled by sickness. 4: The Council found that the civil branch of the Court's business took as much work as those employed in it could do by their closest application, that even so it was at times very difficult to carry on in a regular manner, and that it would be impossible if any one of the men in the several branches fell sick. For these reasons, and for the more orderly despatch of the Court's affairs, the Council judged

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		liable to here, if he should Die, or be rendered Incapable by Sickness to be of Use to us 4 Finding your Business in the civil Branch is as much as can be done by the Closest Application of those Employd in it, and that it is even with this at sometimes very difficult to carry it on in a Regular manner; and it wont be impossible to do it, if any one of the Persons in the several Branches should be Sick, We think, for these reasons, and for the more Ortain Dispatch of your Affairs here that it will require another Writer to assist wherever it may be found most Necessary And if you are pleased to approve of our having one we beg leave to recommend Mr Wm Wrangham to your Honours as he is perfectly well Qualified by understanding Book keeping and Merchants Accounts and is likewise a very Deserving young Man, in every other respect	that another writer was needed to assist wherever it might be found most necessary. If the Court approved of the appointment, the Council recommended Francis Wrangham for the place, as a man perfectly well qualified by his understanding of bookkeeping and merchants' accounts, and in every other respect a very deserving young man. **Interpretations** The Council's plea for a replacement surgeon exposes the fragility of a small remote establishment that depended on single individuals for essential functions. With the surgeon's mate James Stevenson gone to Bencoolen and no successor to be had from the calling ships, the whole medical provision of the island rested on one surgeon, so that a single death or illness would leave the settlement with no one able to treat or even to direct the treatment of the disorders and accidents the population faced. The Council could not simply hire a qualified man on the spot, since none was available on an island of that size and isolation, and had to ask the Court to send one out by the store ship, a request that would take many months to answer. This same makeshift filling of essential offices by whatever the returning ships could spare, and the reliance on London to supply trained men, ran through the manning difficulties of these years. The recommendation of Francis Wrangham for the additional writer's place shows how the island's civil administration recruited and advanced its own. Wrangham, already the secretary and marked in the previous letter for refusing to sign the planters' remonstrance, was put forward on the strength of his grasp of bookkeeping and merchants' accounts, the core skills the Company's clerical service required, and the Council's request for another writer reveals an office stretched so thin that the illness of any one man in its several branches would halt the regular despatch of business. The Council's practice of naming a specific local candidate and pressing his qualifications on the Court, rather than leaving the choice to London, was the means by which able men already on the island rose in the service.
197	193	5 We have some Ground to believe from what we have lately heard, that your Honours will receive by this conveyance Another Letter or Representation from some of the Planters Altho' we are Strangers to the Purport of it, we may however, safely Assure your Honours that if it is by way of Complaint, it is without any Just cause For we Challange any one of them to make it appear that they have been hindered to Buy or Sell in what manner they pleased 6 As for Mr Thomas Greentree who is the Spring whence all the Complaints have Sprued, in which there is so much Said, though falsely, of your Servants ingrossing Things, we know that this very Man has this Year bot between three and four Leagers of Arrack at 4 Shillings a Gallon and Sold great part of it again to Planters and others at 6 Shillings a Gallon and has also Truckd with	5: The Council had some reason to believe, from what it had lately heard, that the Court would receive by this conveyance another letter or representation from some of the planters. Though it knew nothing of the purport, the Council could safely assure the Court that if the paper was a complaint, it was without any just cause. The Council challenged any one of the planters to show that he had ever been hindered from buying or selling in whatever manner he pleased. 6: Thomas Greentree was the source from which all the complaints had flowed, and in which so much was falsely said about the Court's servants engrossing goods. The Council knew that this very man had this year bought between three and four leaguers of arrack at four shillings a gallon and sold much of it again to planters and others at six shillings a gallon. He had also traded away every beast he returned as killed for the market, except one that still remained, besides a cow and calf of his breeding stock. 7: Greentree and every other planter might likewise dispose of whatever cattle they had left on their hands at the market, once the shipping season was over, if they chose to. Several planters would rather keep their cattle and run the risk of their dying than send them to the market, and some had suffered losses through this obstinacy. Whether they had suffered deservedly, the Council left to the Court to determine.

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		every Beast he returned for Slaughter, except one that is yet remaining for the Market, besides a Cow and Calf of his Breeding Stock 7 He and every other Planter, might Likewise constantly dispose of, at the Market, what Cattle they had left upon their Hands, after the Shipping Season is over, if they inclined to do it, But Several rather chuse to keep them and run the Risque of their dying than send them thither And some have Suffered from this piece of Obstinacy Whether deservedly or not, rests with your Honours to determine 8 How ready Mr Greentree is to oppose any thing the ever so Just and to think himself Aggrieved in what does not fall in with his own interest	8: The Council set out how ready Greentree was to oppose anything, however just, and to think himself aggrieved by anything that did not fall in with his own interest. **Interpretations** The Council's account of Greentree's arrack dealing was placed before the Court to expose the hypocrisy at the root of his complaint. While Greentree led the charge that the Court's servants were engrossing goods and starving the planters of a fair trade, he had himself this year bought three or four leaguers of arrack at four shillings a gallon and resold much of it to other planters at six shillings, taking the very engrossing profit he accused the Company's men of taking. A leaguer was a large cask, the standard measure for arrack and other spirits in the eastern trade, holding roughly 150 gallons, so the quantity Greentree turned over was substantial and his markup of two shillings a gallon a clear private speculation. The charge fitted the pattern already reported in the beef combination enquiry of 9 June 1752, where Greentree was named as selling much beef to foreign ships at a higher price, and let the Council paint him not as an aggrieved planter but as a trader pursuing his own gain while dressing it up as a public grievance. The Council's point about the planters keeping their cattle rather than sending them to market went to the heart of the beef dispute. The market gave every planter an outlet for the cattle left on his hands once the ships had gone, yet several chose to hold their beasts and risk their dying rather than sell at the market price, preferring to wait for the higher price the calling and foreign ships would pay in season. Greentree's own conduct, having traded away nearly every beast he had returned as killed for the market, showed the same preference at work, the planters starving the market of meat to reserve their cattle for more profitable buyers. The Council laid the resulting losses at the planters' own door, inviting the Court to see their complaint of hardship as the consequence of their own obstinacy rather than of any restraint imposed on them.
198	194	or his own Partial and mistaken Sentiments, his Seditious Exclamations, against your Honours most equitable Orders which we mentioned in our last address to you, is a most convincing proof and will serve to explain him to you, much better and more fully than all we can Possibly say And he who could thus break out in such a manner and upon Such an Occasion, are act as he has done since, is of a Disposition it is apparent that is not to be Governed unless there is a proper Check put, it from time to time that may keep him within due Bounds, which we hope your Honours will direct us to do 9 Martin Harper with one or two more who are Associated with Mr Thomas Greentree and of the Same discontented Temper, are just as Base as he is, for Altho' wiser, they more reserved than to declare themselves so openly As to the Rest they have been Misled by these, and your Honours we imagine will find that some of them who signed the former Remonstrance have not set their Names to this last, being convinced	Greentree's seditious outcry against the Court's most equitable orders, mentioned in the Council's last letter and arising from his own partial and mistaken views, was the most convincing proof of his character, and would explain the man to the Court far better and more fully than the Council could otherwise do. A man who could break out in such a manner and on such an occasion, as Greentree had done since, was plainly of a disposition not to be governed unless a proper check were put on him from time to time to keep him within due bounds, which the Council hoped the Court would direct it to do. 9: Martin Harper, with one or two others associated with Thomas Greentree and of the same discontented temper, were just as ready as he was to make trouble, but more careful than to declare themselves so openly. The rest had been misled by these men. The Council imagined the Court would find that some of those who had signed the earlier remonstrance had not set their names to this later one, being convinced of the injustice of what they had done before. 10: The leaders of the faction had risen to such a height of arrogance since the Court indulged the planters with the liberty of trading as to insinuate that the Court's servants had not, and ought not to have, any right to trade, although that right was allowed to some of the servants by their contracts. 11: The Council believed it would save the Court a great deal of trouble if the Court were pleased to order that all representations whatever from the

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		of the injustice of what they then did 10 To such an excess of Arrogance are the Chiefs of this faction Arrived since your Honours indulged the Planters with the Liberty of Trading, as to insinuate, that the Gentlemen in your Service have not and ought not to have a Right to Trade, altho the right is allowed to some of them by their Covenants 11 We believe it would save your Honours a great deale of trouble, if you were pleased to order That all representations whatever from the Planters should for the future be laid before us in Writing, to be	planters should in future be laid before the Council in writing, to be transmitted [...]. **Interpretations** The Council's proposal that all planters' representations be put in writing and passed through the Council to London was an attempt to close the channel by which the planters had reached the Court directly. By requiring every complaint to be laid before the Council first, the island government would gain sight of each grievance, the chance to answer it in the same packet, and control over what reached the Directors, so that no petition could go home unmediated as the remonstrance had. The device would save the Court the trouble of weighing complaints it could not judge at such a distance, but it would also place the body the planters were complaining about in charge of forwarding their complaints, a concentration of power over the flow of information that ran through the Council's whole handling of the affair. The dispute over the servants' right to trade reveals the commercial tension beneath the quarrel. The Court had indulged the planters with the liberty of trading, yet the leaders of the faction now claimed that the Company's own servants had no right to trade at all, even though some servants held that right expressly by their contracts. The clash set the private trading interests of the planters against those of the salaried Company men on the island, each seeking to limit the other's dealing, and Greentree's arrack speculation and beef sales, already set before the Court, showed how much private profit turned on who might buy and sell. The Council's alignment with the servants against the planters' claim marks the fault line between the two trading groups that shared the small economy of the island. **Speculations** Faced with the planters' habit of writing directly to the Court, the Council asked London to order that all their representations pass through the Council in writing, rather than seeking to answer each complaint on its merits as it arose. The obvious course for a Council confident it had refuted the remonstrance was to let the planters write as they would and to meet each paper with the facts, as the Council had just done at length. The Council instead moved to route every future representation through its own hands before it could reach the Court, a choice visible in the request itself and justified on the ground that it would save the Court trouble. The path not taken was to leave the channel open and rely on rebuttal, and the Council's preference for controlling the flow of complaint rather than simply answering it shows a government seeking to shut off the planters' direct access to London under cover of administrative convenience.
199	195	transmitted to you in our Consultations, by which means we should have an opportunity to send you at the Same time any remarks we had to make upon them 12 Hearing that Several Cattle have died lately upon your Island for want of Food, we ordered an advertisement to be published on the third of this month requiring the Planters to send us a return of the Number they have lost since the 1st of January last 13 It appears that by the Several Accounts we received from them that 64 Beasts have already Perished by the Drought, and more must	The representations would be transmitted to the Court in the Council's consultations, by which means the Council would have the chance to send its own comments on them at the same time. 12: Hearing that several cattle had lately died on the island for want of food, the Council ordered an advertisement published on the third of the month requiring the planters to send in a return of the number they had lost since the first of January. 13: From the several accounts the Council received, it appeared that 64 beasts had already perished by the drought, and more must undoubtedly perish if the winter rains failed. Should that happen, the poorer sort of planters would suffer by it, and the Council thought there would then be some reason to allow 5d a pound for what beef was sent to the market. The Council trusted the Court would be pleased to leave it to the Council to act in the matter as the circumstances might require.

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		undoubtedly perish if the Winter Rains fail Should it so happen, as the poorer sort of Planters will then suffer by it there will be some Reason we think to allow 5d p ft for what Beef is sent to Market And your Honours we trust will be pleased to leave it to us, to act in the Matter as the Circumstances may require 14 As the Clerk of the Market and the Butcher receive 10d from the Planters for every 20s worth of Meat they sell for them, and have likewise the advantage of 1d in a pound upon all the prime Pieces of Beef they sell, under which Denomination are Included the greatest part of the Carcase, This at a Medium amounts to about 36 - - a year which is divided equally between them And if the Beef is raised to 5d p ft the price of the Choice pieces will then be 6 p ft which is a very high Rate for your Servants to pay, as they must do unless your Honours out of your Accustomed Generosity are pleased to bear the expence of the Clerk of the Market and the Butchers Salaries The whole might then be Sold by them at 5d p ft as they give for it	14: The clerk of the market and the butcher received 10d from the planters for every 20s worth of meat they sold for them, and had besides the advantage of a penny in a pound on all the prime pieces of beef they sold, under which description the greatest part of the carcass was included. This came at a medium to about 36 [...] a year, divided equally between them. If the price of beef were raised to 5d a pound, the price of the choice pieces would then be 6d a pound, a very high rate for the Court's servants to pay, as they must do unless the Court out of its accustomed generosity was pleased to bear the charge of the clerk of the market and the butcher's salaries. The whole might then be sold by them at 5d a pound, as they gave for it. **Interpretations** The proposal to allow 5d a pound for market beef only if the winter rains failed shows the Council managing a fixed price against the shifting fortunes of the season. The market price had been set low and held there, but a drought that had already killed 64 cattle threatened to fall hardest on the poorer planters, whose small stock left them least able to bear the loss, and the Council was prepared to raise the price to relieve them if the rains did not come. By asking the Court to leave the matter to its own judgement on the spot, the Council sought the discretion to respond to conditions London could not see across a voyage of months, treating the beef price not as a fixed rule but as a lever to be adjusted to the state of the harvest and the pasture. This turn on the price came directly out of the drought pressing on the island's cattle, the same scarcity that ran through the provisioning of the ships in these years. The account of how the clerk of the market and the butcher were paid exposes a hidden charge that any rise in the beef price would magnify. The two men took 10d on every 20s of meat they sold for the planters, a commission of one part in twenty-four, and on top of it a penny in the pound on all the prime pieces, which covered most of the carcass, so that their income rose automatically with the price of beef. Raising the market price to 5d would push the choice pieces to 6d a pound, a rate the Council thought too high for the Company's servants to pay, and the Council proposed that the Court instead meet the two men's salaries directly, so that the meat could be sold at cost without the penny-in-the-pound levy loaded on top. The passage reveals the layered charges built into even a small regulated market, and the Council's care to keep the servants' provisions cheap by stripping out a middleman's cut rather than letting it compound with every price change.
200	196	the Planters allowing them only a reasonable Quantity for cutting up and weighing in small Draughts We are Honourable Sirs St Helena Your most Obedt & most Humble Ser August 18th 1752 Signed Charles Hutchinson John Clark List of the Honourable Companys Packet p Ship Prince p the foregoing Lettr Henry dated the 18th August 1752 Vizt No 1 Governours & Councils General Letter dated the 18th August 1752 2 Duplicate Do dated the 24 June Do 3 Do Consultation of the 22d June Do 4 Consultations from the 29th June to the 6 August Do	The Council would allow the clerk of the market and the butcher only a reasonable quantity for cutting up the beef and weighing it out in small parcels. The letter was signed at St Helena on 18 August 1752 by Charles Hutchinson and John Clark. The list of the packet the *Prince Henry* carried home with the letter of 18 August 1752 included the following. 1: Governor and Council's general letter dated 18 August 1752 2: Duplicate of the general letter dated 24 June 1752 3: Consultation of 22 June 1752 4: Consultations from the twenty-ninth of June to the sixth of August 1752 5: List of officers and servants taken 18 August 1752 6: Duplicate list of the packet of the ship Warwick 7: Second receipt for the packet of the ship Duke of Dorset

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		5 List of Officers and Servants taken the 18th August Do 6 Duplicate List of the Packet p Ship Warwick 7 Second receipt for Packet p Ship Duke of Dorset 8 First receipt for Do p Ship Warwick Do 9 Duplicate Cash Accot from the 19th to the 24th June Do 10 Cash Acco from the 25th to the 30th June Do 11 Do from the Month of July Do 12 Do from the 1st to the 18 August Do 13 Duplicate Ship Warwicks Acco Do 14 Ship Prince Henry's Account Do 15 Duplicate List of the Number of Cattle that are killed in a Year by the p the Planters that Signed the Remonstrance 16 Do of one that Discharged from the Garison who takes his Passage on the Ship Prince Henry 18 Account of the Cargo of Ship Prince Henry	8: First receipt for the packet of the ship Warwick 9: Duplicate cash account from the nineteenth to the twenty-fourth of June 1752 10: Cash account from the twenty-fifth to the thirtieth of June 1752 11: Cash account for the month of July 1752 12: Cash account from the first to the eighteenth of August 1752 13: Duplicate ship Warwick account 14: Ship Prince Henry account 15: Duplicate list of the number of cattle that were killed in a year by the planters that signed the remonstrance 16: List of one man discharged from the garrison who takes his passage on the ship Prince Henry 18: Account of the cargo of the ship Prince Henry
201	197	To the Honble &ca Honourable Sirs 1 Our last advices to you, went by your Honours ship the Prince Henry that sailed from hence on the 18th of August 2 On the 6th Instant Arrived his Majesty's Sloop the Swallow, Captain Henry Speke, by whom this goes to your Honours, The Captain Informs us he left Davy Cotta the 27th July, at Night, and that all your outward bound Ships, were then Arrived on the Coast except the Oxford Captain Stevens, and the Bombay Castle Captain Bream; He likewise acquaints us that your Affairs in India have been carried on with great Success Against the French, they having been totally Defeated, on which occasion we beg leave to congratulate your Honours 3 We are Sorry to Acquaint you that there has been very little Rain here to do any Service, for near twelve Months, except what had fallen within Six Weeks past, the Quantity of Grass upon the Island, for this reason, is now much less than it was last year at this time, therefore if the Summer Rains do not set in soon after Christmass, we are Affraid that some Cattle will Die 4 We cannot send your Honours by this Occasion, a State of your Cash to a later date, than the 30th of September As the Rents for the Year past were not payable until Michaelmass day the 10th Instant, and the last Quarters Accounts before the 11th and therefore could not be so soon got ready for our Examination	1: The Council's last letter to the Court went home in the Court's ship *Prince Henry*, which sailed from St Helena on 18 August 1752. 2: On the fifth of the month His Majesty's sloop *Swallow* under Captain Henry Speke arrived, and the Council sent this letter home by her. The captain reported that he had left Fort St David on 27 July, and that all the Court's outward-bound ships had then arrived on the coast except the *Oxford* under Captain Stevens and the *Bombay Castle* under Captain Braund. He also reported that the Court's affairs in India had been carried on with great success against the French, who had been totally defeated, on which occasion the Council offered the Court its congratulations. 3: The Council reported with regret that very little rain had fallen on the island to do any service for near twelve months, except what had come within the last six weeks. The quantity of grass on the island was for this reason much less than it had been at the same time the year before, and the Council feared that if the summer rains did not set in soon after Christmas, some cattle would die. 4: The Council could not send the Court by this conveyance a statement of its cash to a later date than 30 September. The bills for the year past were not payable until Michaelmas day, the tenth of the month, and the last quarter's accounts not made up before the eleventh, and they could not therefore be got ready so soon for the Council's examination. **Interpretations** Captain Speke's report of the total defeat of the French in India marks the point at which the wider Anglo-French struggle for the Carnatic reached St Helena as passing news. The island learned of the fortunes of the Company's war on the Coromandel coast only as the King's ships and the Court's vessels called on their way home, so that a victory won months earlier and a world away arrived as intelligence to be forwarded to London along with the shipping reports. The mention of the outward-bound ships arrived on the coast, and of the two not yet come in, shows the same function at work, the island gathering from every calling hull the movements of the Company's scattered fleet and the state of its distant campaigns. The Council's inability to send its cash account beyond 30 September turned on the fixed rhythm of the Company's financial year. The bills fell due only at Michaelmas and the closing quarter's accounts could not be made up and examined before the season's ships must sail, so the timing of the accounting calendar, set in London, governed what the island could report by any given conveyance. This was the same constraint that shaped the whole of the island's book-keeping, the Council forever

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			reconciling the Court's demand for full and current accounts against the slow work of closing the books and the narrow windows the sailing of the ships allowed.
202	198	as to be sent to your Honours by this Occasion 5 Godfrey Boyard Soldier who had his discharge from the Garrison, granted him in Consultation of the 9th Instant takes his passage for England by this Occasion having Served the remainder of his Contracted time here, being one Year and an half, as we were acquainted by your Honours Deputy Governour and Council of Fort Marlborough who sent him hither St Helena We are October 29th 1752 Honourable Sirs Your most Obedt & most Hum Servts Signed Charles Hutchinson John Clark List of the Honourable Companys Packet from St Helena p the foregoing Letter p his Majesty's Sloop the Swallow dated the 29th October 1752 &ct No 1 Governour and Councils Genl Lettr dated the 29th October 1752 2 Duplicate Do dated the 18 August Do 3 Do Consultations from 29 June to the 17 August Do 4 Consultations from the 24 August to the 23d Octor Do 5 List of Officers & Servants taken the 29th Octor Do 6 Duplicate List of the Packet p Ship Prince Henry Do 7 Second Receipt for the Packet p Ship Warwick Do 8 First Rect for Do p Ship Prince Henry Do 9 Duplicate Cash Acco from the 25th to the 30 June Do 10 Do Cash Acco for the Month July Do 11 Do Cash Acco from the 1st to the 18 August Do	This account would be sent to the Court by this conveyance. 5: Godfrey Bogard, a soldier who had been granted his discharge from the garrison in the consultation of the ninth of the month, took his passage for England by this conveyance, having served the remainder of his contracted time on the island. That time had been one year and a half, as the Council had been informed by the Court's Deputy Governor and Council of Fort Marlborough, who had sent him to St Helena. The letter was signed at St Helena on 29 October 1752 by Charles Hutchinson and John Clark. The list of the packet His Majesty's sloop *Swallow* carried home with the letter of 29 October 1752 included the following. 1: Governor and Council's general letter dated 29 October 1752 2: Duplicate of the general letter dated 18 August 1752 3: Consultations from the twenty-ninth of June to the seventeenth of August 1752 4: Consultations from the twenty-fourth of August to the twenty-third of October 1752 5: List of officers and servants taken 26 October 1752 6: Duplicate list of the packet of the ship Prince Henry 7: Second receipt for the packet of the ship Warwick 8: First receipt for the packet of the ship Prince Henry 9: Duplicate cash account from the twenty-fifth to the thirtieth of June 1752 10: Cash account for the month of July 1752 11: Cash account from the first to the eighteenth of August 1752 **Interpretations** The case of the soldier Godfrey Bogard shows how the Company moved men between its scattered eastern settlements and how a contracted term of service followed the man from one station to another. Bogard had been sent to St Helena from Fort Marlborough, the Company's establishment on the west coast of Sumatra, to serve out the year and a half remaining on his engagement, and on completing it was discharged and given his passage home. The garrison at St Helena was manned in part by such transfers, men shifted from one part of the Company's world to another to complete their time, and the Deputy Governor and Council of Fort Marlborough had certified the length of service owed so that the island would know when his discharge fell due. This traffic in soldiers between Bencoolen, St Helena and England ran through the manning of the garrison in these years, the island forever short of men and dependent on drafts sent from elsewhere in the Company's service.
203	199	No 12 Cash Acco from the 19th to the 31th of August 1752 13 Do for the Month of December Do 14 Duplicate Ship Prince Henry's Account Do 15 List of one Man Discharged from the Garrison who takes his passage on his Majesty's Sloop Swallow 16 List of Families taken 10th of October 1752 17 Do of Rents taken Do Do 18 Do of the Honourable Companys Slaves taken to Octor Do To the Honourable &ca	12: Cash account from the nineteenth to the thirty-first of August 1752 13: Cash account for the month of December 1752 14: Duplicate ship Prince Henry account 15: List of one man discharged from the garrison who takes his passage on His Majesty's sloop Swallow 16: List of families taken 10 October 1752 17: List of rents taken 10 October 1752 18: List of the Court's slaves taken 10 October 1752

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		Honourable Sirs 1 We wrote to you last by his Majesty's Sloop the Swallow Captain Henry Speke that Sailed from hence the 29th October 2 On the 11th Instant Arrived Your Ship the Scarborough Captn Borham lately Deabourgne from Bengall which place he left the 29th of February, the Ship Springing a Leake on the 9th of May in the Latitude of 31 27 South and making 18 to 2 Inches Water in an Hour, the Captain thought proper to go to Mauritius to refit, which place he reached the 16th of June and Sailed from thence the 20th October The Captain Acquaints us that he Met with the Oxford Captn Thomas Stevens on the 10th of May 244 Leagues to the Eastward of Cape Lagullas who kept him Company 3 Days and then parted from him designing for St Augustine Bay He further informs us that while he lay at Mauritius three Ships Sailed from thence with 530 Soldiers for Pondichery	1: The Council's last letter to the Court went home in His Majesty's sloop *Swallow* under Captain Henry Speke, which sailed from St Helena on 29 October. 2: On the eleventh of the month the Court's ship *Scarborough* under Captain Bonham, late Delavergne, arrived from Bengal, which place he had left on 29 February. The ship had sprung a leak on 9 May in latitude 31 degrees 27 minutes south, making 18½ inches of water in an hour, and the captain thought it proper to go to Mauritius to refit. He reached that place on 15 June and sailed again on 20 October. He reported meeting the *Oxford* under Captain Thomas Stevens on the tenth of May, 244 leagues to the eastward of Cape Agulhas, who kept him company three days and then parted, meaning to make St Augustine's Bay. He further reported that while he lay at Mauritius three ships sailed from there with 530 soldiers for Pondicherry. **Interpretations** The *Scarborough*'s long diversion to Mauritius shows the French island serving as a repair station for a crippled English ship even as the two nations contested the trade of the East. Bonham's vessel sprang a serious leak far out in the southern ocean, making eighteen and a half inches of water an hour, and the nearest place to refit was Mauritius, a French possession, where the ship lay from June to October before she could resume her voyage. That an English East India ship could put in there and recover for four months points to the working truce that governed relations between the companies at sea, the ordinary courtesies of refreshment and repair holding between vessels whose nations were rivals and, on the Coromandel coast, at war. The same island had lately sheltered the Court's dismasted *Anson*, and its harbours made it a standing resort for ships in distress on the homeward passage. Bonham's report of three ships sailing from Mauritius with 530 soldiers for Pondicherry gave the Court fresh intelligence of the French war effort in India. The reinforcement of the French headquarters on the Coromandel coast bore directly on the struggle for the Carnatic that the previous letter had reported going the Company's way, and a homeward commander who had lain months in a French port was well placed to observe the troops and ships passing through it. St Helena gathered such military intelligence from every hull that called, and a report of enemy soldiers bound for the seat of the war was exactly the kind of news the island forwarded to London, the movements of the French fleet and army pieced together from the accounts of ships that had crossed their path.
204	200	3 Your Honour Surgeon Mr Samuel Falconer, is become so notoriously Addicted to the Vice of Drunkenness that we believe he is not to be reclaimed for Notwithstanding he was reprimanded for it, as you will please to Observe in our Consultation of the 4 Instant he has been almost constantly Drunk ever since, we therefore think it incumbent on us to represent this to your Honours that you may see our present Situation, which is such as we shall always be in while we have so great a Sot for our Surgeon on whose Assistance we cannot depend in the least respect 4 We are Sorry to acquaint you	3: The Court's surgeon Samuel Falconer had become so badly addicted to drink that the Council believed him past reclaiming. Though he had been reprimanded for it, as the Court would see in the consultation of the fourth of the month, he had since been almost constantly drunk. The Council thought it its duty to lay this before the Court, so that the Court might see the situation it was in, and would always be in while it had so great a need of a surgeon on whose help it could not depend in the least. 4: The Council reported with regret that 13 of the Court's slaves had escaped in one of the longboats on the night of the third of the month. The boat had been employed carrying lime, and its patron being sick, John Aslingstall, who had often served in that position and was well able to do it, had for some weeks past been trusted with the charge of the boat and had made several trips to Sandy Bay from the fort. He was strictly ordered to see that the boom, sails, rudder and other gear of the longboat were brought ashore in the evening, but he failed to do it,

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		that 15 of your Honours Best Slaves ran away with one of your Long Boats in the Night of the 3d of this Month that was employed in Carrying Lime, the Patron of the Boat being Sick, John Ustingstall, who had Often Served in that Station, as he is very Capable of it, had for some Weeks past been entrusted with the Care of them, and had made Several Trips to Sandy Bay from the Fort, He was Strickly Ordered to see that the Boom of the Long Boat, Sails, Rudder &c were brought on Shore in the Evening, but he failing to do it the Slaves belonging to her with some others took the Advantage of that his Neglect and put to Sea in her 5 It is with great pleasure that we inform you we had had some fine Rain since our last Advices to your Honours, which has raised the Grass in the Pastures so that there is now pretty good feed for the Cattle in Most of the inclosures We are St Helena Honourable Sirs Decr 19 1752 your most Obedt & most Hum Ser (Signed) Charles Hutchinson John Clark	and the slaves belonging to the boat, with some others, took advantage of his neglect and put to sea in her. 5: The Council reported with great pleasure that some fine rain had fallen since its last letter to the Court, which had raised the grass in the pastures, so that there was now pretty good feed for the cattle in most of the enclosures. The letter was signed at St Helena on 19 December 1752 by Charles Hutchinson and John Clark. **Interpretations** The escape of thirteen slaves in a Company longboat turned on the standing order to strip the boat of its gear each night, a precaution the Council plainly kept precisely to prevent such a flight. The rig, sails and rudder were to be carried ashore every evening so that no vessel lay ready for the taking, and the whole loss followed from one man's failure to obey that order, the slaves and others seizing the moment his neglect gave them and putting straight to sea. The episode reveals both the constant fear of slaves escaping by boat, which had already carried men and women off to French ships in these years, and the fragility of a control that depended on a single sick patron being replaced by a substitute who let the guard slip. The Council named the responsible man and set out his neglect exactly, fixing the blame on the lapse rather than treating the loss as unavoidable. The Council's repeated reporting of the rain and the state of the grass reflects how completely the island's worth to the Company rested on its power to feed the passing ships. The pastures fed the cattle, the cattle victualled the homeward fleet, and a drought that thinned the grass threatened the whole purpose of the settlement as a place of refreshment, so that the coming of rain and the recovery of feed in the enclosures was matter for a formal report home. The Council had warned in its recent letters that the cattle would die if the rains held off, and the news that good feed had returned to most of the enclosures answered that fear, the fortunes of the island's grass tracked from letter to letter as closely as the movements of the ships themselves. **Speculations** The Council chose to lay the surgeon Samuel Falconer's drunkenness formally before the Court rather than dismiss him and be done with it, though he was by its own account past reclaiming and could not be depended on in the least. The obvious course with an officer constantly drunk and useless was to remove him, yet the Council could not, because Falconer was the island's only surgeon and to turn him out would leave the settlement with no medical man at all, the same want the Council had pressed in asking London for a replacement for the departed surgeon's mate. It therefore kept the drunkard in place and reported him, seeking the Court's direction and a man sent out from home rather than creating a vacancy it had no means to fill on the spot. The gap between what the Council thought of Falconer and what it could do about him is visible in the passage itself, and the reason, the impossibility of replacing a sole surgeon on a remote island, shows the settlement forced to retain an officer it had already judged worthless.
205	201	List of the Honourable Companys Packet together with the foregoing Letter from St Helena p Ship Scarborough dated the 19th Day of December 1752 Vizt No 1 Governour and Councils General Letter dated 19th Decr 1752 2 Duplicate Do dated 29 Octr Do 3 Do Consultations from the 24th August to the 23 Octr Do	The list of the packet the *Scarborough* carried home with the letter of 19 December 1752 included the following. 1: Governor and Council's general letter dated 19 December 1752 2: Duplicate of the general letter dated 29 October 1752 3: Duplicate consultations from the twenty-fourth of August to the twenty-third of October 1752

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		4 Consultations from the 30th Octr to the 18th Decr Do 5 List of Officers and Servants taken the 19th Decr Do 6 Duplicate List of the Packet p his Majesty's Sloop Swallow 7 Second Receipt for the Packet p Ship Prince Henry Do 8 First rect for Do p his Majesty's Sloop Swallow 9 Duplicate Cash Account from 19th to the 31 August Do 10 Do Cash Acco for the Month of September Do 11 Cash Acco from the 1 to the 11th of October Do 12 Do from the 12 to the 30 Octor Do 13 Do for the Month of November Do 14 Do from the 1st to the 19 Decr Do 15 Duplicate list of Families taken the 10 Octor Do 16 Do List of Rents taken the 10 Octor Do 17 Do List of the Honourable Companys Slaves taken the 10th of October 1752 18 Account of the Cargo of Ship Scarborough Do 19 Ship Scarborough's Account Do	4: Consultations from the thirtieth of October to the eighteenth of December 1752 5: List of officers and servants taken 19 December 1752 6: Duplicate list of the packet of His Majesty's sloop Swallow 7: Second receipt for the packet of the ship Prince Henry 8: First receipt for the packet of His Majesty's sloop Swallow 9: Duplicate cash account from the nineteenth to the thirty-first of August 1752 10: Duplicate cash account for the month of September 1752 11: Cash account from the first to the eleventh of October 1752 12: Cash account from the twelfth to the thirtieth of October 1752 13: Cash account for the month of November 1752 14: Cash account from the first to the nineteenth of December 1752 15: Duplicate list of families taken 10 October 1752 16: Duplicate list of rents taken 10 October 1752 17: Duplicate list of the Court's slaves taken 10 October 1752 18: Account of the cargo of the ship Scarborough 19: Ship Scarborough account
206	202	To the Honble &ca Honble Sirs 1 Our last advices to you went by your Honours Ship the Scarborough that Sailed from hence on the 19th Decr 2 On the 28 of last Month Arrived your Honours Ship the Houghton Captain Rich Waffe from China the Captain informs us that he broke ground from Wampoe the 5th and took his departure from Ladrone the 18th of November Arrived at Princes Island the 1st of December and Sailed from thence the 22d Saw Cape Lagullas and Cape False the 13th and bore away for this Island the 14th of February The Captain further acquaints us that he left your Honours Ships the Edgecote Captn Pearse, Drake Captain Fisher Princess of Wales Captain Peck, Rhoda Captain Mr Camarra and the Prince George Captain Peddrell there, the two Latter being to sail about 20 Days after him as it was reported, he likewise tells us that besides your Honours Ships there were 5 French 6 Dutch 3 Dane 2 Sweed, 1 Prussian and 2 English Country Ships at China this Season 3 On the 3 Instant passed by a Ship under Dutch Colours and arrived a Dutch Ship from the Island of Ceylon, last from the Cape, called the Ghiessenburg Captain Cornelis Chin, Burther about a Thousand Tons carries 28 Guns and 150 Men Loaden with Cinnamon and Pepper bound to Amsterdam by which occasion this goes to your Honours	1: The Council's last letter to the Court went home in the Court's ship *Scarborough*, which sailed from St Helena on 19 December. 2: On the twenty-eighth of the previous month the Court's ship *Houghton* under Captain Richard Waffe arrived from China. The captain reported that he broke ground from Whampoa on the fifth and took his departure from the Ladrones on 18 November. He reached Prince's Island on the first of December and sailed from there on the twenty-second, sighted Cape Agulhas and Cape False on the thirteenth, and bore away for St Helena on the fourteenth of February. He further reported that he had left the Court's ships *Edgcote* under Captain Pearse, *Drake* under Captain Fisher, *Prince of Wales* under Captain Peck, *Rhoda* under Captain Lamarra and the *Prince George* under Captain Peddrell in China, the two last named being to sail about twenty days after him, as was reported. He also reported that besides the Court's ships there were at China this season five French, six Dutch, three Danish, two Swedish, one Prussian and two English country ships. 3: On the third of the month a ship under Dutch colours passed by, and a Dutch ship arrived from the island of Ceylon, last from the Cape. She was called the *Ghiessenburg* under Captain Cornelis Chin, of about 1,000 tons burthen, carrying 28 guns and 150 men, laden with cinnamon and pepper and bound for Amsterdam. The Council sent this letter home by her. **Interpretations** Captain Waffe's tally of the shipping at Canton set out the whole international competition for the China trade in a single season's count. Alongside the Court's own vessels there rode five French, six Dutch, three Danish, two Swedish, one Prussian and two English country ships, the great and small maritime nations of Europe all sending hulls to the one Chinese port open to their trade, together with private English ships working out of the Indian ports. St Helena, lying on the homeward track from Canton, gathered this intelligence from every China ship that called and forwarded it to London, so that the Directors might judge the strength of their rivals in the season's tea and the pressure their own ships would meet in the market. The list is a snapshot of

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			the crowded and contested commerce that made the China voyage the richest and most watched of the Company's trades. The despatch of the Council's letter home by the Dutch ship *Ghiessenburg* shows the practical co-operation that held between the European companies at the level of carrying mail, whatever their rivalry in trade. A homeward Dutch vessel bound for Amsterdam would pass within reach of England, and the Council entrusted its letter to her rather than wait for one of the Court's own ships, the ordinary courtesies of the sea road serving to speed the Company's correspondence by whatever hull was next bound for Europe. The island used every passing vessel, English, Dutch, Danish or French, as a post, so that news and accounts might reach London by the earliest conveyance, the letters often going home in the ships of nations the Company met as competitors at Canton and, on the Coromandel coast, as enemies in war.
207	203	4 Just now arrived your Ship the Hotham Captain Charles Mason from Bombay which place he Sailed from the 30th of November where Arrived in the 4 of Octor last your Honours Ships the Doddington Captn Hutchinson and Guardian Captain James and the Royal Duke Captain Cummings & the Pelham Captain Lindsay, were dayly expected there 5 Captain Mason informs us that all was then Quiet on the Malabar Coast, he put into the Cape the 1st of February and Sailed from thence the 15th and that your Honours Ship the Dragon Captain Kent came in there the 4th and the Swallow Captain Bill, the 12 of the Same Month 6 There was then in Table Bay a French Ship bound to Pondichery who had 500 European Soldiers on board We are St Helena Honble Sirs March 6th 1753 Your most Obedt & most humble Servants (Signed) Charles Hutchinson John Clark PS we hear that your Honours Ship the Hector Captain Kerwin was to Sail from Bombay the Beginning of January last	4: The Court's ship *Stretham* under Captain Charles Mason had just arrived from Bombay, which place he had sailed from on 30 November. When he arrived there on the fourth of October, the Court's ships *Doddington* under Captain Hutchinson and *Guardian* under Captain James, the *Royal Duke* under Captain Cummings and the *Pelham* under Captain Lindsay were daily expected there. 5: Captain Mason reported that all was then quiet on the Malabar coast. He put into the Cape on the first of February and sailed from there on the fifteenth. He added that the Court's ship *Dragon* under Captain Kent came in there on the fourth, and the *Swallow* under Captain Bell on the twelfth of the same month. 6: There was then in False Bay a French ship bound for Pondicherry, which had 500 European soldiers on board. The letter was signed at St Helena on 6 March 1753 by Charles Hutchinson and John Clark. In a postscript the Council reported that it had heard the Court's ship *Hester* under Captain Kerwin was to sail from Bombay at the beginning of January. **Interpretations** Captain Mason's report of a French ship in False Bay carrying 500 European soldiers to Pondicherry gave the Court its second recent warning of the reinforcement of the French war effort in India. A homeward English commander who had lain at the Cape observed the enemy troops passing through on their way to the seat of the war on the Coromandel coast, and the Council forwarded the number and destination to London along with the rest of its shipping intelligence. This came close upon the *Scarborough*'s report of three ships and 530 soldiers sailing from Mauritius for the same port, so that the Directors could see a sustained flow of French soldiers toward the Carnatic, the movements of the enemy's forces pieced together at St Helena from the accounts of ships that had crossed their track. The island's place on the homeward route made it the point at which such military intelligence, gathered piecemeal at the Cape and in the eastern seas, was collected and sent home. The reports of the several ships expected or arrived at Bombay and the Cape show St Helena functioning as the clearing house through which the scattered movements of the Company's fleet reached London. Captain Mason could name the ships daily expected at Bombay when he left, and those come in to the Cape in February, so that his single arrival at St Helena carried word of a dozen vessels at once, gathered along his passage and passed to the Council to forward. The Court depended on this constant relay of intelligence from calling commanders to

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			track a fleet spread across half the world, no ship able to report its own safe arrival home for many months, and the island the fixed point at which the news of the whole homeward-bound trade was gathered from every hull and sent on.
208	204	To the Honble &ca Honble Sirs 1 Our last advices to you went by a Dutch Ship called the Ghiessenburg that Sailed from hence on the 6 Instant 2 On the 12th of this Month Arrived a Dane Ship from China called the Crown Prince of Denmark Capt Paul Cogh Burthen about 1000 Tons carrys 26 Guns and 196 Men, Loaden with Tea, China Ware, and Silks, bound to Copenhagen 3 The Captain informs us that he left Macao the 12th of December & Sailed from Princess Island the 7th of January, with your Honours Ship the Prince George Capt Peddell, another Dane and two French Ships, and that two Days after he lost Sight of them 4 This Morning came off the Island a Dane Ship from Tranquebar last from the Cape called the Wilhelmina Carolina Capt Michael Ronne Burthen 800 Tons carrys 26 Guns & 150 Men Loaded with Cotten Pepper and Bales Bound to Copenhagen 5 The Officer who came on Shore to enquire after News acquaints us that he left the Cape the 25th of February from whence your Ship Dragon and Swallow Sailed the Day before, there was then as we were informed 5 Outward Bound French Ships in Table Bay with many Soldiers on board each of them, we likewise heard that thistred Dane Ships of	1: The Council's last letter to the Court went home in a Dutch ship called the *Ghiessenburg*, which sailed from St Helena on the sixth of the month. 2: On the twelfth of the month a Danish ship arrived from China called the *Crown Prince of Denmark* under Captain Paul Cogh, of about 1,000 tons burthen, carrying 26 guns and 196 men, laden with tea, chinaware and silk and bound for Copenhagen. 3: The captain reported that he left Macao on 12 December and sailed from Prince's Island on the seventh of January, in company with the Court's ship *Prince George* under Captain Peddrell, another Danish ship and two French ships, and that he lost sight of them two days after. 4: That morning a Danish ship came off the island from Tranquebar, last from the Cape, called the *Wilhelmina Carolina* under Captain Michael Ronne, of 800 tons burthen, carrying 26 guns and 150 men, laden with cotton, pepper and bales and bound for Copenhagen. 5: The officer who came on shore to enquire after news reported that he left the Cape on 25 February, from where the Court's ships *Dragon* and *Swallow* had sailed the day before. There were then, as the Council was informed, five outward-bound French ships in Table Bay with many soldiers on board each of them. The Council also heard that the three Danish ships [...]. **Interpretations** The two Danish ships calling within days of each other, one from Canton and one from Tranquebar, show the breadth of the northern European trade to the East that shared the sea road home past St Helena. The *Crown Prince of Denmark* carried the classic China lading of tea, chinaware and silk for Copenhagen, while the *Wilhelmina Carolina* came from the Danish settlement of Tranquebar on the Coromandel coast with cotton and pepper, so that the small kingdom of Denmark was working both the China and the India trades through its own company and its own eastern factory. The Council recorded the burthen, guns, men and cargo of each, the details it gathered from every foreign hull that called and forwarded to London, so that the Directors might measure the scale of the rival companies whose ships they met at Canton and on the passage. The Danish flag was a regular sight on the homeward track, and St Helena logged its ships as carefully as its own. The officer's report of five French ships in Table Bay laden with soldiers extended the run of intelligence on the French war effort that the island had been sending home through the winter. This was now the third such report in successive letters, following the 530 soldiers from Mauritius and the 500 in False Bay, and the accumulation gave the Court a clear picture of a steady stream of French reinforcements gathering at the Cape and passing on toward India. St Helena drew this intelligence from the officers of calling ships who came ashore to enquire after news and exchange it, the movements of the enemy's forces at the Cape observed and relayed by every homeward commander, and the island the point at which the separate sightings were gathered and forwarded to London as a single continuing account of the French buildup in the eastern seas.

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209	205	War, which were at Tranquebar, were gone to Achin and would not return this Year to Europe 6 We have bought of Captain Richard Walpole 3 pun of Beef containing 240 Pieces at 2s p Piece on Account of your Honours 7 We received 924 Gallons of Brandy one Male, and two Female Apes by Capt Mason of the Hotham which he bought at the Cape for your Honours Acct 8 The Capt informs us that he drew Bills of Exchange on your Honours from thence for the Amount of what they Cost, we have not paid him for them 9 We Transmit to you by this Occasion your Honours General Books of Acct Ballanced to the 11th of Octor last 10 This waits on your Honours by your Honours Ship the Houghton that will be followed in a few Days by your Ship the Hotham We are St Helena Honble Sirs March the 15th 1753 Your Honours most obedt and most hum Ser Signed Charles Hutchinson John Clark	The three Danish men of war which had been at Tranquebar were gone to Achin and would not return that year to Europe. 6: The Council had bought of Captain Richard Waffe three tierces of beef, containing 240 pieces at 2s a piece, on the Court's account. 7: The Council received 924 gallons of brandy, one male and two female asses, by Captain Mason of the *Stretham*, which he had bought at the Cape on the Court's account. 8: The captain reported that he had drawn bills of exchange on the Court from there for the amount of what these cost. The Council had not paid him for them. 9: The Council transmitted to the Court by this conveyance the Court's general books of account, balanced to the eleventh of October. 10: The letter went home in the Court's ship *Houghton*, which would be followed in a few days by the *Stretham*. It was signed at St Helena on 13 March 1753 by Charles Hutchinson and John Clark. **Interpretations** The purchase of brandy and breeding asses at the Cape on the Company's account, paid for by bills drawn on London, shows how the island stocked itself through the Company's own homeward ships. Captain Mason bought the goods at the Cape, carried them the rest of the way to St Helena, and drew bills of exchange on the Court for the cost, so that the island acquired its supplies without any money passing on the spot and the charge fell in London where the Company's accounts were kept. The asses, one male and two female, were breeding stock meant to raise the island's own beasts of burden, an investment in the settlement's self-sufficiency, while the brandy was a supply for the store. This use of the Cape as a market and the Company's ships as carriers, settled by drafts on the Court, was the ordinary means by which the remote island laid in what it could not produce. The Danish men of war reported gone from Tranquebar to Achin rather than home to Europe rounded out the season's intelligence with the movements of a foreign power's warships in the eastern seas. That Denmark kept ships of war at its Coromandel settlement, and that they had gone north to Achin at the tip of Sumatra instead of returning to Europe, was the kind of detail St Helena gathered from calling officers and forwarded to London, the strength and disposition of every European nation's force in the Indian seas being matter of interest to a Company at war with one of them and in competition with the rest. The report shows the island's intelligence reaching beyond the merchant traffic to the naval movements that bore on the security of the whole eastern trade.
210	206	List of the Honourable Companys Packet from St Helena together with the foregoing Letter p Ship Houghton dated the 15th Day of March 1753 Vizt No 1 Governour and Councils General Letter dated 13th Mar 1753 2 Duplicate Do dated 19 Decr Do 3 Do Do dated 6 Mar Do 4 Do Consultations from the 30th Octor to 18th Decr Do 5 Consultations from the 2d of January to the 15 Mar Do 6 List of the Officers and Servants taken 13th Mar Do 7 Duplicate List of the Packet p Ship Scarborough 8 Second Rect for the Packet p his Majesty's Sloop Swallow 9 First rect for Do p Ship Scarborough 10 First rect for Do p the Ghiessenburg	The list of the packet the *Houghton* carried home with the letter of 13 March 1753 included the following. 1: Governor and Council's general letter dated 13 March 1753 2: Duplicate of the general letter dated 19 December 1752 3: Duplicate of the general letter dated 6 March 1753 4: Duplicate consultations from the thirtieth of October to the eighteenth of December 1752 5: Consultations from the seventh of January to the thirteenth of March 1753 6: List of officers and servants taken 13 March 1753 7: Duplicate list of the packet of the ship Scarborough 8: Second receipt for the packet of His Majesty's sloop Swallow

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		11 Duplicate Cash Acco from 1st to the 11th of Octor 12 Do Cash Acco from 12 to the 31 Octor 13 Do Cash Acco for the Month of November 14 Do Cash Acco from the 1st to the 19th Decr 15 Cash Account from the 20th to the 31st December 16 Do from the 1st to the 11th January 17 Do from the 12 of January to the 11 Febry 18 Do from the 12 of February to the 11 Mar 19 Do from the 12 to the 15th of Mar 20 Abstract of the Bill of Loading p Ship Houghton 21 Do of the Bill of Loading p Ship Hotham 22 Ship Houghtons Acco 23 Duplicate Ship Scarboroughs Acco 24 General Books of Acco	9: First receipt for the packet of the ship Scarborough 10: First receipt for the packet of the Ghiessenburg 11: Duplicate cash account from the first to the eleventh of October 1752 12: Cash account from the twelfth to the thirty-first of October 1752 13: Cash account for the month of November 1752 14: Cash account from the first to the nineteenth of December 1752 15: Cash account from the twentieth to the thirty-first of December 1752 16: Cash account from the first to the eleventh of January 1753 17: Cash account from the twelfth of January to the eleventh of February 1753 18: Cash account from the twelfth of February to the eleventh of March 1753 19: Cash account from the twelfth to the thirteenth of March 1753 20: Abstract of the bill of lading of the ship Houghton 21: Abstract of the bill of lading of the ship Stretham 22: Ship Houghton account 23: Duplicate ship Scarborough account 24: General books of account
211	207	To the Honble &ca Honble Sirs We wrote to you last by your Ship the Houghton Captain Richard Walpole that Sailed from hence on the 14th Instant We transmit to you by your ship Stretham Capt Charles Mason a Duplicate of that Letter with the Usual Papers And have the pleasure to acquaint you that there is at present a prospect of a very fine Season We are St Helena Honble Sirs March 16th 1753 Your Honours most Obedt and most hum Ser (Signed) Charles Hutchinson John Clark	The Council's last letter to the Court went home in the Court's ship *Houghton* under Captain Richard Waffe, which sailed from St Helena on the fourteenth of the month. By the Court's ship *Stretham* under Captain Charles Mason the Council transmitted a duplicate of that letter with the usual papers, and reported with pleasure that there was at present the prospect of a very fine season. The letter was signed at St Helena on 16 March 1753 by Charles Hutchinson and John Clark.
212	208	List of the Honourable Companys Packet from St Helena with the foregoing Letter p Ship Stretham dated the 16th Day of March 1753 Vizt No 1 Governour and Councils General Letter dated 16th Mar 1753 2 Duplicate Do dated 13 Mar Do 3 Do Consultations from the 2d Jany to the 12 Mar Do 4 List of Officers and Servants taken the 16 Mar Do 5 Duplicate List of the Packet p Ship Houghton 6 Second rect for the Packet p Ship Scarborough 7 Second rect for Do p the Ghiessenburg a Dutch Ship 8 First rect for Do p the Houghton 9 Duplicate Cash Acco from the 20th to the 31 Decr 10 Do Cash Acco from the 1 to the 11 January 11 Do Cash Acco from the 12th Jany to the 11 Febry 12 Do Cash Acco from the 12 Feby to the 11 Mar 13 Do Cash Acco from the 12 to the 15 Mar 14 Cash Acco from the 15 to the 16 March 15 Duplicate Ship Houghtons Account 16 Ship Strethams Account 17 Consultation of the 16 March 1753	The list of the packet the *Stretham* carried home with the letter of 16 March 1753 included the following. 1: Governor and Council's general letter dated 16 March 1753 2: Duplicate of the general letter dated 13 March 1753 3: Duplicate consultations from the seventh of January to the thirteenth of March 1753 4: List of officers and servants taken 16 March 1753 5: Duplicate list of the packet of the ship Houghton 6: Second receipt for the packet of the ship Scarborough 7: Second receipt for the packet of the Ghiessenburg, a Dutch ship 8: First receipt for the packet of the ship Houghton 9: Duplicate cash account from the twentieth to the thirty-first of December 1752 10: Cash account from the first to the eleventh of January 1753 11: Cash account from the twelfth of January to the eleventh of February 1753

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			12: Cash account from the twelfth of February to the eleventh of March 1753 13: Cash account from the twelfth to the thirteenth of March 1753 14: Cash account from the fourteenth to the sixteenth of March 1753 15: Duplicate ship Houghton account 16: Ship Stretham account 17: Consultation of 16 March 1753
213	209	To the Honble &ca Honble Sirs We wrote to you last by your Honours Ship the Stretham Capt Charles Mason that sailed from hence the 16th Instant 2 On the same Day Arrived a Dane Ship from China called the King of Denmark Capt Jacob Bechman Burthen about 900 Tons carrys 24 Guns and 160 Men, Loded with Tea, China ware and Silks bound to Copenhagen The Captain acquaints us that on the 1st of Feby last in the Latitude of 26 1 South he saw a Ship under English Colours, which Passed him at Sun Set, about the Distance of a Dutch Mile and an half he Supposes by the Make of the Ship that it was the Prince George Capt Peddrell 3 The Captain further informs us that on the 14th of February last in the Latitude of 32 14 South he saw a Saile about 11 at Night, which bore down on him, and in about half an hour was about a Dutch Mile to windward of him that she then fired a Gun upon which he took in his Small Sails supposing that if they wanted to speak with him they would come up, and finding She did not he kept abroad only his main and Two topsails, that at one o'Clock She fired another Gun and be there upon lowered his topsails to the Cap to wait for her being Affraid to lay too presuming the other had lost her Rudder and by that Means Might run on board of him, that in the Morning he looked out for her, in Order to give her	The Council's last letter to the Court went home in the Court's ship *Stretham* under Captain Charles Mason, which sailed from St Helena on the sixteenth of the month. 2: On the same day a Danish ship arrived from China called the *King of Denmark* under Captain Jacob Bichman, of about 900 tons burthen, carrying 24 guns and 160 men, laden with tea, chinaware and silk and bound for Copenhagen. The captain reported that on the first of February, in latitude 26 degrees 1 minute south, he saw a ship under English colours which passed him at sunset about a Dutch mile and a half away. From the build of the ship he supposed her to be the *Prince George* under Captain Peddrell. 3: The captain further reported that on the fourteenth of February, in latitude 32 degrees 14 minutes south, he saw a sail about eleven at night which bore down on him, and in about half an hour was about a Dutch mile to windward of him. She then fired a gun, on which he took in his small sails, supposing that if the other ship wanted to speak with him she would come up. Finding she did not, he kept abroad only his main and two topsails. At one o'clock she fired another gun, on which he lowered his topsails to the cap to wait for her, being afraid to lie to for fear the other had lost her rudder and might by that means fall on board of him. In the morning he looked out for her, in order to give her [...]. **Interpretations** The Danish captain's careful management of a night encounter with an unknown sail shows the wariness that governed conduct on the homeward passage in wartime. A ship bearing down in the dark and firing guns might mean anything from a signal to speak to a hostile approach, and the captain of the *King of Denmark* reduced his own sail to let her come up while keeping enough to hold his position, judging the situation from the other vessel's movements rather than assuming her purpose. His fear of lying to, lest the stranger had lost her rudder and fall aboard him, reveals the real hazards of two ships closing at night in open ocean, where a disabled vessel could not steer clear. St Helena logged such accounts from calling commanders in full, the incidents of the passage being intelligence in themselves at a time when the sea road home was shared by the ships of rival companies and hostile powers. The Danish captain's identification of a distant ship as probably the Court's *Prince George* from her build alone points to how commanders read the crowded sea lane by the shape of the hulls they passed. Ships were known to experienced seamen by their lines even at a distance too great to speak, and a Danish master homeward from China could recognise an English East India ship he had lain near at Canton and report her position to the Council. This casual identification fed the same intelligence network by which St Helena tracked the scattered homeward fleet, the sighting of one ship by another, pieced together from many such passing encounters, letting the island report the whereabouts of vessels that could not speak for themselves across the months of their voyage.

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214	210	some Assistance if she had wanted it, But perceiving her to be p Dutch Mile to Windward of him, he could by no Means get to her, nor could She bear down to him if She had lost her Rudder as he Supposes 4 Yesterday came in your Ship the Walpole Capt Fran Fowler the Lieutenant Governour and the other Passengers arrived in perfect Health your Honours Letter of the 1st of December which we received by that occasion, we opened and read in Council but have not time to answer it by the present portunity The Captain of the Dane Ship the Crown Prince of Denmark by whom this goes being to Sail at 9 this morning 5 Soon after Arrived your Ship the Prince George Capt Peddrell from hence, the Captain acquaints us that he took his departure from the Grand Ladrone Island the 2d December, and left the the Drake, Edgcote, Rhoda, & Prince of Wales at Wampe he further says that he saw a Ship in the Latitude of 32 South, outward bound but She Shewed no Colours 6 In the Evening came in your Ship the Exeter Captain William Farnell who acquaints us that he Sailed from Manna the 11th of January last, and that he Saw on his Passage only a French Ship in Soundings off the Cape We are St Helena Honble Sirs Mar 22d 1753 Your most Obedt and most hum Ser (Signd) Charles Hutchinson John Adamson John Clark	The captain meant to give the other ship some help if she had wanted it. Seeing her to be a Dutch mile to windward of him, though, he could by no means get to her, nor could she bear down to him if she had lost her rudder as he supposed. 4: The Court's ship *Walpole* under Captain Francis Fowler came in the day before, and the Lieutenant Governor and the other passengers arrived in perfect health. The Council received the Court's letter of the first of December by that conveyance, opened it and read it in council, but had no time to answer it by the present opportunity. The captain of the Danish ship *Crown Prince of Denmark*, by whom this letter went home, was to sail at nine that morning. 5: The Court's ship *Prince George* under Captain Peddrell arrived soon after. The captain reported that he took his departure from the Grand Ladrone island on the second of December, and left the *Drake*, *Edgcote*, *Rhoda* and *Prince of Wales* at Whampoa. He further reported that he saw a ship in latitude 32 degrees south, outward bound, but she showed no colours. 6: The Court's ship *Exeter* under Captain William Fernell came in that evening. He reported that he sailed from Anjengo on the eleventh of January, and that on his passage he saw only a French ship in soundings off the Cape. The letter was signed at St Helena on 22 March 1753 by Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson and John Clark. **Interpretations** The three Company ships arriving within a single day, one from Anjengo and two from China, show St Helena at the height of the homeward season, when the scattered fleet converged on the island from every quarter of the eastern trade. Each commander brought word of the ships he had left behind or passed, the *Prince George* naming four vessels still at Whampoa and the *Exeter* reporting the state of the passage from the Malabar coast, so that a single day's arrivals gave the Council a wide view of the fleet's progress to forward to London. The island was the funnel through which the whole homeward trade passed and reported itself, and the crowding of ships in the road at this time of year was the visible sign of the season on which the Company's fortunes and the island's own purpose turned. The signature of John Adamson alongside Hutchinson and Clark marks a change in the composition of the Council, a third member now sitting where the letters of the past year had been signed by two alone. The island's government was small and its numbers fluctuated as men arrived, departed or died, the departure of the former Lieutenant Governor having reduced the board to two, and the addition of a new signatory shows the Court replenishing the Council to keep it at working strength. The arrival of the Lieutenant Governor by the *Walpole*, noted in the same letter, points to the same renewal of the island's establishment, the Company staffing its remote station by the ships of the homeward season that brought both news and men.
215	211	To the Honble &ca Honble Sirs 1 Our last advices to you went by a Dane Ship called the Crown Prince of Denmark, that Sailed from hence on the 22d instant 2 Your Honours Ship the Walpole Capt Francis Fowler Arrived from England on the 21 of this Month by which we received Your Commands to us dated the 1st Decr	1: The Council's last letter to the Court went home in a Danish ship called the *Crown Prince of Denmark*, which sailed from St Helena on the twenty-second of the month. 2: The Court's ship *Walpole* under Captain Francis Fowler arrived from England on the twenty-first of the month, by which the Council received the Court's orders dated the first of December 1752. 3: The Council was glad that its several letters of the previous year had come safe to the Court. 3: The Council was also pleased to find that the French gentlemen by whom it had sent two letters to the Court had forwarded them as it desired.

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		1752 3 We are glad our Several Lers of last Year came safe to your Honours 3 We are likewise pleased to find that the French Gentlemen by whom we sent two Letters to your Honours, forwarded them to you as we desired 4 It is a great pleasure to us to find that our Accounts of the Arrival and Departure of Ships to and from, this place, with the News we collected from them have been to your Honours Approbation, we beg leave to Assure you we shall punctually transmit to you all such Advices for the future, with the Abstracts of the Ships Cargoes as your Honours have directed 5 We observe by your Honours Ler that you have taken into your Service 18 Ships for carrying on your Trade in India This Season which we hope will return to you in Safety and with Success 6 We likewise wish that the Captains of your Ships Dragon and Swallow may be Successful and	4: The Council found it a great pleasure that its accounts of the arrival and departure of ships to and from the island, with the news it collected from them, had met the Court's approval. It undertook to transmit all such intelligence in future, together with the abstracts of the ships' cargoes, as the Court had directed. 5: The Council observed from the Court's letter that the Court had taken into its service 18 ships for carrying on its trade in India that season, which it hoped would return safe and with success. 6: The Council likewise wished that the captains of the Court's ships *Dragon* and *Swallow* might be successful and [...]. **Interpretations** The Court's approval of the Council's shipping reports, acknowledged here and answered with a promise to continue them, confirms that the intelligence-gathering running through these letters was a duty the Directors had expressly required rather than a habit the island had fallen into. London wanted the arrivals and departures logged, the news collected from every calling commander, and the abstracts of the ships' cargoes sent home, and the Council's undertaking to transmit all such advices in future shows the island formally charged with serving as the Company's listening post on the homeward route. The whole apparatus by which St Helena tracked the fleet and the foreign powers was thus a commissioned function, the Court directing from London the collection of the very intelligence that let it manage a trade spread across the world. The Council's note that the French gentlemen had forwarded its letters as desired records the working of the wartime post that carried the Company's correspondence home by foreign hulls. Two of the Council's letters had gone by French ships, and those ships had duly passed them on to the Court, so that even vessels of the nation the Company was fighting in India served to speed its mail across the last stretch to England. This reliance on the ordinary courtesies of the sea, holding between enemies at the level of carrying letters while their nations warred on the Coromandel coast, was the means by which the island got its despatches home by the earliest conveyance, the letters entrusted to whatever ship was next bound for Europe regardless of her flag.
216	212	procure as many Slaves at Madagascar for your Honours Presidencies of Fort St George, & Bombay as your Honours expect 7 We thank your Honours for the List of the Arrival & Departure of your Ships which we rec in the Packet p Walpole 8 The Commands of Wm Baker Richd Chauncey, Wm Wabbott, and Jones Raymond Esqrs of those Gentlemen who are a Committee of Secrecy this Season shall be Strictly Obeyed 9 By your Ship the Walpole we received your Honours Advices to us and a Consignment of Stores 10 We shall be careful to have the Walpole unladed of the goods She brings to us on your Acct within the limitted time, to prevent your Honours	The captains of the *Dragon* and *Swallow* were to procure as many slaves at Madagascar for the Court's presidencies of Fort St George and Bombay as the Court expected. 7: The Council thanked the Court for the list of the arrival and departure of the Court's ships, which it had received in the packet by the *Walpole.* 8: The commands of William Baker, Richard Chauncey, Mr Wabbott and James Raymond Esquires, the gentlemen who were the Committee of Secrecy that season, would be strictly obeyed. 9: By the *Walpole* the Council received the Court's letters and a consignment of stores. 10: The Council would be careful to have the *Walpole* unloaded of the goods she brought on the Court's account within the time limited, to prevent the Court paying any demurrage. It would likewise see that Captain Fowler received his sailing orders in writing within ten working days after his arrival. 11: The Council would direct the commander to make the best of his way to Fort Marlborough on the west coast of the island of Sumatra, according to the instructions he had received from the Court, and to follow the orders he should receive from the Court's Deputy Governor and Council there. 12: The Court's orders about saluting foreign ships of war, if any should come to the island, would be observed, and the Council would behave [...].

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		paying any demurrage, and Care shall be likewise taken that Captain Fowler does receive his Sailing Orders in Writing from us within ten Working Days after his Arrival 11 We shall direct the Commander to make the best of his way to Fort Marlborough on the West Coast of the Island of Sumatra according to the instructions he has recd from your Honours and to follow the orders he shall receive from your Deputy Governour and Council there 12 Your Honours Orders with regard to Saluting Foreign Ships of War if any Should come here, shall be observed, and we will behave in the	**Interpretations** The instruction to the captains of the *Dragon* and *Swallow* to buy slaves at Madagascar for Madras and Bombay shows St Helena relaying the Company's slave-supply orders along the homeward and outward routes. Madagascar was the standing source from which the Company drew slaves for its Indian presidencies, and the Court directed its ships to call there to procure them, the Council on the island passing the order to the commanders as they came through. This traffic in slaves between Madagascar and the Company's eastern settlements ran alongside the trade in goods, the same ships carrying both, and the island served as a point on the route where the Court's standing requirements for labour were conveyed to the captains who would fill them. The Council's care over the *Walpole*'s unloading and the commander's sailing orders reveals the tight discipline the Company kept over the time its ships spent in port. Every day a chartered ship lay idle cost the Company demurrage under the charter party, so the goods had to be got out within the limited time, and the captain given his written sailing orders within ten working days of arrival, to keep the vessel moving on the Court's business. The naming of the Committee of Secrecy, whose orders the Council undertook to obey, points to the same close direction from London, the Company managing its distant servants through standing committees whose instructions bound the island, so that even a remote Council conducted the Court's affairs under the detailed control of the Directors at home.
217	213	Genteelest manner we can, to any Governours or Persons of Distinction of other Nations, that may at any time Arrive here without making them any particular Compliments 13 We have looked over the Invoice p Ship Walpole and are Sorry to find that your Honours have sent us, 10 Casks of Provisions Short of our Indent which we are Affraid we Shall be in want of if you do not get some out of your returning Ships 14 As your Honours think it is more convenient for us, to have Cotten Wick from India, we shall hereafter put that Article in our Indent to your President and Council of Bengall as your Honours have directed 15 We are glad that your Honours will take Notice to your Servants at Bombay of the Weakness of the Arrack they Supply us with, there has been a very little of this large Quantity we mentioned to you last Year yet Disposed of therefore we are Affraid we Shall be under a Necessity to make a reasonable abatement in the price, in Order to save the Wasteage that must unavoidably Accrue on its being kept, but we shall take care that it is not made a precedent, for Liquor of better Quality and greater Strength 16 We are pleased that the reasons we gave your Honours for not sending us any more Cape Brandy have met with your Approbation 17 As your Honours do not think	The Council would behave in as courteous a manner as it could toward any governors or persons of distinction of other nations who might at any time arrive at the island, without paying them any particular compliments. 13: The Council had looked over the invoice by the *Walpole* and was sorry to find that the Court had sent it 10 casks of provisions short of its indent, which it feared it would want if the Court did not send some out by its returning ships. 14: Since the Court thought it more convenient for the island to have cotton, rice from India, the Council would in future put that article in its indent to the Court's President and Council of Bengal, as the Court had directed. 15: The Council was glad that the Court would direct its servants at Bombay to take notice of the weakness of the arrack they supplied it with. There had been very little of the large quantity mentioned in its letter of the previous year, yet disposed of, and it feared it would have to make a reasonable abatement in the price to save the wastage that must unavoidably arise from its being kept. It would take care that this did not become a precedent for liquor of better quality and greater strength. 16: The Council was pleased that the reasons it had given the Court for not sending it any more Cape brandy had met with the Court's approval. 17: Since the Court did not think proper to send the island any bread, it taking up a great deal of room in the store ships, the commanders of the Court's homeward-bound ships for whom it was intended would be supplied with flour where the Council possibly could spare it, and it would take [...]. **Interpretations** The Council's handling of the weak Bombay arrack shows the island pressing London to let local prices follow local demand rather than hold to a fixed rate that left stores to spoil. The arrack supplied from Bombay was so weak that little of a large quantity had sold, and the Council feared it must abate the price to move it before it wasted in

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		proper to send us any Bread, It taking up a great deale of room in your Storeships, the Commanders of your homeward bound Ships for whom it was intended shall be Supplyed with flour when we possibly can Spare it and we shall	the cask, while taking care that this concession for a poor spirit should not become a precedent for reducing the price of good strong liquor. The point continued the argument the Council had been making through these years, that goods sent from India and the Cape should be priced at the island according to their quality and the demand for them, so that unsold and deteriorating stores did not accumulate, the Council resisting a rigid pricing imposed from home in favour of a flexible one fitted to conditions on the spot. The exchanges over provisions, bread and cotton rice reveal the constant adjustment of the island's supply to the practical constraints of the store ships and the local want. The Court declined to send bread because it filled too much room in the ships, so the island would issue flour to the homeward commanders instead; the shortfall of ten casks of provisions threatened a want the Council had to flag for the next ships; and the source of the cotton rice was shifted to the Bengal presidency at the Court's direction. Each decision turned on fitting what was shipped to what the ships could carry and the island actually needed, the Council and the Court in continual correspondence to match the supply of a remote settlement to its real consumption rather than sending fixed quantities that would sit and spoil, the whole a fine management of provisioning across the great distance that separated the island from its sources.
218	214	take all possible care to prevent its Spoiling in the Storehouse as we hitherto have done, in which we have had the good fortune to Succeed so well, that there has not been a Single Cask of it lost to your Honours in 9 Years past 18 We are Sorry we were not our transption of particular enough in some them as we indented for last Year, which omission shall be carefully attended for the future 19 We shall put on board your Ship Walpole as many of the Unserviceable Cannon and Firelocks &c as we can, and Capt Fowler inclines to receive who has engaged to carry them to England Freight free 20 As the Collections for the Current year we are very Sure will fall considerably Short of those in the last, and the Augmentation of the expence by the Arrival of the Officers and recruits by the Storeship, we shall on this Account have Occasion for some Money, and as Capt Savill of your last Years Store ship has Applyd to us to take into your Honours Cash the Sum of 1000 we thought proper to receive this Money, rather than take any of your Treasure consigned to Fort Marlborough and gave the Capt Bills of Exchange drawn on your Honrs for that Sum payable to himself or Order Ninety Days After Sight dated the 30th Instant 21 As there must be always some Money remaining in your Honours Cash Chest we chose	The Council would take all possible care to prevent the flour spoiling in the storehouse, as it had done before, in which it had been so fortunate that not a single cask had been lost to the Court in nine years past. 18: The Council was sorry it had not been particular enough in its description of some items in the goods it had indented for the previous year, which it would carefully attend to in future. 19: The Council would put on board the *Walpole* as many of the unserviceable cannon, firelocks and other stores as it could, which Captain Fowler was willing to receive, having engaged to carry them to England freight free. 20: The Council was very sure that the collections for the current year would fall considerably short of those of the previous one, and that the expense would be increased by the arrival of the officers and recruits by the store ship. It would on this account have need of some money, and since Captain Savill of the previous year's store ship had applied to pay the sum of £1,000 0s 0d into the Court's cash, the Council thought it proper to receive this money rather than take any of the Court's treasure consigned to Fort Marlborough. It gave the captain bills of exchange drawn on the Court for that sum, payable to himself or order ninety days after sight, dated the thirtieth of the month. 21: Since there must always be some money remaining in the Court's cash chest, the Council found it better to keep the gold, as it was more easily counted and took up less room. Since the pieces of gold the Court had mentioned were not currency, the Council would send them to the Court [...]. **Interpretations** The Council's decision to take Captain Savill's £1,000 into the cash rather than draw on the treasure bound for Fort Marlborough shows the island working as a self-financing station that met its own needs from money passing through it. A commander wishing to remit funds home paid them into the Council's cash and took bills drawn on the Court in London, and the Council preferred to supply its rising expenses from such deposits rather than break into the specie the Court had consigned to another

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		rather to keep the Gold as it is easier Counted and takes up less room But as these Pieces of Gold your Honrs have Mentioned are not Currency we shall send them to you	settlement. This let the island fund itself without disturbing the Company's treasure in transit, the Council acting as a banker that gathered the money of commanders and private persons against drafts on London and used it to defray the charges of the place, the whole a neat use of the cash flowing through a station on the homeward route. The shipping home of unserviceable cannon and firelocks freight free reveals how the island disposed of its worn stores through the Company's own returning ships. Damaged and outdated weapons that could not be used or mended on the spot were sent back to England for salvage or replacement, and a homeward commander with spare room would carry them without charge, so that the Company recovered what value remained in its old ordnance at no cost of freight. This ran opposite to the island's practice, reported in earlier letters, of mending arms on the spot where it had the means, the Council keeping what it could repair and returning only what was past use, a careful husbandry of the garrison's equipment across the distance that separated the island from the Company's arsenals at home.
219	215	by the Next ship that Sails from hence 22 The Coyers are full as usefull but happening to have Silver Coin enough to answer your expences of the Island with the Quantity receipts for Store goods Sold, we did not make use of much Gold and therefore had no occasion to alter the Species 23 We are glad to find that our representation of the several Facts you directed to enquire into relating to the Remonstrating Planters, furnishing the Market with Provisions, has been Satisfactory to your Honours, since our acquainting Mr Greentree with your Orders concerning him, he has presented a Petition to us which is entered in your Consultation of yesterday to which we refer your Honours, as he seemed by it to have a true Sense of his unjust proceedings, and faithfully Promisses to behave as he ought to do for the future, we beg leave to recommend his Case to your Honours consideration 24 As your Honours have Ordered a Market to be held one Day in every Week, to be then Regularly Supplyd with Fresh Provisions at Moderate Price, We acquainted the Planters with this your Honours command which we shall take care is complyed with in as full a manner their as we think Stocks can allow 25 We shall be sure to cause the Planters to send us from time to time an account of their Cattle and Sheep as your Honrs have directed 26 We will likewise take care that every Planter send a Quantity of Provisions to the Market in proportion to his Stock of Cattle and regulate	The gold pieces would be sent to the Court by the next ship that sailed from the island. 22: The pagodas were as full as usual, but having silver coin enough to answer the island's expenses with the quantity received for the Court's goods sold, the Council did not make use of much gold, and therefore had no occasion to alter the species. 23: The Council was glad to find that its account of the several matters the Court had directed it to enquire into, relating to the planters behind the remonstrance furnishing the market with provisions, had been satisfactory to the Court. Since telling Thomas Greentree of the Court's orders about him, Greentree had presented a petition, entered in the consultation of the day before, to which the Council referred the Court. Since Greentree seemed by the petition to have a true sense of his unjust proceedings and faithfully promised to behave as he ought in future, the Council recommended his case to the Court's consideration. 24: Since the Court had ordered a market to be held one day a week, to be regularly supplied with fresh provisions at moderate prices, the Council told the planters of the Court's command, and would see it complied with as fully as it thought their stocks could allow. 25: The Council would be sure to make the planters send in from time to time an account of their cattle and sheep, as the Court had directed. 26: The Council would likewise see that every planter sent a quantity of provisions to the market in proportion to his stock of cattle, and regulate the quantity and times of sending it in the best manner it could. **Interpretations** Greentree's petition and the Council's recommendation of his case mark the resolution of the long dispute that had run through the letters of the previous year. The man the Council had cast as the sole contriver of the remonstrance, and whose arrack dealing and beef sales it had exposed to the Court, now submitted a petition acknowledging his fault and promising better conduct, and the Council, having broken the faction and secured its authority, was content to recommend him to the Court's mercy. The turn from prosecution to recommendation shows the island government using the whole affair to assert its control and then, once the point was made and the ringleader had submitted, closing the matter without pressing for punishment, the petition entered in the consultation as the formal record of Greentree's climbdown.

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		the Quantity and times of Sending it in the best manner we can	The account of the currency in the cash chest reveals the mixed coinage a remote trading station handled and the judgement it exercised in choosing which to use and which to remit. The island took in pagodas from the Coromandel coast, silver coin, and gold, and the Council used the silver for its ordinary expenses while keeping the gold, which counted easily and took little room, and sending home the gold pieces that did not pass as currency on the island. This management of several kinds of money, each with its own use and value in the Company's scattered dominions, shows the fine practical accounting a station kept, matching the coin it received for the Court's goods against the coin it needed for its charges and forwarding what it could not use to where it would serve, the whole a working monetary system spanning the Company's eastern trade.
220	216	27 We have also published an Order forbidding all Persons Selling any Beef or Mutton either to your own ships, or foreigners, without a Licence from our hands in Writing 28 No Money or Reward whatsoever, shall be paid by any of the Planters for those Licences 29 We will be careful in granting Licences to have a particular regard to the Supply of Provisions each Planter sends to the Market 30 Agreable to your Honours Orders, particular entries shall be made in our Diary of our proceeding in every respect relating to the Planters and the Sale of their Provisions, either to Shipping or the Market 31 We shall be careful to take the most reasonable Steps in our Power, to hinder Foreign Ships being Supply'd with so large a Quantity of Fresh Provisions, as may in any respect appear to us to be detrimental to your own Ships and the Support of your Garrison and at the Same time permit the foreigners to have all the refreshment that can conveniently be spared 32 We are glad to hear that your Honours have found, that our Assertion with regard to the Commanders of your own Ships not being able to get a Sufficient Quantity of Poultry without taking a Beast alive was proved to you by so many Instances, and we shall continue to use our endeavours to prevent Such unreasonable practices for the future	27: The Council had also published an order forbidding anyone to sell any beef or mutton, either to the Court's own ships or to foreigners, without a licence in writing from the Council. 28: No money or reward of any kind was to be paid by the planters for those licences. 29: In granting licences the Council would have a particular regard to the supply of provisions each planter sent to the market. 30: In obedience to the Court's orders, the Council would make particular entries in its diary of its proceedings in every respect relating to the planters and the sale of their provisions, either to the shipping or to the market. 31: The Council would take the most reasonable steps in its power to prevent the foreign ships being supplied with so large a quantity of fresh provisions as might in any way harm the Court's own ships and the support of the garrison, while at the same time letting the foreigners have all the refreshment that could conveniently be spared. 32: The Council was glad the Court had found that its account of the commanders of the Court's own ships not being able to get a sufficient quantity of poultry without taking a beast alive was proved by many instances. It would continue its efforts to prevent such unreasonable practices in future. **Interpretations** The licensing order for the sale of beef and mutton set up the Company's control over the island's meat trade, channelling every sale through the Council's written permission. By forbidding any sale to the Court's ships or to foreigners without a licence, and tying the grant of licences to how much each planter supplied the public market first, the Council could ensure the market and the garrison were served before the planters sold their cattle to the higher-paying foreign ships. The insistence that no money be paid for the licences guarded against the permission becoming a source of corruption or a charge on the planters, keeping it a pure instrument of regulation. This was the machinery by which the Council answered the whole beef dispute, replacing the planters' free trade in cattle with a licensed one that put the island's own needs ahead of the profits of foreign sales. The restraint on supplying foreign ships shows the island balancing the courtesies owed to visiting vessels against the security of its own provisioning in wartime. The Council was to let the foreigners have all the refreshment that could conveniently be spared, yet prevent them drawing off so much fresh meat as to harm the Court's ships or starve the garrison, a fine line between hospitality and self-preservation. The forcing of a beast alive on any commander wanting only poultry, which the Court now accepted as proved, was the planters' device for

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			unloading cattle at a profit, and the Council's continued effort against it shows the island government protecting the passing ships from the planters' impositions while managing the scarce provisions of a small place that had to feed its own garrison, its own fleet and the strangers who called, all from the same limited stock.
221	217	33 Since the Desertion of Jack Defence who was employed under your Armourer, another of your Honrs Slaves called Jack Guinea that was likewise of great service in that Business lately Died so that we now want his assistance very much 34 Upon enquiry we find that Brenson your Armour is of a very Morose Disposition and has often beat the said Jack Defence Severely we therefore have severely reprimanded him for it as you directed and cautioned him not to Strike your Slaves that worked with him, and we Shall likewise see that none of the rest are ill used by any Body 35 Lieutenant John Adamson took place as Lieutenant Governour on the Arrival of the Walpole, and shall be paid the Salary and diet Money, you have been pleased to order, from his Arrival here, and we shall repair the House in the Valley and the Rooms in the Long wood for his Accommodation, and he shall have the use of some of your Slaves in the same manner as was indulged to Capt Hunter your late Lieutenant Governour, as your Honours have been pleased to direct 36 All your Affairs shall be conducted, by the Persons and in the manner you have ordered and we shall act in every respect informable to the rules we now have or those we may hereafter receive from your Honours, for our Guidance 37 We have acquainted Mr Wm Wrangham that you have been pleased to appoint him Writer in your Service here from the Walpoles Arrival at the usual Salary and Diet Money he is 24 Years of Age five of which he was in	33: Since the desertion of the slave Jack Defence, who had been employed under the Court's armourer, another of the Court's slaves called Jack Guinea, who had likewise been of great service in that business, had lately died, so that the Council now wanted his help very much. 34: On enquiry the Council found that Bremison the Court's armourer was of a very passionate disposition and had often beaten Jack Defence severely. It had therefore severely reprimanded him for it, as the Court directed, and cautioned him not to strike the slaves who worked with him. It would likewise see that none of the rest were ill used by anyone. 35: Lieutenant John Adamson took his place as Lieutenant Governor on the arrival of the *Walpole*, and would be paid the salary and diet money the Court had been pleased to order from his arrival on the island. The Council would repair the house in the valley and the rooms in the Longwood fort for his accommodation, and he would have the use of some of the Court's slaves in the same manner as had been allowed to Captain Hunter, the late Lieutenant Governor, as the Court had directed. 36: All the Court's affairs would be conducted by the persons and in the manner the Court had ordered, and the Council would act in every respect conformably to the rules it had received, or those it might receive in future, for its guidance. 37: The Council told Francis Wrangham that the Court had appointed him a writer in its service from the *Walpole*'s arrival, at the usual salary and diet money. He was 24 years of age, five of which he had been in [...]. **Interpretations** The reprimand of the armourer Bremison for beating the Court's slaves reveals the Company's concern to protect its slaves as valuable property whose skilled labour it could not easily replace. The loss of the trained slave Jack Defence by desertion and of Jack Guinea by death had left the armourer's work short of the skilled hands it needed, and the beating of the slaves who assisted him threatened the very labour the Company depended on, so the Court directed and the Council administered a check on the armourer's violence. The concern was practical as much as anything, the slaves who worked the forge being trained assistants whose skill made them hard to replace on a remote island, and their ill usage a waste of the Company's investment in their training, the Council moving to preserve a workforce it could not readily renew. The provision for the new Lieutenant Governor Adamson, his salary, his repaired house, his diet money and his allowance of the Court's slaves, shows the fixed establishment the Company maintained for the offices of its island government. The terms were set by precedent, Adamson receiving the same use of slaves as his predecessor Hunter had been allowed, so that each holder of the office stepped into a defined package of pay and perquisites carried over from the last, the continuity of the establishment surviving the change of the man. The care to repair the official residence and settle the allowances from the exact date of his arrival marks the orderly working of a service in which posts, their duties and their emoluments were laid down from London, the island government

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			staffed and provided according to rules the Court fixed and the Council carried out.
222	218	England when he was taught Merch Accts &c, he has executed the Covenants you were pleased to send him which go herewith and acquaints us that he has wrote to his Friends in England who will wait upon your Honours Secretary to be his Security in the Sum of five hundred pounds 38 Mr William Lee your Chaplain here has been informed, of the Omission of the Date of the year, in a List of Marriages &c sent to your Honours by the Swallow another Copy of that List goes to your Honours herewith from him and we hope he will be correct in all future Lists 39 We have recd by your Ship the Walpole 40 Recruits being advised by Mr George Higginson that he discharged Joseph Randall & Francis Dobson at Gravesend but Charles Correll and John Price two others that Stands in the List of Recruits for this place we have not recd, nor have we detained one Man that your Honours designed for Bencoolen 40 Agreable to your Honours directions we shall send you by some of the Ships of this year, a Plan of an Hospital & Barracks for the Soldiers, with an estimate of the Expence, and what Timber or other Materials may be wanted to compleat them, as near as we can 41 We will be careful in getting whatsoever may be found to be useful upon the Island in Building and Save your Honours as much expence as we can, by having your own Slaves employed at it, and hope that the Soldiers will assist with their Labour Gratis, and shall make our estimate accordingly which shall likewise be transmitted to you by one of your Ships of this Season and wait for your Honours further direction by your next Store Ship	Wrangham had been in England, where he was taught merchants' accounts and other things. He had signed the contracts the Court had sent him, which went home with this letter, and reported that he had written to two friends in England who would wait on the Court's secretary to be his security in the sum of £500 0s 0d. 38: The chaplain William Lee had been told of the omission of the date of the year in a list of marriages he had sent to the Court by the *Swallow*. Another copy of that list went home with this letter from him, and the Council hoped he would be correct in all future lists. 39: The Council received 40 recruits by the *Walpole*. Being advised by Mr George Higginson that he had discharged Joseph Randall and Francis Dobson at Gravesend, but Charles Corvett and John Price, two others who stood in the list of recruits for the island, the Council had not received, nor had it detained one man the Court designed for Bencoolen. 40: In obedience to the Court's directions, the Council would send by some of the ships that season a plan of a hospital and barracks for the soldiers, with an estimate of the expense, and what timber or other materials might be wanted to complete them, as near as it could. 41: The Council would be careful in getting whatever might be found useful on the island in the building, and save the Court as much expense as it could by having the Court's own slaves employed at the work. It hoped the soldiers would assist with their labour without charge. It would make its estimate accordingly, transmit it by one of the ships that season, and wait for the Court's further direction by the next store ship. **Interpretations** The security of £500 required of the new writer Wrangham shows the Company's practice of binding its clerical servants by sureties against the funds and goods that passed through their hands. A writer handling accounts and stores could do great damage by fraud or default, so the Court required friends in England to stand bound for him in a substantial sum, the bond serving as a guarantee of his honesty that could be called on if he proved false. This was the same protection the Company took throughout its service, its servants entering on their posts only when securities had been given, so that the risk of trusting money and property to men in distant stations was covered by bonds enforceable at home, the whole a system of financial discipline reaching from London to its remotest clerks. The plan for a hospital and barracks, to be built with the Company's own slaves and the soldiers' unpaid labour, reveals how the island carried out its public works by drawing on the labour it already owned or commanded. Rather than hire workmen or import materials at full cost, the Council would set the Court's slaves to the building, use whatever materials the island itself yielded, and look to the soldiers to help without pay, so that a substantial construction could be raised at the least charge to the Company. This use of slave labour and the garrison's own hands for the island's fortifications and buildings ran through the whole record of the place, the Council forever seeking to spare the Court expense by employing the labour it controlled, the works of the settlement built by those the Company already maintained rather than by paid contractors brought from outside.

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223	219	which sum we recd into your Cash last year, being the amount of the Deceaseds Effects here 49 We are Sorry it should happen that Edlins & Meacocks affair should be so blended together that it was not in our Power to send your Honours a Clearer State of them 50 We have Spoke to Mr Thomas French concerning Mr James DuBois's Claim upon his late Fathers Estate here to which he is Administrator, we shall make a Division of the Affair as fast as possible and see that Justice is done to the Child of the said DuBois as your Honours have directed us 51 It is great Satisfaction to us that your Honours found no reason to alter your Determination with regard to the Complaining Planters and we shall take notice of Mr Martin Harpers Behaviour and give your Honours a just account of him, or any others that may at any time disturb the Quiet of the Island 52 As your Honours do not approve of giving a Salary to the Clerk of the Market we will endeavour if possible to provide a proper Allowance for him, and the Butcher's trouble in Selling and cutting up the Meat for the Planters in some other way 53 We observe that your Honours have chosen Lieut Colonel Scott to be Engineer General of all your Settlements in the East Indies, and also of this Island, on his return to Europe your orders concerning him shall be punctually complyd with on his Arrival here	This sum, which the Council had paid into the Court's cash the previous year, was the amount of the deceased's effects on the island. 49: The Council was sorry that Collins and Meacock's affair should be so entangled together that it was not in its power to send the Court a clearer account of them. 50: The Council had spoken to Thomas French about James Du Bois's claim on his late father's estate on the island, of which French was administrator. It would settle the affair as fast as possible and see that justice was done to the child of Du Bois, as the Court had directed. 51: The Council found it a great satisfaction that the Court had found no reason to alter its determination about the planters behind the remonstrance. It would take notice of Martin Harper's behaviour, and give the Court a just account of him, or of any others who might at any time disturb the quiet of the island. 52: Since the Court did not approve of the Council giving a salary to the clerk of the market, it would try if possible to provide him a proper allowance another way, and pay the butcher for his trouble in selling and cutting up the meat for the planters in some other way. 53: The Council had chosen Lieutenant Colonel Scott to be Engineer General of all the Court's settlements in the East Indies, and also of the island on his return to Europe. The Court's orders concerning him would be punctually complied with on his arrival on the island. **Interpretations** The settlement of Du Bois's claim to his late father's estate, with the Council directed to see justice done to the child, shows the island administering the inheritances of its dead servants under the Court's oversight. A former servant now absent claimed part of his father's estate on the island, held by an administrator on the spot, and the Council was charged to divide the affair fairly and protect the interest of the child concerned, the whole conducted by the island government as a matter of trust. This winding up of the estates of the dead, the tracing of claims across the distance that separated heirs from the property, and the reference of nice points to London ran through the record of these years, the island serving as the place where the tangled affairs of its deceased inhabitants were unpicked and settled under the Court's direction. The Court's refusal to let the Council pay the clerk of the market a salary, and the Council's search for another way to provide for him and the butcher, reveals the close control the Directors kept over the smallest charges on the establishment. The Council had proposed to meet the two men's pay directly so that the meat could be sold at cost without the penny-in-the-pound levy loaded on it, but the Court declined the salary, obliging the Council to find some other means of allowing for their trouble. This attention from London to a minor market official's pay shows the fine grain of the Company's financial discipline, the Court scrutinising and refusing even a small addition to the fixed charges, and the island left to contrive within the limits the Directors set, the management of a remote settlement bound at every point by the economy the Court imposed from home.
224	220	54 Mr John Inglis your Surgeons Mate Arrived here upon the Ship Walpole and shall be duly paid the usual Salary and Diet Money 55 The Indian Man named James who your Honrs	54: Mr John Inglis, the Court's surgeon's mate, had arrived on the *Walpole* and would be duly paid the usual salary and diet money. 55: The Indian man named James, whom the Court mentioned as having been left on the island by the late Governor Dunbar, had been under the care of his nephew Mr John Dunbar, that time a

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		Mention to have been left here by your late Governour Dunbar was under the Care of his Nephew Mr John Dunbar, that was Lieut to one of your Companys here and one of the Attorney's to his Uncle, He when he went from the Island, put the said fellow in the Care of Mr Samuel Falconer your Surgeon, whom he constituted his Attorney, the said Indian being a Notorious Thief for which he had been often punished, committed a Robery some time after he came to Mr Falconer, and in Order to be brought to a trial for it was put into Prison where he hanged himself 56 On the 27th of this Month Arrived your Honrs Ship the Prince of Wales Capt William Peck from China, who informs us that he Sailed from Wampoe the 20th of December and left your Ships, Rhoda, Drake and Edgcote there, but were all of them ready to leave China, he likewise says that he saw no Ships on his Passage except one Dane that was at Princes Island Homeward bound from China 57 On the 29th Instant Arrived your ship the Wager Captain Josiah Kindman from Bengall, the Captain Acquaints us that he sailed from India the 6th of January last, and left there your Ships the Darrington Captain Drake, the Godolphin Captain Hutchinson, the Admiral Vernon Capt Cook the Chesterfield Captain Clarke, the Bombay Castle Capt Brown & the Oxford Captain Stevens, and tells us that the Darrington was designed to go to Bombay & Surat, the Godolphin to the Coast of Coromandel and back again, the Admiral Vernon	lieutenant to one of the Company's ships and one of the attorneys to his uncle. When John Dunbar left the island, he put James in the care of the Court's surgeon Samuel Falconer, whom he made his attorney. James was a notorious thief, for which he had often been punished, and he committed a robbery some time after he came to Falconer. To be brought to trial for it, he was put in the prison, where he hanged himself. 56: On the twenty-seventh of the month the Court's ship *Prince of Wales* under Captain William Peck arrived from China. He reported that he sailed from Whampoa on the twentieth of December and left the Court's ships *Rhoda*, *Drake* and *Edgcote* there, but they were all ready to leave China. He also reported that he saw no ships on his passage except one Danish ship that was at Prince's Island homeward bound from China. 57: On the twenty-ninth of the month the Court's ship *Wager* under Captain Josiah Hindman arrived from Bengal. The captain reported that he sailed from India on the sixth of January and left the Court's ships *Durrington* under Captain Drake, *Godolphin* under Captain Hutchinson, the *Admiral Vernon* under Captain Cook, the *Chesterfield* under Captain Clarke, the *Bombay Castle* under Captain Brown and the *Oxford* under Captain Stevens. He reported that the *Durrington* was to go to Bombay and Surat, the *Godolphin* to the coast of Coromandel and back again, and the *Admiral Vernon* [...]. **Interpretations** The suicide of the Indian man James in the prison shows the island's limited means of dealing with a habitual offender at the far edge of the Company's world. Brought from India by a former Governor and left in the successive care of attorneys, James had been repeatedly punished for theft and, facing trial for a fresh robbery, took his own life in confinement rather than face judgement. The episode reveals how men were carried between the Company's stations and left in private charge when their protectors moved on, and how the island's small apparatus of prison and trial handled a persistent thief, the case ending not in the courts but in the cell. The record sets down the man's history and death plainly, the fate of an individual swept up in the movements of Company servants and abandoned to the care of whoever remained. The two commanders' reports of the ships they had left in China and Bengal, and of the voyages those ships were bound on, illustrate the detailed intelligence of the fleet's disposition that St Helena gathered and forwarded. Hindman could name six ships at Bengal and the destinations several were ordered to, Bombay, Surat, the Coromandel coast, so that the Council learned from his single arrival not only where the ships were but where they were going, a map of the fleet's coming movements to send to London. This forwarding of the ships' orders and destinations, gathered from commanders who had lately parted from them, let the Court follow the deployment of its vessels across the eastern trade, the island the point at which the scattered intentions of the fleet were collected from the ships that carried word of one another.
225	221	to Sail for Madrass in about 14 Days and so to England, the Chesterfield, Bombay Castle for Madrass & England, and the Oxford directly for England, he likewise says that the Colchester Captain Manwaring sailed about the Middle of September for Madrass and England, that he was Arrived at Madrass and was to Sail from thence the Beginning of Novr and that the Hector Capt Kerwin	The *Admiral Vernon* was to sail for Madras in about fourteen days and so to England, the *Chesterfield* and *Bombay Castle* for Madras and England, and the *Oxford* directly for England. Captain Hindman also reported that the *Colchester* under Captain Manwaring sailed about the middle of September for Madras and England, that she had arrived at Madras and was to sail from there the beginning of November, and that the *Hester* under

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		Sailed from Bengall to Bombay the Middle of Decr last 58 Captain Kindman further Acquaints us that he put into the Cape the 7th of March & Sailed from thence the 17th and gave us a list of all Ships Arrivals and Departure to and from that place Since the 19th of January last, which goes to your Honours herewith inclosed 59 This waits on your Honours by your Ship Prince George that Sails in Company with your Ship Exeter, and will be followed by your Honours Ship the Prince of Wales & Wager We are St Helena Honble Sirs March 31 1753 Your most Obedt and most Hum Ser (Signd) Charles Hutchinson John Adamson John Clark	Captain Kerwin sailed from Bengal to Bombay the middle of December. 58: Captain Hindman further reported that he put into the Cape on the seventh of March and sailed from there on the seventeenth, and gave the Council a list of all the ships that had arrived at and departed from the Cape since the nineteenth of January, which went home with this letter. 59: The letter went home in the Court's ship *Prince George*, which sailed in company with the *Exeter*, and would be followed by the *Prince of Wales* and *Wager*. It was signed at St Helena on 31 March 1753 by Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson and John Clark. **Interpretations** Captain Hindman's list of every ship arrived at and departed from the Cape since January, sent home with the letter, shows how St Helena drew on the Cape as a second point of observation whose intelligence it gathered and forwarded. A homeward commander who had lain days at the Cape could record the whole traffic passing through that station and hand the list to the Council, which sent it to London along with its own reports, so that the Directors received not only the news of the ships that called at St Helena but of those that touched at the Cape as well. The two stations on the homeward route together gave a fuller account of the fleet and of the foreign shipping than either alone, the island collecting and relaying the Cape's intelligence as a matter of course, the Company's knowledge of the eastern seas built up from the observations of every commander who crossed them. The dispatch of ships home in company, and the naming of those to follow, reflects the convoy discipline the Company kept on the homeward passage in wartime. The *Prince George* sailed with the *Exeter* and would be followed by the *Prince of Wales* and *Wager*, the ships grouped for mutual security against the French privateers and men of war that threatened the trade, rather than sailing singly as they arrived. This holding of vessels to depart together, ordered from London and administered at the island, shows the Council managing the sailing of the homeward fleet to reduce the risk of capture, the ships that had come in from China and Bengal marshalled at St Helena into companies for the dangerous last leg to England, the island a point of assembly as well as of refreshment and intelligence.
226	222	List of the Honourable Companys Packet from St Helena with the foregoing Letter p Ship Prince George dated the 31 day of March 1753 Vizt No 1 Governour and Councils General Letter dated the 31 of March 1753 2 Duplicate of Do dated the 16 Do Do 3 Do Do dated the 22 Do Do 4 Do Consultations of the 16th March Do 5 Consultations from the 19th to the 30th March Do 6 List of Officers and Servants taken 31st March Do 7 Second rect for the Packet p Ship Houghton Do 8 First rect for Do p Ship Stretham Do 9 First rect for Do p Crown Prince of Denmark a Dane 10 Duplicate Cash Acco from the 14th to the 16th of March Do 11 Cash Acco from the 17th to the 31st of March Do 12 Duplicate Ship Stretham Acco Do 13 Ship Prince George Acco Do 14 Ship Exeters Acco Do 15 Rect of the Cargo of Ship Prince George Do 16 Do of the Cargo of Ship Exeter Do 17 Do of the Cargo of Ship Prince of Wales Do 18 Do of the Cargo of Ship Wager Do 19 Duplicate List of the Packet p Ship Stretham Do	The list of the packet the *Prince George* carried home with the letter of 31 March 1753 included the following. 1: Governor and Council's general letter dated 31 March 1753 2: Duplicate of the general letter dated 16 March 1753 3: Duplicate of the general letter dated 22 March 1753 4: Duplicate consultations of 16 March 1753 5: Consultations from the nineteenth to the thirtieth of March 1753 6: List of officers and servants taken 31 March 1753 7: Second receipt for the packet of the ship Houghton 8: First receipt for the packet of the ship Stretham 9: First receipt for the packet of the Crown Prince of Denmark, a Danish ship 10: Duplicate cash account from the fourteenth to the sixteenth of March 1753 11: Cash account from the seventeenth to the thirty-first of March 1753 12: Duplicate ship Stretham account 13: Ship Prince George account 14: Ship Exeter account

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		20 List of Marriages &c from 1st January 1751 to the 31st Day of March 1753 21 List of Ships Arrival to and from the Cape of Good Hope from the 19th of January last to the 7th of March Do 22 Covenants of Mr William Wrangham Writer	15: Account of the cargo of the ship Prince George 16: Account of the cargo of the ship Exeter 17: Account of the cargo of the ship Prince of Wales 18: Account of the cargo of the ship Wager 19: Duplicate list of the packet of the ship Stretham 20: List of marriages and others from the first of January 1751 to the thirty-first of March 1753 21: List of ships arrived at and departed from the Cape of Good Hope from the nineteenth of January to the seventh of March 22: Contracts of Mr William Wrangham, writer
227	223	To the Honble Honble Sirs 1 Our last advices to you went by your Ship the Prince George, that Sailed from hence on the 2d Instant 2 Just now Arrived a Dane Ship from China called the Princess Louisa Capt Jasper Wythe Burthen about 900 Tons carrys 28 Guns and 200 Men, Loaden with Tea, China Ware, & Silks, bound to Copenhagen the Captain Acquaints us he left Princes Island the 28th of January, and that he has not seen a Ship Since he Sailed from thence 3 We have Sent to your Honours by Capt Kindman the four Pieces of Gold we mentioned in our last Letter by your Ship the Prince George We herein enclose you his rect for them 4 Your Ship Prince of Wales Sails from hence with the Wager by which this goes We are St Helena Honble Sirs April 64th 1753 Your most Obedt and most Hum Servants Signed Charles Hutchinson John Adamson John Clark	1: The Council's last letter to the Court went home in the Court's ship *Prince George*, which sailed from St Helena on the second of the month. 2: A Danish ship had just arrived from China called the *Princess Louisa* under Captain Jasper Wytha, of about 900 tons burthen, carrying 28 guns and 200 men, laden with tea, chinaware and silk and bound for Copenhagen. The captain reported that he left Prince's Island on the twenty-eighth of January, and that he had not seen a ship since he sailed from there. 3: The Council had sent to the Court by Captain Hindman the four pieces of gold it had mentioned in its last letter by the *Prince George*. It enclosed with this letter the captain's receipt for them. 4: The Court's ship *Prince of Wales* sailed from the island with the *Wager*, by which this letter went home. It was signed at St Helena on 4 April 1753 by Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson and John Clark.
228	224	List of the Honourable Companys Packet from St Helena together with the foregoing Letter p Ship Wager dated the 4th of April 1753 Vizt No 1 Governour and Councils General Letter dated the 4th April 1753 2 Duplicate Do dated the 31 Mar Do 3 Do Consultations from the 19th to the 30th March Do 4 Consultations from the Second to the third of April Do 5 List of Officers & Servants taken the 4th of April Do 6 Duplicate List of the Packet p Ship Prince George Do 7 Second rect for the Packet p Ship Stretham Do 8 Second rect for Do p Ship Crown Prince of Denmark a Dane 9 First rect for Do p Ship Prince George Do 10 Cash Acco from the 1st to the 4th of April Do 11 Duplicate Cash Acco from the 17th to the 31st of March Do 12 Do Ship Prince George's Acco 13 Do Ship Exeters Account 14 Account of Ship Wager 15 Do of Ship Prince of Wales	The list of the packet the *Wager* carried home with the letter of 4 April 1753 included the following. 1: Governor and Council's general letter dated 4 April 1753 2: Duplicate of the general letter dated 31 March 1753 3: Duplicate consultations from the nineteenth to the thirtieth of March 1753 4: Consultations from the second to the third of April 1753 5: List of officers and servants taken 4 April 1753 6: Duplicate list of the packet of the ship Prince George 7: Second receipt for the packet of the ship Stretham 8: Second receipt for the packet of the Crown Prince of Denmark, a Danish ship 9: First receipt for the packet of the ship Prince George 10: Cash account from the first to the fourth of April 1753 11: Duplicate cash account from the seventeenth to the thirty-first of March 1753 12: Duplicate ship Prince George account 13: Duplicate ship Exeter account 14: Account of the ship Wager 15: Account of the ship Prince of Wales

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		16 A Rect from Captain Josiah Kindman for a Paper containing 5 Ps Gold Do 17 List of one Man discharged the Garrison who takes his Passage in the Ship Wager Do 18 Governours Letter to the Honble the Secret Committee 19 List of Marriages &c from the 1st January 1751 to the 4th of April 1753	16: A receipt from Captain Josiah Hindman for a paper containing five pieces of gold 17: List of one man discharged from the garrison who takes his passage in the ship Wager 18: Governor's letter to the Committee of Secrecy 19: List of marriages and others from the first of January 1751 to the fourth of April 1753
229	225	To the Honble &ca Honble Sirs This waits on your Honours by a Dane Ship called the Princess Louisa to acquaint you that we wrote to you last by your Ship the Wager that Sailed from hence on the 5th instant with your Honours Ship the Prince of Wales We can with much pleasure now inform you that we have had a very fine Summer Season, and that there is at present a great deale of good herbage upon the Island for the Cattle We are St Helena Honble Sirs 12 April 1753 Your most Obedt and most hum Servants (Signd) Charles Hutchinson John Adamson John Clark	The Council sent this letter home by a Danish ship called the *Princess Louisa*, to tell the Court that its last letter had gone home in the Court's ship *Wager*, which sailed from St Helena on the fifth of the month with the Court's ship *Prince of Wales*. The Council reported with much pleasure that it had had a very fine summer season, and that there was at present a great deal of good herbage on the island for the cattle. The letter was signed at St Helena on 12 April 1753 by Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson and John Clark.
230	226	To the Honble &ca Honble Sirs We wrote last to you by a Dane Ship called the Princess Louisa that Sailed from hence on the 12th of April On the 20th of the Same month Arrived a Prussian Ship from China called the King of Prussia Captain Ct Glotzke Burthen 650 Tons carrys 26 Guns and 120 Men Loaded with Tea China ware and Silks bound to Embden we think proper to acquaint your Honours that altho the Gentlemen that came on Shore were treated with great humility and Supplyd with all the refreshment and Provision they required, they Sailed on the 22 of last Month without Saluting your Fort, or taking any Notice of the Flag, they likewise had Several English Subjects on board and carried away from hence one of the Seamen belonging to your Ship the Walpole Captain Fowler, we therefore beg that you will be pleased to give us full directions, by your next Store ship in what manner your Honours would have us treat any Ship of the Same Nation that may hereafter Arrive, and whether we may detain the Brittish Subjects if any should found on board them Your Honours Ships Drake, Edgcote and Rhoda Arrived here on the 22 23 and 24 of last Month We have again Acquainted all the Claimants upon	The Council's last letter to the Court went home in a Danish ship called the *Princess Louisa*, which sailed from St Helena on the twelfth of April. On the twentieth of the same month a Prussian ship arrived from China called the *King of Prussia* under Captain Gletzsch, of 650 tons burthen, carrying 26 guns and 120 men, laden with tea, chinaware and silk and bound for Emden. The Council thought it proper to report that all the gentlemen who came ashore were treated with great courtesy and supplied with all the refreshment and provisions they required. They sailed on the twenty-second of the previous month without saluting the fort or taking any notice of the flag. They also had several English subjects on board, and carried away from the island one of the seamen belonging to the Court's ship *Walpole* under Captain Fowler. The Council asked the Court to give it full directions by the next store ship in what manner it would have it treat any ship of the same nation that might arrive in future, and whether it might detain the British subjects if any should be found on board them. The Court's ships *Drake*, *Edgcote* and *Rhoda* arrived at the island on the twenty-second, twenty-third and twenty-fourth of the previous month. The Council had told all the claimants on the estate of the late Governor Goodwin that the Court required a more particular account from them of their demands on that estate. They reported that they had no other [...]. **Interpretations** The Prussian ship carrying off an English seaman without saluting the fort raised two distinct concerns the Council put to the Court. The vessel of the *King of Prussia*, homeward from China to Emden, took no notice of the flag flown over the island and, worse, carried away a seaman belonging to the Court's own ship *Walpole*, so that the Council sought directions both on the ceremonial question of whether foreign ships should be required to salute and on the

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		the Estate of the late Governour Godwin here, that your Honours required a more particular Account from them, with regard to their demands upon the said Estate they tell us they had no others	practical one of whether it might take British subjects off such ships. The loss of a man from a Company ship to a foreign vessel touched the Company's interest directly, its ships already short of hands, and the saluting question touched the standing of a fortified station in wartime, the Council referring both to London for want of a settled rule. The episode shows the delicate ground the island trod between the courtesies owed to foreign traders and the assertion of its own rights over ceremony and over men. The demand for a fuller account from the claimants on Governor Goodwin's estate continued the long recovery of that estate's deficiency that ran through these years. Goodwin had been found to have defrauded the Court of a large sum, and the Council was pursuing the recovery through the tangled claims upon his estate, requiring those who made demands against it to particularise them so that the genuine could be distinguished from the doubtful. This careful sifting of claims, tracing the loss to named individuals and defending the estate against outside claimants, was the method by which the Company sought to recover what a dishonest Governor had taken, the island administering the estate of its dead servant under the Court's direction and pressing every demand to proof before it would allow it against the funds.
231	227	others than those they sent to you the last year, Only Mr Francis Wrangham requests that your Honours will be pleased to look at his Tryab at a Sessions held on the 19th of September 1741 where he hopes it will appear to your Honours that he has a just Demand upon the Estate of the late Governour Godwin for the Money he was then Ordered to pay to the Orphan Sarah Francis; And as to the Debts due to the said Estate, they we believe are all received that are possible to be recovered, the Amount of which your Honours will see by your Books of Accounts The Number of your Slaves here is so much diminished by Accidents, and deaths, and many of them are now so infirm by Age, that we have not Sufficient Hands to carry on the Works required at your Fortifications and in your Plantation &c We therefore beg that your Honours will order 30 Men to be brought by one of your Ships that goes to Madagascar to purchase Slaves Your Armourer Henry Brimson is such a Morose troublesome Man, that it is difficult to get any thing done that falls under his direction, besides we hear he has Said when his contracted time is expired which will be in November next, he intends to quit your Service, we therefore beg that you will be pleased to Send us a Man, by your next Store Ship, that understands repairing Small arms in a proper manner and Likewise a working Black Smith to be his Mate, as such men are much wanted at this place; for your Service We are under the same disadvantage with your Honours Carpenter Wm Oakman who is such a Drunken Sottish Fellow, that he is not to be depended on in any thing	The claimants had no other demands than those they had sent the Court the previous year. Only Francis Wrangham asked the Court to look at his trial at a session held on 19 September 1741, where he hoped it would appear that he had a just demand on the estate of the late Governor Goodwin for the money he was then ordered to pay to the orphan Sarah Francis. As to the debts due to the estate, the Council believed all were received that could possibly be recovered, the amount of which the Court would see by its books of account. The number of the Court's slaves on the island was so much reduced by accidents and deaths, and many of them now so infirm through age, that the Council had not enough hands to carry on the works required at the fortifications and in the plantations. It therefore asked the Court to order 30 men to be brought by one of its ships that went to Madagascar to buy slaves. The Court's armourer Henry Bremison was so troublesome a man that it was difficult to get anything done that fell under his direction. The Council heard that he intended to quit the Court's service when his contracted time expired, which would be in November next. It therefore asked the Court to send out by the next store ship a man who understood repairing small arms in a proper manner, and also a working blacksmith to be his mate, as such men were much wanted on the island. The Council was under the same disadvantage with the Court's carpenter William Oakman, who was such a drunken selfish fellow that he was not to be depended on in anything [...]. **Interpretations** The request for 30 slaves from Madagascar to replace those lost to death, accident and age exposes how completely the island's works depended on slave labour, and how that labour force wasted without constant renewal. The fortifications and plantations could not be carried on with the hands remaining, so many of the Court's slaves being dead or grown infirm, and the Council looked to the Madagascar slave trade to make good the loss, the same ships that carried slaves to the Indian presidencies bringing a draft to the island. This reliance on purchased slaves for the heavy work of the settlement, and the periodic requests to replenish

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			a force worn down by mortality and age, ran through the whole record of the place, the island's defences and plantations built and maintained by a slave labour that had to be bought afresh as it died away. The complaints against the armourer Bremison and the carpenter Oakman reveal the peculiar difficulty of maintaining skilled tradesmen at a remote station where no replacement could be had on the spot. Both men were troublesome or drunken and undependable, yet the Council could not simply dismiss them, being wholly reliant on London to send out skilled men and unable to recruit an armourer or carpenter on an isolated island, so it had to endure the bad servant while asking the Court for a better. The request for a skilled armourer and a blacksmith mate, timed to Bremison's departure, shows the island planning its skilled establishment around the slow supply from home, forced to tolerate the men it had until the ships brought others, the whole a standing weakness of a settlement whose specialist labour depended entirely on what the Company chose to send.
232	228	we therefore hope your Honours will be pleased to send us a proper Person for that employment and one who understands Caulking and repairing of Boats who may likewise be assistant to the Carpenter As it plainly appears to us that the Grand Children of the late John French deceased have an undoubted Right to a Share of his Personal Estate we therefore directed the Deceaseds Son Mr Thomas French, who is the Administrator to lodge a Childs dividend in your Cash for the Daughter of Mr James DuBois which according to the Inventory amounts to 123. 19. 9 1/2 and to pay the Children of Mr William Seale the Like Sum (they appearing to us to have the same Right or give us proper Security for the payment thereof upon demand as well as for the Child of Mr DuBois if your Honours Should approve of our determination whereupon both Mr French and his Sister agreed to a Judgm over their Houses for that purpose Mr William Lee your Chaplain having applyd to us for Liberty to pay 40 - - into your Cash we have received it and given him Bills of Exchange drawn on your Honours for that Sum, payable to himself or Order Ninety Days after Sight, dated this day Your Honours Ships Rhoda and Edgcote Sails from hence with your Ship the Drake by which this goes We are St Helena Honble Sirs 5th May 1753 Your most Obedt and most Hum Ser (Signed) Charles Hutchinson John Adamson John Clark	The Council therefore hoped the Court would send out a proper person for that employment, one who understood caulking and repairing boats, who might also assist the cooper. Since it plainly appeared to the Council that the grandchildren of the late John French deceased had an undoubted right to a share of his personal estate, it directed the deceased's son Thomas French, who was the administrator, to lodge a child's dividend in the Court's cash for the daughter of James Du Bois, which according to the inventory came to £123 19s 8½d, and to pay the children of William Seale the like sum, they appearing to have the same right, or to give proper security for the payment on demand as well as for the child of Du Bois, if the Court approved of the Council's determination. Both French and his sister agreed to sign over their house for that purpose. Since the chaplain William Lee had asked the Council for leave to pay £40 0s 0d into the Court's cash, the Council received it and gave him bills of exchange drawn on the Court for that sum, payable to himself or order ninety days after sight, dated that day. The Court's ships *Rhoda* and *Edgcote* sailed from the island with the *Drake*, by which this letter went home. It was signed at St Helena on 5 May 1753 by Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson and John Clark. **Interpretations** The division of John French's estate among his grandchildren shows the island resolving a question of inheritance law and securing the shares of absent and minor heirs. The grandchildren, including the daughter of the absent James Du Bois and the children of William Seale, were found to have a right to a share of their grandfather's personal estate, and the Council directed the administrator to lodge each child's portion in the Court's cash or give security for it, so that the money was safely held for heirs who could not receive it themselves. The willingness of French and his sister to sign over their house as security shows the Council taking real property to guarantee the children's shares, the island government acting as guardian of the interests of minors and absentees in the settlement of a local estate, the inheritance secured against the administrator's default by a charge on his own property. The chaplain Lee's payment of £40 into the cash against bills on London illustrates once more the island's standing service as a means of remitting private money home. A servant or inhabitant with money on the island could pay it to the Council and

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			take bills drawn on the Court, realising his funds in England without any coin crossing the sea, and the chaplain used this facility as commanders and others did throughout these years. The Council received such deposits and issued its drafts as a matter of routine, the island functioning as a private bank for the funds of everyone connected with it, the money paid in serving the Council's own needs on the spot while the payee drew the value at home, the whole a settled mechanism of exchange spanning the distance between the island and London.
233	229	List of the Honourable Companys Packet from St Helena p Ship Drake together with the foregoing Letter dated the 5th May 1753 No 1 Governour & Councils General Letter dated the 5th May 1753 2 Duplicate Do dated 4 April Do 3 Do dated 12 Do Do 4 Do Consultations from 2 to the 3 April Do 5 Consultations from the 5th April to 5 May Do 6 List of Officers and Servants Do 7 Duplicate List of the Packet p Ship Wager Do 8 First rect for the Packet p Ship Wager Do 9 Second rect for Packet p Ship Prince George Do 10 First rect for Packet p Princess Louisa a Dane ship Do 11 Cash Acco from the 5th to the 11 of April Do 12 Cash Acco from the 12th of April to 5th of May Do 13 Duplicate Ship Wagers Acco Do 14 Do Ship Prince of Wales's Acco Do 15 Ship Edgcotes Acco Do 16 Ship Rhodas Acco Do 17 Ship Drakes Account Do 18 Second receipt from Captain Josiah Kindman for a Paper containing 5 Ps Gold Do 19 Abstract of Ships Rhodas Bill of Lading Do 20 Abstract of Ship Edgcotes Bill of Lading Do 21 Abstract of Ship Drakes Bill of Lading Do 22 Bill of Lading from St Helena p Ship Walpole Do 23 Duplicate Cash Acco from 1 to the 4 of April Do 24 Governours Letter to the Honble the Court of Directors Do 25 Ship Walpoles Acco Do	The list of the packet the *Drake* carried home with the letter of 5 May 1753 included the following. 1: Governor and Council's general letter dated 5 May 1753 2: Duplicate of the general letter dated 4 April 1753 3: Duplicate of the general letter dated 12 April 1753 4: Duplicate consultations from the second to the third of April 1753 5: Consultations from the fifth of April to the fifth of May 1753 6: List of officers and servants 7: Duplicate list of the packet of the ship Wager 8: First receipt for the packet of the ship Wager 9: Second receipt for the packet of the ship Prince George 10: First receipt for the packet of the Princess Louisa, a Danish ship 11: Cash account from the fifth to the eleventh of April 1753 12: Cash account from the twelfth of April to the fifth of May 1753 13: Duplicate ship Wager account 14: Duplicate ship Prince of Wales account 15: Ship Edgcote account 16: Ship Rhoda account 17: Ship Drake account 18: Second receipt from Captain Josiah Hindman for a paper containing five pieces of gold 19: Abstract of the ship Rhoda's bill of lading 20: Abstract of the ship Edgcote's bill of lading 21: Abstract of the ship Drake's bill of lading 22: Bill of lading from St Helena by the ship Walpole 23: Duplicate cash account from the first to the fourth of April 1753 24: Governor's letter to the Court of Directors 25: Ship Walpole account
234	230	To the Honble &ca Honble Sirs We wrote to you last, by your Ship the Drake that Sailed from hence on the 5 May, with your Honours Ships the Edgcote & Rhoda On the 31 day of last Month arrived your Ship the Admiral Vernon Capt Edmund Cooke the Capt acquaints us that on the 30 of October last a Violent Gale of Wind from the Westward which happened in the night, forced the Colchester, Delawar, & Brilliant Snow from thence to obtain out of Madrass Road, that in three Days after the Colchester got to Fort St David, having lost all her Masts, the Ship Leakey, & the Goods on board her, all much damaged He likewise tells us that he had News the beginning of June that the Delawar was safe arrived at Galle on the Island of Ceylon, having lost all her Masts also And they	The Council's last letter to the Court went home in the Court's ship *Drake*, which sailed from St Helena on the fifth of May with the Court's ships *Edgcote* and *Rhoda*. On the thirty-first of the previous month the Court's ship *Admiral Vernon* under Captain Edmund Cooke arrived. The captain reported that on 30 October a violent gale of wind from the westward, which happened in the night, forced the *Colchester*, *Delaware* and *Brilliant* snow from their anchors out of Madras Road. In three days after, the *Colchester* got to Fort St David, having lost all her masts, the ship leaky and the goods on board her all much damaged. He also reported that he had news the beginning of June that the *Delaware* was safely arrived at Galle on the island of Ceylon, having likewise lost all her masts, and the cargo was believed to be damaged. As for the *Brilliant* snow, nothing had been heard of her when he left the coast on the second of March, and as she was loaded and ready to sail for the west coast, she was supposed to be lost. The captain further reported that by a letter he received from the Governor and Council of Madras, dated the twentieth of February, they had then no

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		Cargo believed to be damaged, & as the Brilliant Snow was not heard of when he left the Coast the 2 March, as she was loaded ready to Sail for the West Coast, She was supposed to be lost The Capt further informs us, that by a Letter, he received from Govr & Council of Madrass, dated the 20th February, that they had then no News of the Godolphin nor Bombay Castle, and that the Chesterfield would be Late, as she was not dispatched from Bengall until the Latter End of that Month Mr Matthew Purling your Storekeeper having made a mistake by charging himself twice for the Store Goods	news of the *Godolphin* or *Bombay Castle*, and that the *Chesterfield* would be late, as she was not dispatched from Bengal until the latter end of that month. Mr Matthew Purling the Court's storekeeper had made a mistake by charging himself twice for the store goods [...]. **Interpretations** Captain Cooke's account of the October gale at Madras carried to the Court the news of serious damage to its fleet on the exposed Coromandel coast. Madras Road was an open anchorage with no sheltered harbour, and a violent night gale from the westward drove three ships from their moorings, dismasting two and leaving one supposed lost, so that a single storm crippled several vessels at once. St Helena gathered this intelligence from a commander who had been on the coast and forwarded it home, the Court learning through the island of the fate of ships far away, the whole a reminder of the hazards the open roadstead posed to the Company's shipping and of the island's role in relaying the misfortunes of the distant fleet to London. The reported uncertainty over the *Godolphin*, *Bombay Castle* and *Chesterfield* shows how long the fate of a Company ship could remain unknown, and how the island collected and passed on even the absence of news. The Madras government had no word of two ships and knew a third would be late, and this negative intelligence, that certain vessels were unaccounted for or delayed, was itself worth forwarding, since it told the Court which ships to watch for and which might be in trouble. St Helena relayed such reports as readily as news of safe arrivals, the tracking of the fleet depending as much on knowing which ships were missing as on knowing where the others were, the island the point at which word of the whole scattered trade, its arrivals, its losses and its silences, was gathered and sent home.
235	231	Goods your Ship Scarborough was supplyed with, as doth plainly appear by his two Collections we enter in the Rect p the ship the 11 April last, we directed the Accountant to give him Credit for the said Goods which Amounts to twelve Pounds six Shillings & Eleven Pence half penny In your last Invoice p the Walpole 200 Tirih Hoops for Powder Barrels are put down in it at 3.4 p hundred, & carried out in the Column as amounting to £33 6 8 which Sum is included in the Total of that Invoice we thought proper to acquaint your Honours with this mistake Your Soldiers that are Married here, frequently inclining to return to England after they have served their Contracted Times, & often leave their Wives with young Children which becomes very burthensome to the Island we therefore request that your Honours will be pleased to give us your full directions, whether we may not Oblige such Men to take their Familys with them, and if their Women refuse to leave the Island, whether we may not compel them to go with their Husbands Mr Thomas French having given us Security, for the Money demanded of him by, Mr James DuBois & Mr Seale so that if your Honours Should think proper to pay Mr DuBois	Purling had charged himself twice for the store goods the *Scarborough* had been supplied with, as plainly appeared from his two accounts, one under 25 December and the other under 11 April. The Council directed the accountant to give him credit for those goods, which came to £12 6s 11½d. In the last invoice by the *Walpole*, 200 tink hoops for powder barrels were entered in the columns at 3s 4d a hundred, but were carried out in the columns as amounting to £33 6s 8d, which sum was included in the total of that invoice. The Council thought it proper to report the mistake. The Court's soldiers who were married on the island frequently wished to return to England after they had served their contracted times, and often left their wives with young children, who became very burdensome to the island. The Council therefore asked the Court to give it full directions, whether it might not oblige such men to take their families with them, and if their wives refused to leave the island, whether it might not compel them to go with their husbands. Thomas French had given the Council security for the money demanded of him by James Du Bois and William Seale, so that if the Court thought proper to pay Du Bois his claim in England, the Council would receive the amount into the Court's cash on the arrival of the next store ship. It would also settle the account between French and William Seale. The Court's common seal on the island was now so old and worn that it was difficult to make a good impression with it. The Council therefore asked the Court to send [...]. **Interpretations** The problem of the soldiers' abandoned families reveals the social burden a garrison of married men laid on a small settlement, and the Council's wish for

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		his Claim in England, we will receive the Amounts thereof into your Cash, upon the arrival of your next Store ship & also settle the Account between the said Thos French, and William Seale Your Honours common Seal here is now so old & loose, that it is difficult to make a good impression with it, we therefore desire that you will be pleased to send	authority to shift it. Soldiers who had served their time went home to England but left wives and children behind, who fell as a charge on the island, and the Council sought the Court's leave to compel departing men to take their families and to force reluctant wives to go with their husbands. The request shows the island government seeking to control the movement of the dependents its establishment had generated, unwilling to support the families the garrison left in its wake and looking to London for the power to remove them, a hard administrative response to a human consequence of manning a remote post with married soldiers. The two accounting errors reported here, the storekeeper's double charge and the inflated hoop entry in the invoice, show the constant vigilance the Council kept over the Company's accounts and its practice of catching and correcting mistakes in both directions. One error had the storekeeper charging himself twice, to be put right by a credit, and the other had an invoice from home overstating a charge, both spotted by the Council's own checking of the figures against the entries. This careful auditing, correcting errors that told against the servant as readily as those that told against the Court, marks the honest bookkeeping the Council maintained, the accounts of a distant station reconciled line by line so that neither the Company nor its servants bore a charge that was not truly owed, the whole a discipline of exact account across the great distance the invoices travelled.
236	232	us a new one by your next Store Ship As there will want eleven Cannon with Carriages Compleat to one place above, we put on board the Walpole, we think it would be much for your Honours Service, & the defence of your Island, to send us that Number, of 32 or 24 Pounders, the heaviest Metal being the best defence against Ships 10 We have transmitted to your Honours in a paper a part, the Planters return of Cattle for Slaughter, for the present Year, as likewise an Account of the Number, that has been killed for the Market, for your Honours & for foreign Ships, to this day inclusive by which you will see there is now 183 remaining to be Slaughtered and by one of your latter Ships we shall send your Honours an exact Account in what manner the Planters have been directed to Supply the Market, & Ships, & the quantity they have furnished to both We transmit to you by this occasion a plan & Elevation of new Barracks, & an Hospital with a Computation of the required Materials, & the expence of them, as was which we hope will meet with your approbation, the reason so large a quantity of Deals are required is for the covering, which by laying over them a thin Mortar, made of Dirt, is found by experience to	The Council asked the Court to send a new common seal by the next store ship. Since eleven cannon with carriages complete would be wanted for one place on the island, over what the Council had put on board the *Walpole*, it thought it would much serve the Court and the defence of the island to send that number of 32 or 24 pounders, the heaviest metal being the best defence against ships. 10: The Council had transmitted to the Court in a separate paper the planters' return of cattle for slaughter for the present year, and also an account of the number that had been killed for the market and for foreign ships to that day, by which the Court would see there were now 183 remaining to be slaughtered. By one of the later ships the Council would send the Court an exact account of the manner in which the planters had been directed to supply the market and the ships, and the quantity they had furnished to both. The Council transmitted by this conveyance a plan and elevation of new barracks and a hospital, with a computation of the materials required and the expense of them, which it hoped would meet with the Court's approval. So large a quantity of deals was required for the covering because, by laying over them a thin mortar made of dirt, it was found by experience to be the best and cheapest for such buildings, especially in the valleys on the island, as they could always be very easily repaired. The Council reported with pleasure that the rains still continued, so that the island was now in a very flourishing condition, it having already made about six tons of hay in the Longwood. Francis Wrangham having applied to the Council for [...]. **Interpretations** The request for heavy 32 or 24 pounder cannon to defend a particular position shows the island continually strengthening its fortifications against attack by ship, the chief threat to a station in wartime. The Council judged that the heaviest guns made the best defence against ships, and sought them to complete the armament of a point over and

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		be the best, & cheapest for such sorts of Buildings especially in the Valleys here, as they can always be very easily repaired We have the pleasure to acquaint you that, the Rains still continue so that the Island is now in a very flourishing condition, we having already made about Six Tons of Hay in the Long Wood Mr Fra Wrangham &c having applyd to us for	above what it had already returned as unserviceable, so that the island's batteries might command the approaches with metal weighty enough to damage an enemy vessel. This attention to the calibre of the guns and the arming of every defensible position runs through the record of these years, the island a fortress on the homeward route whose whole security rested on its ability to beat off the French ships that might attempt it, the Council forever improving the works and the ordnance against that danger. The building method described, deals covered with a thin mortar of dirt, reveals how the island contrived durable construction from cheap and local materials suited to its own conditions. Experience had shown this covering to be the best and cheapest for buildings in the valleys, easily repaired when it failed, so the Council adopted it for the new barracks and hospital rather than a costlier method, fitting the construction to what the island afforded and what its climate and terrain required. This practical adaptation of building technique to local circumstance, choosing the material and method that served best and cost least on the spot, shows the settlement making the most of its own resources, the works raised by the Company's slaves from materials the island yielded and finished in the way found to last there, a self-reliant husbandry of construction at the far edge of the Company's world.
237	233	for liberty to pay £30 into your Cash, we have received it, & given him Bills drawn on your Honours payable to himself (or Order) ninety days after Sight, dated the 26 instant This waits on your Honours by your Ship Admiral Vernon, by which occasion we send to you the List of the remains of your Stores to the 30 of April last, with our Indent for what will be wanting for the Service of the ensuing Year, which we hope your Honours will be pleased to supply us with We are St Helena Honble Sirs 26th June 1753 Your most Obedt & most hum Servant (Signd) Charles Hutchinson John Adamson John Clark List of the Honourable Companys Packet from St Helena p Ship Admiral Vernon together with the foregoing Letter dated the 26th June 1753 Vizt No 1 Governour and Councils General Letter dated 26th June 1753 2 Duplicate Do 5th May Do 3 Do Consultations from 5th April to 5 May Do 4 Consultations from the 7th May to the 18 June Do 5 List of Officers and Servants taken 26 June Do 6 Duplicate List of the Packet p Ship Drake 7 Second Receipt for the Packet p Ship Wager	Since Francis Wrangham had asked the Council for leave to pay £30 0s 0d into the Court's cash, the Council received it and gave him bills drawn on the Court, payable to himself or order ninety days after sight, dated the third of the month. The Council sent this letter home by the Court's ship *Admiral Vernon*, by which conveyance it sent the list of the remains of the Court's stores to 30 April, with its indent for what would be wanting for the service of the coming year, which it hoped the Court would supply. The letter was signed at St Helena on 20 June 1753 by Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson and John Clark. The list of the packet the *Admiral Vernon* carried home with the letter of 20 June 1753 included the following. 1: Governor and Council's general letter dated 20 June 1753 2: Duplicate of the general letter dated 5 May 1753 3: Duplicate consultations from the fifth of April to the fifth of May 1753 4: Consultations from the fifth of May to the eighteenth of June 1753 5: List of officers and servants taken 26 June 1753 6: Duplicate list of the packet of the ship Drake 7: Second receipt for the packet of the ship Wager
238	234	8 Second Receipt for the Packet p the Princess Louisa a Dane Ship 9 First Receipt for Do p Ship Drake 10 Duplicate Cash Account from the 5th to the 11th April 1753 11 Do from the 12th April to the 5th May Do 12 Cash Account from the 6th to the 11 May Do 13 Do from the 12th May to the 11 June Do 14 Do from the 12th to the 19th June Do 15 Duplicate Ship Drakes Account	8: Second receipt for the packet of the Princess Louisa, a Danish ship 9: First receipt for the packet of the ship Drake 10: Duplicate cash account from the fifth to the eleventh of April 1753 11: Duplicate cash account from the twelfth of April to the fifth of May 1753 12: Cash account from the sixth to the eleventh of May 1753

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		16 Do Ship Edgcotes Account 17 Do Ship Rhodas Account 18 Do Ship Walpoles Account 19 Ship Admiral Vernons Account 20 Abstract of Ship Admiral Vernons Bill of Lading 21 Duplicate Bill of Lading from St Helena p Ship Walpole 22 Indent of Stores wanted at St Helena for the year 1754 23 Do of Medicines and Druggs for the year 1754 24 List of Remains of Stores taken from the 12 Octor 1752 to the 30th April 1753 25 Do of Gunners and Garrison Stores remaining the 30th April Do 26 Plan and Elevation of New Barracks 27 Do of New Hospital 28 Estimate of Materials wanted to Build the Barracks 29 Do wanted to Build a Hospital 30 Cattle returned and Slaughtered in the year 1753	13: Cash account from the twelfth of May to the eleventh of June 1753 14: Cash account from the twelfth to the nineteenth of June 1753 15: Duplicate ship Drake account 16: Duplicate ship Edgcote account 17: Duplicate ship Rhoda account 18: Duplicate ship Walpole account 19: Ship Admiral Vernon account 20: Abstract of the ship Admiral Vernon's bill of lading 21: Duplicate bill of lading from St Helena by the ship Walpole 22: Indent of stores wanted at St Helena for the year 1754 23: Indent of medicines and drugs for the year 1754 24: List of the remains of stores taken from the twelfth of October 1752 to the thirtieth of April 1753 25: List of gunners and garrison stores remaining the thirtieth of April 1753 26: Plan and elevation of new barracks 27: Plan and elevation of new hospital 28: Estimate of materials wanted to build the barracks 29: Estimate of materials wanted to build a hospital 30: Cattle returned and slaughtered in the year 1753
239	235	To the Honble &ca Honble Sirs 1 Our last Advices to you went by your Ship the Admiral Vernon that Sailed from hence on the 26th June 2 On the 12th Instant Arrived your Ships the Bombay Castle Captain Brown and the Pelham Captain Lindsay, the former acquaints us that he left Madrass the 29th of March and at half an Hour past two in the Morning of the 20th of June he spoke with the Stafford Captain Bishop three Hours after with the Tavistock Captain Cash, and at two that Afternoon with the Sandwich Captain Purling, judging himself to be then about 16 Leagues off Cape Lagullas, the latter tells us that he sailed from Bombay the Sixth of March and from Anjengo the 7th of April where he says the Hector Captain Kerwin was expected to arrive every day, He likewise informs us that he spoke with the Elizabeth Captain Wills the 4th of June 15 Degrees to the Eastward of the Cape 3 On the 18th of this Month arrived the Chesterfield Captain Carter who acquaints us that he left Bengall the 14th of February last, and that it was said the Oxford Captain Stevens was to sail in ten Days after him for Europe Captain Carter further informs us that he Arrived at Madrass the 14th of March following, and that your Ships the Colchester, was to go from thence for the Island	1: The Council's last letter to the Court went home in the Court's ship *Admiral Vernon*, which sailed from St Helena on the twentieth of June. 2: On the twelfth of the month the Court's ships *Bombay Castle* under Captain Brown and *Pelham* under Captain Lindsay arrived. Captain Brown reported that he left Madras on the twenty-third of March, and that at half past two in the morning of the twentieth of June he spoke with the *Stafford* under Captain Bishop, three hours after with the *Tavistock* under Captain Lisle, and at two that afternoon with the *Sandwich* under Captain Purling, judging himself to be then about 16 leagues off Cape Agulhas. Captain Lindsay reported that he sailed from Bombay on the sixth of March and from Anjengo on the seventh of April, where he said the *Hester* under Captain Kerwin was expected to arrive every day. He also reported that he spoke with the *Elizabeth* under Captain Wills on the fifth of June, 15 degrees to the eastward of the Cape. 3: On the eighteenth of the month the *Chesterfield* under Captain Carter arrived. He reported that he left Bengal on the fourteenth of February, and that the *Oxford* under Captain Stevens was said to be sailing in ten days after him for Europe. Captain Carter further reported that he arrived at Madras on the fourteenth of March following, and that the Court's ship *Colchester* was to go from there for the island [...]. **Interpretations** The dense record of ships spoken with at sea shows the constant exchange of position and identity between vessels on the crowded homeward track, and how St Helena gathered it all. Captain Brown alone had spoken with three ships in a single day off the Cape, naming each and the hour he met her, so that his arrival gave the Council the whereabouts of four vessels at once to forward to London. This hailing of one ship by another, each commander noting whom he passed and where, built up the picture of the fleet's progress that the island collected and relayed, the ships reporting one another across the ocean and the Council piecing their accounts together into a record of the whole homeward-bound trade for the Court at home.

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		Negrais	The reports carrying the movements and expected arrivals of ships still far off illustrate the reach of the intelligence the island assembled from its callers. Captain Lindsay could tell the Council that the *Hester* was expected daily at Anjengo when he left, and Captain Carter that the *Oxford* was to sail from Bengal ten days after him, so that the Council learned not only where the arriving ships had been but what other vessels were doing at the ports they had quitted. This forwarding of the coming movements of the distant fleet, gathered from commanders freshly out from the eastern settlements, let the Court anticipate the arrivals of ships that were still weeks or months from home, the island the point at which the scattered news of the fleet's disposition, present and prospective, was collected and sent on.
240	236	and that the Godolphin had then on board a Company of Swifs for Fort St David and it was said that upon her return she was to Load for Europe and to call at Bencoolen to fill up He likewise acquaints us that in on the 20th day the Latitude of 32 32 at one in the Afternoon he saw a Sail bearing WNW under her Courses and treble Reefd Topsails which he passed in the Night, and judged to be a Dutch Ship, that on the 21st at 4 in the Afternoon he spoke with the Tavistock Captain Cash in the Latitude of 35 37 and that every Body on board her were then well that 4 Days after in the Latitude of 34 40 and about 30 Leagues to the Westward of the Cape he saw an outward bound Ship under English Colours, which not bearing down to him he could not speak with her 4 Mr Matthew Bazett having served your Honours five years as Writer applyd to us to be put upon the Establishment of a Factor, which we accordingly did agreeable to your Orders, his Covenants as such go herewith enclosed to your Honours, and he acquaints Us he has wrote to two Friends in England who he hopes will be his securities 5 We cannot send your Honours by this Occasion a State of your Cash to a later date than a Duplicate of our last to the 15th June as the Quarters Accounts, ending the 11th Instant, will not be ready to be laid before us untill the 30th Day of this Month 6 Mr Matthew Purling having applyd to us to pay £150 - - into your Cash we have received it and given him Bills of Exchange drawn on your Honours for that Sum payable to himself or Order Ninety Days after Sight dated the 16th Instant	The *Godolphin* had then on board a company of Swiss for Fort St David, and it was said that on her return she was to sail for Europe and call at Bencoolen to fill up. Captain Carter also reported that in latitude 32 degrees 32 minutes, at one in the afternoon, he saw a sail bearing west-north-west under her courses and treble reefed topsails, which he passed in the night and judged to be a Dutch ship. On the twenty-first, at four in the afternoon, he spoke with the *Tavistock* under Captain Lisle in latitude 35 degrees 37 minutes, and everybody on board her was then well. Four days after, in latitude 34 degrees 40 minutes and about 30 leagues to the westward of the Cape, he saw an outward-bound ship under English colours, which not bearing down to him he could not speak with. 4: Matthew Bazett, having served the Court five years as a writer, applied to the Council to be put on the establishment of a factor, which the Council did in obedience to the Court's orders. His contracts as such went home with this letter, and he reported that he had written to two friends in England who he hoped would be his securities. 5: The Council could not send the Court by this conveyance a statement of its cash to a later date than a duplicate of its last to the thirteenth of June, as the quarter's accounts, ending the eleventh of the month, would not be ready to be laid before it until the thirtieth of the month. 6: Matthew Purling, having applied to the Council to pay £150 0s 0d into the Court's cash, the Council received it and gave him bills of exchange drawn on the Court for that sum, payable to himself or order ninety days after sight, dated the sixteenth of the month. **Interpretations** The advancement of Matthew Bazett from writer to factor on completing five years' service shows the ladder of promotion the Company maintained in its civil service and the securities that attended each step. A writer who had served his time could be raised to factor, the next rank, on the Court's orders, entering new contracts and giving fresh sureties for the greater trust the higher place carried. This ordered progression through the grades of the service, each rank reached by time served and confirmed by bond, was the framework within which the Company's servants rose, the island administering the advancement of its own men according to the rules the Court laid down, the writer of five years standing becoming a factor as of course once his term was up and his securities found. Purling's payment of £150 into the cash against bills, following his earlier accounting error over the store goods, shows the same storekeeper using the island's remittance facility even as his accounts were being corrected. A servant with money on the island

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			paid it to the Council and took bills on London, and Purling did so like the others, the personal remittance quite separate from the official accounts in which his double charge had been found and put right. The routine continuation of such business alongside the correction of his error marks the ordinary working of the station, its officers both handling the Court's accounts and using its cash to remit their own funds home, the two running side by side as the settled practice of a place that served as banker to the very men who kept its books.
241	237	7 The Bell that is over the Guard House here on which the Hour is constantly struck having been in use a great Number of Years, and the Crown of it broke, We hope your Honours will be pleased to send us another of the size of those that are for your Ships and by the next opportunity after we receive it we will return the Old one if you approve of it 8 This waits upon your Honours by your Ship Bombay Castle that Sails from hence with your Ship the Pelham and will be followed in about twenty Days by your Ship Chesterfield We are Honble Sirs St Helena Your most Obedt and most hum Servants (Signed) 23 July 1753 Charles Hutchinson John Adamson John Clark	7 The Bell that is over the Guard House here on which the Hour is constantly struck having been in use a great Number of Years, and the Crown of it broke, We hope your Honours will be pleased to send us another of the size of those that are for your Ships and by the next opportunity after we receive it we will return the Old one if you approve of it 8 This waits upon your Honours by your Ship Bombay Castle that Sails from hence with your Ship the Pelham and will be followed in about twenty Days by your Ship Chesterfield We are Honble Sirs St Helena Your most Obedt and most hum Servants (Signed) 23 July 1753 Charles Hutchinson John Adamson John Clark
242	238	List of the Honourable Companys Packet from St Helena p Ship Bombay Castle together with the foregoing Letter dated the 23 July 1753 Vizt No 1 Governour and Councils General Letter dated the 23 July 1753 2 Duplicate Do Do dated the 26th June Do 3 Do Consultations from 7th May to the 18th June Do 4 Consultations from 26th June to the 21 July Do 5 List of Officers and Servants taken the 23 July Do 6 Duplicate List of the Packet p Ship Admiral Vernon Do 7 Second Receipt for the Packet p Ship Drake 8 First Receipt for the Packet p Ship Admiral Vernon 9 Duplicate Cash Account from 6th to the 11th May 1753 10 Do Do from 12th May to the 11 June 11 Do Do from 12th to the 19th June 12 Do Ship Admiral Vernons Account 13 Account of the Cargo of Ship Bombay Castle 14 Do of the Cargo of Ship Pelham 15 Do of the Cargo of Ship Chesterfield 16 Ship Bombay Castles Account 17 Do Pelhams Account 18 Duplicate Indent of Stores wanted at St Helena for the Year 1754 19 Do of Medicines and Drugs for the Year 1754 20 Do of remains of Stores taken from the 12th October 1752 to the 30th April 1753 21 Duplicate List of Gunners and Garrison Stores remaining the 30th April 1753 22 Mr Matthew Bazetts Covenants	The list of the packet the *Bombay Castle* carried home with the letter of 23 July 1753 included the following. 1: Governor and Council's general letter dated 23 July 1753 2: Duplicate of the general letter dated 20 June 1753 3: Duplicate consultations from the seventh of May to the eighteenth of June 1753 4: Consultations from the twenty-sixth of June to the twenty-first of July 1753 5: List of officers and servants taken 23 July 1753 6: Duplicate list of the packet of the ship Admiral Vernon 7: Second receipt for the packet of the ship Drake 8: First receipt for the packet of the ship Admiral Vernon 9: Duplicate cash account from the sixth to the eleventh of May 1753 10: Duplicate cash account from the twelfth of May to the eleventh of June 1753 11: Duplicate cash account from the twelfth to the nineteenth of June 1753 12: Duplicate ship Admiral Vernon account 13: Account of the cargo of the ship Bombay Castle 14: Account of the cargo of the ship Pelham 15: Account of the cargo of the ship Chesterfield 16: Ship Bombay Castle account 17: Ship Pelham account 18: Duplicate indent of stores wanted at St Helena for the year 1754 19: Duplicate indent of medicines and drugs for the year 1754

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		23 List of Soldiers discharged the Garrison who take their Passage on board the Ship Bombay Castle	20: Duplicate list of the remains of stores taken from the twelfth of October 1752 to the thirtieth of April 1753 21: Duplicate list of gunners and garrison stores remaining the thirtieth of April 1753 22: Contracts of Mr Matthew Bazett 23: List of soldiers discharged from the garrison who take their passage on board the ship Bombay Castle
243	239	To the Honourable Court &ca Honble Sirs 1 We wrote last to you by your Ship the Bombay Castle that Sailed from hence on the 27th July with your Honrs Ship Pelham 2 We transmit to you by this Occasion the List of Cattle returned for Slaughter, by the Planters, for the Service of the present Year, and we have likewise drawn out in Columns in the same List the Number each Person has supplyd the Market, your own, and foreign Ships as p a list annexed to our Consultation of the 6th instant which we hope will meet with your approbation, but because we believe there are some things that may not appear quite plain to your Honours we have explained them in the same Sheet the Acct p the Cattle is upon 3 The Sheep are in general very lean, from a Scowering by their eating young Grass which the late Rains produced, so that we have had Little or no Mutton at the Market, and what has been Sold to the Ships we have reason to believe was so extreamly bad that it was thro mere necessity the Commanders took any 4 Complaint having been made to us by Mr Richd Goodwin that the Executors of Gabriel Harper deceased, have refused him a third part of his Leasehold Land, or the Value thereof, which he Mr Goodwin Demands in right of his Wife the Widow of the said Gabriel Harper who by his Will which is entered in Consultation of 22 March 1747 has left her	1: The Council's last letter to the Court went home in the Court's ship *Bombay Castle*, which sailed from St Helena on the twenty-fifth of July with the Court's ship *Pelham*. 2: The Council transmitted by this conveyance the list of cattle returned for slaughter by the planters for the service of the present year. In the same list it had drawn out in columns the number each person had supplied to the market and to the Court's own and foreign ships, as by a list annexed to its consultation of the sixth of the month, which it hoped would meet with the Court's approval. Since it believed there were some things that might not appear quite plain to the Court, it had explained them on the same sheet the account of the cattle was on. 3: The sheep were in general very lean, from a scouring caused by their eating the young grass the late rains had produced, so that there had been little or no mutton at the market. What had been sold to the ships the Council had reason to believe was so extremely bad that it was only sheer necessity that made the commanders take any. 4: Complaint had been made to the Council by Richard Goodwin that the executors of Gabriel Harper deceased had refused him a third part of his leasehold land, or the value of it, which Goodwin demanded in right of his wife, the widow of Gabriel Harper. By his will, entered in the consultation of 22 March 1747, Harper had left her [...]. **Interpretations** The lean sheep and the bad mutton forced on the ships reveal the pressure the season's conditions put on the island's power to victual the fleet, and the strain it placed on relations with the commanders. The young grass brought on by the rains scoured the sheep and left them thin, so that the market had little mutton and what went to the ships was so poor the captains took it only from necessity, having no other supply. This shows how completely the quality of the island's provisions depended on the state of the pasture, a wet season fattening the cattle but sickening the sheep, and the Council obliged to send the ships bad meat when the flocks failed, the provisioning of the fleet at the mercy of conditions the island could not control, the commanders taking what they could get because the passage home allowed no choice. The dispute over Gabriel Harper's leasehold shows the island adjudicating the property rights of a widow against the executors of her late husband's estate. Goodwin claimed a third of the leasehold land in right of his wife, Harper's widow, under the terms of Harper's will, and the executors had refused it, so the matter came before the Council as the local authority over such questions. The reference to the will entered in the consultation of 22 March 1747 shows the Council working from its own recorded proceedings to determine the claim, the island keeping the register of wills and estates by which such disputes were settled. This administration of inheritance and dower, the widow's portion weighed against the executors' resistance, was part of the civil governance the Council exercised, the property of the dead and the rights of their survivors determined on the spot from the records the island kept.

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244	240	one half of his Lands and Houses as well freehold as Leasue to possess the same during the time she remains his Widow he also bequeathed her one third part of his Personal Estate to be at her disposal 5 Mr Richard Beale who wrote the Will informs us that the Widow heard it read and declared she was contents 6 The Executors in their answer to Mr Goodwins representation which is inserted in our Consultation of the 3d July 1753 set forth, that the Widow at the time her late Husbands Will was read and proved in Council, being then asked by the Governour if she had any Objection to make to it, declared she had not, they also observe that her late Husband did not deem his Leasehold Land to be Personal Estate, and for these Reasons are of opinion, that they cannot comply with Mr Goodwins demand without doing great Injury to the Orphans that are under their care 7 We find, upon Inquiry, it has been the custom of the Island, for the Widows to enjoy during Life, one half of their Husbands Real Estate, and that Leasehold Land has been generally deemed to be so, and that it has likewise been the Custom for the Widows to have one third part of all the Moveables, to be absolutely at her disposal 8 The Points in Dispute are 9 Whether Mr Gabriel Harper, could by his Will, debar or exclude his Widow from possessing the half of his freehold Estate, for her Life, according to the Custom of the Island and limit, as he has, their possession to the time of her Widowhood only 10 Whether any Claim made by Mr Goodwin in right of his Wife, can take place, after her Acquiescence to her Husbands Will When a Widow 11 And whether Leasehold Land is to be looked upon as Personal Estate or not, If it is the hardship upon the Orphans must be	By his will Gabriel Harper had left his widow one half of his lands and houses, both freehold and leasehold, to hold during the time she remained his widow. He had also bequeathed her one third part of his personal estate, to be at her own disposal. 5: Richard Beale, who had written the will, reported that the widow heard it read and declared she was content. 6: The executors, in their answer to Goodwin's representation, entered in the consultation of the ninth of July 1753, set out that when the widow heard her late husband's will read and proved in council, she was then asked by Governor Hutchinson whether she had any objection to make to it and declared she had not. They also observed that her late husband did not consider his leasehold land to be personal estate, and for these reasons were of opinion that they could not comply with Goodwin's demand without doing great injury to the orphans under their care. 7: The Council found on enquiry that it had been the custom of the island for widows to enjoy one half of their husbands' real estate during life, that leasehold land had generally been considered to be such, and that it had likewise been the custom for widows to have one third part of all the movables, absolutely at their own disposal. 8: The points in dispute were as follows. 9: Whether Gabriel Harper could by his will debar or exclude his widow from possessing the half of his freehold estate for her life, according to the custom of the island, and limit her possession to the time of her widowhood only. 10: Whether any claim made by Goodwin in right of his wife could take place, after her agreement to her husband's will when a widow. 11: Whether leasehold land was to be looked upon as personal estate or not. If it was, the hardship on the orphans must be [...]. **Interpretations** The dispute laid bare the tension between a testator's freedom to dispose of his estate and the customary rights of his widow, a question the Council found it could not resolve on the island alone. Harper's will gave his widow half his lands only while she remained unmarried, whereas the custom of the island gave widows half the real estate for life outright, so the will sought to cut down a right the custom conferred, and the Council framed the precise legal questions rather than deciding them. That the widow had agreed to the will when it was proved, yet her second husband now claimed the fuller customary portion in her right, sharpened the conflict between her own consent and the law's provision, the whole turning on whether a man could by his will override the island's settled custom as to what his widow should take. The classification of leasehold land as real or personal estate, central to the dispute, shows how much turned on a technical distinction in the law of property. If the leasehold counted as personal estate, the widow's third of the movables would fall on it and the orphans in the executors' care would suffer; if as real estate, it went with the lands under the custom of dower. The Council's care to set out this question for decision, rather than assume an answer, reflects the genuine uncertainty of the point and the competing interests it affected, the widow's provision against the orphans' inheritance. The referring of such a nice question of title, where the custom of a remote island met the general law and the facts were tangled, was the proper course for a Council that administered property disputes but looked to higher authority to settle the hard points of law they raised. **Speculations**

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			The Council set out the disputed points as formal questions for decision rather than ruling on Goodwin's claim itself, though it had found the custom of the island clear and could have applied it. The obvious course, having established on enquiry that widows customarily took half the real estate for life and a third of the movables, was to measure Harper's will against that custom and decide the matter on the spot. The Council instead drew up the three questions of law the case raised, whether a will could override the custom, whether the widow's consent barred her husband's claim, whether leasehold was personal estate, and left them to be answered elsewhere, because the case pitted the custom against the testator's expressed will and the widow's own agreement in a way the Council judged too nice to settle by its own authority. The gap between the clear custom it had found and its refusal to apply it directly is visible in the framing of the points, and the reason, the real conflict between custom, will and consent and the interests of the orphans caught between them, shows a Council choosing to refer a hard question of law rather than impose a resolution that might do injustice to one side.
245	241	be very great, for supposing a Man dyes and leaves a Wife and several Children and his Estate consists chiefly in Leasehold Land, that third part of it, must then be absolutely taken from the Children 12 And as these points appears to us to be of a very nice Nature, and of Some importance to the Persons now concerned, and may possibly be so to others hereafter, We therefore beg leave to lay them before your Honours for your determination 13 Part of the Steel your Honours sent us by your Ship the Cowan was not delivered to us when She was here outward bound, which was afterwards found and left at Fort Marlborough by Captain Hinde, and being now much in want of some for repairing different sort of Tools we beg that your Honours will be pleased to send us 15o of flatened Steel by your next Store Ship 14 The Reverend Mr Wm Lee having applyd to us to pay £40 Mr Richd Beale £60 Mr John Godwin £40 Mr John Bland 30 Mr Francis Mount & £5 Captain Baumgarten £45o Do Ships John Godwin and Matthew Purling Attorneys to Mr John Browne 68 10 we have received the same and given them Bills of Exchange drawn on your Honours dated the 6 Instant, for their several Sums payable to themselves or Order Ninety Days after Sight 15 We think proper to acquaint you that there are now eight Men wanted to compleat the Establishment of your Garrison, in which number if your Honours will please to to send us some Artificers it will be a great Service to the Island We are Honble Sirs Your most Obedt hum Servants	The hardship on the orphans would be very great, for supposing a man died and left a wife and several children, and his estate consisted chiefly in leasehold land, a third part of it must then be absolutely taken from the children. 12: Since these points appeared to the Council to be of a very nice nature, of some importance to the persons now concerned, and perhaps to others in future, it asked the Court to determine them. 13: Part of the stores the Court had sent by the *Compton* had not been delivered when she was at the island outward bound, which was afterwards found to have been left at Fort Marlborough by Captain Hinde. Being now much in want of some for repairing different sorts of tools, the Council asked the Court to send 150 pounds of flatted steel by the next store ship. 14: Since the Reverend William Lee had applied to the Council to pay £40 0s 0d, Richard Beale £60 0s 0d, John Godwin £40 0s 0d, John Bland £30 0s 0d, Francis Mount £5 0s 0d, Captain Baumgarten £45 0s 0d, and Messrs John Brown and Matthew Purling, attorneys to Mr John Brown, £68 10s 0d into the Court's cash, the Council received the same and gave them bills of exchange drawn on the Court, dated the sixth of the month, for their several sums, payable to themselves or order ninety days after sight. 15: The Council thought proper to report that eight men were now wanted to complete the establishment of the garrison. If the Court would send some artificers in that number, it would be a great service to the island. The letter was signed at St Helena on 9 August 1753 by Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson and John Clark. **Interpretations** The several payments into the cash on a single day, from the chaplain, the clerk, private inhabitants and a captain, show the volume of remittance business the island handled and its central place in moving money home for everyone connected with it. Eight separate persons paid sums ranging from five to nearly seventy pounds into the Court's cash and took bills on London, all dated the same day, so that the island cleared a whole batch of private remittances at once through its drafts on the Court. This concentration of business marks how thoroughly the settlement served as banker to its inhabitants and visitors, gathering their money against bills payable in England, the funds paid in

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		St Helena Charles Hutchinson 9th August 1753 John Adamson John Clark	supplying the Council's own needs while the payees drew the value at home, the island a clearing house through which the private wealth of the place flowed toward London by the Company's credit. The request for artificers to fill the eight vacancies in the garrison shows the island seeking to meet its need for skilled labour by drawing it from the recruits sent to man the establishment. Rather than ask only for soldiers, the Council pressed that the men sent to complete the garrison include artificers, tradesmen whose skills the island wanted, so that the same drafts that filled the ranks would also supply the workmen the place lacked. This linking of the garrison's manning to the island's need for skilled hands ran through the record, the Council forever short both of soldiers and of tradesmen and looking to the recruits from home to answer both wants at once, the establishment of a remote post staffed by men who must serve as workers as well as defenders because no other source of skilled labour was at hand.
246	242	List of the Honourable Companys Packet from St Helena together with the foregoing Letter p Ship Chesterfield dated the 9th August 1753 Vizt No 1 Governour and Councils General Letter dated the 9th August 1753 2 Duplicate Do dated 23 July Do 3 Do Consultation from 25 June to the 21 July Do 4 Consultations from 23 July to the 6th August Do 5 List of Officers and Servants taken the 9th August Do 6 Second Receipt for the Packet p Ship Admiral Vernon Do 7 First Receipt for Do p Ship Bombay Castle 8 Cash Acco from 26th June to the 11 July 1753 9 Do from 12th July to the 9th August Do 10 Duplicate Ship Bombay Castles Account 11 Do Ship Pelhams Account 12 Ship Chesterfields Account 13 Duplicate List of the Packet p Ship Bombay Castle 14 List of Marriages &ca	The list of the packet the *Chesterfield* carried home with the letter of 9 August 1753 included the following. 1: Governor and Council's general letter dated 9 August 1753 2: Duplicate of the general letter dated 23 July 1753 3: Duplicate consultations from the twenty-fifth of June to the twenty-first of July 1753 4: Consultations from the twenty-third of July to the sixth of August 1753 5: List of officers and servants taken 9 August 1753 6: Second receipt for the packet of the ship Admiral Vernon 7: First receipt for the packet of the ship Bombay Castle 8: Cash account from the twenty-sixth of June to the eleventh of July 1753 9: Cash account from the twelfth of July to the ninth of August 1753 10: Duplicate ship Bombay Castle account 11: Duplicate ship Pelham account 12: Ship Chesterfield account 13: Duplicate list of the packet of the ship Bombay Castle 14: List of marriages and others
247	243	To the Honble &ca Honble Sirs 1 We wrote to you last by your Honrs Ship the Chesterfield Captain Edwin Carter that Sailed from hence on the 9th August 2 On the 11 November arrived your Ship the Oxford Captain Thomas Stevens, who acquaints us that he departed from Pt Palmoras on the 17th March and on the 10th May he put into Mauritius to fill up his Water and sailed from thence the 20 but could not get round the Cape of good Hope, finding himself on the 1 July from 110 to 120 Leagues to the Eastward of it, upon which he thought proper to go into Augustine Bay in Madagascar where he found your Honours Ship the Prince Edward Captain Haldane and likewise heard that your Captains Baron, Fitch, Poulton, Bull and Purling had touched there in their way to India	1: The Council's last letter to the Court went home in the Court's ship *Chesterfield* under Captain Edwin Carter, which sailed from St Helena on the ninth of August. 2: On the eleventh of November the Court's ship *Oxford* under Captain Thomas Stevens arrived. He reported that he departed from Palmyras on the seventeenth of March, and on the tenth of May put into Mauritius to fill up his water, sailing from there on the twentieth. He could not get round the Cape of Good Hope, finding himself on the first of July from 110 to 120 leagues to the eastward of it, on which he thought proper to go into St Augustine's Bay in Madagascar. There he found the Court's ship *Prince Edward* under Captain Haldane, and also heard that the Court's captains Aaron, Field, Coulson, Ball and Purling had touched there on their way to India. 3: The captain further reported that the morning he arrived at Mauritius, a large ship sailed from there with about 350 soldiers for Pondicherry, and a few days after a smaller one went from there without any troops, though he did not know where she was bound. He also reported that he left five large French ships there, two of which were for China, and the others were said to be sailing in a few days to carry men to Pondicherry.

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		3 The Captain further informs us that the Morning he arrived at Mauritius, there Sailed from thence a large Ship with about 350 Soldiers for Pondichery, and a few Days after a smaller went from thence, without any Troops, but he does not know where She was bound to, he likewise says that he left, five large French Ships there two of which were for China, and the other three it was said were to sail in a few Days to carry Men to Pondichery 4 The Inhabitants here have been for some time past much afflicted with the Jaundice which still continues and tho no Body has Died with it, the Distemper renders them incapable of Service, which has been the case of many of your Honours as well as the Planters Slaves	4: The inhabitants on the island had for some time past been much afflicted with jaundice, which still continued, though nobody had died of it. The distemper rendered them incapable of service, which had been the case of many of the Court's slaves as well as the planters' [...]. **Interpretations** The continued reports of French ships carrying soldiers to Pondicherry through Mauritius extended into the winter the intelligence the island had been sending home all year on the French war effort in India. The *Oxford*'s commander had seen a large ship leave Mauritius with 350 soldiers for Pondicherry and left five more French ships there, some bound to carry men to the same port, so that the Council could report a sustained movement of French reinforcements toward the Coromandel coast. Mauritius was the French staging point for the war in India, and every homeward English commander who touched or passed there brought word of the troops and ships gathering, the island collecting these successive sightings into a continuing account of the enemy's buildup that let the Court follow the course of the struggle for the Carnatic from far away. The outbreak of jaundice among the inhabitants and slaves shows how sickness on a small island struck directly at its capacity to work and defend itself. The distemper disabled both the planters' slaves and the Court's, rendering many incapable of service, so that an illness that killed no one nonetheless crippled the labour on which the fortifications, plantations and provisioning depended. This vulnerability of a small isolated population to a general sickness, the same hands serving as workforce and garrison and all liable to be laid up together, was a standing weakness of the settlement, the health of the island's people and slaves bearing as directly on the Company's interest as the state of the pasture or the arming of the batteries, a widespread distemper able to halt the work of the whole place at once.
248	244	5 Lieutenant John Clark applyd to us for liberty to pay one hundred Pounds into your Cash, which we have received and given him Bills of Exchange drawn on your Honours for that Sum payable to himself (or Order) ninety Days after Sight dated the 3d Instant 6 Mr John Bland applyd to us for liberty to pay one hundred Pounds in to your Cash which we have recd and given him Bills of Exchange drawn on your Honours for that Sum payable to himself (or Order) Ninety Days after Sight dated the 3d Instant 7 The Arch of the Pot Cellice at Banks's is so small that the Floods have not only filled it, but wrote 3 feet above it by which it has been much hurt and the whole work in Danger of being carried away, we therefore think it absolutely Necessary to pull the present Arch down and Build another large enough to Discharge any Quantity of Water that may reasonably be supposed to come 8 We have the pleasure to acquaint your Honours that by	5: Since Lieutenant John Clark had asked the Council for leave to pay £100 0s 0d into the Court's cash, the Council received it and gave him bills of exchange drawn on the Court for that sum, payable to himself or order ninety days after sight, dated the third of the month. 6: Since Mr John Bland had asked the Council for leave to pay £100 0s 0d into the Court's cash, the Council received it and gave him bills of exchange drawn on the Court for that sum, payable to himself or order ninety days after sight, dated the third of the month. 7: The arch of the pot kiln at Banks's was so small that the floods had not only filled it but risen three feet above it, by which it had been much hurt and the whole work was in danger of being carried away. The Council therefore thought it absolutely necessary to pull the present arch down and build another large enough to discharge any quantity of water that might reasonably be supposed to come. 8: The Council reported with pleasure that from the frequent rains it had had in the year past, though they had not fallen in the usual seasons, there was a great plenty of grass on the island, and so much in several of the Court's pastures that it intended to cut some more for hay. 9: The letter went home in the Court's ship *Oxford* under Captain Thomas Stevens. It was signed at St Helena on 5 December 1753 by Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson and John Clark. **Interpretations** The damage to the pot kiln at Banks's by floodwater shows the island's works exposed to the violence of the weather that the same rains, welcome

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		the Frequent Rains we have had in the Year past tho they have not fallen in the usual Seasons, there is a great plenty of Grass upon the Island, and so much in several of your Honours Pastures that we intend to cut some more for Hay 9 This waits upon your Honours by your Ship Oxford Captain Thomas Stevens We are Honble Sirs Your most Obedt and most hum Servants (Signd) St Helena Charles Hutchinson 5th Decr 1753 John Adamson John Clark	for the grass, brought with them. The kiln's arch was too small to carry off the floods, which rose above it and threatened to sweep the whole structure away, so the Council resolved to rebuild it larger, sized to discharge the water that might reasonably come. This attention to fitting the island's constructions to its actual conditions, enlarging the arch after experience showed the old one inadequate, marks the practical management of the settlement's fabric, the same wet season that fattened the cattle endangering the works, and the Council learning from the damage to build more stoutly against the floods a rainy season could produce. The note that the rains had not fallen in the usual seasons yet had left great plenty of grass records a departure from the island's expected pattern of weather worth reporting to the Court. The Council had learned to look for rain at particular times, and its coming out of season, while still filling the pastures, was a variation it thought fit to remark, the more so as the abundance let it cut extra hay against future scarcity. This close tracking of the island's rainfall against its accustomed rhythm, and the turning of an unexpected plenty to advantage by laying up hay, shows the Council reading the seasons carefully as the foundation of the island's power to feed its stock and the passing ships, the weather watched and its yield husbanded as the very basis of the settlement's usefulness to the Company.
249	245	List of the Honourable Companys Packet from St Helena together with the foregoing Letter p Ship Oxford dated the 5th Decr 1753 Vizt 1 Governour and Councils General Letter dated the 5th Decr 1753 2 Duplicate Do dated the 9 August Do 3 Do of Consultations from 23 July to the 6th August Do 4 Consultations from the 15 August to the 5th Decr Do 5 List of Officers and Servants taken the 6th Decr Do 6 Second Rect for the Packet p Ships Bombay Castle Do 7 First Rect for Do p Ship Chesterfield Do 8 Cash Acco from the 10 to the 11th August 9 Do from the 18 August to the 11 Septr 10 Do from the 12th Septr to the 11th October 11 Do from the 12 October to the 11th November 12 Do from the 12th November to the 5th Decr 13 Duplicate Cash Acco from the 20th June to the 11th July 14 Do Do from the 12th July to the 9th August 15 Duplicate Ship Chesterfields Account 16 Ship Oxford Accounts 17 List of Families taken 10th October 18 Do of Rents taken Do 19 Do of the Honourable Companys Slaves taken 10th October 20 Abstract of Bill of Lading p Ship Oxford 21 List of Men Discharged the Honble Companys Service 22 Duplicate List of the Packet p Ship Chesterfield	The list of the packet the *Oxford* carried home with the letter of 5 December 1753 included the following. 1: Governor and Council's general letter dated 5 December 1753 2: Duplicate of the general letter dated 9 August 1753 3: Duplicate consultations from the twenty-third of July to the sixth of August 1753 4: Consultations from the fifteenth of August to the fifth of December 1753 5: List of officers and servants taken 5 December 1753 6: Second receipt for the packet of the ship Bombay Castle 7: First receipt for the packet of the ship Chesterfield 8: Cash account from the tenth to the eleventh of August 1753 9: Cash account from the twelfth of August to the eleventh of September 1753 10: Cash account from the twelfth of September to the eleventh of October 1753 11: Cash account from the twelfth of October to the eleventh of November 1753 12: Cash account from the twelfth of November to the fifth of December 1753 13: Duplicate cash account from the twentieth of June to the eleventh of July 1753 14: Duplicate cash account from the twelfth of July to the ninth of August 1753 15: Duplicate ship Chesterfield account 16: Ship Oxford account 17: List of families taken 10 October 1753 18: List of rents taken 10 October 1753 19: List of the Court's slaves taken 10 October 1753 20: Abstract of the bill of lading of the ship Oxford 21: List of men discharged from the Court's service 22: Duplicate list of the packet of the ship Chesterfield
250	246	To the Honourable &ca Honble Sirs	1: The Council's last letter to the Court went home in the Court's ship *Oxford* under Captain Thomas

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		1 Our last advices to you went by your Ship the Oxford Captain Thomas Stevens that Sailed from hence on the 6th of December 1753 On the 23 of the same Month arrived your Honours Ships the Hector Captain Stephen Kerwin and Godolphin Captain William Hutchinson, the former acquaints us that on the 19th of April last he sailed from Bombay with your Ship the Royal Duke and two Country Ships under their convoy for Tellicherry where he arrived the 27th and on the 5th of May the Royal Duke sailed from thence for China as he did two Days after for Europe that upon opening Sotecorine Bay his Ship Sprung a Leake and meeting with bad Weather he put for Don Mascarine where he arrived the 16th of June that about the middle of July a French Ship of 64 Guns passed by in Sight of that Island, which was bound as it was said for St Marys on the Island of Madagascar, the latter end of August arrived there a Sixty four Gun Ship from France having on Board 500 Men and 50 Land Officers she stayd there four Days to take in Provisions and then sailed directly for Pondichery, the beginning of Sept there came in another French Ship from Mauritius to take in Provisions and was dispatched express from hence the 13 for Europe to Inform the French East India Company that 5 of their Ships had lost their Passage, and had put back to Mauritius three of which was so much damaged as to be condemned, Captain Kerwin left Don Mascarine the 13th of October and saw no Ship on his Passage until he fell in with the Godolphin in sight of this Island	Stevens, which sailed from St Helena on the sixth of December 1753. On the twenty-third of the same month the Court's ships *Hester* under Captain Stephen Kerwin and *Godolphin* under Captain William Hutchinson arrived. Captain Kerwin reported that on the nineteenth of April he sailed from Bombay with the Court's ship *Royal Duke* and two country ships under their convoy for Fillicherry, where he arrived on the twenty-seventh. On the fifth of May the *Royal Duke* sailed from there for China, as he did two days after for Europe. On opening Fillicherry Bay his ship sprang a leak, and meeting with bad weather he put for Don Mascarine, where he arrived on the sixteenth of June. About the middle of July a French ship of 64 guns passed by in sight of that island, which was bound, as it was said, for St Mary's on the island of Madagascar. The latter end of August a 64 gun ship from France arrived there, having on board 500 men and 30 land officers, which stayed there four days to take in provisions and then sailed directly for Pondicherry. The beginning of September another French ship came from Mauritius to take in provisions, and was dispatched express from there on the thirteenth for Europe, to inform the French East India Company that five of their ships had lost their passage and put back to Mauritius, one of which was so much damaged as to be condemned. Captain Kerwin left Don Mascarine on the thirteenth of October and saw no ship on his passage until he fell in with the *Godolphin* in sight of the island. **Interpretations** Kerwin's long account of the French ships passing Don Mascarine gave the Court its fullest report yet of the French reinforcement of Pondicherry and the losses the French fleet had suffered. He had lain months at the island refitting a leaky ship and had watched a steady traffic of French vessels, one bringing 500 men and 30 officers straight to Pondicherry, another sent express to France with word that five French ships had failed to make their passage and put back to Mauritius, one condemned. This concentrated intelligence, gathered by a commander stationed for months at a point the French shipping passed, let the Council report both the enemy's continuing buildup on the Coromandel coast and the reverses that had cost the French East India Company five ships, the island the beneficiary of a forced stay that turned a disabled captain into an observer of the whole French effort in those seas. The pattern of English ships putting into the French island of Don Mascarine to refit shows once more the working truce that held between the companies at the level of shelter and repair even as their nations warred in India. Kerwin's leaky ship found safety at a French possession and lay there from June to October, watching French warships come and go on their way to fight the English on the Coromandel coast, the ordinary courtesies of the sea holding at the island while the war raged on the mainland. This resort of disabled English ships to French harbours, and the French ships' own use of the same island as a staging point for the war, marks the strange coexistence of hostility and hospitality that governed the Indian seas, the island a neutral refuge for the ships of both nations even as those ships carried men and guns to kill one another ashore.
251	247	4 Captain Hutchinson informs us that on the 8th Feby last he was dispatched from Trigedie with a Cargo of Rice for Madrass where he arrived the 3d of March, That he sailed from thence the 26	4: Captain Hutchinson reported that on the eighth of February he was dispatched from Bengal with a cargo of rice for Madras, where he arrived on the third of March. He sailed from there on the twentieth, having on board Captain Polier and his company with a hundred sepoys and some stores

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		having on Board Captain Polier and his Company with an hundred Sea Poys, and some Arms and Ammunition which were all Landed the 28th at Fort St David, That Captain Polier joyned Major Lawrence the 28th at Trippasore who intended in a few Days to offer the Enemy Battle that were Encamped about six Miles from him On the 1st of April Captain Hutchinson proceeded for Madrass and Arrived there the 2d from which place your Ship the Colchester Captain Mainwaring and three small Vessels of your Honours sailed the 18th with Mr Hunter and some Soldiers &c for the Negrais, The same Day there came advice from the Camp that Major Lawrence had been Cannonading the French for 48 Hours with two 24 Pounders but finding them Strongly Entrenched he returned to the Camp without having a Man wounded on the Day following between thirty and forty Men deserted from the French among which Number was one of their principal Ingeneers, who reported that the Moratta Horse were continually Murmering and so much dissatisfied that the French were apprehensive they designed to leave them 4 The Ingeneer further said that the French Europeans in the Enemies Camp did not exceed 300 Captain Hutchinson left Madrass the 12th of April and on the 25th of May arrived at Bencoolen where he took in two hundred Tons of Pepper that he was dispatched from thence the 17th June and being in want of Salt provisions he put into Batavia the 27th where he was Supplyd and shipped 50 Seamen he was informed that Capt Dethick sailed from thence for China in May and says that	and ammunition, which were all landed on the twenty-eighth at Fort St David. Captain Polier joined Major Lawrence on the twenty-eighth at Trichinopoly, who intended in a few days to offer battle to the enemy, who were encamped about six miles from him. On the first of April Captain Hutchinson proceeded for Madras and arrived there on the second. From there the Court's ship *Colchester* under Captain Manwaring and three small vessels sailed on the eighteenth with Mr Hunter and some soldiers and stores for the slaves. The same day advice came from the camp that Major Lawrence had been cannonading the French for four hours with two 24 pounders, but finding them strongly entrenched he returned to the camp without having a man wounded. On the day following, between thirty and forty men deserted from the French, among whom was one of their principal engineers, who reported that the Maratha horse were continually murmuring and so much dissatisfied that the French were apprehensive they designed to leave them. 4: The engineer further reported that the French Europeans in the enemy's camp did not exceed 300. Captain Hutchinson left Madras on the twelfth of April, and on the twenty-fifth of May arrived at Bencoolen, where he took in 200 tons of pepper. He was dispatched from there on the seventeenth of June, and being in want of salt provisions put into Batavia on the twenty-seventh, where he was supplied and shipped 50 seamen. He was told that Captain Dothick had sailed from there for China in May, and reported that [...]. **Interpretations** Captain Hutchinson's detailed account of the campaign at Trichinopoly carried to the Court the fine grain of the land war in the Carnatic that the island's shipping intelligence usually reached only in outline. He could report the movements of Major Lawrence's forces, the landing of Captain Polier's sepoys and stores, the cannonade of the entrenched French, and the desertions that followed, including a French engineer's word on the enemy's numbers and the discontent of their Maratha allies. This was intelligence of the fighting itself, not merely of the ships that supplied it, brought by a commander who had carried troops and munitions to the seat of the war and gathered the camp's news before sailing, the island forwarding to London a report of the actual conduct of the struggle for southern India that a Company at war needed above all. The deserting engineer's report that the French had no more than 300 Europeans, and that their Maratha horse were on the point of abandoning them, was the kind of intelligence that could shape the Court's judgement of the war's prospects. The strength of the French in Europeans, the reliability of their Indian allies, and the signs of their apprehension all bore on whether the Company's cause in the Carnatic was gaining or losing, and such particulars, gathered from a deserter and passed through a homeward commander to the island, reached London as a considered estimate of the enemy's condition. St Helena's forwarding of this military intelligence, drawn from the very camp of the war and relayed by the ships that touched there, shows the island serving as the conduit through which the Court followed not just the movements of its fleet but the fortunes of its arms in the distant campaign on which its Indian trade depended.
252	248	Walpole Captain Fowler arrived there a few Days before he left it, which was on the 6th of August and meeting with Strong and Contrary Winds	The *Walpole* under Captain Fowler had arrived at Batavia a few days before Hutchinson left it, which was on the sixth of August. Meeting with strong and contrary winds, and many of his men being ill of the scurvy, Fowler on the twenty-sixth of November put

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		and many of his Men being Ill of the Scurvy he on the 26th of November put into the Cape where he was informed by the Governour that 9 large French Ships had touched there and sailed from thence in January and March having on Board from three to five hundred Men besides many Women and Children that before Captain Hutchinson left the Cape which was on the 7th of December he was told by the Deputy Governour that it was said these Ships were intended directly for Pegu 5 We transmit to your Honours by this Occasion your General Books of Accounts for the Year ending the 11th of October last 6 Captain William Hutchinson having applyd to us for liberty to pay 160 - - into your Honours Cash we have recd the same and given him Bills of Exchange drawn on you for that Sum payable to himself or Order ninety Days after Sight dated the 14th Instant 7 We cannot send your Honours by this Occasion a State of your Cash to a later date than the 5 of December last as the last Quarters Acct will not be ready to be laid before us till the 28th of this Month 9 This waits upon your Honours by your Ship the Hector that Sails in Company with your Ship the Godolphin We are 8 By your Ship Godolphin we Honble Sirs recd one Black Man named Your most Obedient & most humble Servants who have been sentenced (Signed) to serve your Honours upon this Island for Life Charles Hutchinson St Helena John Adamson 15th January 1754 John Clark	into the Cape, where he was told by the Governor that four large French ships had touched there and sailed from there in January and March, having on board from three to five hundred men besides many women and children. Before Captain Hutchinson left the Cape, which was on the seventh of December, he was told by the Deputy Governor that these ships were said to be intended directly for Pegu. 5: The Council transmitted to the Court by this conveyance the general books of account for the year ending the eleventh of October. 6: Since Captain William Hutchinson had asked the Council for leave to pay £160 0s 0d into the Court's cash, the Council received it and gave him bills of exchange drawn on the Court for that sum, payable to himself or order ninety days after sight, dated the fourteenth of the month. 7: The Council could not send the Court by this conveyance a statement of its cash to a later date than the fifth of December, as the last quarter's accounts would not be ready to be laid before it until the twenty-eighth of the month. 8: By the *Godolphin* the Council received a black man named [...], who had been sentenced to serve the Court on the island for life. 9: The letter went home in the Court's ship *Hester*, which sailed in company with the *Godolphin*. It was signed at St Helena on 15 January 1754 by Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson and John Clark. **Interpretations** The report of French ships carrying men and families to Pegu widened the picture the island held of French movements in the East beyond the war on the Coromandel coast. The four ships touching at the Cape were said to be bound directly for Pegu, on the coast of Burma, so the intelligence the Council forwarded now embraced the French designs on a further quarter of the eastern seas, the women and children aboard suggesting settlement rather than mere reinforcement. St Helena gathered this word from a commander who had it from the Cape governor, the two stations on the homeward route together tracking the French across the whole Indian Ocean, the island relaying to London not only the buildup at Pondicherry but the movement of French shipping toward Burma, a fuller map of the rival power's reach than any single report could give. The arrival of a black man sentenced to serve the Company for life on the island shows the settlement receiving convicted persons from elsewhere as bound labour, its slave workforce augmented by those condemned to servitude. The man was sent by a Company ship under a sentence to serve on the island for life, so that a judicial penalty imposed at another of the Company's stations became a supply of labour to St Helena, the island taking such men as it took purchased slaves to work its plantations and fortifications. This use of sentenced servitude to add to the island's labour, the condemned shipped from one part of the Company's world to toil at another, ran alongside the Madagascar slave trade as a means of maintaining the workforce, the settlement drawing its bound hands from both the market and the courts of the Company's scattered dominions.
253	249	List of the Honourable Companys Packet from St Helena together with the foregoing Letter p Ship Hector dated the 15th January 1754 Vizt No 1 Governour and Councils General Letter dated 15 Jany 1754 2 Duplicate Do dated 5 Decr 1753 3 Consultations from the 10th Decr to the 14 January 1754	The list of the packet the *Hester* carried home with the letter of 15 January 1754 included the following. 1: Governor and Council's general letter dated 15 January 1754 2: Duplicate of the general letter dated 5 December 1753 3: Consultations from the tenth of December to the fourteenth of January 1754 4: Duplicate consultations from the fifteenth of August to the fifth of December 1753

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		4 Duplicate Consultations from the 15 August to the 3 Decr 1753 5 Second Receipt for the Packet p Ship Chesterfield 6 First Receipt for Do p Ship Oxford 7 Duplicate Cash Account from the 11 to the 11 August 8 Do Do from the 12th August to the 11 Septr 9 Do Do from the 12 Septr to the 11 Octr 10 Do Do from the 12 Octor to the 11 Novr 11 Do Do from the 12th Novr to the 5th Decr 12 Cash Account from the 6th to the 11th Decr 13 Duplicate Ship Oxfords Account 14 Ship Hectors Account 15 Ship Godolphins Do 16 Duplicate List of Familys taken the 10th Octor 1753 17 Do List of Rents taken Do 18 Do List of the Honble Company Slaves taken Do 19 Account of the Cargo of Ship Hector 20 Do of the Cargo of Ship Godolphin 21 Duplicate List of the Packet p Ship Oxford 22 List of Soldiers discharged the Honble Companys Service 23 General Books of Accounts &c 24 List of Officers and Servants taken the 15th January 1754 25 List of Marriages &c	5: Second receipt for the packet of the ship Chesterfield 6: First receipt for the packet of the ship Oxford 7: Duplicate cash account from the eleventh to the eleventh of August 1753 8: Duplicate cash account from the twelfth of August to the eleventh of September 1753 9: Duplicate cash account from the twelfth of September to the eleventh of October 1753 10: Duplicate cash account from the twelfth of October to the eleventh of November 1753 11: Duplicate cash account from the twelfth of November to the fifth of December 1753 12: Cash account from the sixth to the eleventh of December 1753 13: Duplicate ship Oxford account 14: Ship Hester account 15: Ship Godolphin account 16: Duplicate list of families taken 10 October 1753 17: Duplicate list of rents taken 10 October 1753 18: Duplicate list of the Court's slaves taken 10 October 1753 19: Account of the cargo of the ship Hester 20: Account of the cargo of the ship Godolphin 21: Duplicate list of the packet of the ship Oxford 22: List of soldiers discharged from the Court's service 23: General books of account 24: List of officers and servants taken 15 January 1754 25: List of marriages and others
254	250	To the Honble &ca Honble Sirs 1 Our last Advices to you went by your Ship the Hector that sailed from hence on the 15th January with your Honrs Ship the Godolphin 2 On the 14th Instant arrived your Ship the Delawar Captain Thomas Winter (last Dominica) who acquaints us that about 7 Days before he left Madrass which was on the 30th October your Honrs Ship the Porto Bello Captain Greenson arrived there from the Negrais with advice from Mr Hunter that he has been surprised in the Night by some of the Coffreys that went with him, who firing upon them unprepared they were obliged to betake themselves to the Water, Captain Mainwaring being Allarmed with the Firing by which a few of them were killed sent his Boat on Shore upon which the Coffreys dispersed and run into the Woods, some Men having been killed in each side, The Captain further says that he was informed Mr Hunter has obtained a Grant of the Island from the King of Pegu, and liberty to trade with the Natives 3 Captain Winter likewise tells us that he heard that Major Lawrence about the 26th of October last had drove the French from their Intrenchments, killed many of them and taken their Baggage, nine small Guns, two Chocks, and some Officers and that the French who escaped had retired into Seringham Pagoda, that in this Action	1: The Council's last letter to the Court went home in the Court's ship *Hester*, which sailed from St Helena on the fifteenth of January with the Court's ship *Godolphin*. 2: On the fourteenth of the month the Court's ship *Delaware* under Captain Thomas Winter, late Dominicus, arrived. He reported that about four days before he left Madras, which was on the thirtieth of October, the Court's ship *Porto Bello* under Captain Greenson arrived there from the settlement for the slaves, with advice from Mr Hunter that he had been surprised in the night by some of the Caffres who went with him. Firing on them unprepared, the men were obliged to take to the water, and Captain Manwaring, alarmed by the firing, by which a few of them were killed, sent his boat ashore, on which the Caffres dispersed and ran into the woods, some men having been killed on each side. The captain further reported that he was told Mr Hunter had obtained a grant of the island from the King of Pegu, and leave to trade with the natives. 3: Captain Winter also reported that he heard Major Lawrence, about the twentieth of October, had driven the French from their entrenchments, killed many of them and taken their baggage, nine small guns, two chokes and some officers, and that the French who escaped had retired into Seringham Pagoda. In this action Major Lawrence had some officers wounded and lost only a few men. 4: The Council was also further informed by Captain Winter that the Manila ship had brought an account that the *Elizabeth* under Captain Midstein, belonging to Bombay and bound to China, was burnt off Achin, and several of the crew perished. 5: Captain Winter put into the Cape on the thirteenth of January, and sailed [...]. **Interpretations** The report of Mr Hunter surprised and attacked by the Caffres who had gone with him reveals the perils of the Company's expeditions to establish new settlements and trade among unfamiliar peoples. Hunter had gone with an armed party, was set upon

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Major Lawrence had some Officers Wounded and lost only a few Men 4 We are also further informed by Captain Winter that the Manila Ship brought an Account that the Elizabeth Captain Midshein belonging to Bombay and bound to China, was burnt off Achin and several of the Crew Perished 5 Captain Winter put into the Cape the 13 January and	in the night by the very men accompanying him, and had to be rescued by fire from a ship's boat, men killed on both sides, before he could secure his position. That he had nonetheless obtained a grant of an island from the King of Pegu and leave to trade shows the mixture of violence and negotiation by which the Company pushed into new ground, the venture into Burmese waters attended by bloodshed even as it gained its formal footing, and the whole reported to the island by a homeward commander who forwarded it to London. Captain Winter's account of Lawrence driving the French from their entrenchments and taking their guns and baggage carried to the Court fresh news of the Company's arms prevailing in the Carnatic. The detail of the action, the French losses, the captured ordnance, the retreat into Seringham Pagoda and the lightness of Lawrence's own casualties, gave London a concrete measure of the campaign's progress, coming through the same channel of homeward shipping that brought the earlier reports of the war. St Helena's forwarding of this battlefield intelligence, gathered by commanders who had touched at the coast and passed to the island as they came through, let the Court follow the swaying fortunes of the struggle for southern India in detail, the island the point at which the news of the distant war, victory and reverse alike, was collected from the fleet and relayed home.
255	251	sailed from thence 30th where he left a Dane Ship of War and sixteen sail of Dutch Merchantmen ten of which were outward bound 6 Stephen Orr who went out a Soldier on the Ship Egmont Captain Thomas Pelson Commander, and was left behind at Madagascar as he says, where he continued near 6 Months, and was brought from thence in a Dutch Ship to the Cape, where he was at liberty to remain but finding it very difficult to get a livelyhood, he took his Passage from thence for this Place on your Ship Delawar and Intends into this Garrison in Order to serve the remainder of his Contracted Time, As he has lost his Bed and Cloaths he on that Account desires to be recommended to your Honours, hoping you will be pleased to allow him a small Consideration for them 7 The Weather is extreamly favourable for the Pastures and plantations here but the Rains have fallen so heavy as to cause Large Floods which Have from time to time done considerable Damage to several of your Fortifications that we are now repairing We are St Helena Honourable Sirs 21 February 1754 Your most Obedt and most humble Servants (Signed) Charles Hutchinson John Adamson John Clarke	Captain Winter sailed from the Cape on the thirtieth, where he left a Danish ship of war and sixteen sail of Dutch merchantmen, ten of which were outward bound. 6: Stephen Orr, who went out as a soldier on the ship *Egmont* under Captain Thomas Pelson, was, as he said, left behind at Madagascar, where he continued near six months. He was brought from there in a Dutch ship to the Cape, where he was at liberty to remain, but finding it very difficult to get a livelihood, he took his passage from there to the island on the Court's ship *Delaware*, and intended to enter the garrison to serve the remainder of his contracted time. Having lost his cash and clothes on that account, he asked the Council to recommend him to the Court, hoping it would allow him a small consideration for them. 7: The weather was extremely favourable for the pastures and plantations on the island, but the rains had fallen so heavily as to cause large floods, which had from time to time done considerable damage to several of the Court's fortifications, which the Council was now repairing. The letter was signed at St Helena on 21 February 1754 by Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson and John Clark. **Interpretations** The case of Stephen Orr, left at Madagascar and making his way back through the Cape to serve out his time, shows the scattered fortunes of a common soldier in the Company's service and the island's readiness to take up a stray man to fill its ranks. Orr had been separated from his ship, lived months at Madagascar, worked his passage to the Cape and then to the island, and now offered to enter the garrison and complete his engagement, having lost his goods along the way. The Council was willing to receive him and to recommend his losses to the Court, both because a soldier who presented himself was worth enlisting on a station always short of men and because his contracted time was still owed, the island gathering up such wandering servants to man its establishment, the drift of one man across the Indian Ocean ending in the garrison he had been bound to serve. The recurring reports of flood damage to the fortifications set the cost of the island's wet seasons

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			against their benefit to the pasture. The same heavy rains that made the weather favourable for the plantations caused floods that repeatedly harmed the works, so that the Council was continually repairing the fortifications against the damage the storms did. This double effect of the rains, fattening the stock while battering the defences, ran through these letters, the island dependent on the wet for its grass yet forced to keep mending the works the floods tore at, the Council balancing the season's gift to the pastures against its standing threat to the fabric of the settlement, the fortifications on which the island's security rested needing constant repair against the very weather that made the place able to feed the fleet.
256	252	List of the Honourable Companys Packet from St Helena together with the foregoing Letter p Ship Delawar dated the 21 February 1754 Vizt No 1 Governour and Councils General Letter dated the 21 Feby 1754 2 Duplicate Do dated the 15 Jany Do 3 Do Consultations from the 11 Decr 1753 to 14 Jany Do 4 Consultations from the 21 January to the 18th February Do 5 List of Officers and Servants taken 21 Feby Do 6 Duplicate List of the Packet p Ship Hector 7 Second Rect for the Packet p Ship Oxford 8 First Rect for Do p Ship Hector 9 Duplicate Cash Account from 6th to the 11th Decr 10 Cash Account from the 12th Decr to the 11 January 11 Do from the 12th Jany to the 11 February 12 Do from the 12 to the 21st February 13 Duplicate Ship Hectors Account 14 Do Ship Godolphins Account 15 Ship Delawars Account 16 Account of the Cargo of Ship Delawar	The list of the packet the *Delaware* carried home with the letter of 21 February 1754 included the following. 1: Governor and Council's general letter dated 21 February 1754 2: Duplicate of the general letter dated 15 January 1754 3: Duplicate consultations from the eleventh of December 1753 to the fourteenth of January 1754 4: Consultations from the twenty-first of January to the eighteenth of February 1754 5: List of officers and servants taken 21 February 1754 6: Duplicate list of the packet of the ship Hester 7: Second receipt for the packet of the ship Oxford 8: First receipt for the packet of the ship Hester 9: Duplicate cash account from the sixth to the eleventh of December 1753 10: Cash account from the twelfth of December to the eleventh of January 1754 11: Cash account from the twelfth of January to the eleventh of February 1754 12: Cash account from the twelfth to the twenty-first of February 1754 13: Duplicate ship Hester account 14: Duplicate ship Godolphin account 15: Ship Delaware account 16: Account of the cargo of the ship Delaware
257	253	To the Honble &ca Honble Sirs We wrote last to you by your Ship the Delaway, that sailed from hence on the 22d of February On the 9 10 12 13 & 15 of this Month arrived your Honours Ships the Clinton Capt Ranfan from China, the Walpole Capt Fowler from Bencoolen, the Marlborough Capt Parks, the Suffolk Capt Wilson, & the Griffin Capt Dethick, from China, Capt Wilson who was the last of these that sailed from Canton, informs us that he left the Ladron the 23d Decr & arrived at Princes Island the 7 of January, & departed from thence on the 13, with your Ships the Royal Duke, Capt Cuming the Harcourt Capt Webber, & the Edgbaston Capt Siddenlan, He further acquaints us that the Boscawen Capt Braund was to be Dispatched from Wampo, about a Week, or ten Days after him On the 16 instant came in a Sweedish Ship from China called the Hope, commanded by Capt Charles Fruitiger, Burthen about 600 Tons, carrys 28 Guns, &	The Council's last letter to the Court went home in the Court's ship *Delaware*, which sailed from St Helena on the twenty-second of February. On the ninth, tenth, twelfth, thirteenth and fifteenth of the month the Court's ships *Clinton* under Captain Ranfan from China, the *Walpole* under Captain Fowler from Bencoolen, the *Marlborough* under Captain Parks, the *Suffolk* under Captain Wilson and the *Griffin* under Captain Dothick from China arrived. Captain Wilson, who was the last of these that sailed from Canton, reported that he left the Ladrones on the twenty-third of December, arrived at Prince's Island on the seventh of January, and departed from there on the thirteenth, with the Court's ships *Royal Duke* under Captain Cuming, the *Harcourt* under Captain Webber and the *Edgbaston* under Captain Kidderman. He further reported that the *Boscawen* under Captain Braund was to be dispatched from Whampoa about a week or ten days after him. On the sixteenth of the month a Swedish ship came in from China called the *Hope* under Captain Charles Prutiger, of about 600 tons burthen, carrying 28 guns and 100 men, laden with tea, chinaware and silk and bound for Gothenburg. On the seventeenth the Court's ship *Doddington* under Captain Hutchinson arrived from Mocha. He reported that he sailed from Bombay on the fourth of December, and left on the coast the *Salisbury* under Captain Foot and the *Tavistock* under Captain

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		100 Men, loaden with Tea, China Ware & Silks, bound to Gottenburgh On the 17 arrived your Honours Ship the Doddington Capt Hutchinson from Mocha, who acquaints us, that he sailed from Bombay, the 4 of Decr & left on the Coast the Salisbury Capt Foot, & the Tavistock Capt Jenkins (late Cash) to be loaded for Europe this Season The Sandwich was gone to Scindey, & was to return, to go for Mocha, The Prince Edward was sailed for Surat and	Jenkins, late Bury, to be loaded for Europe that season. The *Sandwich* was gone to Scindy and was to return to go for Mocha. The *Prince Edward* was sailed for Surat and [...]. **Interpretations** The arrival of five Company ships over a single week, together with a Swedish vessel, marks the height of the homeward season when the fleet gathered thickest at the island. Each commander brought word of the ships he had left or sailed with, Captain Wilson naming three vessels he had quitted Prince's Island with and another to follow from Whampoa, so that the crowding of ships in the road brought with it a flood of intelligence about the whole China fleet's progress. The Council gathered and forwarded it all, the concentration of arrivals at this time of year both the visible sign of the season on which the island's purpose turned and the occasion of its fullest reports on the disposition of the homeward-bound trade. The account of ships bound to Mocha, Scindy, Surat and the Malabar coast shows the reach of the intelligence the island collected on the Company's trade beyond the China and Bengal routes. Captain Hutchinson could report the destinations of several ships working the western trades, to Mocha for coffee, to Scindy on the Indus, to Surat, so that the Council learned of the fleet's employment across the whole Arabian Sea as well as on the routes that passed the island directly. This forwarding of the movements of ships in trades that did not touch St Helena, gathered from a commander freshly out from Bombay, let the Court follow the deployment of its vessels in every quarter of the eastern seas, the island the point at which the news of the Company's far-flung shipping, wherever it traded, was assembled from the ships that carried word of one another home.
258	254	and from thence, was to proceed to Batavia, The Stafford Capt Baker was gone for Bengal, The Swallow for Persia, to relieve, the Guardian, & the Salisbury it was Said is to be the first Ship Dispatched from the Coast Capt Hutchinson further says that he was ten Weeks & three Days on her Passage to the Cape, He had several of his Men Ill with the Scurvy, which Obliged him to put in there, for refreshment, &c &c He saw one Ship three Days before he made this Island, but could not discern her Colours By your Ship the Walpole, we received at Malay Man, whom your Deputy Govr & Council of Bencoolen, have transported to this place, to serve your Honours as a Slave during life There is on board the said Ship twelve Baskets of Sugar sent to us from Bencoolen as a Muster, which Capt Fowler has not yet been able to Land, the Surff having been very high, so that we cannot until our next, acquaint your Honours with the quality of it & There remaining on the 26 of Jany sixty six Cattle of the Number that were returned for Slaughter the last Year we have Ordered them to be the first killed which with those	The *Prince Edward* was to proceed from Surat to Batavia. The *Stafford* under Captain Baker was gone for Bengal. The *Swallow* was gone for Persia, to relieve the *Guardian*, and the *Salisbury*, it was said, was to be the first ship dispatched from the coast. Captain Hutchinson further reported that he was ten weeks and three days on his passage to the Cape. Several of his men were ill with the scurvy, which obliged him to put in there for refreshment on the fourth of March. He saw one ship three days before he made the island, but could not make out her colours. By the *Walpole* the Council received at Longwood a man whom the Court's Deputy Governor and Council of Bencoolen had transported to the island to serve the Court as a slave during life. There were on board that ship twelve baskets of sugar sent to the Council from Bencoolen as a sample, which Captain Fowler had not yet been able to land, the surf having been very high, so that the Council could not until its next letter report on the quality of it. There remaining on the twenty-sixth of January sixty-six cattle of the number that were returned for slaughter the previous year, the Council had ordered them to be the first killed, which with those given in by the planters for the present season came together to 321. The letter was signed at St Helena on 21 March 1754 by Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson and John Clark. **Interpretations** The transporting of a man from Bencoolen to serve the Company as a slave for life shows once more the island receiving persons condemned to bondage at other Company stations to add to its labour force. This was the second such consignment reported in recent letters, one having come by the

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		given in by the planters for the present Season, amount together to three hundred & twenty one We are St Helena Honble Sirs 21 March 1754 Your most Obedt & most hum Servants Signed Chas Hutchinson John Adamson John Clark	*Godolphin* in January, so that the west-coast settlement of Bencoolen, like the courts elsewhere, supplied St Helena with sentenced men to work its plantations and fortifications for life. The traffic in condemned labour between the Company's eastern establishments and the island ran alongside the Madagascar slave trade as a means of maintaining the workforce, the settlement drawing bound hands from the judicial sentences of the Company's scattered dominions as readily as from the slave market. The sample of sugar sent from Bencoolen for the island to judge shows the Company testing the produce of one of its settlements against the market at another before committing to a trade. Twelve baskets came as a muster, a specimen by which the Council might report on the quality, so that the west-coast sugar could be assessed at St Helena for its fitness before any regular supply was arranged. This sending of samples to gauge quality and demand across the Company's stations reflects the careful management of its internal trade, produce moved first as a trial and only established as a commerce once its worth was proved, the island serving as a place where the goods of the eastern settlements could be examined and their value determined, the whole a considered development of trade within the Company's own dominions rather than a blind shipment of untried stores.
259	255	PS An Alarm being made, since writing the foregoing p Capt Hutchinson by whom this goes to your Honours, having stalled to hear what Ship it was for, we have the pleasure to acquaint you, that the Harcourt Capt Webber is arrived, & that your Ship the Edgbaston is now to Windward of the Island coming in, her Boat having already come on Shore, & that your Ship Royal Duke may be dayly expected We are Honble Sirs Your most Obedt & most hum Servts (Signed) Charles Hutchinson John Adamson John Clark List of the Honble Companys Packet from St Helena p Ship Doddington with the foregoing Letter dated the 21 March 1754 Vizt No 1 Govr & Councils Genl Lettr dated 20 March 1754 2 Duplicate Do dated 21 Feby Do 3 Do Consultns from the 21 Jany to the 18 Feby Do 4 Consultations from the 25 Feby to the 14 March Do 5 List of Officers & Servants taken the 20 March Do 6 Duplicate List of the Packet p Ship Delawar 7 Second Receipt for the Packet p Ship Hector 8 First Receipt for Do p Ship Delawar 9 Duplicate Cash Acct from 12 Decr to 11 Jany 1754 10 Do from 12th Jany to 11 Feby Do 11 Do from 12th to the 21 Feby Do 12 Cash Acct from 22 Feby to 11th March Do 13 Do from 12 to the 20 March	In a postscript the Council reported that an alarm having been made since writing the letter, and Captain Hutchinson, by whom it went home, having waited to hear what ship it was for, the Council could report that the *Harcourt* under Captain Webber had arrived, that the Court's ship *Edgbaston* was now to windward of the island coming in, her boat having already come ashore, and that the *Royal Duke* might be daily expected. The letter was signed at St Helena on 20 March 1754 by Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson and John Clark. The list of the packet the *Doddington* carried home with the letter of 20 March 1754 included the following. 1: Governor and Council's general letter dated 20 March 1754 2: Duplicate of the general letter dated 21 February 1754 3: Duplicate consultations from the twenty-first of January to the eighteenth of February 1754 4: Consultations from the twenty-fifth of February to the fourteenth of March 1754 5: List of officers and servants taken 20 March 1754 6: Duplicate list of the packet of the ship Delaware 7: Second receipt for the packet of the ship Hester 8: First receipt for the packet of the ship Delaware 9: Duplicate cash account from the twelfth of December to the eleventh of January 1754 10: Duplicate cash account from the twelfth of January to the eleventh of February 1754 11: Duplicate cash account from the twelfth to the twenty-first of February 1754 12: Cash account from the twenty-second of February to the eleventh of March 1754 13: Cash account from the twelfth to the twentieth of March 1754
260	256	No 14 Duplicate Ship Delaware Account 15 Ship Doddingtons Account 16 Acct of the Cargo of Ship Clinton 17 Do of Ship Suffolk 18 Do of Ship Griffin 19 Do of Ship Walpole 20 Do of Ship Marlborough 21 Do of Ship Doddington	14: Duplicate ship Delaware account 15: Ship Doddington account 16: Account of the cargo of the ship Clinton 17: Account of the cargo of the ship Suffolk 18: Account of the cargo of the ship Griffin 19: Account of the cargo of the ship Walpole 20: Account of the cargo of the ship Marlborough 21: Account of the cargo of the ship Doddington

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		22 List of Marriages &ca To the Honble &ca Honble Sirs Our last Letter to you went by your Honours Ship the Doddington, that waited from hence on the 21 instant Yesterday arrived your Ship, Royal duke, Capt Cuming from China There being very little & sour remaining in your Honours Stores, & the Same are now so bad, occasioned by the frequent Rains that have fallen, which has caused them to Spring afresh; that it is dangerous for them to be eaten, we therefore have bought of Capt Fra Fowler 114 & 21 Rice at 10 4 hundred Weight, to subsist your Garrison & Slaves until the Yams are good & fit to Digg We have likewise bought of the Commanders of your returning Ships twenty Casks of Beef at 2s p Piece which is the price your Garrison pay, so that your Honours can be no loosers by it	22: List of marriages and others The Council's last letter to the Court went home in the Court's ship *Doddington*, which sailed from St Helena on the twenty-first of the month. The Court's ship *Royal Duke* under Captain Cuming arrived from China the day before. There being very little rice remaining in the Court's stores, and the same now so bad, occasioned by the frequent rains that had fallen, which had caused it to spring afresh, that it was dangerous to be eaten, the Council had bought of Captain Fowler 114 tons and 21 hundredweight of rice at 10s a hundredweight, to subsist the garrison and slaves until the yams were good and fit to dig. The Council had likewise bought of the commanders of the Court's returning ships twenty casks of beef at 2s a piece, which was the price the garrison paid, so that the Court could be no losers by it. **Interpretations** The spoiling of the island's rice by the wet season shows how the same rains that fattened the pasture ruined the stored provisions on which the garrison and slaves depended. The frequent rains had made the rice spring afresh and turn dangerous to eat, so the Council had to buy a large quantity from a homeward commander to subsist its people until the yam harvest came in, the island's own store having failed. This vulnerability of the settlement's provisions to its climate, the dampness that spoiled the rice being the very wet that grew the grass, obliged the Council to purchase food from the passing ships to bridge the gap, the island's self-sufficiency undone by the weather and its want supplied from the fleet it existed to serve. The purchase of rice and beef from the commanders at the price the garrison paid reveals the careful accounting by which the Council supplied the island's wants without loss to the Company. The beef was bought at the same two shillings a piece the garrison was charged, so that the Court neither gained nor lost on the transaction, and the rice at a fixed rate to meet a genuine shortage, the whole conducted so that the island's provisioning fell on the Company at cost. This buying from the homeward ships to make good the failures of the local store, at prices set to leave the Court whole, was the ordinary means by which the island met its shortfalls, the Council drawing on the fleet for what the season had spoiled and keeping the accounts so that the necessary purchases added nothing to the Company's charge beyond the true value of the food.
261	257	This waits on your Honours by your Ship the Clinton that sails from hence with the Suffolk, & will be followed in a few Days by your Ships the Walpole & Marlborough We are Honble Sirs St Helena Your most Obedt & most hum Servts 24 March 1754 (Signed) Charles Hutchinson John Adamson John Clark List of the Honble Companys Packet from St Helena p Ship Clinton, with the foregoing Letter dated the 24 March 1754 Vizt No 1 Govr & Councils General Letter dated the 24 March 1754 2 Duplicate Do dated the 20 March Do 3 Do Consultn from 25 Feby to the 18 March Do 4 Consultation of the 22d March Do	The letter went home in the Court's ship *Clinton*, which sailed from the island with the *Suffolk*, and would be followed in a few days by the Court's ships *Walpole* and *Marlborough*. It was signed at St Helena on 24 March 1754 by Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson and John Clark. The list of the packet the *Clinton* carried home with the letter of 24 March 1754 included the following. 1: Governor and Council's general letter dated 24 March 1754 2: Duplicate of the general letter dated 20 March 1754 3: Duplicate consultations from the twenty-fifth of February to the eighteenth of March 1754 4: Consultations of 22 March 1754 5: List of officers and servants taken 24 March 1754 6: Duplicate list of the packet of the ship Doddington 7: Second receipt for the packet of the ship Delaware

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		5 List of Officers & Servants taken the 24 March Do 6 Duplicate List of the Packet p Ship Doddington 7 Second Receipt for the Packet p Ship Delawar 8 First Receipt for Do p Ship Doddington 9 Duplicate Cash Acct from 22 Feby to 11 March 1754 10 Do from the 12 to the 20th March Do 11 Cash Account from the 21 to the 23 March Do 12 Duplicate Ship Doddingtons Account 13 Ship Clintons Account 14 Do Suffolks Account 15 Account of the Cargo of Ship Harcourt 16 Do of Ship Edgbaston 17 Do of Ship Royal Duke 18 List of one Man who takes passage on the Ship Suffolk	8: First receipt for the packet of the ship Doddington 9: Duplicate cash account from the twenty-second of February to the eleventh of March 1754 10: Duplicate cash account from the twelfth to the twentieth of March 1754 11: Cash account from the twenty-first to the twenty-third of March 1754 12: Duplicate ship Doddington account 13: Ship Clinton account 14: Ship Suffolk account 15: Account of the cargo of the ship Harcourt 16: Account of the cargo of the ship Edgbaston 17: Account of the cargo of the ship Royal Duke 18: List of one man who takes passage on the ship Suffolk
262	258	To the Honourable &ca Honourable Sirs 1 We wrote last to you by your Ship the Clinton that sailed from hence on the 24th instant with your Honrs Ship the Suffolk 2 Captain Francis Fowler having applyd to us for liberty to pay £352 - - into your Cash on Account of Captain Norton Hutchinson we have received it and given him Bills of Exchange drawn on your Honours for that Sum payable to himself (or Order) Ninety Days after Sight dated the 25th of this Month 3 Captain Fowler having likewise applyd to us for liberty to pay £873 - - into your Cash on his own Account we have also recd that Sum and given him another set of Bills of Exchange drawn on your Honours for it payable to himself (or Order) Ninety Days after Sight dated the 25th instant 4 Frederick Pigou Esqr having 55 1/2 Dollars remaining in his Hands belonging to your Honours applyd to us to lodge it in your Cash here, which we have received agreeable to his request 5 This waits on your Honours by your Ship the Walpole that sails from hence with your Ship the Marlborough We are Honourable Sirs Your most Obedt & most hum Servants St Helena 26th March 1754 (Signed) Charles Hutchinson John Adamson John Clark	1: The Council's last letter to the Court went home in the Court's ship *Clinton*, which sailed from St Helena on the twenty-fourth of the month with the Court's ship *Suffolk*. 2: Since Captain Francis Fowler had asked the Council for leave to pay £352 0s 0d into the Court's cash on account of Captain Norton Hutchinson, the Council received it and gave him bills of exchange drawn on the Court for that sum, payable to himself or order ninety days after sight, dated the twenty-fifth of the month. 3: Since Captain Fowler had also asked the Council for leave to pay £879 0s 0d into the Court's cash on his own account, the Council received that sum and gave him another set of bills of exchange drawn on the Court for it, payable to himself or order ninety days after sight, dated the twenty-fifth of the month. 4: Since Frederick Pigou Esquire had 554½ dollars remaining in his hands belonging to the Court, he asked the Council to lodge it in the Court's cash on the island, which the Council received as he requested. 5: The letter went home in the Court's ship *Walpole*, which sailed from the island with the Court's ship *Marlborough*. It was signed at St Helena on 26 March 1754 by Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson and John Clark. **Interpretations** The large sums Captain Fowler paid into the cash, one on his own account and a greater one for another captain, show the scale of the private fortunes that commanders remitted home through the island and the trust the facility carried. Fowler lodged over twelve hundred pounds between the two payments and took bills on London for each, one set on his own behalf and one for Captain Norton Hutchinson who was not present, so that the island served not only to remit a commander's own money but to receive funds he carried for another. This handling of substantial private capital, and of one man's money paid in by another, marks the island's developed role as a bank of exchange for the maritime service, the Council receiving deposits large and small against its drafts and clearing the funds of commanders who might themselves be carrying the money of colleagues, the whole a settled machinery of remittance spanning the sea between the eastern trade and London. The lodging of dollars belonging to the Court that remained in a private man's hands shows the island recovering the Company's own money that had come to rest with individuals and returning it to account. Frederick Pigou held Company dollars and paid them into the cash on the island, so that funds of the Court's that had been in private keeping were brought back into its books through the Council's clearing house. This gathering in of the Company's scattered money, held here and there by servants and

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			others in the course of business, and its return to account through the island's cash, was part of the settled financial discipline the Council maintained, the station serving not only to remit private funds home but to reclaim the Company's own money wherever it had lodged, the accounts kept whole by drawing every stray sum back into the reckoning.
263	259	List of the Honourable Companys Packet from St Helena together with the foregoing Letter p Ship Walpole dated the 26th March 1754 Vizt No 1 Governour and Councils General Letter dated 26 Mar 1754 2 Duplicate Do dated 24 Do Do 3 Do Consultation of the 22d March Do 4 Consultation of the 25th March Do 5 List of Officers and Servants taken 26 Mar Do 6 Duplicate List of the Packet p Ship Clinton Do 7 Second Rect for the Packet p Ship Doddington Do 8 First Rect for Do p Ship Clinton Do 9 Duplicate Cash Acco from the 21 to the 23 March Do 10 Cash Account from the 24th to the 26th March Do 11 Duplicate Ship Clintons Account 12 Do Ship Suffolks Account 13 Ship Walpoles Account Do 14 Do Marlboros Account Do 15 List of Men discharged the Garrison who takes their Passage on the Ship Walpole Do	The list of the packet the *Walpole* carried home with the letter of 26 March 1754 included the following. 1: Governor and Council's general letter dated 26 March 1754 2: Duplicate of the general letter dated 24 March 1754 3: Duplicate consultations of 22 March 1754 4: Consultations of 25 March 1754 5: List of officers and servants taken 26 March 1754 6: Duplicate list of the packet of the ship Clinton 7: Second receipt for the packet of the ship Doddington 8: First receipt for the packet of the ship Clinton 9: Duplicate cash account from the twenty-first to the twenty-third of March 1754 10: Cash account from the twenty-fourth to the twenty-sixth of March 1754 11: Duplicate ship Clinton account 12: Duplicate ship Suffolk account 13: Ship Walpole account 14: Ship Marlborough account 15: List of men discharged from the garrison who take their passage on the ship Walpole
264	260	To the Honble &ca Honble Sirs Our last Advices to you went by your Ship the Walpole that sailed from thence on the 27th instant with your Ship the Marlboro Yesterday between five and six in the Afternoon arrived your Ship the Grantham Captain John Oliver with every Body well on Board, by whom we received a Packet from your Honours which we Opened and read in Consultation, but cannot get Answered as the Ships in the Road will not let too soon for our doing it by them we can therefore only Assure your Honours by this present Opportunity of your Ship Harcourt that we shall punctually Obey the Orders that you have been pleased to send us, and that We are Honble Sirs Your most Obedt and most hum Servants (Signed) Charles Hutchinson St Helena John Adamson 31 March 1754 John Clark	The Council's last letter to the Court went home in the Court's ship *Walpole*, which sailed from St Helena on the twenty-seventh of the month with the Court's ship *Marlborough*. The day before, between five and six in the afternoon, the Court's ship *Grantham* under Captain John Oliver arrived with everybody well on board, by whom the Council received a packet from the Court, which it opened and read in council. It could not yet answer it, as the ships in the road would sail too soon for the Council to do it by them. It could therefore only assure the Court by the present opportunity of the Court's ship *Harcourt* that it would punctually obey the orders the Court had been pleased to send it. The letter was signed at St Helena on 31 March 1754 by Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson and John Clark.
265	261	List of the Honourable Companys Packet from St Helena together with the foregoing Letter p Ship Harcourt dated the 31 March 1754 Vizt No 1 Governour and Councils General Letter dated the 31 March 1754 2 Duplicate Do dated the 26 Do Do 3 Do Consultation of the 25 March Do 4 Consultation from the 27th to the 30th March Do 5 List of Officers and Servants taken the 31 Mar Do	The list of the packet the *Harcourt* carried home with the letter of 31 March 1754 included the following. 1: Governor and Council's general letter dated 31 March 1754 2: Duplicate of the general letter dated 26 March 1754 3: Duplicate consultations of 25 March 1754 4: Consultations from the twenty-seventh to the thirtieth of March 1754

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		6 Duplicate List of the Packet p Ship Clinton Do 7 Second Receipt for the Packet p Ship Clinton Do 8 First Receipt for Do p Ship Walpole Do 9 Duplicate Cash Acco from the 24 to the 26th March Do 10 Cash Account from the 27th to the 31 March Do 11 Duplicate Ship Walpoles Account 12 Do Ship Marlboroughs Account 13 Ship Harcourts Account 14 Do Griffins Account 15 Do Edgbastons Account	5: List of officers and servants taken 31 March 1754 6: Duplicate list of the packet of the ship Clinton 7: Second receipt for the packet of the ship Clinton 8: First receipt for the packet of the ship Walpole 9: Duplicate cash account from the twenty-fourth to the twenty-sixth of March 1754 10: Cash account from the twenty-seventh to the thirty-first of March 1754 11: Duplicate ship Walpole account 12: Duplicate ship Marlborough account 13: Ship Harcourt account 14: Duplicate ship Griffin account 15: Duplicate ship Edgbaston account
266	262	To the Honble &ca Honble Sirs We wrote to you Yesterday by your Ship the Harcourt that sailed from hence with your Ships, the Griffin and Edgbaston This morning we sent for Messrs Kendall Falconer Inglis and Greentree and acquainted them in Consultation with your Honours Orders relating to each of them As your Establishment of military Officers is now compleat by the Arrival of Mr Price and we Lieut Kendall must upon that Account be without pay while he remains upon the Island, as your Honours have given no Directions on that Head we thought proper to acquaint you with it This waits on your Honours by your Ship the Royal Duke Captain George Cuming We are Honble Sirs Your most Obedt and most humble Servants (Signed) St Helena Charles Hutchinson 1st April 1754 John Adamson John Clark	The Council's last letter to the Court went home the day before in the Court's ship *Harcourt*, which sailed from St Helena with the Court's ships *Griffin* and *Edgbaston*. That morning the Council sent for Messrs Kendall, Falconer, Inglis and Greentree, and told them in council of the Court's orders relating to each of them. Since the establishment of civil and military officers was now complete by the arrival of Mr Price, and Lieutenant Kendall must on that account be without pay while he remained on the island, the Court having given directions on that head, the Council thought proper to report it. The letter went home in the Court's ship *Royal Duke* under Captain George Cuming. It was signed at St Helena on 1 April 1754 by Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson and John Clark. **Interpretations** The predicament of Lieutenant Kendall, left without pay once the arrival of Mr Price completed the establishment, reveals the rigidity of the fixed complement the Company laid down for its stations. The number of officers was set from London, and when a new man arrived to fill the last place, an officer over that number fell off the pay, however willing he might be to serve, so that Kendall found himself supernumerary and unpaid by the working of a quota he could not alter. This shows the establishment as a fixed frame into which men were fitted exactly, no room left for one beyond the count, and an officer who had served finding his pay stop the moment the complement was full, the Company's careful limitation of its charges leaving no place for a redundant man even where his service might still have been had.
267	263	List of the Honourable Companys Packet from St Helena together with the foregoing Letter p Ship Royal Duke Vizt No 1 Governour and Councils General Letter dated the 1 April 1754 2 Duplicate Do dated the 31 March Do 3 Do Consultations from the 27th to the 30th March Do 4 Consultation of the 1 April Do 5 List of Officers and Servants taken the 1 April Do 6 Duplicate List of the Packet p Ship Harcourt Do 7 Second Receipt for the Packet p Ship Walpole Do 8 First Receipt for Do p Ship Harcourt Do 9 Duplicate Cash Acco from 27th to the 31 March Do 10 Cash Account of the 1st April Do 11 Duplicate Ship Harcourts Account Do 12 Do Ship Griffins Account Do 13 Do Ship Edgbastons Account Do 14 Ship Royal Dukes Account Do	The list of the packet the *Royal Duke* carried home with the letter of 1 April 1754 included the following. 1: Governor and Council's general letter dated 1 April 1754 2: Duplicate of the general letter dated 31 March 1754 3: Duplicate consultations from the twenty-seventh to the thirtieth of March 1754 4: Consultations of 1 April 1754 5: List of officers and servants taken 1 April 1754 6: Duplicate list of the packet of the ship Harcourt 7: Second receipt for the packet of the ship Walpole 8: First receipt for the packet of the ship Harcourt 9: Duplicate cash account from the twenty-seventh to the thirty-first of March 1754 10: Cash account of 1 April 1754 11: Duplicate ship Harcourt account 12: Duplicate ship Griffin account 13: Duplicate ship Edgbaston account 14: Ship Royal Duke account

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268	264	[Loss at the upper right corner, affecting the ends of the first few lines.] To the Honble Honourable Sirs 1 Our last Advices to you went by your Honours Ship the Royal Duke that sailed from hence on the 1 April 2 Having already acquainted your Honours by the Harcourt that we had received your Letter by the Grantham we now proceed to answer the several Paragraphs therein contained 3 It gives us pleasure that all our Letters of last year went safe to you 4 Your Honours may depend upon our continuing to be very Punctual in sending you the arrival and departure of Ships with all the News we can collect from the Gentlemen of them being glad to find that our Advices of last Year were useful and so much to your Satisfaction 5 We received the List of your Ships in the Packet with an Account of the Times of their Sailing from and arrival in England for which we thank your Honours 6 We observe that you have taken up seventeen Sail of Ships to carry on your trade in India this Season, we hope they will be successful and return in Safety 7 The Orders of Richard Chauncey, Roger Drake, Christopher Burrow, and William Mabbot Esqrs who are the Committee of Secrecy for this Season, or the Orders of any three of those Gentlemen shall be punctually Obeyed as your Honours have directed 8 By your Ship the Grantham we received your consignment of Goods Stores and Necessaries for the use of this Island which shall be taken great care of 9 We took care to have her delivered so as that your Honours are not liable to pay any Demorage 10 Upon the expiration of the ten Working Days we gave	1: The Council's last letter to the Court went home in the Court's ship *Royal Duke*, which sailed from St Helena on the first of April. 2: Having already told the Court by the *Harcourt* that it had received the Court's letter by the *Grantham*, the Council now proceeded to answer the several paragraphs contained in it. 3: The Council found it a pleasure that all its letters of the previous year had come safe to the Court. 4: The Court might depend on the Council continuing to be very punctual in sending it the arrival and departure of ships, with all the news it could collect from the commanders, and the Council was glad to find that its reports of the previous year had come safe and been so much to the Court's satisfaction. 5: The Council received the list of the Court's ships in the packet, with an account of the times of their sailing from and arrival in England, for which it thanked the Court. 6: The Council observed that the Court had taken up seventeen sail of ships to carry on its trade in India that season, which it hoped would be successful and return safe. 7: The orders of Richard Chauncey, Roger Drake, Christopher Burrow and William Wabbot Esquires, the Committee of Secrecy for that season, or the orders of any three of those gentlemen, would be punctually obeyed as the Court had directed. 8: By the *Grantham* the Council received the Court's consignment of goods, stores and necessaries for the use of the island, which would be taken great care of. 9: The Council took care to have the *Grantham* delivered so that the Court might not be liable to pay any demurrage. 10: On the expiration of the ten working days, the Council gave the captain [...]. **Interpretations** The Court's continued approval of the Council's shipping reports, acknowledged again and answered with a fresh promise to keep them up, confirms that the intelligence gathering the island performed remained a duty London expressly valued and required. The Court sent in return its own list of the Company's ships and their times of sailing and arrival, so that the exchange ran both ways, the island reporting the fleet as it passed and the Court informing the island of the ships' movements at home. This mutual traffic of shipping news, the Council's undertaking to continue it, and the Court's care to supply its own part, shows the whole system of intelligence as a settled and reciprocal function, the island the Company's listening post on the homeward route and the Court feeding back the information that let each end track the fleet across the world. The naming of the Committee of Secrecy and the Council's undertaking to obey its orders, appearing here as in earlier years, marks the standing machinery by which the Company directed its distant servants through a small body of Directors whose instructions bound the island. The orders of any three of the four named gentlemen would be punctually obeyed, so that the Council conducted the Court's most sensitive business under the control of a committee whose word carried the Company's full authority. This governance through standing committees, their membership renewed each season and their orders binding on the remotest station, shows the tight and formal direction the Company kept over its affairs, the island a point in a system reaching from a few men in London to the far edge of the eastern trade, the Council executing the

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			Court's will as conveyed through the channels the Company had established for the purpose.
269	265	Captain Oliver Sailing Orders in writing to make the best of his way to Fort Marlborough upon the west Coast of the Island Sumatra and to follow the Instructions he had received from your Honours 11 The utmost precaution has been and shall be continued to be taken to prevent (as much as we can) the Desertion of Blacks from the Island in Boats especially your Slaves as we are Sensible it must be expensive to your Honours to procure others 12 As we found our Selves greatly in want of a Long Boat we bought one of Captain William Hutchinson for which we paid him eighteen Pounds, and we hope to prevent any of your Honours Boats being taken away for the future, as the Patron is directed to bring on Shore their Rudder Sails and Oars every Evening, and the Strictest Orders have been renewed for the Centinels upon the Rampart to keep a good Look out in the Night 13 We are pleased that our discription of the condition of the Goods we received p the Walpole was to your Satisfaction the like care and particularity shall be used, with regard to all other Ships that we may receive any Goods by 14 His Grace the Duke of Newcastles Letter of Novr 8 1753, to Richard Chauncey Esqr the then Chairman with regard to the treatment of the Ships of the King of Prussia and those of other Nations that may at any Time arrive here we have carefully read 15 We shall Act agreeable to the Words of it as your Honours have recommended 16 Upon the Arrival of any Foreign Ships we shall diligently inquire whether any of his Majestys Subjects are on Board contrary to the Laws of our Kingdom if any are found; we shall demand them of their Commanders and Should they refuse to deliver them up, we shall not suffer such Ships to have any refreshment or Assistance whatever 17 We are much Obliged to your Honours for having	The Council gave Captain Oliver his sailing orders in writing, to make the best of his way to Fort Marlborough on the west coast of the island of Sumatra, and to follow the instructions he had received from the Court. 11: The utmost precaution had been, and would continue to be, taken to prevent the escape of slaves from the island in boats, especially the Court's slaves, as the Council was aware how expensive it must be for the Court to procure others. 12: Since the Council had found itself much in want of a longboat, it had bought one of Captain William Hutchinson for £18 0s 0d. It hoped to prevent any of the Court's boats being taken away in future, as the patron was directed to bring on shore their rudder, sails and oars every evening, and the strictest orders had been renewed for the sentinels on the ramparts to keep a good lookout in the night. 13: The Council was pleased that its account of the condition of the goods received by the *Walpole* had been to the Court's satisfaction. The like care and particularity would be used with regard to other ships it might receive any goods by. 14: The Council had carefully read the Duke of Newcastle's letter of 8 November 1753 to Richard Chauncey Esquire, the then chairman, about the treatment of the ships of the King of Prussia and those of other nations that might at any time arrive at the island. 15: The Council would act agreeably to the terms of the letter, as the Court had recommended. 16: On the arrival of any foreign ships, the Council would diligently enquire whether any of His Majesty's subjects were on board, contrary to the laws of the kingdom. If any were found, it would demand them of their commanders, and should they refuse to deliver them up, it would not let such ships have any refreshment or assistance whatever. 17: The Council was much obliged to the Court for having complied [...]. **Interpretations** The renewed precautions against the escape of slaves by boat, following the flight of thirteen the previous year, show the Council tightening a control whose failure it had already suffered and whose cost it keenly felt. The patron was ordered to bring the boats' gear ashore each night and the sentinels to keep a strict watch, precisely because a lapse in these measures had let slaves seize a longboat and put to sea, and the Council was mindful how dear it was to replace the Court's slaves. The purchase of a longboat to make good the want, and the care taken that this one should not be lost like the last, mark the settlement's constant guard over both its slaves and the boats by which they might flee, the two protections joined because the loss of either was a loss to the Company that a remote island could ill sustain. The instruction on removing British subjects from foreign ships shows the Company enforcing the laws of the kingdom against its own trading rivals and using its power to victual as the means of compulsion. On the Duke of Newcastle's direction, conveyed through the chairman, the Council would demand any of the King's subjects found aboard foreign vessels, and withhold all refreshment and assistance from any ship that refused to give them up, so that the island's control over the water and provisions the passing ships needed became a lever to enforce a point of national law. This turning of the settlement's provisioning function to the service of the state, the refreshment owed by custom made conditional on compliance with the kingdom's laws,

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			shows the island acting as an instrument of national policy as well as of the Company's trade, the same stores that fed the fleet withheld to compel a foreign captain to yield up an English subject.
270	266	complyd with our Indent as far as it was possible, it has unluckily happened from the want of Room for the whole that half of the Salt & all the Fishing Lines have been left behind, which will put us to great inconvenience as the Garrison and Inhabitants will not now be able to preserve their Meat in the hot Season or to catch what Fish they may require, on which the Natives and their Slaves very much depend for their Support 18 The reason for our Indenting for twenty thousand Tiles was for new Covering the Roof of your Honours House in the Fort and some other of your Buildings for which Boards with Mortar upon them will not so well Answer 19 The five thirty two Pounder Cannon and their Carriages your Honours sent us by the Grantham are all safely Landed which we propose to Mount upon the Line at the Fortification in James's Valley 20 We are sorry that the Dimensions of the Guns for which we wrote for New Carriages were not particularly enough described we therefore shall for the future be very careful in acquainting you upon such Occasion with the Length of every Piece of Ordnance and the Sizes of every part as you have been pleased to direct 21 In our Packet p the Grantham we received the New Seal with the Honourable Companys Arms, which you have been pleased to send us 22 The new Bell that you have sent us we have likewise received and shall hang it in our Guard House as soon as possible, we now return the Old one by Captain John Foot, who has agried to carry it Freight free as your Honours will pay by the Receipt for it that you will receive herewith 23 As your Honours have sent us the full Quantity of Beef and Pork we Indented for we hope it will be sufficient for the Years Consumption but it being necessary to have some in Store	The Court had complied with the Council's indent as far as was possible. It had unluckily happened from the want of room for the whole that half of the salt and all the fishing lines had been left behind, which would put the island to great inconvenience, as the garrison and inhabitants would not now be able to preserve their meat in the hot season, or to catch what fish they might require, on which the natives and their slaves very much depended for their support. 18: The reason the Council had indented for 20,000 tiles was for new covering the roof of the Court's house in the fort and some other of the Court's buildings, for which boards with mortar on them would not so well answer. 19: The five 32 pounder cannon and their carriages the Court had sent by the *Grantham* were all safely landed, which the Council proposed to mount on the line at the fortification in James's Valley. 20: The Council was sorry that the dimensions of the guns for which it wrote for new carriages had not been particularly enough described. It would in future be very careful in acquainting the Court on such occasions with the length of every piece of ordnance and the size of every part, as the Court had directed. 21: In the packet by the *Grantham* the Council received the new seal with the Court's arms, which the Court had been pleased to send. 22: The Council had likewise received the new bell the Court had sent, and would hang it in the guard house as soon as possible. It now returned the old one by Captain John Foot, who had agreed to carry it freight free, as the Court would see by his receipt sent with this letter. 23: The Court had sent the island the full quantity of beef and pork the Council had indented for, which it hoped would be sufficient for the year's consumption. Since it was necessary to have some in [...]. **Interpretations** The shortfall in the salt and fishing lines, left behind for want of room in the ship, shows how the constraints of cargo space could deprive the island of necessaries essential to its subsistence. The salt was needed to preserve meat in the warm season and the fishing lines to catch the fish on which the slaves and inhabitants much depended, so their omission threatened the food supply directly, a want caused not by any failure to order but by the sheer limit of what the ship could hold. This dependence of a remote island on the exact contents of the ships sent to it, and the real hardship a shortfall in a bulky or humble item could bring, ran through the provisioning of the settlement, the Council forever pressing that its whole indent come and suffering when the press of cargo left an essential article on the quay at home. The mounting of the heavy 32 pounders on the line in James's Valley shows the island completing the improvement of its principal defences with the weightiest ordnance the Court could send. The Council had earlier pressed for such heavy guns as the best defence against ships, and now landed and placed them at the main fortification commanding the anchorage, so that the island's chief work carried metal heavy enough to damage an attacking vessel. This steady strengthening of the batteries at the point where an enemy would come, the heaviest guns set where they would most tell, marks the continual attention to the island's security as a

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			fortress on the homeward route, the defences built up gun by gun against the French ships that in wartime might attempt the road on which the Company's trade so much depended.
271	267	Store, we shall therefore according to your directions buy of the Commanders of your returning Ships, what more we think we shall want, if we can have it good and at reasonable Rates 24 We are very glad that your Honours have discontinued for the present your Orders to your several Commanders for bringing us any more Cape Brandy, as it is a Liquer that does not answer the purpose of this Island 25 As the Cash now remaining with what arises from the Sale of your Store Goods and what we may receive for Bills we believe will be sufficient for the Expence of the Current Year we therefore have not taken any of your Treasure out of the Grantham of which we have advised the Gentlemen of Fort Marlbro 26 We thank your Honours for granting our request in writing to your President and Council of Fort St George to send us thirty Madagascar Slaves as they are very much wanted here 27 The five Pieces of Gold that Captain Kindman carried to you stood upon your Books of the Weight mentioned in his Receipt for them as your Honours will please to Observe in several former Cash Account which we took to be right and therefore they were not weighed again when Captain Kindman Recd them 28 In our Indents for China for the future, we will mention the particular Quantity of Sugar and Sugar Candey as well as every other Article we shall think necessary for the Annual Consumption of this Island agreeable to your Honours Orders on this Head 29 It is a great Satisfaction to us to find that the Method we took the last Season for the Planters supplying the Market your own and Foreign Ships with Beef has been approved of we shall therefore continue it and transmit to you by one of your latter Ships a State of the whole in the same manner we did the last year 30 The 29th Paragraph of your last Letter being read to Mr Thomas Greentree, he expressed his Sense of your Honours favour	Since it was necessary to have some in store, the Council would, according to the Court's directions, buy of the commanders of the Court's returning ships whatever more it thought it would want, if it could have it good and at reasonable rates. 24: The Council was very glad that the Court had for the present discontinued its orders to its several commanders for bringing any more Cape brandy, as it was a liquor that did not answer the purpose of the island. 25: Since the cash now remaining, with what arose from the sale of the Court's store goods and what it might receive for bills, would the Council believed be sufficient for the expense of the current year, it had not taken any of the Court's treasure out of the *Grantham*, of which it had advised the gentlemen of Fort Marlborough. 26: The Council thanked the Court for granting its request, made in writing to the Court's President and Council of Fort St George, to send it thirty Madagascar slaves, as they were very much wanted on the island. 27: The five pieces of gold Captain Hindman carried to the Court stood on the Court's books at the weight mentioned in his receipt for them, as the Court would see in a former cash account, which the Council took to be right, and therefore they were not weighed again when Hindman received them. 28: In its indents for China in future, the Council would mention the particular quantity of sugar and sugar candy, as well as every other article it thought necessary for the yearly consumption of the island, as the Court had ordered. 29: The Council found it a great satisfaction that the method it took the previous season for the planters supplying the market and the Court's own and foreign ships with beef had been approved. It would therefore continue it, and transmit to the Court by one of the later ships a statement of the whole, in the same manner as the previous year. 30: When the twenty-ninth paragraph of the Court's last letter was read to Thomas Greentree, he expressed his sense of the Court's favour [...]. **Interpretations** The Council's decision not to draw on the Court's treasure in the *Grantham*, meeting its expenses instead from the sale of goods and the money paid in for bills, shows the island working to fund itself from its own receipts rather than break into the Company's specie in transit. The cash arising from the store goods sold and the remittances taken in against bills would, the Council judged, cover the year's charges, so the treasure consigned to Fort Marlborough could pass on untouched, its integrity preserved for the settlement it was meant for. This preference for self-financing from the station's own income, keeping the Company's treasure whole for its destination, marks the sound management of the island's cash, the Council drawing on the money that flowed through it in the ordinary course rather than diverting funds bound elsewhere, the accounts of the several settlements kept distinct and each made to live within its own means where it could. The Court's approval of the Greentree beef arrangement, and its reading of the relevant paragraph to Greentree himself, shows the long dispute closing with the man brought to acknowledge the Court's favour. The market scheme the Council had devised to answer the planters' combination had been sanctioned by London and would continue, and Greentree, once the ringleader

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			of the remonstrance, now expressed his sense of the Court's kindness when its letter was read to him, the submission complete. This bringing of the chief troublemaker to a public acknowledgement, the Court's own words read to him in council and his humility recorded, marks the final resolution of the affair on the Council's terms, the authority of the island government vindicated and the man who had challenged it reduced to gratitude, the whole set down for London as the orderly end of a matter the Council had managed to its own satisfaction.
272	268	permitting him to remain upon the Island and promisses to be very Circumspect in his Behaviour for the future 31 It gives great pleasure to the Governor to find your Honours are convinced of the Injustice of the complaint the Planters made of them, He begs leave to assure you, that it will always be his endeavor to discharge his Duty to your Approbation, as there is not any thing he so much desires as to preserve the place you are pleased to allow him to have, in your good Opinion 32 We are glad that your Honours approve of our Plans for new Barracks and an Hospital and shall begin upon them as soon as we conveniently can, after we receive the Materials 33 Mr Matthew Bazett begs leave to return your Honours thanks for confirming him in your Service here as Factor 34 We have received the twenty military Recruits according to the Muster Roll of them we found in the Packet, and have not detained one of those that your Honours intended for your Settlements on the West Coast 35 All the Soldiers that are desirous of going to England after Serving their contracted Times and who have Wives here shall be obliged to take their Familys with them, and if the Women refuse to go with their Husbands, we will put your Orders in execution with regard to them, that the Honourable Company may not be liable to any Expence by their continuing here 36 It gives us great Satisfaction that you approved of our Answer to your Deputy Governor and Councils of Fort Marlborough upon their Application to us for a military Officer which we did not think proper to comply with untill we received your Honours Orders for it, Lieutenant Joseph Kendall has been therefore acquainted with your favour to him and has requested of us to return your Honours his thanks for it, He takes his Passage for the West Coast upon the Ship Grantham	Greentree expressed his sense of the Court's favour in permitting him to remain on the island, and promised to be very careful in his behaviour in future. 31: Governor Hutchinson found it a great pleasure that the Court was convinced of the injustice of the complaint the planters made of him. He assured the Court that he would always endeavour to discharge his duty to its approval, as there was nothing he so much desired as to keep the place it was pleased to allow him in its good opinion. 32: The Council was glad that the Court approved of its plans for new barracks and a hospital, and would begin on them as soon as it conveniently could after receiving the materials. 33: Matthew Bazett returned the Court his thanks for confirming him in its service on the island as factor. 34: The Council had received the twenty military recruits, according to the muster roll of them it found in the packet, and had not detained one of those the Court intended for its settlements on the west coast. 35: All the soldiers who wished to go to England after serving their contracted times, and who had wives on the island, would be obliged to take their families with them. If their wives refused to go with their husbands, the Council would put the Court's orders in execution with regard to them, so that the Company might not be liable to any expense by their remaining on the island. 36: The Council found it a great satisfaction that the Court approved of its answer to the Court's Deputy Governor and Council of Fort Marlborough, on their application to the Council for a military officer, which it did not think proper to comply with until it received the Court's orders for it. Lieutenant Joseph Kendall had been told of the Court's favour to him, and asked the Council to return the Court his thanks for it. He took his passage for the west coast in the *Grantham*. **Interpretations** The confirmation of the arrangement for removing the soldiers' families answers the burden the Council had earlier laid before the Court and shows the settlement given authority to shed a charge its establishment had bred. Soldiers going home after their time would now be obliged to take their wives and children, and reluctant wives compelled to follow, so that the island would no longer support the families the garrison left behind, the whole done expressly so that the Company should bear no expense by their remaining. This turning of the Council's request into standing practice, the power to move the dependents secured from London, marks the administrative resolution of a social consequence of manning the post with married men, the settlement clearing itself of an obligation by the plain expedient of sending the families away with the men who had brought them. The refusal of a military officer to Fort Marlborough until the Court's orders came, now approved by London, shows the strict subordination of the island's Council to the Directors even in

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			dealings with another of the Company's settlements. Fort Marlborough had asked St Helena for an officer, and the Council declined to spare one on its own authority, waiting for the Court's direction, a caution the Court commended. This deference, the Council refusing to act between settlements without London's sanction, marks the centralised discipline of the Company, each station bound to the Court's orders and wary of moving men or resources on its own judgement, the whole a system in which the distant parts were held firmly to the direction of the centre, the island's Council conducting even inter-settlement business under the Court's express command rather than by its own discretion.
273	269	37 Lieutenant Beale being the eldest of the second Lieutenants has been promoted to the Command of the Company that became Vacant by Mr Kendalls removal and Lieutenant Price was appointed to succeed Mr Beale as second Lieutenant 38 Mr Samuel Falconer was dismissed your Service according to your Orders and directed to Settle his Accounts with every Body upon the Island and prepare himself to take his passage for England as soon as possible 39 Agreeable to your directions Mr John Inglis succeeds Mr Falconer as Surgeon at the usual Salary and allowances 40 And Mr Thomas Evans who arrived here the Grantham likewise succeeded Mr Inglis as Surgeons Assistant and shall have the same Salary and Allowance as Mr Inglis had 41 Henry Brimson your late Armourer here was dismissed from your Service in November last at his own request and William Oakman we discharged upon the Receipt of your last Letter according to your Honrs Orders 42 The Persons you sent to supply their places viz Robt John Clark and Thomas Ivins are arrived and shall be paid from the Day they came on Shore the former forty two Pounds a Year as Armourer and the latter fifty Pounds a Year as Carpr John Hughes and Thomas Cheesborough Armourers and Carpenters Mates, have been likewise appointed to their Stations, and shall be duly paid the Allowances that you have been pleased to make them from the Time of their arrival 43 Having acquainted Mr Thomas French that your Honours had approved of our Opinion in regard to the Demand made by Mr James DuBois for a Share of his late Fathers Personal Estate in right of his Child who is a grand Daughter of the said late Mr French and represented to him the equity of the case He readily consented to pay it but brought in an Account	37: Lieutenant Beale, being the eldest of the second lieutenants, had been promoted to the command of the company that became vacant by Kendall's removal, and Lieutenant Price was appointed to succeed Beale as second lieutenant. 38: Samuel Falconer was dismissed from the Court's service according to its orders, and directed to settle his accounts with everybody on the island and prepare himself to take his passage for England as soon as possible. 39: In obedience to the Court's directions, John Inglis succeeded Falconer as surgeon at the usual salary and allowance. 40: Thomas Evans, who arrived on the *Grantham*, likewise succeeded Inglis as surgeon's assistant, and would have the same salary and allowance as Inglis had. 41: Henry Bremison the Court's late armourer had been dismissed from the Court's service in November, at his own request, and William Oakman discharged on the receipt of the Court's last letter, according to its orders. 42: The persons the Court sent to supply their places, Robert John Clark and Thomas Lewis, had arrived and would be paid from the day they came ashore, the former £42 0s 0d a year as armourer and the latter £50 0s 0d a year as carpenter. John Hughes and Thomas Cheesborough, armourer's and carpenter's mates, had likewise been appointed to their positions, and would be duly paid the allowances the Court had been pleased to make them from the time of their arrival. 43: Having told Thomas French that the Court had approved of the Council's opinion about the demand made by James Du Bois for a share of his late father's personal estate, in right of his child who was a granddaughter of the late French, and having set out to him the equity of the case, he readily consented to pay it, but brought in an account [...]. **Interpretations** The wholesale replacement of the island's surgeon, armourer and carpenter, all removed and their successors installed by the same ship, shows the Company clearing out unsatisfactory servants once trained men could be had from home. The drunken surgeon Falconer, whom the Council had been forced to keep for want of any other, was now dismissed and shipped home; the troublesome armourer Bremison and the drunken carpenter Oakman were gone, and their places filled by men sent out from England. This turnover, timed to the arrival of the recruits, marks the resolution of the standing difficulty the Council had complained of, that it must endure bad servants on a remote island until London supplied better, the whole establishment of skilled men renewed at a stroke when the ships brought the replacements the Council had asked for, the settlement able to be rid of its worst servants only when the slow supply from home at last provided others.

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			The chain of promotions among the officers, each step filling the vacancy left by the last, shows the ordered advancement by seniority that governed the garrison's establishment. Kendall's removal made a command vacant, into which the eldest second lieutenant Beale rose, and Beale's own place was filled by the newly arrived Price, so that a single departure set off a sequence of advancement running down the ranks. This working of seniority, each officer stepping up as those above him moved or left and the lowest place taken by a new man from home, was the settled mechanism by which the garrison's officers rose, the establishment kept full and its order preserved by a fixed progression, the Company's service on the island advancing its men by rule as vacancies opened rather than by any choice made on the spot.
274	270	of six Pounds twelve Shillings and nine Pence three Farthings upon the whole Estate being Cash he paid since the above Share was made out which we Adonis to be just, the Personal Estate of the late Mr French being then divided into five parts the Child of Mr DuBois must be Charged with one fifth of the said Debt amounting to one Pound Six Shillings and six Pence 3/4 and that being deducted from one hundred and twenty three Pounds nineteen Shillings and seven Pence 1/2 there remains only one hundred and twenty two Pounds thirteen Shillings and 3/4 due to the Child of the said DuBois which Sum we have received from Mr French and directed the Accountant to Debt your Cash with it and write it off in your Honrs Books to Account Current Indenr 44 The Money we the last Year acquainted you we had received in Account of the late Governour Godwin we are pretty well assured is all that is recoverable upon this Island and we are sorry that these several Claimants upon this Estate have not Stated their Accounts to your Honours Satisfaction 45 We therefore according to your Orders have had all the said Claimants upon the Island before us again and have directed them to State their Accounts in the manner you have been pleased to lay down and to bring dividend to support their several Demands which we will see is done in a particular a manner as we can and give you Our Opinion afterwards upon each as your Honours have Ordered 46 All that we can collect with regard to Mr Hunters Claim upon the abovementioned Estate is that the Sum of twenty one Pounds sixteen Shillings and three Pence appears to be due to Captain Charles Small upon the late Govr Godwins Books which we apprehend is the Money Mr Hunter demands in right of his Wife who was the Widow	French brought in an account of £6 12s 9¾d on the whole estate, being cash he had paid since the above share was made out, which the Council believed to be just. The personal estate of the late French being then divided into five parts, the child of Du Bois must be charged with one fifth of that debt, amounting to £1 6s 6¾d. That being deducted from £123 19s 7¾d, there remained only £122 13s 0¾d due to the child of Du Bois. This sum the Council had received from French, and directed the accountant to debit the Court's cash with it and write it off to account current in London. 44: The money the Council had reported the previous year as received on account of the late Governor Goodwin was, it was pretty well assured, all that was recoverable on the island. It was sorry that the several claimants on the estate had not stated their accounts to the Court's satisfaction. 45: The Council had therefore, according to the Court's orders, had all the claimants on the island before it again, and directed them to state their accounts in the manner the Court had laid down and to bring vouchers to support their several demands. It would see these in store in a particular manner, as far as it could, and give the Court its opinion afterwards on each, as the Court had ordered. 46: All the Council could gather about Mr Hunter's claim on the above estate was that £21 16s 3d appeared to be due to Captain Charles Small on the late Governor Goodwin's books, which it took to be the money. Mr Hunter demanded it in right of his wife, who was the widow of Captain Small. Since Mr Hunter was in England and probably had his late wife's papers, he might make the affair clear to the Court. **Interpretations** The careful working of the Du Bois child's share, down to fractions of a penny, shows the exactness with which the island administered the property of minors and absentees. The account was adjusted for a further payment made since the share was first struck, the estate divided into its five parts, the child's fifth of the new charge deducted, and the precise balance received and written off to London, so that the granddaughter's portion was settled to the last farthing. This meticulous reckoning of a child's inheritance, the sum traced through every adjustment and secured in the Court's cash for transmission home, marks the trust the island exercised over the estates of the dead and the interests of those who could not act for themselves, the Council keeping the accounts of such shares with the same rigour it applied to the Company's own, so that no part of a minor's due should be lost in the settlement. The continued sifting of the claims on Governor Goodwin's estate shows the long labour of recovering a dishonest servant's deficiency and

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		of the said Captain Small and now Mr Hunter is in England and probably has the Books of her late Husband she may make this Affair clear to your Honours	distinguishing genuine demands from doubtful. The Court, unsatisfied with the claimants' accounts, ordered them re-stated with vouchers, and the Council called the claimants before it again to examine each demand and report its opinion, tracing obscure claims like Hunter's through Goodwin's books to their origin. This insistence on proof for every demand against the estate, the refusal to allow a claim without its voucher, and the patient tracing of each through the tangled records was the method by which the Company sought to recover what Goodwin had taken and to pay only what was truly owed, the island administering the wreck of the estate under the Court's close direction, every claim pressed to evidence before it would be allowed against the funds the Company was trying to reclaim.
275	271	47 We have Likewise had the Heirs of Eleanor Worrall before us, and directed them to set forth how their Claim arises upon the Estate of the late Governour Godwin which we will also enquire into and transmit to your Honours our Opinion of it 48 By the first Opportunity that Offers after we have made all the Enquiry that we possebly can into the several Claims upon the said late Govr Godwins Estate we will send our proceedings to you which we hope will prove Satisfactory to your Honours 49 Finding by the Honourable Mr Yorks Opinion that Leasehold Land is deemed Personal Estate, as we our selves believed it to be by the Laws of England we therefore directed the Executors of the Will of the late Gabriel Harper deceased to give Mr Richard Godwin in right of his Wife who was the Widow of the said Gabriel Harper did one third part of his Leasehold Land or the value thereof as your Honrs will please to Observe in our Consultation of the 6 of last Month but as you acquaint us this affair has been some Expence and trouble to the Honourable Company, and have directed we should determine by our Own Opinion and Judgement all such Cases as come before us we shall do so for the future, and if any appear to be doubtful we shall recommend it to the Partys to agree upon a State of the case and transmit it to England for the Opinion of Council at their Own Expence, after it has been examined by us 50 On the 22d of last Month arrived your Ship the Salisbury Captain John Foot from Bombay which place she Sailed from the 23d of December in Company with the Protector, Bombay Grab, Drake Sloop, and Six Country Vessels for Tellicherry where he arrived the 3d Day of January and the 11th of the same Month he proceeded from thence for Anjengo, in	47: The Council had likewise had the heir of Eleanor Worrall before it, and directed them to set forth how their claim arose on the estate of the late Governor Goodwin, which it would also enquire into and transmit to the Court its opinion of it. 48: By the first opportunity that offered, after it had made all the enquiry it possibly could into the several claims on the late Goodwin's estate, the Council would send the Court its proceedings, which it hoped would prove satisfactory. 49: Finding by the opinion of Mr Sparks that leasehold land was deemed personal estate, as the Council itself believed it to be by the laws of England, it had directed the executors of the will of the late Gabriel Harper to give Richard Godwin, in right of his wife who was the widow of Gabriel Harper, one third part of his leasehold land or the value of it, as the Court would see in the consultation of the ninth of the previous month. Since this affair had been some expense and trouble to the Company, and the Court had directed the Council to determine all such cases by its own opinion and judgement, it would do so in future. If any appeared doubtful, it would recommend the parties to agree on a statement of the case and transmit it to England for the opinion of counsel at their own expense, after it had been examined by the Council. 50: On the twenty-second of the previous month the Court's ship *Salisbury* under Captain John Foot arrived from Bombay, which place he sailed from on the twenty-third of December, in company with the *Protector*, the *Bombay* grab, *Drake* sloop and six country vessels for Fillicherry, where he arrived on the third of January. On the eleventh of the same month he proceeded from there for Anjengo, in company with the *Protector* and *Drake* sloop, and on the twenty-fifth the *Winchelsea* under Captain Baron arrived there from Bengal and was bound [...]. **Interpretations** The resolution of the Harper leasehold dispute, decided at last on the opinion that leasehold counted as personal estate, shows the nice question of law the Council had earlier referred now settled and a rule laid down for the future. The point that had seemed too fine for the Council to decide alone was resolved by legal opinion in favour of the widow's third, and the Court, mindful of the expense such references cost, directed the Council to determine like cases by its own judgement thereafter, sending only genuinely doubtful ones to counsel in England at the parties' own charge. This shift from referring hard questions home to deciding them on the spot, with a fallback to counsel paid for by the litigants, marks the Court's economy in legal matters and its trust in the Council's judgement, the island given authority to settle its property disputes locally and the costly recourse to England reserved for the truly uncertain and charged to those who required it.

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		Company with the Protector and Drake Sloop, that on the 25th Winchelsea Captain Baron arrived there from Bengall and was bound	The account of the *Salisbury* sailing in company with armed vessels shows the convoy protection the Company gave its shipping in the dangerous eastern waters. Captain Foot sailed from Bombay with the *Protector*, a grab, a sloop and six country vessels, the armed ships escorting the merchantmen along a coast where privateers and hostile powers threatened, and the whole reported to the island as it tracked the fleet's movements. This grouping of trading ships under armed escort, and the reporting of such convoys through the homeward commanders, reflects the perils of the Indian trade in wartime and the Company's care to guard its vessels, the island collecting the news of these protected movements as part of its intelligence on the fleet, the merchantmen shepherded through the eastern seas by the armed ships that sailed with them.
276	272	to Bombay and Surat, The Prince Edward Captain Haldane was gone upon Freight to Batavia and it was believed would go from thence to China and the Swallow Cliff (late Captain Bell) to Persia 51 Captain Foot left Anjengo the 1st February and saw in his Passage hither two Dutch Ships homeward bound, and two Ships outward bound whose Colours he could not discern 52 On the 4th Instant arrived your Ship the Portfield Capt Legeyt from Bengall which place he sailed from the 13 of January and left there your Honours Ships the Elizabeth Captain Wills, the Montfort Captain Vincent, the Egmont Captain Tolson and Stafford Captain Green (late Baker) Captain Legeyt Acquaint us that the Tavington Captain Diche and the Falmouth Captain Sicle, were to be dispatched from Bengall to England, and that your Ship the Dragon Captain Slent sailed from that Place the 1 of January for Madrass and was to go from thence to Bencoolen and so to return to England 53 Captain Legeyt further informs us that the Winchelsea Captain Baron, sailed from Bengall the 11 January for the Malabar Coast, that the Egmont Captain Tolson for the Negrais the Montford and Stafford for Bombay, and the Elizabeth for Madrass Bombay and Scinda, were to sail from Bengall in about fourteen Days after he left it 54 The Captain also tells us that he arrived at the Cape the 1 of April, and Sailed the 16th where he found your Honours Ships the Essex Captain Jackson the Ilchester Captain Sicle, and the true Britain Captain Broadly, with every Body well on Board which Sailed from thence the 8 of the same Month, as did two French Ships outward bound each of them, He likewise says that he left ten Sail of Dutch Ships in Table Bay most of them outward bound and that there was a	The *Winchelsea* was bound for Bombay and Surat. The *Prince Edward* under Captain Haldane was gone on freight to Batavia, and it was believed would go from there to China, and the *Swallow* under Captain Bell was gone for Persia. 51: Captain Foot left Anjengo on the first of February, and saw on his passage to the island two Dutch ships homeward bound, and two ships outward bound whose colours he could not make out. 52: On the fourth of the month the Court's ship *Pelham* under Captain Legeyt arrived from Bengal, which place he sailed from on the thirteenth of January. He left there the Court's ships *Elizabeth* under Captain Wills, *Montfort* under Captain Vincent, *Egmont* under Captain Pelson and *Stafford* under Captain Green, late Baker. Captain Legeyt reported that the *Farmington* under Captain Vicke and the *Falmouth* under Captain Sibb were to be dispatched from Bengal to England, and that the Court's ship *Dragon* under Captain Hunt sailed from there on the first of January for Madras, and was to go from there to Bencoolen and so return to England. 53: Captain Legeyt further reported that the *Winchelsea* under Captain Baron sailed from Bengal on the eleventh of January for the Malabar coast, that the *Egmont* under Captain Pelson was bound for the settlement for the slaves, the *Montfort* and *Stafford* for Bombay, and the *Elizabeth* for Madras, Bombay and Scinda were to sail from Bengal in about fourteen days after he left it. 54: The captain also reported that he arrived at the Cape on the fourth of April and sailed on the sixteenth, where he found the Court's ships *Essex* under Captain Jackson, *Ilchester* under Captain Sibb and the *True Briton* under Captain Broadly, with everybody well on board, which sailed from there on the eighth of the same month, as did two French ships outward bound the day after he arrived, with a great many soldiers on board each of them. He also reported that he left ten sail of Dutch ships in Table Bay, most of them outward bound, and that there was a Danish ship in Saldanha Bay homeward bound. He saw a ship to the eastward of the Cape on the twenty-third of March, in latitude 34 degrees 22 minutes south, but was at too great a distance to [...]. **Interpretations** The dense catalogue of ships spoken with, left behind and bound to various ports shows the fullness of the fleet intelligence a single arriving commander could bring, and the reach of the network the island served. Captain Legeyt named a dozen vessels and their destinations, from Bengal to Madras, Bombay, Scinda, Bencoolen and England, so that his one arrival gave the Council a wide survey of the Company's shipping across the eastern trade to forward home. This gathering of the movements and intentions of the whole fleet from the

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		Danish Ship in Saldina Bay homeward bound, He saw a ship to the two Columns Eastwd of the Cape the 24 Mar in the Lat 34 22 S but was at too great a distance to see	commanders who touched at the island, each reporting the ships he had parted from and the ports they were bound to, was the means by which the Court followed its vessels across the world, the island the point at which the scattered news of the fleet's disposition was collected and relayed. The continued sightings of French ships at the Cape laden with soldiers extended into another season the intelligence on the French war effort the island had been sending home. Two French vessels sailed from the Cape with many soldiers aboard each, so that the movement of French reinforcements toward the East, reported through the winter, still went on into the spring, and the Council forwarded the fresh sighting as it had the earlier ones. This persistent tracking of French troops passing the Cape, gathered from the homeward commanders who observed them, gave the Court a continuing account of the enemy's buildup in the eastern seas, the two stations on the homeward route together watching the French shipping and relaying its movements to London as a sustained record of the reinforcement of the war against the Company in India.
277	273	55 The Revd Mr William Lee applyd to us for Liberty to pay thirty Pounds into your Cash which Sum we have recd and given him Bills of Exchange drawn on your Honours for that Sum payable to himself (or Order) ninety Days after Sight dated the 26th of last Month 56 Captain Carteret Legeyt likewise applyd to us for liberty to pay three hundred Pounds into your Cash which Sum we have recd and gave him Bills of Exchange drawn on your Honours for that Sum payable to himself (or Order) ninety Days after Sight dated the 6th Instant 57 Captain John Foot also applied to us for liberty to pay one hundred and Seventy Pounds into your Cash which Sum we have recd and given him Bills of Exchange drawn on your Honours for that Sum payable to himself or Order ninety Days after Sight dated the 6th Instant 58 We have the pleasure to acquaint you that the Rains have fallen so favourably for several Months past, that there is now a great deal of fine Grass upon the Island, and if they continue we shall use the Ploughs Steel your Honours sent us by the Grantham in the proper Season and hope to make some Hay 59 Your Yam Plantations are likewise improved by taking in some new Ground for that purpose and we intend to Plant more feet Land with Yams as we find the Old to fail of its produce 60 Captain Legeyt informs us that two Men came on board of him at the Cape and upon Captain Foot of the Ilchester writing	55: Since the Reverend William Lee had asked the Council for leave to pay £30 0s 0d into the Court's cash, the Council received it and gave him bills of exchange drawn on the Court for that sum, payable to himself or order ninety days after sight, dated the twenty-sixth of the previous month. 56: Since Captain Carteret Legeyt had also asked the Council for leave to pay £300 0s 0d into the Court's cash, the Council received it and gave him bills of exchange drawn on the Court for that sum, payable to himself or order ninety days after sight, dated the sixth of the month. 57: Since Captain John Foot had also asked the Council for leave to pay £170 0s 0d into the Court's cash, the Council received it and gave him bills of exchange drawn on the Court for that sum, payable to himself or order ninety days after sight, dated the sixth of the month. 58: The Council reported with pleasure that the rains had fallen so favourably for several months past that there was now a great deal of fine grass on the island. If they continued, the Council would sow the seeds the Court had sent by the *Grantham* in the proper season, and hoped to make some hay. 59: The Court's yam plantations were likewise improved by taking in some new ground for that purpose. The Council intended to plant more good land with yams, as it found the old to fail of its produce. 60: Captain Legeyt reported that two men came on board of him at the Cape, and on Captain Foot of the *Ilchester* writing to him that two of his recruits had deserted from there, on examination they proved to be the men. The Council had therefore detained them to serve out their contracted times on the island. **Interpretations** The taking in of new ground for yams as the old plantations failed shows the constant renewal the island's agriculture required to keep up its staple crop. The yam was the mainstay of the island's own subsistence and of its provisioning of the slaves, and as the long-cropped ground wore out and yielded less, the Council brought fresh land into cultivation to maintain the supply. This continual shifting of the yam plantations onto new ground as the old exhausted, a pattern running through the whole record of the island, reflects the limits of its soil under repeated cropping and the labour required to keep the crop up, the settlement's food supply resting on a constant clearing and planting of fresh

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		to him that two of his Recruits had deserted from thence upon examination proving to be the Men we therefore have detained them to serve out their Contracted Time here	land to replace the tired, the Council husbanding the island's cultivable ground as carefully as its pasture and its stores. The recovery of the two deserters at the island, identified by a letter from their own commander, shows the settlement serving as a net that caught runaway servants passing through. Two men had deserted from Captain Foot's ship at the Cape, made their way aboard another vessel, and were recognised at St Helena when Foot wrote ahead identifying them, so that the island took them off and set them to serve out their time. This recovery of deserters on the homeward route, the island's position letting it intercept men who had fled at an earlier port, ran through the record as one of the uses of the station, the Council gathering up runaway soldiers and seamen to man its own establishment or return them to their ships, the settlement a point where the Company's absconding servants could be retaken and their contracted service enforced.
278	274	61 We have nothing further to mention to your Honours by the present conveyance of the Portfield Captain Legeyt, only the arrival of your Ship the Boscawen Captain Braine who came in last Night and that We are Honourable Sirs Your most Obedt and most humble Servants (Signed) St Helena Charles Hutchinson 7th May 1754 John Adamson John Clark	61: The Council had nothing further to report by the *Pelham* under Captain Legeyt, except the arrival of the Court's ship *Boscawen* under Captain Braund, who came in the night before. The letter was signed at St Helena on 7 May 1754 by Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson and John Clark.
279	275	List of the Honourable Companys Packet from St Helena together with the foregoing Letter p Ship Portfield dated the 7th May 1754 Vizt No 1 Governour and Councils General Letter dated the 7th May 1754 2 Duplicate Do dated the 1st April Do 3 Do Consultation of the 1st April Do 4 Consultation from 8th April to the 6th May Do 5 List of Officers and Servants taken 7th May Do 6 Duplicate List of the Packet p Ship Royal Duke Do 7 Second Receipt for the Packet p Ship Harcourt Do 8 First Receipt for Do p Ship Royal Duke Do 9 Duplicate Cash Account of the 1st April Do 10 Cash Account from the 2d to the 11 April Do 11 Do from the 12th April to the 7th May Do 12 Duplicate Ship Royal Dukes Account Do 13 Ship Portfields Account Do 14 Do Salisburys Account Do 15 Do Granthams Account Do 16 List of Marriages &c Do 17 Govr Letter to the Honble the Secret Committee Do 18 Receipt from Captain John Oliver for Old Cannon Do 19 Receipt from Captain John Foot for an Old Bell Do 20 Account of the Cargo of Ship Salisbury 21 Do of the Cargo of Ship Portfield Do 22 Do of the Cargo of Ship Boscawen Do	The list of the packet the *Pelham* carried home with the letter of 7 May 1754 included the following. 1: Governor and Council's general letter dated 7 May 1754 2: Duplicate of the general letter dated 1 April 1754 3: Duplicate consultations of 1 April 1754 4: Consultations from the eighth of April to the sixth of May 1754 5: List of officers and servants taken 7 May 1754 6: Duplicate list of the packet of the ship Royal Duke 7: Second receipt for the packet of the ship Harcourt 8: First receipt for the packet of the ship Royal Duke 9: Duplicate cash account of 1 April 1754 10: Cash account from the second to the eleventh of April 1754 11: Cash account from the twelfth of April to the seventh of May 1754 12: Duplicate ship Royal Duke account 13: Ship Pelham account 14: Ship Salisbury account 15: Ship Grantham account 16: List of marriages and others 17: Governor's letter to the Committee of Secrecy 18: Receipt from Captain John Oliver for old cannon 19: Receipt from Captain John Foot for an old bell 20: Account of the cargo of the ship Salisbury 21: Account of the cargo of the ship Pelham 22: Account of the cargo of the ship Boscawen
280	276	To the Honble &ca Honble Sirs We wrote last to you by your Ship the	The Council's last letter to the Court went home in the Court's ship *Pelham*, which sailed from St

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		Portfield that sailed from hence on the 7th instant with your Honours Ship the Salisbury By this occasion we transmit to your Honours the List of the remains of your Stores to the 30 of April last with our Indent for what Stores will be wanting here for the Service of the ensuing year which we hope you will be pleased to supply us with, as there are such as we cannot do without And as a great many of the Fish hooks that have been sent, are not of the proper sort for this place, we herein enclose the sizes of those that will do best for us, and beg that your Honours will Order them to be brought by your next Store Ship 3 On Friday morning the 10th instant the Rain fell so violently, that the Flood which came down Ruperts Valley filled up the Pott Cellier there, and rose above Eight Inches above the top of it and Carried away part of the new wall lately built at that place, It Likewise caused such Torrents of Water to run down the Hills into James Valley, that two Houses were much in Danger by them As Mr Thomas French has resigned your Honours Service, we appointed Mr William Wrangham to assist in the Accomptants Office, and as a Vacancy was thereby occasioned in the Secretarys Office, we filled it up by placing Mr Charles Steward to that Station, a young Man about Eighteen Years of Age Grandson to Mr Francis Wrangham Son who we beg	Helena on the seventh of the month with the Court's ship *Salisbury*. By this conveyance the Council transmitted to the Court the list of the remains of its stores to 30 April, with its indent for what stores would be wanting for the service of the coming year, which it hoped the Court would supply, as there were some the island could not do without. Since a great many of the fish hooks that had been sent were not of the proper sort for the island, the Council enclosed the sizes of those that would do best, and asked the Court to order them to be brought by the next store ship. 3: On Friday morning the tenth of the month the rain fell so violently that the flood which came down Rupert's Valley filled the pot kiln there, and rose above eight inches over the top of it, and carried away part of the new wall lately built at that place. It likewise caused such torrents of water to run down the hills into James's Valley that two houses were in great danger from them. Since Thomas French had resigned from the Court's service, the Council appointed William Wrangham to assist in the accountant's office. As a vacancy was thereby occasioned in the secretary's office, it filled it up by placing Charles Steward in that station, a young man about eighteen years of age, grandson to Francis Wrangham senior, who [...]. **Interpretations** The renewed flood damage to the pot kiln and the new wall at Rupert's Valley shows the persistent struggle of the island's works against the violence of its heaviest rains. The Council had earlier resolved to rebuild the kiln's arch larger to carry off the floods, yet a violent downpour again filled the kiln, topped it by eight inches and swept away part of the newly built wall, the torrents pouring down the hills to threaten houses in James's Valley. This repeated battering of the fabric at the same spot, the works damaged as fast as they were mended, reveals the difficulty of building to withstand the sudden deluges the island's climate could bring, the same rains that fattened the pasture and grew the yams tearing at the constructions below, the Council forever repairing and enlarging against a force that its earlier remedies had not sufficed to master. The appointment of the eighteen-year-old Charles Steward to the secretary's office, on the resignation that moved Wrangham up, shows the island advancing its own young men into the clerical service and the weight family connection carried in such placements. Steward was a grandson of the elder Francis Wrangham, a substantial planter, and stepped into the secretary's place when the shifting of offices opened it, so that a local youth of good family rose into the Company's civil service on the spot. This drawing of clerks from the island's own young people, and the part that kinship with established families played in their advancement, ran through the staffing of the settlement, the Council filling its offices where it could with men already on the island and their connections, the Company's service at the remote station recruiting and promoting from among the families that made up its small society.
281	277	leave to recommend to your Honours to be a Writer, as he is lately come from England and is well instructed in Accounts and Writing, and is deserving of your Honours favour Mr Matthew Purling applyed to us to pay Two Hundred and Twenty Two pounds into your Cash, we have received it, and Given him a set of Bills of Exchange drawn	The Council recommended Charles Steward to the Court to be a writer, as he had lately come from England, was well instructed in accounts and writing, and was deserving of the Court's favour. Since Matthew Purling had asked the Council for leave to pay £222 0s 0d into the Court's cash, the Council received it and gave him a set of bills of exchange drawn on the Court for that sum, payable to himself or order ninety days after sight, dated the twentieth of the month.

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		on your Honours, for that Sum payable to himself or Order Ninety Days after sight dated the 20th instant Captain Benjamin Braund likewise applyed to us to pay Two Hundred and Thirty Five Pounds into your Cash, we have also received it, and given him Bills of Exchange drawn on your Honours, payable to himself or Order Ninety Days after sight dated this day This waits on you by your Honours Ship the Boscawen Captain Benjamin Braund We are Honble Sirs St Helena Your most Obedient & humble Servants 23 May 1754 (Signd) Charles Hutchinson John Adamson John Clark	Since Captain Benjamin Braund had likewise asked the Council for leave to pay £235 0s 0d into the Court's cash, the Council also received it and gave him bills of exchange drawn on the Court for that sum, payable to himself or order ninety days after sight, dated that day. The letter went home in the Court's ship *Boscawen* under Captain Benjamin Braund. It was signed at St Helena on 23 May 1754 by Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson and John Clark.
282	278	List of the Honourable Companys Packet from St Helena together with the foregoing Letter p Ship Boscawen dated the 23 May 1754 Vizt No 1 Governour and Councils General Letter dated the 23 May 1754 2 Duplicate Do dated the 7th Do Do 3 Do Consultations from 8 April to the 6th of May Do 4 Consultations from 12th to the 23 of May Do 5 List of Officers and Servants taken the 23 of May Do 6 Duplicate List of the Packet p Ship Portfield Do 7 Second Receipt for the Packet p Ship Royal Duke Do 8 First Receipt for the Packet p Ship Portfield Do 9 Duplicate Cash Account from 2 to 11 April Do 10 Duplicate Cash Account from 12 April to 7 May Do 11 Cash Account from 8 May to the 11 Do 12 Cash Account from 12 to 23 May Do 13 Duplicate Ship Portfields Account Do 14 Duplicate Ship Salisburys Account Do 15 Duplicate Ship Granthams Account Do 16 Ship Boscawens Account 17 Indent of Stores wanted at St Helena for the year 1755 18 Indent of Medicines and Druggs for the year Do 19 List of Remains of Stores taken from 12 Octr 1753 to 30 April 1754 20 List of Gunners & Garrison Stores remaining the 30 April Do 21 Sizes of Hooks mentioned in the General Letter Do	The list of the packet the *Boscawen* carried home with the letter of 23 May 1754 included the following. 1: Governor and Council's general letter dated 23 May 1754 2: Duplicate of the general letter dated 7 May 1754 3: Duplicate consultations from the eighth of April to the sixth of May 1754 4: Consultations from the seventh to the twenty-third of May 1754 5: List of officers and servants taken 23 May 1754 6: Duplicate list of the packet of the ship Pelham 7: Second receipt for the packet of the ship Royal Duke 8: First receipt for the packet of the ship Pelham 9: Duplicate cash account from the second to the eleventh of April 1754 10: Duplicate cash account from the twelfth of April to the seventh of May 1754 11: Cash account from the seventh to the eleventh of May 1754 12: Cash account from the twelfth to the twenty-third of May 1754 13: Duplicate ship Pelham account 14: Duplicate ship Salisbury account 15: Duplicate ship Grantham account 16: Ship Boscawen account 17: Indent of stores wanted at St Helena for the year 1755 18: Indent of medicines and drugs for the year 1755 19: List of the remains of stores taken from the twelfth of October 1753 to the thirtieth of April 1754 20: List of gunners and garrison stores remaining the thirtieth of April 1754 21: Sizes of hooks mentioned in the general letter
283	279	To the Honble Court &c Honble Sirs 1 We wrote last to you by your Ship the Boscawen that sailed from hence on the 23 May 2 On the 28 of June arrived your Honours Ship the Tavistock Capt Jenkins late Cush from Bombay, She Capt acquaints, that he Sailed from that place the 4 of February, with the Prince Edward Capt Haldane, for Goa where they arrived the 7th & we were informed by the Vice Roy that about	1: The Council's last letter to the Court went home in the Court's ship *Boscawen*, which sailed from St Helena on the twenty-third of May. 2: On the twenty-eighth of June the Court's ship *Tavistock* under Captain Jenkins, late Bury, arrived from Bombay. The captain reported that he sailed from that place on the fourth of February with the *Prince Edward* under Captain Haldane for Goa, where they arrived on the seventh. There they were told by the Viceroy that about three weeks or a month before, Angria's fleet had attacked two Dutch European ships of Ganjam, 36 guns each, and a snow of 18, which were all well manned and had a detachment of soldiers on board. The Viceroy further told him that the Dutch repulsed the

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		3 weeks, or a month, before Angria's fleet attacked two Dutch Europe Ships of Ganjual 36 Guns each, & a Snow of 18 wich were all well mand, having a Detachment of Soldiers on board of them The Vice Roy further told him, that the Dutch repulsed them the first attack, but on the second, two of Angrias Grabs with a Ketch, and several Calivats boarded the Commodores Ship, which in about half an hour set fire to the Grabs with Grenades, & not being able to disengage themselves the Ship was blown up About forty of the Dutch Men got into their Long Boat who were overpowered by the Calivats altho they did not yeald untill there were only 16 or 17 of them left alive, two of the Grabs, with several Calivats, were Destroyed with the Commodore The same Number of Grabs, with some Calivats attempted to board the other Ships, but She blew up just as they got along side of her, whether by Accident or otherwise, is uncertain, as it was reported that the	attackers on the first attack, but on the second, two of Angria's grabs with a ketch and several galivats boarded the Commodore's ship, which in about half an hour set fire to the grabs with grenades, and not being able to disengage themselves, the ship was blown up. About forty of the Dutch men got into their longboat, who were overpowered by the galivats, though they did not yield until there were only sixteen or seventeen of them left alive. Two of the grabs, with several galivats, were destroyed with the Commodore. The same number of grabs, with some galivats, attempted to board the other ship, but she blew up just as they got alongside of her, whether by accident or otherwise was uncertain, as it was reported that the [...]. **Interpretations** The account of Angria's fleet attacking the Dutch ships shows the standing menace that the Maratha naval power posed to all European shipping on the west coast of India, not the Company's alone. Tulaji Angria commanded a formidable force of grabs and galivats operating from the fortified harbours of the Konkan coast, and here his ships fell on two well-armed Dutch vessels off Goa, boarding them despite heavy loss until both were blown up in the fighting. The Council forwarded this intelligence, gathered from a commander who had it from the Portuguese Viceroy at Goa, because Angria's strength threatened the Company's own trade on that coast as much as the Dutch, the news of his boldness and the ferocity of his men bearing directly on the security of every European ship in those waters. The grab and galivat, the vessels of Angria's fleet named here, were the characteristic craft of the western Indian coast, and their tactics against the heavier European ships reveal the particular danger they presented. The grab was a substantial two or three masted vessel built for the coastal waters, and the galivat a smaller swift oared craft, and Angria's men used them in numbers to swarm and board a larger ship, closing to grapple and fire her by hand where they could not match her broadside. That two such ships pressed home their attack until blown up, and overpowered the Dutch survivors in the water, shows the reckless determination of this coastal power, the Council relaying to London an account of the enemy's methods and resolve that any Company ship on the Malabar coast might have to face, the intelligence of Angria's fleet as vital to the western trade as the news of the French was to the affairs of the Carnatic.
284	280	Dutch Commanders when they were at Goa declared that they would blow their Ships up rather than be taken. The Reestoration was set on fire by their Ships and burnt down nearly to the Waters edge, but was saved, and got into Port. they likewise took the Dutch Snow. Captain Jenkins further informs us that he left Goa the 10 of February & on the 1st Anchored off Onore. On the 19 he sailed from that place, & parted from the Pinnace [...] The 21 he arived at Sillichery, where he found the Protector Commodore England, the Drake Ketch, the Winchelsea Capt Berion, & several other Ships bound of the Coast, & on the 23d two French & several Country Ships sailed likewise up the Coast. the Capt likewise tells us that at Sillichery they are fitting	Dutch commanders at Goa declared they would blow up their own ships rather than let them be taken. The *Restoration* was set on fire by these ships and burnt down nearly to the water's edge, but was saved and got into port, and the Dutch snow was taken as well. 3: Captain Jenkins gave a further account, reporting that he left Goa on 10 February and that the *Richard* [...] sailed from that place on the 12th, parting from him near the Prince's Islands. He arrived at Tellicherry on the 21st, where he found the *Protector* under Commodore England, the *Drake* ketch, the *Winchelsea* under Captain Barron and several other ships bound off the coast, with two French ships and several country vessels sailing up the coast likewise on the 23rd. He also reported that at Tellicherry the *Drake* ketch was being fitted out as a bomb vessel, along with the *Protector*'s launch to carry two coehorns, and that these were said to be joined by the Guardian, the Bombay and the Maratha fleet, the whole intended to make an attack by sea on Goa, which the Maratha army was likewise to assault by land.

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		the Drake Ketch for a Bomb Vessel, and the Protectors Launch to carry two Cohorns, & it was reported these were to be joined by the Guardian, Bombay & Moratta Fleet & the whole intended to make an Attack by Sea, on Garia, which the Moratta Army was likewise to do by Land. The Captain sailed from Sillichery the 3d of March & on the 4th saw a Ship in Callicut road, which he took to be the Montford Capt Vincent the 5 he spoke with Capt Grean of the Stafford going for Bombay on the 6th he Arived at Cochin, & found there several Ships & the Elizabeth Capt Wills bound for Bindar. the next day he left Cochin, & on the 9 got to Anjengo, where was the Prince Edward Capt Haldane, who Sailed for Batavia on the 11th He further says that a Dane Ship Anchored at Sillichery, the 19 of March, but does not know from whence she came, he being then just under vail for this Island having seen no Ship in his passage hither.	4: The captain sailed from Tellicherry on 3 March, and on the 5th spoke with a ship in Calicut road which he took to be the *Montfort* under Captain Vincent. On the same day he spoke with Captain Grean of the *Stafford*, bound for Bombay, and on the 8th he arrived at Cochin, where he found several ships along with the *Elizabeth* under Captain Willis, bound for [...]. He left Cochin the next day, and on the 9th reached Anjengo, where lay the *Prince Edward* under Captain Haldane, since sailed for Batavia on the [...]. He further reported that a Danish ship anchored at Tellicherry on 19 March, though he did not know where she came from, he being then just under sail for this island and having seen no ship on his passage here. **Interpretations** Tulaji Angria commanded the Maratha navy on the Malabar coast, and his grabs and galivats were the shallow-draught fighting craft of that coast, the grab a broad two- or three-masted vessel carrying heavy bow guns and the galivat a smaller oared boat used to swarm a becalmed enemy. Their tactic against the two Dutch ships at Goa, boarding under fire until every vessel involved was destroyed, illustrates why European commanders on that coast feared them out of all proportion to the size of their ships. This intelligence bore directly on the security of the Company's own western trade, the *Tavistock* and *Prince Edward* themselves having called at Goa in the course of the same season. A coehorn was a small, light mortar that two men could carry, designed for throwing explosive shells over short ranges. Fitting the *Drake* ketch as a bomb vessel and arming the *Protector*'s launch with coehorns points to a planned bombardment of Angria's fortified positions, the shallow-draught mortar craft able to close a defended shore where a full ship of the line could not. The combined force described, English Company ships joined with the Maratha fleet and army, marks the alliance between Bombay and the Marathas against Angria that would culminate in the reduction of his strongholds. The chain of ports named, Goa, Tellicherry, Calicut, Cochin and Anjengo, traces the whole run of the Malabar pepper coast that the Company's homeward ships worked before turning for the Cape, Anjengo being the usual last call for lading. Each captain spoken with along that coast added a link to a running account of where every ship lay, the means by which a settlement as isolated as St Helena kept a current picture of the shipping in the eastern seas.
285	281	On the 2 instant arived your Honors Ships the Falmouth Capt the Kidd who informs us that your Ship the Dragon Sailed from Bengall, for Fort St George the 31st of December & He Egmont the 9th of March for the Negrais, he further Acquaints us that while he Stayed at Bengall several Ships of Different Nations arived, & Sailed from thence: that he left Ingelee the 9th of March, & saw no Ship in his passage from thence hither. On the 5 of this Month arived your Ship the Darrington Capt Richard Drake, who informs us he arived at Madrass the 8 of February, & was then told that your Ship the Dragon Sailed from thence the 9th for Bencoolen; the Capt likewise says that he convoyed two small Vessels to Fort St David, which had two hundred	5: On the 7th of the month arrived the Court's ship the *Falmouth* under Captain Rudd, who reported that the Court's ship the *Dragon* had sailed from Bengal for Fort St George on 31 December, and would go on to Achin on 9 March for slaves. He added that during his stay at Bengal several ships of different nations arrived and sailed from there, that he left Ingelee on the 4th of March, and that he saw no ship on his passage to this island. 6: On the 9th of the month arrived the Court's ship the *Darrington* under Captain Richard Drake, who reported that he reached Madras on 8 February and was there told that the Court's ship the *Dragon* had sailed from that place on the 9th for Bencoolen. He further reported that he had convoyed two small vessels to Fort St David, which carried two hundred European soldiers and various military stores aboard them, a reinforcement for Major Lawrence. 7: Mr Ingle the surgeon, since drawing up the indent that went home to the Court by the *Boscawen*, found it necessary to add a few articles named at the foot of the duplicate, which the Council asked the

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		European Soldiers and Sundry Military Stores on board of them, [...]a reinforcement to Major Lawrence. Mr Inglis the Surgion since framing his Indent which we transmitted to your Honors by the Boscawen has found himself under a necesity to add thereto a few Articles that are mentioned at the foot of the Duplicate, which we beg you will be pleased to direct to be Sent, when you Order the Supplyes for this place. Mr Travers Wraxham Senr John Goodwin & Seames Wraxham Junr Attorneys for Mr Gabriel Steward a Native applyed to us for Liberty to pay Five hundred & Fifty pounds unto your Cash on his account which being part of his Fortune here, we received it, & have given them Bills of Exchange drawn on your Honors for that Sum, payable to themselves or Order Ninety days after sight, dated the 8 instant. Mr Matthew Cazie likewise applyed to us to pay Fifty pounds into your Cash which we also received, & have given him Bills of Exchange drawn on your Honors for that	Court to direct to be sent when it ordered the supplies for the island. 8: Mr Francis Wrangham senior, John Goodwin and Francis Wrangham junior, attorneys for Mr Gabriel Steward, a native of the island, applied to the Council for leave to pay £550 0s 0d into the Court's cash on his account. This being part of his fortune, the Council received it and gave them bills of exchange drawn on the Court for that sum, payable to themselves or their order ninety days after sight, dated the 7th of the month. 9: Mr Matthew Bazett likewise applied to the Council to pay £50 0s 0d into the Court's cash, which the Council also received, and gave him bills of exchange drawn on the Court for that sum. **Interpretations** Gabriel Steward was a native-born islander who had risen to third mate of the Court's ship *True Briton*, and his remittance of £550 0s 0d, made through resident attorneys while he was himself at sea, shows how the Council's power to draw bills on the Court in London served as a private banking channel. A man with earnings to move home paid coin into the island's cash and took in exchange a paper order redeemable in England, sparing the risk of carrying money across the world. The size of the sum marks a substantial private fortune built in the Company's maritime service by a man born on the island. Achin, on the northern tip of Sumatra, was a recognised slave market from which Company ships drew labour, and the *Dragon*'s planned call there for slaves reflects the constant demand for bodies to work the eastern settlements. Major Stringer Lawrence commanded the Company's forces in the Carnatic war against the French, and the two hundred European soldiers convoyed to Fort St David were reinforcements for that campaign, the same struggle around Trichinopoly that the earlier letters of this season reported.
286	282	Sum, payable to himself, or Order, Ninety days after sight, dated the 12th of this Month. Capt Tho Field having this day applyed to us for Liberty to pay two hundred Pounds into your Cash we have also received it that Sum & have given him Bills of Exchange drawn on your Honors payable to himself or Order Ninety days after, sight dated this day. In obedience to your Honors commands we now send you our enquires into & opinions upon the several Claims on Governor Goodwins Estate which are as follow Vizt. In regard to that of Capt Hunter we have found in a Book of Governor Goodwins a Letter to Capt Small dated the 3d July 1735 of which we transmit you a Copy No 1 wherein he acknowledges to your Honors will see by it the Debt of twenty one pounds Sixteen Shillings and three pence together with two other Sums Amounting in the whole to forty four pounds three Shillings, and three pence & promises to pay the money by Capt Withy but it does not appear by any Letter or Account here that it was ever paid It is therefore our opinion that it is a just Debt & ought to take place as such. Notwithstanding the frequent Advertisements that have	10: Captain Field applied to the Council for leave to pay £200 0s 0d into the Court's cash, which the Council also received, giving him bills of exchange drawn on the Court, payable to himself or his order ninety days after sight, dated the same day. 11: On the Court's orders the Council set down its enquiries and opinions upon the several claims on Governor Goodwin's estate, which followed in turn. 12: On the claim of Captain Hunter, the Council found among Governor Goodwin's papers a letter to Captain Small dated 3 July 1735, a copy of which it sent home as its first exhibit. In it the late Governor acknowledged the debt of £21 16s 3d, together with two other sums coming in all to £44 3s 3d, and promised to pay the money by Captain Withy. No letter or account at the island showed that the money had ever been paid, so the Council judged it a just debt that ought to be allowed as such. 13: Despite the notices published calling on the several claimants to bring in their demands, Mr Richard Girling's claim for £32 3s 9½d was not brought in until after the last store ships arrived, although it was named in the inventory taken of Governor Goodwin's effects on 7 September 1740. On examining the late Governor's books, the Council found an account current in one of them dated 2 September 1738 showing the above sum due to Girling, and could discover from none of his books or papers that any part of it had since been paid, so it judged the claim a just debt. **Interpretations** The claims examined here rested on the Company's device of pursuing a dead servant's estate for both his private debts and his deficiency to the Court, Governor John Goodwin having been found

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		been published for the several Claimants upon the late Governor Goodwins Estate to bring in their respective demands this of Mr Richard Gwilling for thirty two pounds three shillings & Nine pence halfpenny was not brought in untill after the Arival of the last Store Ships albeit is mentioned in the Inventory taken of Governor Goodwins Effects the 1 September 1746 & upon our examining the Books of the said Governor Goodwin we find by an Account Current in one of them dated the 2 September 1738 that the above Sum is due to the said Richard Gwilling & we cannot discover by any of his Books or papers that any part of it has been since paid we therefore think it to be a just Debt	after his death to have defrauded the Company through falsified rent entries and a fictitious muster. The Council's method was to weigh each demand against the entries in Goodwin's own surviving books, allowing only those it could trace to a written acknowledgement and finding no record of later payment. This turned the late Governor's own account books into the instrument by which his estate was made to answer, the private creditor's claim admitted only where the paper trail supported it. A bill of exchange payable ninety days after sight was the standard credit paper by which a man at the island moved his money to England, coin paid into the Court's cash on the spot exchanged for an order the Court would honour in London after the stated interval. The repeated resort to this arrangement by ships' officers such as Captain Field marks the island's cash as a working conduit for private remittance as much as a public treasury.
287	283	The claim that Mr Matthew Purling makes of ten pounds fifteen Shillings & Eight pence likewise appears to us to just as the money which he Demands stands as a Balance in Governor Goodwins Books due to his late Father John Purling as your Honors will please to observe also by the state of the Account herewith transmitted to you marked No 2. In Governor Goodwins Books we likewise found an Account stated in one of them between the Orphans of Henry Francis Deceased & the Executors to his Will (who were the late Governor Goodwin & Francis Wrangham Senr) by which Account it is very clear to us that Sarah Francis proportion of her Fathers Estate was in the hands of Governor Goodwin, but sometime after his Death She Demanded her Fortune of Mr Francis Wrangham Senr who was obliged to pay it by the Verdict of a Jury at a Sessions held the 19th of 1741 which with the Interest for several Years Amounted in the whole to one hundred thirteen pounds. Eleven Shillings & Nine pence half penny (as your Honors will see by the enclosed Account Marked No 3) and as this money seems to us to have been undoubtedly in the keeping of Governor Goodwin, we think Mr Francis Wrangham Senr has a just claim to be repaied out of his Estate. Mr Richard Beale the Schoolmaster says his demand is for boarding John Vanreuten a Godson of the late Governor Goodwin whom he put to live with him at the rate of Seven pounds a Grum and that there was left unpaied at the time of his Death, the sum of two pounds twelve Shillings & Sixpence as he deposed upon Oath, we therefore think that this is a just claim & should be paid. Mr John Dowton says that his claim of Six pounds seven- teen & a half penny is the Ballance of an Account in his Father	14: Mr Matthew Purling's claim for £10 15s 8d likewise appeared to the Council to be just, the money he demanded standing as a balance in Governor Goodwin's books due to his late father John Purling, as the Court would see from the state of the account sent home marked as the second exhibit. 15: In Governor Goodwin's books the Council also found an account drawn up in one of them between the orphans of Henry Francis, deceased, and the executors of his will, namely the late Governor Goodwin and Francis Wrangham senior. From this account it was very clear that Sarah Francis's share of her father's estate remained in Governor Goodwin's hands, but that some time after his death she demanded her fortune of Mr Francis Wrangham senior, who was obliged to pay it by the verdict of a jury at a court held on 19 September 1741. With the interest for several years this came in all to £113 11s 9½d, as the Court would see from the enclosed account marked as the third exhibit. Since the money seemed to have been undoubtedly in Governor Goodwin's keeping, the Council judged that Mr Francis Wrangham senior had a just claim to be repaid it out of the estate. 16: Mr Richard Beale the schoolmaster stated that his demand was for boarding John Vanewton, a godson of the late Governor Goodwin, whom the Governor had put to live with him at the rate of £7 0s 0d a year, and that £2 12s 6d was left unpaid at the time of the Governor's death, which Beale confirmed upon oath. The Council judged this a just claim that should be paid. 17: Mr John Doveton stated that his claim for £6 0s 17½d was the balance of an account in his father's books due to him from the late Governor Goodwin, which likewise appeared plainly to the Council to be so by Governor Goodwin's books, a copy of which followed. **Interpretations** The account between the orphans of Henry Francis and the executors of his will shows how the estate of a dead man at the island was administered by his named executors, here the late Governor Goodwin and Francis Wrangham senior, who held a minor's inheritance until it was claimed. When Sarah Francis demanded her fortune and won it by a jury's verdict, the money fell as a charge on Wrangham alone, though it was Goodwin who had actually held it, so Wrangham's claim on Goodwin's estate was a claim for reimbursement of what he had been compelled to pay for his dead co-executor. The case illustrates the exposure of an executor who could be

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		Books due to him from the said Governor Goodwin which likewise plainly appears to us to be so by Governor Goodwins Books a Copy	made personally liable for funds that had passed through another's hands. Sworn testimony was the Council's test where a claim rested on no written acknowledgement in Goodwin's books, Richard Beale's demand for the boarding of the Governor's godson admitted on his oath rather than on any paper. The board thus allowed two routes to proof, the entry in the late Governor's own books and, failing that, the claimant's affidavit, and would satisfy itself by one or the other before charging a demand against the estate.
288	284	of which Account marked No 4 we herewith transmit to you. we therefore think this to be a just Debt. Mr James Powell Brother & attorney of Mr George G. Powell gave us an account about two Years ago, which we transmitted to your Honors wherein he claimed for his Brother on the Estate of Governor Goodwin the Sum of Eighty pounds Sixteen Shillings & four pence halfpenny which Account he says his Brother George Gabriel left with him when he went to England & told him it was for some things that Governor Goodwin sold belonging to his Wife Sarah Francis which he had not paied her for. We think it is very strange that Mr George Gabriel Powell should not have given in this Demand to Governor Lambert who lived upon the Island four Months after Mr George Gabriel Powell was married or did he have done it afterwards when he himself was provisional Governor and had the management of the sale of Governor Goodwins Effects nether does it appear by any of Governor Goodwins Books or papers that we can find that he was indebted to Sarah Francis Francis in any other Sum, or for any thing else but her dividend of her Fathers Estate being Seventy Nine pounds nineteen Shillings & Sixpence a Legacy of Twenty two pounds Six Shillings and sixpence given to his upper Grandmother and a Chest that Governor Goodwin sold to a French Ship for Six pounds Eight Shillings and Six pence The first of these Sums was paied by Mr Francis Wrangham Senr & against the other two which Amount to twenty Eight pounds fourteen shillings and Eleven pence Sarah Francis is charged with several Articles as p Account marked No 23 herewith transmitted to your Honors the amount of which being deducted there remains only four pounds five Shillings and Eleven pence due to her by that account which is all we can find by Governor Goodwins Books that is due to Mr George Gabriel Powell in right of his Wife, that sum being taken from Eighty pounds Six & three pence to which Mr Powell acknowledges	A copy of the account, sent home as the fourth exhibit, was forwarded to the Court, which the Council judged a just debt. 18: Mr James Powell, brother and attorney of Mr George Gabriel Powell, gave the Council an account about two years earlier, since sent home, in which he claimed for his brother against Governor Goodwin's estate the sum of £80 16s 4½d. This account, he said, his brother George Gabriel had left with him when he went to England, telling him it was for some goods that Governor Goodwin had sold belonging to his wife Sarah Francis and had not paid her for. 19: The Council thought it very strange that Mr George Gabriel Powell had not given in his demand to Governor Lambert, who lived on the island for four months after Mr Powell married, or done it afterwards when he was himself provisional Governor and had the management of the sale of Governor Goodwin's effects. It did not appear from any of Governor Goodwin's books or papers that he was indebted to Sarah Francis in any other sum, or for anything else beyond her share of her father's estate, being £79 19s 6d, a legacy of £22 6s 6d given her by her late grandmother, and at most the goods Governor Goodwin sold to a Frenchman for £6 8s 6d. 20: The first of these sums was paid by Mr Francis Wrangham senior. Against the other two, coming to £28 14s 11d, Sarah Francis was charged with several articles in the account sent home as the fifth exhibit, and once this amount was deducted only £4 5s 11d remained due to her by that account. This was all the Council could find in Governor Goodwin's books to be due to Mr George Gabriel Powell in right of his wife, that sum being taken from the £80 0s 6d that Mr Powell acknowledged. **Interpretations** The Powell claim shows the Council testing a large demand against the total absence of any supporting entry in the late Governor's books, and finding it inflated more than fifteenfold. Where the other claimants' sums could be traced to Goodwin's own accounts or sworn to, George Gabriel Powell's £80 16s 4½d rested only on his verbal instruction to his brother, and the Council reduced it to the £4 5s 11d it could actually document as owing to his wife. The board's suspicion was sharpened by his failure to enter the claim while he himself governed the island and managed the sale of Goodwin's effects, the moment he was best placed to prove it. The claim turned on the property of a married woman, Sarah Francis, whose inheritance and legacy passed under her husband's control on marriage, so that George Gabriel Powell sued in her right for money and goods that had been hers. The Council's careful separation of her father's portion, her grandmother's legacy and the goods sold to the Frenchman, set against the articles charged to her account, marks the detailed reckoning required to establish what a wife's estate actually amounted to once her own debts were allowed against it.

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289	285	with his own hand writing in Consultation of the 22 December 1741 signed by Mr Jenkins himself & Mr Godfrey to owe to the Estate of Governor Goodwin and says that he would pay it speedily there will remain a Ballance of Seventy Six pounds and four pence Due to Governor Goodwins Estate from Mr George Gabriel Powell As it is not in our power to give your Honors any farther light into this affair, it is very probable that Mr Wm Thurgeson Mr George Gabriel Powells Attorney in England will wait upon you to do it. Mr James Powell having wrote to him, as he tells us upon that head. James Richardson Taylor brought in a Bill, for work done by himself and his Deceasd Father for the late Governor Goodwin between June the 16, & 34 and the 13th November 1739 Amounting to fifty four pounds two Shillings and one penny of which as he sets forth there had been received Eleven pounds, Nineteen Shillings, Sixpence and that there is now due upon it forty two pounds two Shillings one Seven pence This claim was not brought in when the Inventory of Governor Goodwins Effects was taken when most all others were & no notice given of it untill now notwithstanding the frequent Advertisements that have been published for all the claimants to bring in their respective demands, & Mr John Goodwin likewise assures us that to the best of his knowledge his late Father always paied all such Accounts every year ending the 30 of September, & declares he had seen his Father pay the said Deceased Richardson several Sums. It being well known that the Deceased Richardson was always a Necessitous Man as his Son the present Richardson is & it also appearing by Governor Goodwins Books that there were several Accounts between him & the said Deceased Richardson	The sum was acknowledged in Mr Powell's own handwriting in the consultation of 22 December 1741, signed by Mr Jenkins himself and Mr Godfrey, as owing to Governor Goodwin's estate, and he promised to pay it speedily. A balance of £76 0s 4d therefore remained due to Governor Goodwin's estate from Mr George Gabriel Powell. 21: Since it was not in the Council's power to give the Court any further light on this affair, it thought it very probable that Mr William Thurgeson, Mr George Gabriel Powell's attorney in England, would wait upon the Court to do it, Mr James Powell having written to him, as he told the Council, on that head. 22: James Richardson Taylor brought in a bill for work done by himself and his late father for Governor Goodwin between 16 June 1734 and 13 November 1739, coming to £54 2s 1d. Of this, he set forth, £11 19s 6d had been received, so that £42 2s 7d was now due upon it. 23: This claim was not brought in when the inventory of Governor Goodwin's effects was taken, when almost all the others were, and no notice was given of it until now, despite the notices published calling on all the claimants to bring in their demands. Mr John Goodwin likewise assured the Council that to the best of his knowledge his late father always paid all such accounts every year ending on 30 September, and declared he had seen his father pay the late Richardson several sums. 24: It was well known that the late Richardson was always a needy man, as his son the present Richardson was too. It also appeared from Governor Goodwin's books that there were several accounts between him and the late Richardson. **Interpretations** The Richardson claim stood apart from the others because the Council did not simply accept or reject it on the paper record but built a case for doubting it, drawing on John Goodwin's testimony that his father settled such tradesmen's accounts yearly and on the common knowledge of both Richardsons' poverty. A needy workman was thought unlikely to have left five years of wages unpaid, and a father in the habit of clearing his books each September was thought unlikely to have run up so large an arrear, so the Council weighed probability and character where it could not settle the matter by entry alone. The late arrival of the demand, after the inventory and after the published notices, told against it in the same way as the Powell claim. The bill for work stretching from 1734 to 1739, brought by a son on his own and his dead father's behalf, shows the long credit under which island tradesmen worked for the Governor, their labour entered in running accounts settled only periodically. That such debts survived the deaths of both the workman and the employer, to be pressed years later against the estate, marks the difficulty of proving or disproving a claim once the men who had kept the reckoning were gone.
290	286	for Liquors, and other things but no Article in any of them for work done by him as a Taylor, we for these Reasons think it very unlikely that Governor Goodwin should be so much indebted to him, and for so long a time, as five Years and upwards. But as the Six last Articles in his Bill amounting to two pounds nineteen Shillings and Six pence are charged after the 30th September 1739 and Governor Goodwin dying in July 1740, that sum may probably be due. it is therefore our opinion that	These accounts were for liquor and other things, but no article in any of them was for work done by Richardson as a tailor. For these reasons the Council thought it very improbable that Governor Goodwin should have been so much indebted to him, and for so long a time, five years and upwards. The last six articles in the bill, coming to £2 19s 6d, were charged after 30 September 1739, and since Governor Goodwin died in July 1740 that sum might well be due, so the Council judged that only £2 19s 6d should stand as a debt upon the estate. 25: On strict enquiry the Council found that Samuel Toake Esq had lodged £83 4s 4d in Governor Goodwin's hands to pay Eleanor Worrall

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		only two pounds nineteen Shillings and Six pence should stand as a Debt upon the Estate of Governor Goodwin. Upon strict enquiry we find that the Sum of Eighty three pounds four shillings and four pence was lodged in the hands of Governor Goodwin by Samuel Feake Esqr to pay Eleanor Worrall and William Worrall a Legacy of forty one pounds twelve shillings and two pence each. The latter we find was paid his share but as Eleanor Worrall was indebted to the Honorable Company, Governor Goodwin detained her Legacy to discharge it in part. the upon examining the Books after her Death it appeared that he never had paied any part of that Sum, or had it wrote off from her Account, so that her Heirs were obliged to pay the Honorable Company their whole debt. we therefore for these reasons are convinced that the Estate of Governor Goodwin is justly indebted in the above Sum of forty one pounds twelve Shillings and two pence to the Heirs of the said Eleanor Worrall. Mr John Goodwin petitioned to withdraw his claim upon his late fathers Estate and setforth his reasons for it in his petition which is entered in Consultation of 21 June We hope these Accounts will be satisfactory to your Honors which have been Strictly examined and are the fullest that we can possibly give to you. We cannot send your Honors by this occasion a state of your Cash to a later date than the 11 of June as the last Quarters	and William Worrall a legacy of £41 12s 2d each. The Council found that William Worrall's share had been paid, but that since Eleanor Worrall was indebted to the Company, Governor Goodwin had held her legacy back to discharge that debt in part. On examining the books after her death it appeared that he had never paid any part of the sum, nor written it off her account, so that her heirs were obliged to pay the Company their whole debt. For these reasons the Council was satisfied that Governor Goodwin's estate was justly indebted in the above sum of £41 12s 2d to the heirs of Eleanor Worrall. 26: Mr John Goodwin petitioned the Council to withdraw his claim upon his late father's estate, setting out his reasons in a petition entered in the consultation of 21 June. The Council hoped these accounts, which had been strictly examined and were the fullest it could give, would satisfy the Court. 27: The Council could not send the Court by this conveyance a state of its books to a later date than 11 June, that being the last quarter. **Interpretations** The Worrall legacy shows Governor Goodwin using money lodged with him for one purpose to answer a separate obligation, holding back Eleanor Worrall's inheritance against her own debt to the Company rather than paying it over. Because he neither discharged the legacy nor cancelled her debt in the books, both stood open at his death, leaving her heirs pressed for the whole debt while her legacy remained unpaid in his estate. The Council's remedy was to charge the estate with the full legacy, so that the money Toake had entrusted to Goodwin reached the heirs at last and the tangle of a private trust crossed with a Company debt was undone. John Goodwin's petition to withdraw his own claim on his father's estate marks the delicate position of the late Governor's son, himself a member of the Council examining that estate, who had already given evidence against several of the claims. His retreat from pressing a demand of his own removed the appearance of a conflict, the son standing back from the funds his colleagues were charged with protecting for the Company.
291	287	Accounts ending the 11th instant, will not be ready to be laid before us untill the 29th of this Month This waits on your Honors by your Ships the Salmouth that Sails from hence with the Tavistock which will be followed in about a week by your Ship the Durrington St Helena 13 July 1754 Weare Honble Sirs Your most Obidient humble Servants (Signed) Charles Hutchinson John Adamson John Clark	The quarterly accounts ending on 11 June would not be ready to lay before the Council until the 29th of the month. 28: The letter went to the Court by the Court's ship the *Falmouth*, which sailed from the island in company with the *Tavistock*, to be followed in about a week by the Court's ship the *Durrington*. The letter was dated at St Helena on 15 July 1754, and signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson and John Clark.
292	288	List of the Honble Companys Packet from St Helena p Ships Falmouth dated the 15th July 1754 Vizt Govr & Councils General Letter dated the 15th July 1754 Duplicate Govr & Council General Letter dated the 13 May Do Do Consultation from the 13 to the 23 May Do Consultations from the 27 May to the 11 July Do List of Officers and Servants taken the 15th July	The list of the Company's packet from St Helena by the *Falmouth*, dated 15 July 1754, ran as follows. 1: Governor and Council's general letter dated 15 July 1754 2: Duplicate Governor and Council's general letter dated 23 May 1754 3: Duplicate consultation from 13 to 23 May 1754 4: Consultations from 27 May to 11 July 1754 5: List of officers and servants taken 15 July 1754 6: Duplicate list of the packet by the ship Boscawen 7: Second receipt for the packet by the ship Portfield

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		Do Duplicate List of the Packet p Ship Boscawen Second Receipt for the Packet p Ship Portfield First Receipt for Do p Ship Boscawen Duplicate Cash Account from the 8 to the 11 May 1754 Do Cash Account from the 12 to the 23 May Do Cash Account from the 24 May to the 11 June Duplicate Ship Boscawens Account Ship Falmouths Account Do Tavistocks Account Duplicate Indent of Stores wanted at St Helena for the Year 1755 Do Do of Medicines & Drugs for the Year Do List of Remains of Stores taken from 12 October 1753 to 30 April 1754 Duplicate List of Gunners & Garrison Stores remaining 30th April 1754 Account of the Cargo p Ship Falmouth Do of the Cargo p Ship Tavistock Do of the Cargo p Ship Durrington List of Marriages Year Copy of a Letter from Govr Goodwin to Capt Small Deceased Copy of an Acct Current between Govr Goodwin & John Purling Dee Wranghams Senr Acct with Govr Goodwin Jonathan Dowtons Acct with Govr Goodwin Acct Current between S Francis & Govr Goodwin Do Current between Sa Francis Orphan) & Govr Goodwin	The first receipt for the same packet by the ship *Boscawen* was item 8. 9: Duplicate cash account from 8 to 11 May 1754 10: Duplicate cash account from 12 to 23 May 1754 11: Cash account from 24 May to 11 June 12: Duplicate ship Boscawen's account 13: Ship Falmouth's account The *Tavistock*'s account was item 14. 15: Duplicate indent of stores wanted at St Helena for the year 1755 16: Duplicate indent of medicines and drugs for the year 1755 17: Duplicate list of remains of stores taken from 12 October 1753 to 30 April 1754 18: Duplicate list of cannon and garrison stores remaining 30 April 1754 19: Account of the cargo of the ship Falmouth 20: Account of the cargo of the ship Tavistock 21: Account of the cargo of the ship Durrington 22: List of marriages for the year 23: Copy of a letter from Governor Goodwin to Captain Small, deceased 24: Copy of an account current between Governor Goodwin and John Purling, deceased 25: Francis Wrangham senior's account with Governor Goodwin 26: Jonathan Doveton's account with Governor Goodwin 27: Account current between Sarah Francis and Governor Goodwin 28: Account current between Sarah Francis's orphan and Governor Goodwin
293	289	List of the Honble Companys Packet from St Helena p Ships Falmouth dated the 15th July 1754 Vizt Govr & Councils General Letter dated the 15th July 1754 Duplicate Govr & Council General Letter dated the 13 May Do Do Consultation from the 13 to the 23 May Do Consultations from the 27 May to the 11 July Do List of Officers and Servants taken the 15th July Do Duplicate List of the Packet p Ship Boscawen Second Receipt for the Packet p Ship Portfield First Receipt for Do p Ship Boscawen Duplicate Cash Account from the 8 to the 11 May 1754 Do Cash Account from the 12 to the 23 May Do Cash Account from the 24 May to the 11 June Duplicate Ship Boscawens Account Ship Falmouths Account Do Tavistocks Account Duplicate Indent of Stores wanted at St Helena for the Year 1755 Do Do of Medicines & Drugs for the Year Do List of Remains of Stores taken from 12 October 1753 to 30 April 1754 Duplicate List of Gunners & Garrison Stores remaining 30th April 1754 Account of the Cargo p Ship Falmouth Do of the Cargo p Ship Tavistock Do of the Cargo p Ship Durrington List of Marriages Year	The Council addressed the Court of Directors. 1: The Council's last advices to the Court went by the Court's ship the *Falmouth*, which sailed from the island on the 4th of the month in company with the Court's ship the *Tavistock*. 2: By this conveyance the Council sent home the list of cattle returned by the planters for slaughter for the service of the current year, added to its consultation of the 22nd of the month. From it the Court would see how each person had supplied the market, the Company's own ships and the foreign ships, which the Council hoped would meet the Court's approval. It thought proper to point out the number of cattle Captain Oliver of the last store ship required, which the list showed at 31 head, dead weight 10,229, a quantity the island could not afford every year to a single ship without risking that some of the later ships would go wanting and that the market would fall short. 3: Mr Samuel Salsoon, having represented to the Council in its consultation of the 22nd of the month that he had not yet been able to settle all his accounts on the island, and wishing to stay longer to adjust them, was allowed to remain at his own request. 4: Mr Richard Beale applied to the Council for leave to pay £130 0s 0d into the Court's cash, which the Council received, giving him a set of bills of exchange drawn on the Court. **Interpretations** The list of cattle returned for slaughter was the instrument by which the Council regulated the island's meat supply against the competing demands of the Company's ships and foreign vessels, each planter's contribution recorded so the Court could see who furnished the market and who did not. The warning over Captain Oliver's demand of 31 head at a dead weight of 10,229 pounds shows the island's provisioning held on a fine margin, a single store ship able to strip the market and leave later ships

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		Copy of a Letter from Govr Goodwin to Capt Small Deceased Copy of an Acct Current between Govr Goodwin & John Purling Dee Wranghams Senr Acct with Govr Goodwin Jonathan Dowtons Acct with Govr Goodwin Acct Current between S Francis & Govr Goodwin Do Current between Sa Francis Orphan) & Govr Goodwin	unvictualled, so the Council watched the balance between what one commander drew and what the whole season's shipping would need. The repeated payments of private money into the Court's cash against bills of exchange, here by Richard Beale, confirm the island treasury's role as a remittance house for men who had accumulated funds and wished them carried safely to England. Coin lodged at St Helena in return for a paper order on London spared the holder the danger of shipping specie, the Council gaining ready cash on the spot while the Court settled the paper at home.
294	290	your Honors for that Sum payable to himself or Order ninety days after sight dated the 22 instant. The same reason still prevails as in our last Letter to you, for our not sending your Honors a State of your Cash here, to a later date, than a Duplicate of our last, as the Quarters receipts and disbursements cannot in their usual course be ready to be laid before us untill next Monday The three last Ships that arived having taken more Pitch & Tar than we expected it puts us under a necesity of desiring, that your Honors will be pleased to send us by your next Store Ships 6 Barrells of each, more that we Indented for. This waits on your Honors by your Ship the Durrington St Helena 26 July 1754 Weare Honorable Sirs Your most Obedient & most humble Servants (Signed) Charles Hutchinson John Adamson John Clark	The bills were drawn on the Court for that sum, payable to Richard Beale or his order ninety days after sight, and dated the 22nd of the month. The same reason held as in the Council's last letter for not sending the Court a state of its cash to a later date than a duplicate of the last, the quarter's receipts and disbursements not being ready in their usual course to lay before the Council until the following Monday. The three ships lately arrived had taken more pitch and tar than the Council expected, which obliged it to ask the Court to send by the next store ship six barrels of each beyond what had been indented for. The letter went to the Court by the Court's ship the *Durrington*. The letter was dated at St Helena on 26 July 1754, and signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson and John Clark.
295	291	List of the Honorable Companys Packet from St Helena p Ship Durrington dated the 26 July 1754 Vizt Governor and Councils General Letter Dated the 26 July 1754 Duplicate Govr & Councils General Letter dated the 13 July Do Duplicate Consultations from the 27 May to the 16 July Do Consultation of the 22 July Do List of Officers and servants taken 26 July Do Dupt List of the Packet p Ships Falmouth Second receipt for the Packet p Ship Boscawen First receipt for the Packet p Ship Falmouth Duplicate Cash account from the 24 May to the 11 June 1754 Do Ships Falmouths Account Do Do Tavistocks Account Ship Durringtons Account Dupt Copy of a Letter from Govr Goodwin to Capt Small dec Do of an Acct Current between Govr Goodwin & John Purling Deceased Dupt Francis Wrangham Senr Acct with Govr Goodwins Do Jonathan Dowtons Acct with Govr Goodwins	The list of the Company's packet from St Helena by the *Durrington*, dated 26 July 1754, ran as follows. 1: Governor and Council's general letter dated 26 July 1754 2: Duplicate Governor and Council's general letter dated 15 July 1754 3: Duplicate consultations from 27 May to 16 July 1754 4: Consultation of 22 July 1754 5: List of officers and servants taken 26 July 1754 6: Duplicate list of the packet by the ship Falmouth 7: Second receipt for the packet by the ship Boscawen 8: First receipt for the packet by the ship Falmouth 9: Duplicate cash account from 24 May to 11 June 1754 10: Duplicate ship Falmouth's account 11: Duplicate ship Tavistock's account 12: Ship Durrington's account 13: Duplicate copy of a letter from Governor Goodwin to Captain Small, deceased 14: Duplicate copy of an account current between Governor Goodwin and John Purling, deceased 15: Duplicate Francis Wrangham senior's account with Governor Goodwin 16: Duplicate Jonathan Doveton's account with Governor Goodwin 17: Duplicate account current between Sarah Francis and Governor Goodwin

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		Do Acct Current between Sarah Francis & Govr Goodwin Do Do between Sarah Francis Orphan & Governor Goodwin	18: Duplicate account current between Sarah Francis's orphan and Governor Goodwin
296	292	To the Honble the Court &c Honble Sirs We wrote last to you by your Ship the Durrington that sailed from hence the 26th of July. On the 24 of last Month arived your Ship the Dragon Capt Henry Hent from the West Coast of the Island Sumtra from which place he was dispatched the 12th of April for Europe but on the 27 of May, about 300 Leagues to the Eastward of the Cape hilst says he met with very bad weather & the Ships Helm coat being Split he thought proper to bare away for St Augustines Bay at the Island of madagascar where he Anchored the 12 of June. On the 24 of that month arived there the anson Capt Vatch who acquainted him he put in at St Jago & that he left there two large French Ships, which as near as he could judge had about 500 men on board each & that the Captains told him they were to make the best of their way to Pondicherry & not to touch at the French Islands Capt Vatch sailed from Madagascar the 6 of July. On the 17 of July came in to St Augustines Bay his Majestys Ships the Kent 64 Guns Admiral Watson; the Salisbury 50 Guns Capt Hanmter the Bridgwater 20 Guns Captain Martin & on the 3 of August the Kings Fisher Capt Mitchell all which sailed the 7th. On the 4th of Sept came in there likewise his majestys Ships the Cumberland 66 Guns Capt Pocoth. & the Tyger 60 Guns Capt Latham Captain Hent left them there and	The Council addressed the Court of Directors. 1: The Council's last letter to the Court went by the Court's ship the *Durrington*, which sailed from the island on the 26th of July. 2: On the 24th of the last month arrived the Court's ship the *Dragon* under Captain Henry Kent from the west coast of Sumatra, from which place he was dispatched on 12 April for Europe. On 27 May, about 300 leagues to the eastward of the Cape, he met with very bad weather, and his ship's helm being split he thought proper to bear away for St Augustine's Bay at Madagascar, where he anchored on 12 June. 3: On the 24th of that month arrived at the same bay the *Anson* under Captain Vatch, who told Captain Kent that he had put in at São Tiago, and that he had left there two large French ships which, as near as he could judge, had about 500 men aboard each. Their captains told him they were to make the best of their way to Pondicherry and not to touch at the French islands. Captain Vatch sailed from Madagascar on 1 July. 4: On 17 July there came into St Augustine's Bay His Majesty's ships the *Kent* of 64 guns under Admiral Watson, the *Salisbury* of 50 guns under Captain Harrewer and the *Bridgewater* of 20 guns under Captain Martin. On 3 August came the *King's Fisher* under Captain Michell, all of which sailed on the 7th. 5: On the 4th of September there came in likewise His Majesty's ships the *Cumberland* of 66 guns under Captain Bosceth and the *Tyger* of 60 guns under Captain Latham, which Captain Kent left there. **Interpretations** St Augustine's Bay on the south-west of Madagascar was the recognised refuge for ships that could not weather the Cape, and Captain Kent's resort to it with a split helm, gathering there over the following weeks a Court ship, a homeward vessel and a squadron of the King's ships, shows how the bay served as a meeting point and waypoint on the Indian route. Ships in distress or waiting for company fell in with one another there and exchanged the intelligence that let a settlement like St Helena track the movement of shipping across the whole ocean. The two large French ships reported carrying some five hundred men each to Pondicherry, ordered not to touch at the French islands, marked the reinforcement of French power in the Carnatic war, the same struggle the earlier letters of the season had followed. The arrival at Madagascar of a Royal Navy squadron under Admiral Watson, bound for the same Indian theatre, signalled the growing naval commitment of both crowns to the contest on the Coromandel coast.
297	293	says there were to Sail from thence in about 10 Days. Captain Hent left madagascar on the 22nd of Sep & on the 20th of Octor he got into the Cape Harbour intending to touch there being it want of Copmasts where he saw three Clean Ships under Dutch colours ready for sailing but did not speake to either of them, nor come to an Anchor the wind blowing so hard off the Shore that he was obliged to bare away for this Island. He brought us two yearling Cattle from madagascar and we likewise	These ships were to sail from St Augustine's Bay in about ten days. 6: Captain Kent left Madagascar on 22 September, and on 20 October he got into the Cape harbour, intending to touch there for want of shipmasts. There he saw three East India ships under Dutch colours ready to sail, but did not speak to any of them, nor come to anchor, the wind blowing so hard off the shore that he was obliged to bear away for this island. He brought the Council two yearling cattle from Madagascar, and it also received from him a small anchor that it wanted for the longboat. 7: Since this news from Captain Kent gave the Council some reason to fear there might be a war

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		received from him a small Anchor which we wanted for the Long Boat. As this news from Captain Hent gives us some reason to fear there may be a War with France we transmit to your Honors by this occasion a state of your Artillery & Ammunition that now remains upon the Island, also an estimate of what more we think will be wanting in such an event to compleat your Artillery to 60 rounds or to 80 rounds as your Honors shall think most proper We beg leave also to observe to you that most of your Honors Small Arms here, are very bad, we therefore hope you will be pleased to send us 250 new ones & as we have heard old Firelocks Sell well at Batavia we beleive your Honors will be but little loosers if you thought proper to direct them to be sent thither & sold & likewise all your unserviceable Cannon may be disposed of there to a greater Advantage than they can be in England as Capt Fowler acquainted us. There are now wanting to compleat your Honors Military establishment here 4 Men, & in Febry & March next the time of Service of near 30 Men will expire whom we cannot rely on to relist & as there may be some loss by Deaths we for these reasons beleive there is a probability of our wanting about 30 Men by the next Store Ships	with France, it sent home by this conveyance a state of the Court's artillery and ammunition remaining on the island, together with an estimate of what the Council thought would be wanted in such an event to complete the artillery to 60 rounds, or to 80 rounds as the Court should think most proper. 8: The Council pointed out that most of the Court's small arms on the island were very bad, and asked the Court to send 250 new ones. Since old firelocks were reported to sell well at Batavia, the Council believed the Court would lose very little if it thought proper to direct that the bad arms be sent there and sold, and that all its unserviceable cannon might likewise be disposed of there to greater advantage than in England, as Captain Fowler had informed the Council. 9: The Court's military establishment on the island was now short by four men, and in February and March next the time of service of about 30 men would expire, whom the Council could not rely on to re-enlist. Since some might be lost by death, the Council believed it would probably want about 30 men by the next store ship. **Interpretations** The Council's chain of reasoning from a chance report of French warships to a formal stocktaking of the island's artillery shows how intelligence gathered at a mid-ocean waypoint was turned into a state of readiness. Fearing war with France before any declaration reached it, the board did not wait for orders but sent home an account of its guns and powder with an estimate of what a war footing of 60 or 80 rounds a gun would require, treating rumour brought by a passing commander as ground enough to prepare the island's defence. The proposal to send the island's bad small arms and unserviceable cannon to Batavia for sale rather than back to England rested on Captain Fowler's report of the Dutch market for old firelocks, and marks a piece of practical economy in the disposal of worn stores. Rather than freight defective weapons the whole way home for little return, the Council would realise their value in the eastern seas where such arms fetched a better price, sparing the Court the cost of carriage on goods worth almost nothing at their destination. The chronic difficulty of holding the garrison surfaced again in the coming expiry of about thirty men's terms, the Council unable to count on their re-enlistment and anticipating a shortfall of thirty men by the next store ship. The constant drain of time-expired soldiers to the departing ships kept the island perpetually short-handed, its defence dependent on a fresh supply of men from England that never quite kept pace with the losses.
298	294	The Soldiers have been spoke to by the Govr & their several Officers, about cleaning the Ground for new Barracks, as you will please to observe in our Consultation of 30 Sept there are only six who incline to work Gratis & that but for a few Days, but then are several that will work for 1 lb of Salt meat & 6 lb of Rice weekly, & as we cannot possibly carry on the work without the Military & your Honors have thought it absolutely necessary to be done, we propose to employ some of them upon these terms. William Thomson Soldier that we supposed to have deserted from hence in the Ship Boscawen having left some Effects here we Ordered them to be sold the Amount of which after paying his Debts	10: The Governor and their several officers had spoken to the soldiers about clearing the ground for the new barracks, as the Court would see from the consultation of 30 September. Only six were willing to work without pay, and that for a few days only, but several would work for one pound of salt meat and six pounds of rice a week. Since the work could not possibly be carried on without the soldiers, and the Court had thought it absolutely necessary to be done, the Council proposed to employ some of them on those terms. 11: William Thomson, a soldier supposed to have deserted the island in the ship *Boscawen*, had left some effects behind. The Council ordered them to be sold, and the amount, together with some money due to him, came in all to £5 14s 3½d, which was lodged in the Court's cash and ordered to be written off to account current at London. 12: The Council also received into the Court's cash the sum of £40 4s 2½d belonging to the late

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		together with some mony that was due to him being in the whole £3.14.3½ is lodged in your Honors Cash here which we have ordered to be wrote off to Account Current London. We have likewise received into your Cash the Sum of £40.4.1½ belonging to the late Ste James Taylor that died here intestate & ordered the same to be wrote off to Account Current London it being the Ballance due to him after paying his Debts here, whose effects we likewise directed to be sold at Publick Auction the Acct Sales of which & an Account Current with the said Estate, your Honors will please to observe is entered in our Consultation of the 18 of last Month. John Dove Soldier that died on the 19 Sept last made a Will which we did not think authentic we therefore also ordered his effects to be sold the Amount of which after paying his Debts being £6.5.2 we have likewise received into your Cash & ordered it to be wrote off to Acct Current London as the Widow by this means, we apperhend will be more certain to get the little matter left by her Husband the Account Sales & Acct Current with the said Estate is entered in our Consultation of the 18 of last Month.	Stephen Taylor, who died on the island without a will, and ordered it written off to account current at London, this being the balance due to him after paying his debts on the island. His effects were likewise directed to be sold at public auction, the account of sales entered in the consultation of the 18th of the last month. 13: John Dove, a soldier who died on 19 September, made a will the Council did not think valid. It therefore ordered his effects sold, and the amount after paying his debts, £6 5s 2d, was likewise received into the Court's cash and ordered written off to account current at London. By this means the Council expected the widow would be more certain of getting the little her husband had left her. The account of sales and the account current with the estate were entered in the consultation of the 18th of the last month. **Interpretations** The bargain over clearing the barracks ground shows the truck system by which the island's soldiers were paid in provisions rather than money, the men declining to work without wages but ready to labour for a weekly measure of salt meat and rice. Since the garrison could not be spared from the work the Court had ordered, the Council fell back on paying them in kind, tying the soldier's extra labour to the stores he consumed and turning the island's own provisions into the currency of its public works. The Council's handling of the estates of dead and deserted soldiers marks its role as administrator of the property of men who left no one on the island to act for them. Where a soldier died intestate, or left a will the board thought invalid, or deserted leaving effects behind, the Council sold what remained, cleared his local debts and carried the balance into the Court's cash to be answered in London, so that a distant heir or widow might recover it through the Company's books rather than lose it altogether. In John Dove's case the setting aside of a doubtful will was expressly justified as the surer means of getting the widow her due, the Council preferring its own orderly administration to a testament it distrusted.
299	295	Your Honors General Books of Accounts for the year past are Balanced to the 11 of October & are now Copying as fast as possible & will be ready to transmit to you by the next oppertunity Captain Hent applyed to us to pay £640 into your your Cash we received it, & have given him a set of Bills of Exchange drawn on your Honors for that Sum payable to himself or Order Ninety Days after sight dated the 25 of November Lieut Tho Easthope that we of this Island having served your Honors upwards of 40 Years & near 20 of them an Officer, & being now very infirm in his Constitution, & not able to discharge the Duty that may be required of him in case of a War we therefore beg leave to recommend him to your Honors favour, for some allowance, & if you should approve of having another Officer to succeed him in such a case there is a young Gentleman a son of the late Mr Jno Brythe who was in Council here, that has Carried Arms in your Honors Service without any pay for 2 Years past & done his Duty very regularly, & well who for these reasons we think properly qualifyed for a Commission if it meets with your Honors approbation	14: The Court's general books of accounts for the year past were balanced to 11 October and were being copied as fast as possible, to be sent home by the next opportunity. 15: Captain Kent applied to the Council for leave to pay £640 0s 0d into the Court's cash, which the Council received, giving him a set of bills of exchange drawn on the Court for that sum, payable to himself or his order ninety days after sight, dated 25 November. 16: Lieutenant Thomas Easthope of the island had served the Court upwards of 40 years, near 20 of them as an officer, and was now very infirm and unable to discharge the duty that might be required of him in case of a war. The Council recommended him to the Court's favour for some allowance. Should the Court approve of another officer to succeed him in such a case, there was a young gentleman, a son of the late Mr John Bryte who had been in Council on the island, who had carried arms in the Court's service without any pay for the past two years and done his duty very regularly and well, and whom the Council thought properly qualified for a commission if the Court approved. 17: The Council had the satisfaction to report that there had lately been fine rains, that there was now great plenty of grass on the island, and that the Court's stock, pastures and plantations were all in a thriving way. The letter was dated at St Helena on 1 December 1754, and signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson and John Clark.

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		We have the Satisfaction to acquaint your Honors that we have had every fine Rains, & that there is now great plenty of Grass upon the Island & that your Stock Pastures & Plantations are at present in a thriving way. St Helena 1 December 1754 Weare Honble Sirs Your most obedient & most humble Servants (Signed) Charles Hutchinson John Adamson John Clark	**Interpretations** The case of Lieutenant Easthope shows the Council seeking a settled provision for a servant worn out in the Company's employ, forty years' service leaving him too infirm to bear arms in the war it feared was coming. Rather than simply discharge an old officer, the board asked the Court for an allowance for him and in the same breath proposed a tested young volunteer to succeed him, the son of a former councillor who had served two years unpaid, so that the garrison lost nothing in efficiency while an aged man was decently pensioned off. The pairing of the two recommendations marks the Council managing both the reward of long service and the succession to a commission in a single stroke. The closing report of fine rains and plentiful grass was no mere pleasantry but a statement of the island's fitness to victual the shipping on which its whole value to the Company rested. St Helena's stock, pastures and plantations depended entirely on the wet seasons, and the state of the grass determined how many cattle could be killed for the passing ships, so a good fall of rain was the truest measure of the settlement's prosperity and its readiness to serve the fleet.
300	296	List of the Honble Companys Packet from St Helena p Ship Dragon Dated the 1 December 1754 Vizt Govr & Councils Genl Letter dated 1 December 1754 Duplicate Govr & Councils Genl Letter dated the 26 July Do Do Consultation of the 22 July Do Consultations from the 27 July to the 25 November Do List of Officers & Servants taken the 1 December Do Duplicate List of the Packet p Ship Durrington Second receipt for the Packet p Ship Falmouth First Do p Ship Durrington List of One Man discharged the Honorable Companys Service Duplicate Ships Durringtons Acct Ships Dragons Account Cash Account from the 12 June to the 11 July 1754 Do 12 July to the 11 August Do Do 12 August to the 11 Sept Do Do 12 Sept to the 11 October Do Do 12 October to the 11 Novr Do Do 12 Novr to the 30 Do Do List of Families taken the 10 October Do Do Rent taken the 10 Do Do of the Honble Companys Slaves taken the 10 October Do State of Military Stores remaining Novr 30 1754 with an Account of what more will be wanting in case of a War	The list of the Company's packet from St Helena by the *Dragon*, dated 1 December 1754, ran as follows. 1: Governor and Council's general letter dated 1 December 1754 2: Duplicate Governor and Council's general letter dated 26 July 1754 3: Duplicate consultation of 22 July 1754 4: Consultations from 20 July to 25 November 1754 5: List of officers and servants taken 1 December 1754 6: Duplicate list of the packet by the ship Durrington 7: Second receipt for the packet by the ship Falmouth 8: First receipt for the packet by the ship Durrington 9: List of one man discharged the Company's service 10: Duplicate ship Durrington's account 11: Ship Dragon's account 12: Cash account from 12 June to 11 July 1754 13: Cash account from 12 July to 11 August 1754 14: Cash account from 12 August to 11 September 1754 15: Cash account from 12 September to 11 October 1754 16: Cash account from 12 October to 11 November 1754 17: Cash account from 12 November to 30 November 1754 18: List of families taken 10 October 1754 19: Rent list taken 10 October 1754 20: List of the Company's slaves taken 10 October 1754 21: State of military stores remaining 30 November 1754, with an account of what more will be wanting in case of a war
301	297	To the Honorable the Court &ca Honble Sirs Our last Advices went to your Honors by your Ship the Dragon Captain Henry Kent that sailed from	The Council addressed the Court of Directors. 1: The Council's last advices went to the Court by the Court's ship the *Dragon* under Captain Henry Kent, which sailed from the island on 1 December 1754.

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		hence on the 1st of Decr 1754 On the 26th of last Month arived your Ship the Montfort Captain Frederick Vincent from Bengall which place he left the 15th of December and saw only one Ship on his Passage viz which was off the Cape but does not know what she was. The Captain Acquaints us that on the 2 of October they had a hard gale of Wind which did considerable Damage to the Shipping and Craft in the River nine Sail of Dutch Ships were drove in Shore at Fulta two or three of which were entirely lost, and altho several of the Rest got off, it was doubted if they would be able to proceed for Europe at Culpee the Denham cut away her Main Mast and Mizen, and Escaped without further harm, the York parted and sailed a Shore, but received no Damage, at Town the St George (Capt Robinson) only parted her Shore Moorings and they did the Same, but the Club a large Country Ship laying in the Stream, above them parting and leting go her Anchor near there, that on the Wind and Tide Shifting she Ranged Round them from Side to Side, and did them considerable Damage, a little before that one of the Companys Pilot Sloops took Fire and was burnt to the Waters Edge. The Captain further informs us that a twenty Gun Ship and a Sloop of War were Arived at Bengall to Refit and were to return to the Coast by the 11th of January	2: On the 26th of the last month arrived the Court's ship the *Montfort* under Captain Frederick Vincent from Bengal, which place he left on 15 December. He saw only one ship on his passage, off the Cape, but did not know what she was. 3: The captain reported that on 2 October there had been a hard gale of wind that did considerable damage to the shipping and craft in the river. Nine sail of Dutch ships were driven ashore at Fulta, two or three of them entirely lost, and though several of the rest got off it was doubtful whether they would be able to proceed for Europe. At Culpee the *Denham* cut away her mainmast and mizzen and escaped without further harm. The *York* parted and sailed ashore but took no damage. The *Fort St George* under Captain Robinson only parted her shore moorings, and the *Denham* did the same, but a large country ship lying in the stream above them, parting and letting go her anchor near them, ranged from side to side as the wind and tide shifted, bound them, and did them considerable damage. A little before that, one of the Company's pilot sloops caught fire and was burnt to the water's edge. 4: The captain also reported that a twenty-gun ship and a sloop of war had arrived at Bengal to refit and were to return to the coast by 11 January. **Interpretations** The captain's account of the October gale in the Hooghly shows the peculiar danger of the Bengal river to European shipping, where nine Dutch vessels were flung ashore at Fulta and Company ships at Culpee were forced to cut away their masts to ride it out. The Bengal anchorages lay far up a tidal river whose sudden storms and shifting currents could drive a whole road of ships aground or set them ranging foul of one another, so that a single country vessel breaking loose above the fleet could do as much harm as the wind itself. Such intelligence, carried to St Helena by a homeward commander, kept the island abreast of the hazards its own shipping faced at the far end of the voyage. The arrival of a warship and a sloop to refit at Bengal, bound back to the coast within weeks, marked the naval activity attending the Carnatic war, the same contest with France the season's earlier letters had followed. The movement of the King's ships between the Bengal yards and the fighting on the Coromandel coast signalled how closely the two theatres were bound in the wider struggle for the eastern trade.
302	298	to which Day it was said there was to be a Cessation of Arms between the English and French, that Colonel Scitt died some time in April last at Madrass where Capt Glover was arived and had proceeded from thence for Bombay, it was likewise Reported that Mr Duplex, with his Family was sailed from Ponticherry for Europe, and that Admiral Watsons Ship was was gone for Bombay to heave down and Victial. The Captain also says that your Honors Ship the Colchester was to be dispatched from Bengall Directly for Europe & that the Winchelsea Capt Baron was to touch on the Coast, & it was thought would bring Govr Saunders home, that the Elizabeth Capt Wills was to go to Bencoolen to fill up with pepper & the Egmont Capt Folson when she arrived from the Negrais was to be dispatched likewise for Europe.	By 11 January it was said there was to be a cessation of arms between the English and the French. Colonel Scott had died some time in the previous April at Madras, where Captain Glover had arrived and from where he had gone on for Bombay. It was also reported that Mr Dupleix, with his family, had sailed from Pondicherry for Europe, and that Admiral Watson's ship had gone for Bombay to heave down and victual. 5: The captain also reported that the Court's ship the *Colchester* was to be dispatched from Bengal directly for Europe, and that the *Winchelsea* under Captain Baron was to touch on the coast, which it was thought would bring Governor Saunders home. The *Elizabeth* under Captain Wills was to go to Bencoolen to fill up with pepper, and the *Egmont* under Captain Tolson, when she arrived from the Negrais, was to be dispatched likewise for Europe. 6: The captain further reported that the Court's ships of this year were stationed as follows. 7: The *Norfolk* under Captain Bonnam was to go to Madras, and was supposed would be the October ship.

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		He further tells us that your Ships of this year were Stationed as following. The Norfolk Capt Bonnam was to go to Madrass & was supposed would be the October Ship. The York Capt Ward for the Coast of malabar, & was expected would be loaded there with pepper for Europe. The London Capt Alwright, & the Streit Capt Wilson were to go for Bombay & Surat on the Honble Companys Account. The Britannia Capt Norway for madrass & China & to return to the Coast. The St George Capt Robinson Freighted for China. The Denham Capt Meard for the Negrais	8: The *York* under Captain Ward was to go for the coast of Malabar, and was expected would be loaded there with pepper for Europe. 9: The *London* under Captain Alwright and the *Streatham* under Captain Wilson were to go for Bombay and Surat on the Company's account. 10: The *Britannia* under Captain Norway was to go for Madras and China, and to return to the coast. 11: The *St George* under Captain Robinson was freighted for China. 12: The *Denham* under Captain Meard was to go for the Negrais. **Interpretations** The reported cessation of arms and the departure of Mr Dupleix for Europe marked a turning point in the long contest with France in the Carnatic, the recall of the French governor who had driven their ambitions on the Coromandel coast signalling the exhaustion of that struggle. That such news reached St Helena only as a homeward commander's report, still couched in rumour and expectation, shows how the island learned the shape of great events at second hand and weeks after the fact, its knowledge of the war always the intelligence a passing ship happened to carry. The captain's account of where each of the season's Company ships was stationed amounted to a working map of the eastern trade, some bound directly home, others working the pepper coast or the China run, one carrying a returning governor. This running register of shipping was exactly the information a mid-ocean victualling station needed, letting the Council anticipate which vessels would call and in what order, and prepare its stores and cattle against their arrival.
303	299	and it was not determined how the Anson Capt Vetch was to be disposed of. The Summer Rains this Year are very backward there being but little fallen lately, & no appearance of any at present, the Weather being vastly hot, which has already dryed the Herbage upon the Island prettymuch, and should it continue any time longer we are affraid there will be a scarcity of Grass for the Cattle. Capt Frederick Vincent applyed to us for liberty to pay £400 into your Cash we received it, & have given him a set of Bills of Exchange drawn on your Honors for that Sum payable to himself or Order, 90 days after sight dated the 3d instant By this occasion we transmit to your Honors General Books of Accounts for the Year ending the 11 October last. Weare Honble Sirs Your most Obedient & most humble Servants (Signed) Charles Hutchinson John Adamson John Clark	It had not been determined how the *Anson* under Captain Vatch was to be disposed of. 13: The summer rains this year were very backward, little having fallen lately and none in prospect at present. The weather was very hot, which had already dried the herbage on the island a good deal, and should it continue any longer the Council feared there would be a scarcity of grass for the cattle. 14: Captain Frederick Vincent applied to the Council for leave to pay £400 0s 0d into the Court's cash, which the Council received, giving him a set of bills of exchange drawn on the Court for that sum, payable to himself or his order ninety days after sight, dated the 3rd of the month. 15: By this conveyance the Council sent home the Court's general books of accounts for the year ending 11 October. The letter was dated at St Helena on 4 March 1755, and signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson and John Clark.
304	300	List of the Honble Companys Packet from St Helena p Ship Montfort dated the 7 March 1755 Vizt Govr & Councils General Letter dated the 7 March 1755 Duplicate Do dated the 1 December 1754	The list of the Company's packet from St Helena by the *Montfort*, dated 4 March 1755, ran as follows. 1: Governor and Council's general letter dated 4 March 1755 2: Duplicate general letter dated 1 December 1754 3: Consultations from 2 December 1754 to 4 March 1755

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		Consultations from the 2 Decr 1754 to the 7 March 1755 Duplicate Do from the 29 July to the 25 Novr 1754 List of Officers & Servants taken the 7 March 1755 Duplicate List of the Packet p Ship Dragon Second receipt for the Packet p Ship Durrington First Do p Ship Dragon List of five Men discharged the Honorable Companys Service Duplicate Ship Dragon Account Ship Montforts Account Duplicate Cash Account from the 12 June to the 11 July 1754 Do from the 12 July to the 11 August Do Do from the 12 August to the 11 Sept Do Do from the 12 Sept to the 11 Oct Do Do from the 12 October to the 11 Novr Do Do from the 12 to the 30 Novr Do Cash Account from the 7 to the 11 December Do Do from the 12 December to the 11 January 1756 Do from the 12 January to the 11 Febry Do Do from the 12 Febry to the 7 March Do Duplicate List of Families taken the 10 October 1754 Do List of Rents taken the 10 Do Do Do List of the Honble Companys Slaves taken the 10 Oct Do Do State of military Stores &ca General Books of Accounts Copy of the Bill of Lading of Ship Montfort	4: Duplicate consultations from 29 July to 25 November 1754 5: List of officers and servants taken 4 March 1755 6: Duplicate list of the packet by the ship Dragon 7: Second receipt for the packet by the ship Durrington 8: First receipt for the packet by the ship Dragon 9: List of five men discharged the Company's service 10: Duplicate ship Dragon's account 11: Ship Montfort's account 12: Duplicate cash account from 12 June to 11 July 1754 13: Duplicate cash account from 12 July to 11 August 1754 14: Duplicate cash account from 12 August to 11 September 1754 15: Duplicate cash account from 12 September to 11 October 1754 16: Duplicate cash account from 12 October to 11 November 1754 17: Duplicate cash account from 12 to 30 November 1754 18: Cash account from 1 to 11 December 1754 19: Cash account from 12 December to 11 January 1755 20: Cash account from 12 January to 11 February 1755 21: Cash account from 12 February to 4 March 1755 22: Duplicate list of families taken 10 October 1754 23: Duplicate list of rents taken 10 October 1754 24: Duplicate list of the Company's slaves taken 10 October 1754 25: Duplicate state of military stores and so on 26: General books of accounts 27: Copy of the bill of lading of the ship Montfort
305	301	To the Honble Court &ca Honble Sirs. We wrote last to you by your Honors Ship the Montfort Capt Frederick Vincent that sailed from hence on the 7 instant. On the 10 of this Month arived your Ships the Prince Edward Capt Robt Haldane, & the Sandwich Capt John Pierling from Bombay. the Capts acquaint us they sailed from thence on the 9 of Decr with your Ship the Warwick Capt West, who left them on the 13 to go to Tellichery, to be filled up, they likewise inform us that your Ship the Shaftesbury had touchd at Point de Galle, & was arived at Rajengo before they left Bombay, as was the Warren from Madrass, & that his Majestys Ships the Kent, Admiral Watson & the Salisbury Capt Knowler had Careend at Bombay, & were to leave that place the 15 Decr for the Coromandell Coast. The Capts further say they put into this Cape where they lay nine Days, & that they saw there three French outward bound Ships pretty full of Men, one of which they were told was bound to China, & the other 2 for the French Island &	The Council addressed the Court of Directors. The Council's last letter to the Court went by the Court's ship the *Montfort* under Captain Frederick Vincent, which sailed from the island on the 4th of the month. On the 10th of the month arrived the Court's ships the *Prince Edward* under Captain Robert Haldane and the *Sandwich* under Captain John Pelling from Bombay. The captains reported that they had sailed from there on 9 December in company with the Court's ship the *Warwick* under Captain West, who left them on 13 December to go to Tellicherry to be filled up. They also reported that the Court's ship the *Shaftesbury* had touched at Point de Galle and had arrived at Anjengo before they left Bombay, as had the *Warren* from Madras, and that His Majesty's ships the *Kent* under Admiral Watson and the *Salisbury* under Captain Knowler had careened at Bombay and were to leave that place on 15 December for the Coromandel coast. The captains further reported that they had put into the Cape, where they lay nine days, and that they saw there three French outward-bound ships pretty full of men, one of which they were told was bound to China and the other two for the French island and Pondicherry. On the 11th of the month arrived the Court's ship the *Colchester* under Captain John Sed, who sailed from Whampoa on 27 November and reported that Captain Jackson was to leave it about 10 or 12 days after him.

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		Pondecherry. On the 11 instant arived your Honors Ship the Colchester Capt John Sedd who sailed from Wampo the 27 Novr & says Capt Jackson was to leave it, in about 10, or 12 Days after him.	**Interpretations** The reports carried by the incoming commanders traced the whole western arc of the Company's shipping, from the Bombay road where the King's ships careened for the Coromandel coast to the pepper ports of Tellicherry and Anjengo where the homeward vessels took in their lading. Point de Galle on Ceylon, Bombay, Tellicherry and Anjengo marked the stations a returning fleet worked before turning for the Cape, and the arrival at St Helena of ships from each let the Council assemble a current account of where the season's vessels lay and which would next call for refreshment. The three French ships seen full of men at the Cape, bound for China, Pondicherry and the French islands, showed the continued reinforcement of French power in the eastern seas even as the earlier reports had spoken of a cessation of arms in the Carnatic. A neutral watering place like the Cape, where the ships of rival nations lay together in the same road, gave the Company's commanders their clearest sight of what their opponents were about, intelligence they carried on to St Helena as a matter of course.
306	302	On the 16 arived your Ship the Grantham Capt John Oliver from Bencoolen, which place he left the 15 January & saw nothing on his passage except 4 Ship under Dutch colours off this Cape In order to avoid taking any of your Honors Treasure out of your Store Ships for the expence of the Current year we received into your Cash the Sum of £2130 & have given setts of Bills of Exchange drawn on your Honors dated the 8 instant, payable 90 Days after sight, to the following persons vizt One sett for £900 payable to Capt Robt Haldane or Order. One sett for £800 payable to Capt John Pierling or Order One sett for £400 payable to Capt John Sedd or Order One sett for £30 payable to James Sheridan or Order your Honors Gardiner We have received by your Ship the Prince Edward William Prichard one of your Soldiers & Cshaw a Slave from Bombay the former of which the Govr & Council of that place have transported to this Island to serve your Honors the remainder of his contracted time for being convicted of uttering false Mony the latter during Life having been found Guilty of Felony. Robt Jno Clark your Honors Armourer represented to us yesterday in Council the bad state of his Health & desiring leave to go for England & having procured the consent of the Sealer of Ship Prince Edward to serve your Honors in his stead, we therefore requested of Capt Haldane to let the said Mate remain here in the room of Clark, to which he consenting we discharged Clark from your Service according to his petition St Helena 18 March 1755 Weare Honble Sirs Your most Ob & most huble Servt (Signed) Cha Hutchinson John Adamson J Clark	On the 16th of the month arrived the Court's ship the *Grantham* under Captain John Oliver from Bencoolen, which place he left on 15 January. He saw nothing on his passage except a ship under Dutch colours off the Cape. To avoid taking any of the Court's treasure out of the store ship for the expense of the current year, the Council received into the Court's cash the sum of £2,130 0s 0d, and gave sets of bills of exchange drawn on the Court dated the 6th of the month, payable ninety days after sight, to the following persons. One set of bills for £900 0s 0d payable to Captain Robert Haldane or order. One set of bills for £800 0s 0d payable to Captain John Pelling or order. One set of bills for £400 0s 0d payable to Captain John Sed or order. One set of bills for £30 0s 0d payable to James Sheridan or order, the Court's gardener. By the Court's ship the *Prince Edward* the Council received William Richard, one of the Court's soldiers, and a slave from Bombay. The Governor and Council of Bombay had transported the former to the island to serve the Court the remainder of his contracted time, having been convicted of uttering false money, and the latter for life, having been found guilty of felony. Robert John Clark, the Court's armourer, represented to the Council the bad state of his health and asked leave to go to England, having procured the consent of the captain of the ship *Prince Edward* to serve the Court in his stead. The Council therefore asked Captain Haldane to let this man remain in Clark's room, to which he consented, and discharged Clark from the Court's service according to his petition. The letter was dated at St Helena on 18 March 1755, and signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson and John Clark. **Interpretations** The Council's decision to raise £2,130 by taking private money into the Court's cash rather than break into the treasure aboard the store ship shows the working logic of the island's finances. Coin lodged by returning commanders against bills on London met the settlement's running costs without disturbing the specie the Court had shipped for its own eastern purposes, so the Council preferred to draw on the officers' remittances and leave the treasure intact for its intended destination. The bills

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			to four separate payees, from a large sum for a commander to a small one for the gardener, mark how widely this credit machinery served both the Company's need for cash and the private need to move money home. The receipt of two men from Bombay, a soldier convicted of coining sent to serve out his time and a slave condemned for felony to serve for life, illustrates how St Helena absorbed the penal sentences of the Company's other settlements. The island took convicted men as forced labour, the soldier's crime turned into an extension of his service and the felon's into perpetual bondage, so that the settlements of the eastern establishment used the remote island as a place to work off the punishments passed in their own courts. The neat exchange by which the departing armourer secured a replacement from a calling ship before the Council would discharge him shows the same care for the continuity of a skilled post that marked the handling of the garrison's other trades.
307	303	List of the Honble Companys Packet from St Helena p Ship Prince Edward dated the 18 March 1755 Vizt Govr & Councils General Letter dated the 18 March 1755 Dupt Do dated the 7 Do Do Consultations from the 10 to the 7 March Do Dupt Do from the 2 Decr 1754 to the 3 march Do List of Officers & Servants taken the 18 march Do Dupt List of Packet p Ship Montfort First receipt for the Packet p Ship Do Second Do Do p Ship Dragon Dupt Ship Montforts Account Ship Prince Edwards Do Do Sandwichs Do Duplicate Cash Acct from the 7 to the 11 December 1754 Do from the 12 Decr to the 11 Janry 1755 Do from the 12 Janry to the 11 Febry Do Do from the 12 Febry to the 7 March Do Abstracts of the Bills of Lading of the Ships Colchester Prince Edward Sandwich and Grantham Cash Acct from the 8 to the 11 March 1755 Do 12 to the 18 Do Do List of Marriages &ca List of men Discharged the Honble Companys Service	The list of the Company's packet from St Helena by the *Prince Edward*, dated 18 March 1755, ran as follows. 1: Governor and Council's general letter dated 18 March 1755 2: Duplicate general letter dated 4 March 1755 3: Consultations from 10 to 18 March 1755 4: Duplicate consultations from 2 December 1754 to 3 March 1755 5: List of officers and servants taken 18 March 1755 6: Duplicate list of the packet by the ship Montfort 7: First receipt for the packet by the ship Montfort 8: Second receipt for the packet by the ship Dragon 9: Duplicate ship Montfort's account 10: Ship Prince Edward's account 11: Duplicate ship Sandwich's account 12: Duplicate cash account from 1 to 11 December 1754 13: Duplicate cash account from 12 December to 11 January 1755 14: Duplicate cash account from 12 January to 11 February 1755 15: Duplicate cash account from 12 February to 4 March 1755 16: Abstracts of the bills of lading of the ships Colchester, Prince Edward, Sandwich and Grantham 17: Cash account from 1 to 11 March 1755 18: Cash account from 12 to 18 March 1755 19: List of marriages and so on 20: List of men discharged the Company's service
308	304	To the Honble Court &ca Honble Sirs Since Sealing our Packet p the Ship Prince Edward which we delivered to Capt Haldane yesterday in the evening a Boat arived from your Honors Ship the Warwick with a Letter from Capt Webb to the Govr to acquaint him he left Anjengo the 11 of January & that they were all well on board, the Ship is at some Distance in the Offing & standing for the Road Weare St Helena 19 march 1755 seven oClock in the morning	The Council addressed the Court of Directors. Since sealing the packet by the ship *Prince Edward*, which the Council delivered to Captain Haldane the previous evening, a boat arrived from the Court's ship the *Warwick* with a letter from Captain Webb to the Governor. It reported that he had left Anjengo on 11 January and that all were well on board, the ship then lying some distance out in the offing and standing in for the road. The letter was dated at St Helena on 19 March 1755 at seven o'clock in the morning, and signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson and John Clark.

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		Honble Sirs Your most Obedient & most humble Servant Signed Cha Hutchinson John Adamson John Clark	
309	305	To the Honble the Court &ca Honble Sirs We wrote to you last by your Honors Ship the Prince Edward Capt Robt Haldane, that sailed from hence on the 19 instant. By that occasion we acquainted your Honors that your Ship the Warwick was then in the Offing standing for the road, She arived about noon, Capt Webb informs us that he met with your Ships the Warren Capt wan Glover, & the Shaftesbury Capt Bookey at Mangulor the 22 of Decr & that there was no Account of the Prince Henry Capt Best when he left the Mallabar Coast, which was on the 11 of Janry. This waits on your Honors by your Ship the Colchester, which will be followed in a few Days by your Ship the Warwick & in about a Week by the Grantham. Weare Honble Sirs St Helena 23 March 1755 Your most Obt & most humble Servants (Signd) Cha Hutchinson John Adamson John Clark	The Council addressed the Court of Directors. The Council's last letter to the Court went by the Court's ship the *Prince Edward* under Captain Robert Haldane, which sailed from the island on 19 March. By that conveyance the Council reported that the Court's ship the *Warwick* was then in the offing, standing in for the road. She arrived about noon, and Captain Webb reported that he had met the Court's ships the *Warren* under Captain Glover and the *Shaftesbury* under Captain Bockey at Mangalore on 22 December, and that there was no account of the *Prince Henry* under Captain Best when he left the Malabar coast, which was on 11 January. The letter went to the Court by the Court's ship the *Colchester*, to be followed in a few days by the Court's ship the *Warwick*, and in about a week by the *Grantham*. The letter was dated at St Helena on 23 March 1755, and signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson and John Clark.
310	306	List of the Honble Companys Packet from St Helena p Ship Colchester Dated the 23 March 1755 Vizt Govr & Councils General Letter Dated the 23 March 1755 Dup Do Dated the 18 Do Do Do Do Dated the 19 March 7 oClock in the morning Do Do Consultations from the 16 to the 17 March Do List of Officers & Servants taken the 23 Do Do Dup List of the Packet from St Helena p Ship Prince Edward First receipt for Do p Ship Prince Edward Second Do for Do p Ship Montfort Dup Ship Prince Edward Account Do Sandwichs Do Do Cash Acct from the 8 to the 11 March 1755 Do Do from the 12 to the 18 Do Do Cash Account from the 19 to the 23 Do Do Account of the Ship Warwicks Cargo Ship Colchester Account	The list of the Company's packet from St Helena by the ship *Colchester*, dated 23 March 1755, ran as follows. 1: Governor and Council's general letter dated 23 March 1755 2: Duplicate general letter dated 18 March 1755 3: Duplicate general letter dated 19 March 1755, seven o'clock in the morning 4: Duplicate consultations from 16 to 17 March 1755 5: List of officers and servants taken 23 March 1755 6: Duplicate list of the packet from St Helena by the ship Prince Edward 7: First receipt for the packet by the ship Prince Edward 8: Second receipt for the packet by the ship Montfort 9: Duplicate ship Prince Edward's account 10: Duplicate ship Sandwich's account 11: Duplicate cash account from 8 to 11 March 1755 12: Duplicate cash account from 12 to 18 March 1755 13: Cash account from 19 to 23 March 1755 14: Account of the ship Warwick's cargo 15: Ship Colchester's account
311	307	To the Honble Court &ca Honble Sirs We wrote last to you by your Honors Ship the Colchester Capt John Sedd, that sailed from hence on the 23 instant. Yesterday about noon arived your Ship the Exeter Capt Semell, with every body well on board, by	The Council addressed the Court of Directors. The Council's last letter to the Court went by the Court's ship the *Colchester* under Captain John Sed, which sailed from the island on 23 March. The previous day about noon arrived the Court's ship the *Exeter* under Captain Fernell, with everybody well on board. By him the Council received a packet from the Court, which it opened and read in consultation but could not yet answer, as the ship *Warwick* under Captain Webb, by whom the

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		whom we received a Packet from your Honors which we opened & read in Consultation, but cannot yet answer, as the Ship Warwick Capt Webb by whom this goes will sail this evening or early to morrow Morning we can therefore at present only assure your Honors that your Orders therein contained shall be punctually obeyed Weare St Helena 28 March 1755 Honble Sirs Your most Obedt & most hble Servants (Signed) Cha Hutchinson John Adamson John Clark	present letter went, would sail that evening or early the next morning. The Council could therefore only assure the Court that the orders contained in the packet would be punctually obeyed. The letter was dated at St Helena on 28 March 1755, and signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson and John Clark.
312	308	List of the Honble Companys Packet from St Helena p Ship Warwick Dated the 28 March 1755 Vizt Govr & Councils General Letter Dated the 28 March 1755 Dup Do dated the 23 Do Do Consultations from the 24 to the 27 march Do List of Officers & Servants taken the 28 Do Do Dupt List of the Packet p Ship Colchester Second receipt for Do p Ship Prince Edward First Do for Do p Ship Colchester Dupt Cash Acct from the 19 to the 23 March 1755 Cash Acct from the 24 to the 28 March Do Dupt Ship Colchester Acct Ship Warwicks Acct To the Honble Court &ca Honble Sirs Our last Letr to you went by your Honors Ship the Warwick Capt Nichs Webb that sailed from hence on the 29 of that month This day came in your Ship the Exeter Capt George Jackson from China, which place he sailed from the 8 Decr & arived at Princes Island the 23 of Janry, where he found two Swedes & 2 Dutch Ships from Canton the former of which sailed the 24 the latter the 25 of that month for Europe. the Capt acquaints us that a Dutch Ship from China was lost on Celebes, called the Barundale Capt	The list of the Company's packet from St Helena by the ship *Warwick*, dated 28 March 1755, ran as follows. 1: Governor and Council's general letter dated 28 March 1755 2: Duplicate general letter dated 23 March 1755 3: Consultations from 24 to 27 March 1755 4: List of officers and servants taken 27 March 1755 5: Duplicate list of the packet by the ship Colchester 6: Second receipt for the packet by the ship Prince Edward 7: First receipt for the packet by the ship Colchester 8: Duplicate cash account from 19 to 23 March 1755 9: Cash account from 24 to 28 March 1755 10: Duplicate ship Colchester's account 11: Ship Warwick's account The Council addressed the Court of Directors. The Council's last letter to the Court went by the Court's ship the *Warwick* under Captain Nicholas Webb, which sailed from the island on 29 March. This day arrived the Court's ship the *Essex* under Captain George Jackson from China, which place he sailed from on 3 December. He arrived at Princes Island on 23 January, where he found two Swedish and two Dutch ships from Canton, the former sailing on the 24th and the latter on the 25th of that month for Europe. The captain reported that a Dutch ship from China, called the *Barnaveldt*, had been lost on Celebes.
313	309	Lilo on the 28 of the same month, & that he Departed from Princes Island the 29 & left your Ship the Triton Capt Gilbert Slater there who informed him that your Honors Ships the Princes Augusta & Stafford were in the Streights of Sunda. The Sevintz your Honors Carpr being very Desirous that his Wife Deborah should receive a part of his Salary in England for her Support, requests of us to signify to your Honors that he is willing 10 £ a Year should be advanced to her, which sum we shall stop out of his appointment here if your Honors think proper to pay it to his Wife in England.	The *Barnaveldt* was lost on the 28th of the same month. Captain Jackson left Princes Island on the 29th, leaving the Court's ship the *Triton* under Captain Gilbert Slater there, who told him that the Court's ships the *Prince Augusta* and the *Stafford* were in the Straits of Sunda. Mr Lovintz, one of the Court's carpenters, being very desirous that his wife Deborah should receive part of his salary in England for her support, asked the Council to signify to the Court that he was willing that £10 0s 0d a year should be advanced to her. The Council would stop that sum out of his appointment on the island, if the Court thought proper to pay it to his wife in England. The letter went to the Court by the Court's ship the *Grantham* under Captain John Oliver.

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		This waits on your Honors by your Ship the Grantham Capt John Oliver Weare St Helena 2 April 1755. Honorable Sirs Your most Obedient & most humble servants (Signed) Charles Hutchinson John Adamson John Clark	The letter was dated at St Helena on 2 April 1755, and signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson and John Clark. **Interpretations** Mr Lovintz's request that part of his wages be paid to his wife in England shows the reach of the Company's pay machinery in supporting the families a servant left behind when he took a post at a distant station. By stopping £10 a year from the carpenter's appointment on the island and having the Court pay the like sum to Deborah Lovintz at home, the Company made itself the channel by which a man serving thousands of miles away could provide for a dependent wife, the two ends of the arrangement balanced in its books so that no money need actually cross the sea.
314	310	List of the Honble Compy Packet from St Helena p Ship Grantham Dated the 2 April 1755. Govr & Councils Genl Letr Dated the 2 April 1755 Dup Do Dated the 28 march Do Consultation of the 31 March Do Dup Do from the 24 to the 27 March Do List of Officers & Servants taken the 2 April Do Dup List of the Packet p Ship Warwick Second receipt for the Do p Ship Colchester First Do for the Do p Ship Warwick Dup Cash Acct from the 29 to the 28 March Do Cash Acct from the 29 March to the 2 April Do Dup Ships Warwicks Acct Ship Granthams Do List of 4 men Discharged the Honble Compy Service &ca Acct of the Cargo of Ship Exeter	The list of the Company's packet from St Helena by the ship *Grantham*, dated 2 April 1755, ran as follows. 1: Governor and Council's general letter dated 2 April 1755 2: Duplicate general letter dated 28 March 1755 3: Consultation of 31 March 1755 4: Duplicate consultations from 24 to 27 March 1755 5: List of officers and servants taken 2 April 1755 6: Duplicate list of the packet by the ship Warwick 7: Second receipt for the packet by the ship Colchester 8: First receipt for the packet by the ship Warwick 9: Duplicate cash account from 24 to 28 March 1755 10: Cash account from 29 March to 2 April 1755 11: Duplicate ship Warwick's account 12: Ship Grantham's account 13: List of four men discharged the Company's service and so on 14: Account of the cargo of the ship Essex
315	311	To the Honble Court &ca Honble Sirs We wrote to you last by your Honors Ship the Grantham that saild from hence on the 3 instant By your Ship the Exeter Capt Ferrell received your last Letr together, with all the rest of the papers mentioned in the Lists of both Packets We are very glad that our advices of last year came safe to your Honors, down to the 26 of July 1754 It is a great pleasure to us to hear that all your Ships of the past Season that sailed from hence down to the above Date arived Safe in England, & hope that your Honors Ship the Dragon has got home long before now We thank your Honors for the List of the arrival & Departure of your Ships The Govr begs leave to acquaint your Honors that he recd a Packet from the Secret Committee, & that the Orders therein contained, with all others, that he may have from them, shall be punctually Obeyed We hope that the Squadron of his majestys Ships which he has been graciously pleased to order to the Coast of Coromondell, with a Body of Land forces to protect your Honors in your Commerce, & your just rights & Privileges there, will be successfull & answer the purposes intended	The Council addressed the Court of Directors. The Council's last letter to the Court went by the Court's ship the *Grantham*, which sailed from the island on the 2nd of the month. 1: By the Court's ship the *Exeter* under Captain Fernell the Council received the Court's last letter, together with all the rest of the papers named in the lists of both packets. 2: The Council was very glad that its advices of the previous year came safe to the Court, down to 26 July 1754. 3: It was a great pleasure to the Council to hear that all the Court's ships of the past season that sailed from the island down to the above date arrived safe in England, and it hoped that the Court's ship the *Dragon* had got home long before now. 4: The Council thanked the Court for the list of the arrival and departure of its ships. 5: The Governor reported that he had received a packet from the Secret Committee, and that the orders contained in it, with all others he might have from that body, would be punctually obeyed. 6: The Council hoped that the squadron of His Majesty's ships that the Court had been graciously pleased to order to the Coromandel coast, with a body of land forces to protect the Court in its trade and its just rights and privileges there, would be successful and answer the purposes intended by them. **Interpretations** The Governor's undertaking to obey the orders of the Secret Committee shows the special channel the Company kept for its most sensitive wartime

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		by them.	instructions, a small body at home whose directions were sent under separate cover and whose authority the island's chief servant acknowledged as binding above the ordinary correspondence. In a time of contest with France the routing of the gravest orders through this committee, rather than the general letters, marks the Company's care to keep its strategic dealings apart from the routine business of the settlements. The Council's hope for the squadron and land forces sent to the Coromandel coast reflects how far the Company's Indian trade had come to depend on the arms of the Crown, the protection of its rights and privileges there now a matter for the King's ships and regular troops rather than the Company's own resources alone. The reference to answering the purposes intended marks the growing entanglement of the mercantile enterprise with the national struggle for power in India, the defence of a trading privilege become an object of state warfare.
316	312	The Body of Land Forces consisting of Colonel Adlercrons Regiment of foot, & a Detachment from the Royall Regiment of Artillery, we are informed, are arived safe in India. As we believe it must be attended with some inconvenience to your Honors, we are sorry that you were under the necessity of employing p of your own Ships as Transports We observe that your Honors have taken up, & sent for Bombay in lieu of them, the Prince Henry Warwick, & Shaftesbury We likewise see that we are not to expect the old Hardwicke as your Honors inform us, that She is to be disposed of in India, & is not to return to Europe We are concerned that his majestys Ships the Bristol & Eagle were disabled in bad weather on the Coast of Ireland, & were by that means prevented sailing with the Admiral. Your Honors may Depend upon their observing your directions with regard to the Saluting Admiral Watson, on his returning to England if he should touch here, & the Commodore if he should arive without him & we will be sure to pay to the Admiral all the Honors due to his Rank, & behave to him with great regard & Friendship, & shew all proper Civility & respect to the several Commanders in his Squadron & we will take care to give them, as well as the Admiral all Possible help, & assistance As your Honors have been pleased to appropriate the Exeter chiefly to bring as many of the materials as posible, for Building the Hospital & Barracks, we hope your next Store Ships, will be able to take in every Article, we Indented for, for these purposes, without much inconveniency.	7: The body of land forces, consisting of Colonel Aldercron's regiment of foot and a detachment from the Royal Regiment of Artillery, had, the Council was informed, arrived safe in India. 8: Since the Council believed it must be attended with some inconvenience to the Court, it was sorry that the Court had been under the necessity of employing two of its own ships as transports. 9: The Council noted that the Court had taken up and sent for Bombay, in their place, the *Prince Henry*, the *Warwick* and the *Shaftesbury*. 10: The Council also saw that it was not to expect the old *Hardwicke*, the Court having reported that she was to be disposed of in India and would not return to Europe. 11: The Council was concerned that His Majesty's ships the *Bristol* and the *Eagle* had been disabled in bad weather on the coast of Ireland and were by that means prevented from sailing with the Admiral. 12: The Court might depend upon the Council observing its directions over the saluting of Admiral Watson, on his returning to England should he touch at the island, and of the commodore should he arrive without the Admiral. The Council would be sure to pay the Admiral all the honours due to his rank, behave to him with great regard and friendship, and show all proper civility and respect to the several commanders in his squadron, taking care to give them, as well as the Admiral, all possible help and assistance. 13: Since the Court had been pleased to appropriate the *Exeter* chiefly to bring as many of the materials as possible for building the hospital and barracks, the Council hoped its next store ship would be able to take in every article it had indented for, for those purposes, without much inconvenience. **Interpretations** The dispatch of Colonel Aldercron's regiment of foot with a detachment of the Royal Artillery marked a decisive step in the Crown's direct commitment to the war in India, the King's own regular troops now sent to hold what had been the Company's private trade. That the Company had to employ its own ships as transports for this force, and to take up others in their place for Bombay, shows how the demands of the national struggle disrupted the ordinary rhythm of its commercial shipping, vessels meant for cargo diverted to carry soldiers. The elaborate instructions over saluting Admiral Watson answered the very question the island had earlier referred home for want of a precedent, how a small fortress should bear itself toward the King's ships and their commanders. The ceremonial of salutes and honours carried real weight in the naval

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			world, marking rank and respect between the Company's servants and the Crown's officers, so the Council took pains to promise the Admiral every mark of distinction due to him and every assistance to his squadron. The appropriation of the *Exeter* to carry building materials for the hospital and barracks reflects the island's reliance on the store ships to bring what it could not make, even as it built with its own slaves and soldiers from local stone and timber. The heavy fabric of a hospital and barracks needed iron, deals and other materials from England, so the arrival of a ship laden for the purpose was the necessary complement to the labour the Council commanded on the spot.
317	313	Upon the Expiration of the 10 Working days allowed by Charter Party for uloading the Exeter, we gave Capt Ferrell sailing Orders in Writing to make the best of his way to Fort Marlbro upon the West Coast of the Island Sumatra, & to follow the instructions he had received from your Honors As you have thought proper to fill the Exeter with Stores for this Island, We observe that you have been pleased to put on board the Prince George the necessary Consignments for your Settlements on West Coast It is a great pleasure to us to find, that the news, & Intelligence we have from Time to Time collected from the Shipping, has been hitherto done to your satisfaction, which we assure your Honors shall be carefully continued, & transmitted to you As your Honors have thought, proper to comply so fully with our Indent by appropriating the Exeter chiefly for that purpose on her outward bound Voyage, we hope you will not have occasion of sending a seperate Ship to Fort Marlborough another time The Six thirty two pounder Cannon, shall be mounted as soon as possible upon the Carriages you were pleased to send with them & placed on such parts of the Fortification where they will be most usefull We thank your Honors for Directing the Fish Hooks, we indented for to be of the sizes of those we sent you in our Packt of your Ship the Boscawen, for a Sample As we have lately drawn some Bills of Exchange on your Honors we did not take any of your Treasure out of your Ship Exeter	On the expiry of the ten working days allowed by charter party for unloading the *Exeter*, the Council gave Captain Fernell sailing orders in writing to make the best of his way to Fort Marlborough on the west coast of Sumatra, and to follow the instructions he had received from the Court. 15: Since the Court had thought proper to fill the *Exeter* with stores for the island, the Council noted that it had been pleased to put on board the *Prince George* the necessary consignment for its settlements on the west coast. 16: It was a great pleasure to the Council to find that the news and intelligence it collected from time to time from the shipping had hitherto been done to the Court's satisfaction, which the Council assured the Court would be carefully continued and sent home. 17: Since the Court had thought proper to comply so fully with the Council's indent by appropriating the *Exeter* chiefly for that purpose on her outward-bound voyage, the Council hoped the Court would not have occasion to send a separate ship to Fort Marlborough another time. 18: The six thirty-two pounder cannon would be mounted as soon as possible upon the carriages the Court had been pleased to send with them, and placed on such parts of the fortification where they would be most useful. 19: The Council thanked the Court for directing the fish hooks it had indented for to be of the sizes of those it sent home in the packet by the Court's ship the *Boscawen* for a sample. 20: Since the Council had lately drawn some bills of exchange on the Court, it did not take any of the treasure out of the Court's ship the *Exeter*. **Interpretations** The despatch of the *Exeter* to Fort Marlborough on the expiry of her ten unloading days, once she had discharged the island's stores, shows the enforcement of the charter party's fixed lading time that the Council had long pressed the Court to write into its contracts. A store ship was held to a set term at the island and then sent forward on the Company's wider business, so that a single vessel served both St Helena and the west coast settlements in one voyage, the strict reckoning of her days at anchor sparing the demurrage a longer stay would cost. The mounting of six thirty-two pounder cannon on the fortifications marks the strengthening of the island's defences against the war the Council feared, the heaviest guns placed where they would command the approaches. That the Court sent the carriages with the guns, and that the Council need only mount them, shows the practical dependence of the remote fortress on England for the great matériel of its defence, even as it built its works with its own labour and stone. The care over so small a matter as the size of fish hooks, the Council sending a sample home so the

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			Court might supply the right pattern, illustrates the exactness with which the island specified its wants across the whole distance to London. Even the tackle for catching fish to feed the settlement had to be got right at that range, a wrong size useless and a year lost before another supply could come, so the Council left nothing to guesswork in its indents.
318	314	We shall continue to write, to your several Settlements in India for such goods, & Stores as we are most in want of, from each of them respectively, as you have Directed as having already done, this year, as your Honors will please to observe by our Letr to the Different places, entered in our Consultation of the 9 of this Month; but we are sorry to acquaint you that we are Disappointed of the Sugar we indented for from Fort Marlbro the Gentlemen of that place, having acquainted us by the Grantham (by which Ship we wrote for ten thousand pounds weight) that they could not answer our Demands untill they knew your Honors pleasure although they assured us in their Letr p the Walpole, that they coud supply us with a large quantity annually, we therefore have thought proper to Indent for some Sugar from Bengall lest we should again fail of that which we this Season wrote for, to the Gentlemen at the West Coast As your Honors have Directed the Supracargoes of the Ships Drake, Warren, Prince George, & Rhoda, to lade on board these Ships all the China goods we indented for, we therefore, shall not expect any Stores, for the use of this Island, on any other The Fruit Trees that you have been pleased to send us shall be taken all Possible care of, & part of them distributed among the Planters as you have Directed We are very Glad that the method we have taken for the Planters to Dispose of their Beef, meets with your Honors approbation As your Honors are satisfyed with Mr Tho Greentrees acknowledgment of your favour in permitting him to remain upon the Island, we hope he will continue to behave himself in a circumspect	21: The Council would continue to write to the Court's several settlements in India for such goods and stores as were most conveniently had from each of them respectively, as the Court had directed and the Council had already done that year, as the Court would see from its letters to the different places entered in the consultation of the 9th of the month. The Council was sorry to report that it was disappointed of the sugar it had indented for from Fort Marlborough, the gentlemen of that place having reported by the *Grantham*, by which ship the Council wrote for ten thousand pounds weight, that they could not answer its demands until they knew the Court's pleasure, although they assured the Council in their letter by the *Walpole* that they could supply it with a large quantity annually. The Council therefore thought proper to indent for some sugar from Bengal, lest it should again fail of what it wrote for this season to the gentlemen at the west coast. 22: Since the Court had directed the supercargoes of the ships *Drake*, *Warren*, *Prince George* and *Rhoda* to lade on board those ships all the China goods the Council had indented for, it would not expect any stores for the use of the island, or of any other place. 23: The fruit trees the Court had been pleased to send would be taken all possible care of, and part of them distributed among the planters as the Court had directed. 24: The Council was very glad that the method it had taken for the planters to dispose of their beef met with the Court's approval. 25: Since the Court was satisfied with Mr Greentree's acknowledgement of its favour in permitting him to remain on the island, the Council hoped he would continue to behave himself in a circumspect manner. **Interpretations** The island's practice of drawing its stores from whichever of the Company's Indian settlements could supply them most cheaply shows how St Helena sat within a wider network of supply, its provisioning managed by playing one factory against another for the best terms. The failure of Fort Marlborough to furnish the ten thousand pounds of sugar it had earlier promised, and the Council's prudent recourse to Bengal as an alternative, illustrates the uncertainty of these distant sources and the care the board took to guard against a shortfall by indenting from more than one quarter. The Court's approval of the arrangement for the planters to dispose of their beef marks the settlement of a long-running dispute over the island's meat trade, the earlier enquiry into the planters' combination having laid bare who actually supplied the market and at what price. The regulation of how the planters sold their cattle, endorsed now from London, was central to the island's function as a victualling station, the ordering of the beef trade determining whether the passing fleet could be fed. The pointed hope that Mr Greentree would behave circumspectly, following the Court's leave for him to remain, carries the trace of an earlier offence, the Greentrees having been named in the enquiry into the beef combination as sellers of much meat to foreigners at the higher price. The Council's watchfulness over a man permitted to stay on sufferance shows how the island governed its

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			inhabitants by conditional indulgence, a past fault held over a planter as a spur to his future conduct.
319	315	manner, & we are pleased that you approve of our reprimanding Benjn Mason a Planter whose Behaviour for the future, we shall take particular notice of, & give you an Acct thereof if he should attempt to endeavour to revive Discontent among the Planters again. We observe that your Honors have paid Mr James DuBois the Sum of £22.13.3¼ which we recd of Mr Tho French last year & wrote it off your Books to Acct Current London. As your Honors are pleased to leave it to our Discretion to regulate the quantity of Beef, or Number of Cattle that every Ship is to have for the future, we shall endeavour to do it in such manner as to reserve a sufficiency for the latter Ships We shall one Day this week acquaint the Inhabitants & Planters that it is your Honors Orders they are not for the future to purchase any more Liquors than what will Supply themselves & Familys, & that they are not to retail any, & we shall endeavour to prevent as much as we can all excess & irregularities at the Licenced Houses We are glad that your Honors approve of our having employed some of the Soldiery in repairing the Fortifications of the Damages done to them from Time to Time by the Vyolent Rains, we shall continue so to do upon any such accidents & keep all your works in as good condition as posible but the lower Battery at Banks's which was built about 14 years ago & some other of the Works have been so improperly constructed the outside being but little better thant pointed with Lime	The Council was pleased that the Court approved of its reprimanding Benjamin Mason, a planter whose behaviour for the future the Council would take particular notice of, and give the Court an account of, should he attempt to revive discontent among the planters again. 26: The Council noted that the Court had paid Mr James Du Bois the sum of £122 13s 0¾d, which the Council had received of Mr Thomas French the previous year and written off the Court's books to account current at London. 27: Since the Court was pleased to leave it to the Council's discretion to regulate the quantity of beef, or number of cattle, that every ship was to have for the future, the Council would endeavour to do it in such manner as to reserve a sufficiency for the later ships. 28: The Council would one day that week acquaint the inhabitants and planters that it was the Court's orders that they were not for the future to purchase any more liquor than would supply themselves and their families, and that they were not to retail any. The Council would endeavour to prevent, as much as it could, all excess and irregularities at the licensed houses. 29: The Council was glad that the Court approved of its having employed some of the soldiers in repairing the fortifications of the damages done to them from time to time by the violent rains. It would continue to do so upon any such accidents, and keep all the Court's works in as good condition as possible. But the lower battery at Banks's, built about fourteen years earlier, and some other of the works, had been so improperly constructed, the outside being but little better than pointed with lime. **Interpretations** The disposal of James Du Bois's £122 13s 0¾d, money received on the island from Thomas French and answered by an entry in the Court's books at London, shows the Company's accounts serving to settle a private debt across the ocean without any coin passing between the parties. A sum owed to a man in England was raised from a debtor on the island and carried home through the Company's ledgers, the two entries cancelling each other so that the creditor was paid at home from money that never left St Helena. The order restraining the planters from buying more liquor than their own households needed, and forbidding them to retail it, marks a renewed effort to curb the drink trade that had long troubled the settlement. The licensing of houses and the limiting of private purchase were the instruments by which the Council tried to hold down the excess and disorder that flowed from an unregulated traffic in spirits, a concern that ran back through the island's whole history. The candid admission that the lower battery at Banks's and other works had been so ill built that their outer faces were scarcely better than pointed with lime carries the same frankness the Council had shown before over the shameful state of the older fortifications. Walls raised without proper binding could not stand against the violent rains, so the board's honest report of defective construction set the ground for the repairs and rebuilding it knew the island's defence required.
320	316	and the middle filled in with rubbish, there is reason to apprehend that on any extraordinary torrent they are in Danger of being carried away	The middle of the works was filled in with rubbish, so there was reason to fear that on any extraordinary torrent they were in danger of being carried away.

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		As it is your Honors orders that no Ship should be permitted to come into the Road in the night time we believe your intention is that none should pass Banks's because if they should be sufferd to come as far as Mundens Point they then would be under the Battery there, and have the road at Command We have acquainted Mr Charles Steward that you have been pleased to appoint him Writer in your Service, from the time of his first being employed in it, at the usual Salary & Diet mony, he has executed the Covenants you were pleased to send him which go herewith, & acquaints us that he has wrote to two of his friends in England, who will he hopes wait upon your Honors Secretary, to be his Security in the Sum of £500. We have acquainted Mr Saml Falconer your late Surgeon, with your Honors orders regarding him, who tells us that he shall be quite ready to leave the Island in about six weeks We have recd the 10 recruits that your Honors were pleased to send us by your Ship Exeter We have not detained any of the Soldiers that are on board the Exeter for the service of your Settlements on the West Coast agreeable to your orders on this head We recd the seperate Packet which your Honors were pleased to send us, containing The printed Act of Parliament with the Articles of War	30: Since the Court had ordered that no ship should be permitted to come into the road at night, the Council believed its intention was that none should pass Banks's, because if they were allowed to come as far as Munden's Point they would then be under the battery there and have the road at command. 31: The Council had told Mr Charles Steward that the Court had been pleased to appoint him a writer in its service from the time he was first employed in it, at the usual salary and diet money. He had executed the covenants the Court had been pleased to send him, which went home with the letter, and reported that he had written to two of his friends in England, who he hoped would wait upon the Court's secretary to be his security in the sum of £500 0s 0d. 32: The Council had told Mr Samuel Falconer, the Court's late surgeon, of the Court's orders concerning him. He reported that he would be quite ready to leave the island in about six weeks. 33: The Council received the ten recruits the Court had been pleased to send by the Court's ship the *Exeter*. 34: The Council had not detained any of the soldiers on board the *Exeter* for the service of the Court's settlements on the west coast, according to its orders on that head. 35: The Council received the separate packet the Court had been pleased to send it, containing the printed Act of Parliament with the Articles of War. **Interpretations** The Council's reading of the Court's order against night arrivals shows how carefully it interpreted a general instruction in the light of the island's defensive geography, understanding that ships must be stopped at Banks's rather than allowed up to Munden's Point where they would lie under the guns and command the road. The reasoning turned on the fields of fire of the batteries, a vessel permitted too far in gaining the very position from which the road could be controlled, so the board read the rule as a matter of holding an approaching ship beyond the point of advantage. The requirement that Charles Steward furnish security of £500 in England before entering fully on his post as writer illustrates the Company's practice of binding its servants by bonds given at home, sureties standing for the good conduct and honest accounting of a man employed at a distant station. The demand for named friends to answer for him marks the caution with which the Company admitted men to places of trust, the security a guarantee against the losses a dishonest servant might inflict where oversight was slight. The arrival of the printed Act of Parliament with the Articles of War, sent under separate cover, marks the extension of the Crown's military law to the island's garrison in a time of war. The Articles of War governed the discipline of soldiers under statute, so their transmission to St Helena placed the garrison on a regular legal footing, the settlement's defence brought within the formal framework of national military law rather than left to the Company's own regulation alone.
321	317	Your Honors Commission authorizing us to appoint Courts Martial The form of appointing a Person to officiate as Judge Advocate. Instructions for the proceedings of the Judge Advocate Form of proceedings at a Court Martial all which shall be punctually complyed with, as your Honors have been pleased to Direct.	The separate packet also contained the Court's commission authorising the Council to appoint courts martial, the form of appointing a person to officiate as judge advocate, instructions for the proceedings of the judge advocate and the form of proceedings at a court martial, all of which the Council would punctually comply with as the Court had been pleased to direct. 36: It was a very great pleasure to the Council to find that its enquiries into the several claims upon the estate of the late Governor Goodwin, and its

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		It is a very great pleasure to us to find that our enquirys into the several Claims upon the Estate of the late Govr Goodwin & our opinion upon them has been fully satisfactory to your Honors we therefore shall according to your Orders Divide the Sum of £131.10.11½ among the several Claimants here in proportion to their respective claims & take Discharges in full of all Demands on their being paid at an average & then carry the several Sums to the Credit of Govr Goodwins Estate William Moore, who had your Honors liberty to return here by the Exeter, & remain untill he had adjusted his Depending concerns shall, upon the finishing of them be ordered to return to England, as you have been pleased to Direct On the 3 instant arived your Honors Ship the Norfolk from madrass, which place Capt Bonham acquaints us he sailed from the 11 of Janry, & left there his majestys Ships the Cumberland Commodore Pocock, & the Tyger Capt Latham, & that he saw no Ship on his Passage	opinion upon them, had been fully satisfactory to the Court. It would therefore, according to the Court's orders, divide the sum of £131 10s 11½d among the several claimants in proportion to their respective claims, take discharges in full of all demands on their being paid at an average, and then carry the several sums to the credit of Governor Goodwin's estate. 37: William Moore, who had the Court's leave to return home by the *Exeter* and to remain until he had adjusted his outstanding concerns, would, on finishing them, be ordered to return to England as the Court had directed. 38: On the 3rd of the month arrived the Court's ship the *Norfolk* from Madras, which place Captain Bonham reported he sailed from on 11 January. He left there His Majesty's ships the *Cumberland* under Commodore Pocock and the *Tyger* under Captain Latham, and saw no ship on his passage. **Interpretations** The arrival of the Court's commission empowering the Council to hold courts martial, with the forms and instructions for a judge advocate and the conduct of proceedings, marks a decisive extension of formal military justice to the island in wartime. Where discipline had rested on the Company's own regulation and the Governor's authority, the garrison could now try offences under the machinery of a court martial, the settlement's soldiers brought within the same legal apparatus that governed the King's forces, and the paperwork sent complete so that proceedings would follow the proper form. The Court's order to divide £131 10s 11½d among the claimants on Goodwin's estate in proportion to their allowed demands, taking discharges in full and carrying the sums to the estate's credit, shows the orderly winding-up of the long enquiry the Council had conducted into the dead Governor's affairs. The payment of the creditors at an average, each taking his share and giving a full acquittance, closed the private claims so that the estate could then be reckoned against the deficiency Goodwin owed the Company, the whole tangled business brought to a settled account by the method London approved.
322	318	On the 10 & 12 of this month arived your Ships the Princess Augusta Capt Baddinson late Parker, & the Triton Capt Slater from China, the latter of which sailed from Canton the 3 & the former the 6 of Janry Capt Baddinson informs us that he left at the Bogue of Tygers 1 Dane, 1 Prussian & 3 French Ships, & at Wampo 1 Prussian & your Honors Ships the Lord Anson Onslow & True Brittain. As the last Quarters Accounts will not be laid before us untill the 28 instant, we have no other Cash Acct to send your Honors by this occasion, but a Dup of that which went by your Ship the Grantham We are continuing to enlarge your Plantations but cannot proceed with that dispatch, from the want of hands, as many of those we now have, are old, infirm & Diseased, we therefore hope your Honors will be pleased to Direct that the 30 Men you intended should bee sent us from madrass, may be forwarded to this Island as soon as possible. Weare	39: On the 10th and 12th of the month arrived the Court's ships the *Princess Augusta* under Captain Baddison, late Parker, and the *Triton* under Captain Slater from China. The latter sailed from Canton on the 3rd and the former on the 6th of January. Captain Baddison reported that he left at the Bogue one Danish, one Prussian and three French ships, and at Whampoa one Prussian and the Court's ships the *Lord Anson*, *Onslow* and *True Briton*. 40: Since the last quarter's accounts would not be laid before the Council until the 28th of the month, it had no other cash account to send the Court by this conveyance beyond a duplicate of the one that went by the Court's ship the *Grantham*. 41: The Council was continuing to enlarge the Court's plantations, but could not proceed with much dispatch for want of hands, many of those it now had being old, infirm and diseased. It therefore hoped the Court would direct that the 30 men it intended should be sent from Madras might be forwarded to the island as soon as possible. The letter was dated at St Helena on 14 April 1755, and signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson and John Clark. **Interpretations** The account of the shipping at the Bogue and Whampoa, where the vessels of Denmark, Prussia, France and the Company lay together loading their China cargoes, shows the anchorages below Canton as the common gathering point of the European

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		Honble Sirs St Helena 14 April 1755 Your most Ob & most humble servants (Signed) Charles Hutchinson John Adamson John Clark	trade with China. A commander homeward from Canton could report the whole assembly of rival nations' ships taking in tea and goods, intelligence the Council valued as a measure of the season's China trade, carried to St Helena as part of the running picture of the eastern shipping. The Council's plea for the thirty men promised from Madras, pressed by the poor state of its existing labour force of old, infirm and diseased hands, exposes the chronic difficulty of maintaining the workforce that built the island's works and raised its crops. The slaves and servants who did the heavy labour wore down with age and sickness, so the settlement depended on a steady supply of fresh hands from the Company's other stations to keep its plantations and fortifications advancing, the want of men the standing check on all its undertakings.
323	319	List of the Honble Compy Packet from St Helena p Ship Exeter Dated the 14 April 1755 Vizt Govr & Councils Genl Letter Dated the 14 April 1755 Dup Do Dated the 2 Do Do Consultations from the 4 to the 9 April Do Dup Do of the 31 March Do List of Officers & Servants taken the 14 April Do Dupt List of the Packet p Ship Grantham Second receipt for the Do p Ship Warwick First Do Do p Ship Grantham Dup Cash Acct from the 29 March to the 2 April Do Dup Ship Grantham Acct Ship Exeter Acct Abstract of the Cargo of Ship Norfolk Do Do Ship Triton Do Do Ship Princess Augusta Covenants of Mr Charles Steward	The list of the Company's packet from St Helena by the ship *Essex*, dated 14 April 1755, ran as follows. 1: Governor and Council's general letter dated 14 April 1755 2: Duplicate general letter dated 2 April 1755 3: Consultations from 4 to 9 April 1755 4: Duplicate consultation of 31 March 1755 5: List of officers and servants taken 14 April 1755 6: Duplicate list of the packet by the ship Grantham 7: Second receipt for the packet by the ship Warwick 8: First receipt for the packet by the ship Grantham 9: Duplicate cash account from 29 March to 2 April 1755 10: Duplicate ship Grantham's account 11: Ship Essex's account 12: Abstract of the cargo of the ship Norfolk 13: Abstract of the cargo of the ship Triton 14: Abstract of the cargo of the ship Princess Augusta 15: Covenants of Mr Charles Steward
324	320	To the Honble Court &ca Honble Sirs. We wrote to you last by your Ship the Essex that Sailed from hence on the 14 instant. Pursuant to your Honors Directions the Act of Parliament & Articles of War, have been read to all the Military here, who were likewise severally asked whether they were willing to continue in your Service, subject to the Articles of War for the remainder of the time they contracted for the names of such as refused, as also of those that consented to stay you will find particularly mentioned in the List of your Servants, that goes herewith. Capt Ferrell representing to us that he should be in want of a larger quantity of Ballast than usual, as he has no goods on board for Bencoolen & requesting to take & carry freight free to England any unserviceable Cannon we might have, we have agreed to send seven by him. Last night arived your Ship the Onslow Capt Tho Hinde who acquaints us that he left Macow the 19 of Janry, & Java head the 13 of Febry, he says he met your Ship the Stafford on the 4 of	The Council addressed the Court of Directors. The Council's last letter to the Court went by the Court's ship the *Essex*, which sailed from the island on the 14th of the month. Pursuant to the Court's directions, the Act of Parliament and Articles of War had been read to all the soldiers on the island, who were also severally asked whether they were willing to continue in the Court's service, subject to the Articles of War, for the remainder of the time they had contracted for. The names of those who refused, as well as of those who consented to stay, the Court would find particularly named in the list of its servants that went home with the letter. Captain Fernell reported that he would want a larger quantity of ballast than usual, as he had no good on board for Bencoolen, and asked to take and carry freight free to England any unserviceable cannon the Council might have. The Council agreed to send seven by him. The previous night arrived the Court's ship the *Onslow* under Captain Thomas Hinde, who reported that he left Macao on 19 January and Java Head on 13 February. He said he met the Court's ship the *Stafford* on 4 April off the Cape, and that Captain Green told him he intended to put in there. **Interpretations** The formal reading of the Act of Parliament and Articles of War to the garrison, each soldier then asked whether he would serve out his time under the new discipline, marks the moment the Crown's military law was actually imposed on the island's men. The recording of who consented and who

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		April off the Cape, & that Capt Green told him he intended to put in there	refused shows the Council treating the change as a matter of individual consent within the contracted term, the soldiers confronted with a new legal footing for their service and their answers entered for the Court to see, so that the transition to statutory discipline was documented man by man. The agreement to let Captain Fernell carry seven unserviceable cannon home as ballast turned a difficulty into a convenience for both sides, the ship needing weight for her light passage to Bencoolen and the island wanting to be rid of guns fit for nothing. Rather than freight worthless iron at a charge, the Council disposed of it as the ship's own ballast, carried free to England where it might be recast, a neat piece of economy matching the earlier thought of selling bad arms in the eastern markets.
325	321	This waits on your Honors by your Ship the Norfolk Weare Honble Sir St Helena 18 April 1755. Your Most Obt & most humble servants (Signed) Charles Hutchinson John Adamson John Clark List of the Honble Compy Packet from St Helena p Ship Norfolk Dated the 18 April 1755 Vizt Govr & Councils Genl Letter Dated the 18 April 1755 Dup Do Dated the 14 Do Do Consultations of the 15 April Do Dup Do from the 7 to the 9 April Do List of Officers & Servants taken the 18 April Do Dup List of the Packet p Ship Exeter Second receipt for the Do p Ship Grantham First Do Do p Ship Exeter Dup Ship Exeter Acct Ship Norfolks Do Abstract of the Cargo of Ship Onslow	The letter went to the Court by the Court's ship the *Norfolk*. The letter was dated at St Helena on 18 April 1755, and signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson and John Clark. The list of the Company's packet from St Helena by the ship *Norfolk*, dated 18 April 1755, ran as follows. 1: Governor and Council's general letter dated 18 April 1755 2: Duplicate general letter dated 14 April 1755 3: Consultations of 14 April 1755 4: Duplicate consultations from 4 to 9 April 1755 5: List of officers and servants taken 18 April 1755 6: Duplicate list of the packet by the ship Essex 7: Second receipt for the packet by the ship Grantham 8: First receipt for the packet by the ship Essex 9: Duplicate ship Essex's account 10: Ship Norfolk's account 11: Abstract of the cargo of the ship Onslow
326	322	To the Honble the Court &ca Honble Sirs We wrote to you last by your Ship the Norfolk Capt Pinson Bonham, that sailed from hence on the 18 instant As nothing material has since occurred we can only transmit to your Honors by this occasion a Duplicate of that Letter with the usual Papers Weare Honble Sirs St Helena 20 April 1755 Your most Obt & most hable Servts (Signed) Charles Hutchinson John Adamson John Clark	The Council addressed the Court of Directors. The Council's last letter to the Court went by the Court's ship the *Norfolk* under Captain Pinson Bonham, which sailed from the island on the 18th of the month. Since nothing material had occurred since, the Council could only send the Court by this conveyance a duplicate of that letter with the usual papers. The letter was dated at St Helena on 20 April 1755, and signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson and John Clark.
327	323	List of the Honble Compy Packet from St Helena p Ship Triton Dated the 20 April 1755 Vizt Govr & Councils Genl Letter Dated the 20 April 1755 Dup Do Dated the 18 Do Do Do Consultation of the 14 April Do List of Officers & Servants taken the 20 April	The list of the Company's packet from St Helena by the ship *Triton*, dated 20 April 1755, ran as follows. 1: Governor and Council's general letter dated 20 April 1755 2: Duplicate general letter dated 18 April 1755 3: Duplicate consultation of 14 April 1755 4: List of officers and servants taken 20 April 1755 5: Duplicate list of the packet by the ship Norfolk 6: First receipt for the packet by the ship Norfolk

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		Do Dup List of the Packet p Ship Norfolk First receipt for the Do p Ship Do Second Do Do p Ship Essex Dup Ship Norfolks Acct Ship Tritons Acct Ship Princess Augusta's Do List of 4 men Dismissed the Honble Compy Service	7: Second receipt for the packet by the ship Essex 8: Duplicate ship Norfolk's account 9: Ship Triton's account 10: Ship Princess Augusta's account 11: List of four men dismissed the Company's service
328	324	To the Honble Court &ca Honble Sirs We wrote to you last by your Honors Ship the Triton that sailed from hence on the 20 instant, with your Ship the Princess Augustas. As the Accounts for the Quarter ending the 11 instant coud not in due course be laid before us untill yesterday, & Capt Hinde of your Ship Onslow intending to sail this afternoon, there was not sufficient time to have them Copied to be transmitted to your Honors by this occasion, but you will herewith receive a State of your Cash to the 11 of this Month, as also a Cash Account to this Date, & by the next opportunity we shall send to your Honors the Particulars of all receipts and Disbursments Weare St Helena 29 April 1755 Honble Sirs Your most Obedient & most humble Servants (Signed) Charles Hutchinson John Adamson John Clark	The Council addressed the Court of Directors. The Council's last letter to the Court went by the Court's ship the *Triton*, which sailed from the island on the 20th of the month in company with the Court's ship the *Princess Augusta*. Since the accounts for the quarter ending on the 11th of the month could not in due course be laid before the Council until the previous day, and Captain Hinde of the Court's ship the *Onslow* intended to sail that afternoon, there was not sufficient time to have them copied to be sent home by this conveyance. The Court would receive with the letter a state of its cash to the 11th of the month, as well as a cash account to the present date, and by the next opportunity the Council would send home the particulars of all receipts and disbursements. The letter was dated at St Helena on 29 April 1755, and signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson and John Clark.
329	325	List of the Honble Compy Packet from St Helena p Ship Onslow Dated the 29 April 1755 Vizt Govr & Councils Genl Letter Dated the 29 April 1755 Dup Do the 20 Do Do Consultations from the 21 to the 24 April Do List of Officers & Servants taken the 29 Do Do Dup List of the Packet p Ship Triton First receipt for the Do p Ship Do Second Do for the Do p Ship Norfolk Ship Onslows Acct Dup Ship Tritons Do Do Ship Princess Augusta's Do List of men Dismissed the Honble Compy Service Cash Acct from the 3 to the 11 April Do Do from the 12 to the 29 Do Do	The list of the Company's packet from St Helena by the ship *Onslow*, dated 29 April 1755, ran as follows. 1: Governor and Council's general letter dated 29 April 1755 2: Duplicate general letter dated 20 April 1755 3: Consultations from 21 to 24 April 1755 4: List of officers and servants taken 29 April 1755 5: Duplicate list of the packet by the ship Triton 6: First receipt for the packet by the ship Triton 7: Second receipt for the packet by the ship Norfolk 8: Ship Onslow's account 9: Duplicate ship Triton's account 10: Duplicate ship Princess Augusta's account 11: List of men dismissed the Company's service 12: Cash account from 3 to 11 April 1755 13: Cash account from 12 to 29 April 1755
330	326	To the Honble the Court &ca Honble Sirs We wrote last to you by your Honors Ship the Onslow Capt Tho Hinde that sailed from hence on the 20 of April. On the 2 instant arived your Ship the Stafford Capt Green late Baker, the Capt acquainted us, That he put into the Cape the 6 of April & sailed from it the 19 of the same month. That he saw there your Ships the Rhoda, Prence of Wales, & Bombay Castle, which	The Council addressed the Court of Directors. The Council's last letter to the Court went by the Court's ship the *Onslow* under Captain Thomas Hinde, which sailed from the island on 20 April. On the 2nd of the month arrived the Court's ship the *Stafford* under Captain Green, late Baker. The captain reported that he put into the Cape on 6 April and sailed from it on the 19th of the same month. He said he saw there the Court's ships the *Rhoda*, *Prince of Wales* and *Bombay Castle*, which went from there two days before he left it. He also reported that there was at the Cape a Prussian homeward-bound

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		went from thence two Days before he left it. He says there was likewise at the Cape a Prussian homeward bound Ship, and several outward & homeward bound Dutch Ships On the 11 Arived a Dane Ship from China called the Princess Louisa Capt Jasper Withe burthen 900 Tons, carrys 24 Guns, and 130 Men, Loaded with Tea, & Ching Ware, bound to Copenhagen, the Capt informs us that on the 19 of April in the Latitude of 35 Degrees South, & 15 Leagues to the Eastward of the Cape he saw two homeward bound Ships one of which under English, & the other under Dutch colours, he further says he got round the Cape the 22 of April, & the same Day saw a Prussian outward bound Ship On the 19 arived a French Ship from Pondicherry called the East India Company Capt Sarville, Burthen 600 Tons carrys 24 Guns, & 200 Men, loaded with Linnen, bound to Port Lorient. Upon which Came Mr Godeheu, his most	ship and several outward and homeward-bound Dutch ships. On the 11th arrived a Danish ship from China called the *Princess Louisa* under Captain Jasper Wethe, of 900 tons burthen, carrying 24 guns and 150 men, loaded with tea and chinaware and bound for Copenhagen. The captain reported that on 19 April, in latitude 35 degrees south and 15 leagues to the eastward of the Cape, he saw two homeward-bound ships, one under English and the other under Dutch colours. He also reported that he got round the Cape on 22 April, and that the same day he saw a Prussian outward-bound ship. On the 19th arrived a French ship from Pondicherry called the *East India Company* under Captain Sarville, of 600 tons burthen, carrying 24 guns and 200 men, loaded with linen and bound for Port L'Orient. Aboard her came Mr Godeheu, the French governor. **Interpretations** The steady procession of ships of many nations touching at the Cape and reported at St Helena, Prussian, Dutch, Danish and French among the Company's own, shows how the two southern refreshment stations together gave the Council a nearly continuous account of the world's East India traffic. Each arriving commander added the vessels he had seen at the Cape or spoken with at sea, so that from its isolated position the island could track the movement of rival companies' shipping across the whole ocean, the intelligence gathered ship by ship into a running record. The arrival of Mr Godeheu, the French governor, homeward from Pondicherry, marked the end of a chapter in the French venture in India, the recall of the man sent to succeed Dupleix and negotiate with the Company signalling the winding-down of the open contest in the Carnatic. That so significant a figure passed within sight of St Helena, borne home in a French Indiaman that called at the neutral waters nearby, shows again how the great movements of the eastern struggle became known to the island through the ordinary passage of shipping.
331	327	Christian majestys Commissary & Governor General of all the French Companys Settlements in India. The Governer having been informed there were some British subjects on board her He sent for the Commander, & Demanded them according to your Honors Orders, who gave up ten which were all he had on board, as we were informed by the Men themselves, but as he had discovered several French men on board your Honors Ships, he insisted to have Manfor Man exchanged for them, which we, & the Capts of your Ships here, greed to. On the 23, 24 & 26 of last Month arived your Honors Ships the Lord Anson & True Briton from China, the Elizabeth from Bencoolen, the Colchester from Bengall, & the York from Bombay. Capt Wills acquaints us that he sailed from Manna on the West Coast of Sumatra the 12 of March last, & left all well on that Island Capt Mainwaring informs us he left Bombay the 12 of February, & says your Ship the Brittance Capt Norway was sailed for Madrass, & was intended to go from thence	Mr Godeheu was His Most Christian Majesty's commissary and governor general of all the French Company's settlements in India. The Governor, having been informed that there were some British subjects on board the French ship, sent for the commander and demanded them according to the Court's orders. The commander gave up ten, which were all he had aboard, as the Council learned from the men themselves. But since he had discovered several Frenchmen on board the Court's ships, he insisted on having man exchanged for man, which the Council and the captains of the Court's ships agreed to. On the 23rd, 24th and 26th of the last month arrived the Court's ships the *Lord Anson* and *True Briton* from China, the *Elizabeth* from Bencoolen, the *Colchester* from Bengal and the *York* from Bombay. Captain Wills reported that he sailed from Manna on the west coast of Sumatra on 12 March, and left all well on that island. Captain Mainwaring reported that he left Bombay on 12 February. He said the Court's ship the *Britannia* under Captain Norway had sailed for Madras and was intended to go from there for China. The *Winchelsea* under Captain Baron had gone early in January for the coast, to be filled up, and was then to proceed for England. The *St George* had gone for China and the *London* for Surat. He also reported that the *Egmont* was about half loaded and expected to leave Bengal about 6 March for England, that the *Kent* was ready to sail for the coast, and that the

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		for China, That the Winchelsea Capt Baron went early in January for the Coast, in order to be filled up, & was then to proceed for England, That the St George was gone for China & the London for Surat, the Capt further says that the Egmont was about half Loaded, & expected to leave Bengall about the 6 of March last for England, That the Kent was ready to sail for the Coast, & the Anson Capt Debuke, (late Vetch) for Surat.	*Anson* under Captain Debuke, late Vatch, was bound for Surat. **Interpretations** The exchange of men on equal terms shows how the demand for deserters was settled in practice between the Company's ships and a foreign vessel, the French governor conceding the ten British subjects only on condition of receiving as many of his own men found aboard the Court's ships. Rather than a one-sided reclaiming of subjects, the matter was resolved as a mutual return, man for man, the Council and its captains accepting the bargain because their own ships harboured French deserters in equal number, so the transaction balanced the interest of both sides in recovering their people. The detailed report from Bombay of where each of the season's ships lay and whither each was bound amounted to a full account of the Company's western shipping, tracing the vessels to Madras, China, Surat, the pepper coast and home. This running register, carried to St Helena by an incoming commander, was exactly the intelligence a victualling station needed to anticipate its traffic, letting the Council reckon which ships would call and in what order and prepare its stores against their coming.
332	328	Capt Mainwaring also tells us that the Kenges, a Country Ship Capt Gould, was taken by Angria, some time in November last Capt Ward acquaints us that he sailed from Anjengo the 28 of February, & that the Shaftesbury Capt Bookey was gone from Bombay, for England with a Coffee Cargo, through the inner Passage, he likewise says that his Majestys Ships the Cumberland, & Tyger, arived at that place some time in Janry, & your Ship the Prince Henry the 28 of Febry, that Capt Best had been to Carwar, where he took in part of his Cargo, & was to go to Tillichery, & Anjengo to be filledup, & it was thought he would be ready to preceed for England in about three Weeks after him A wrong Account of the Distrubution of the late Govr Goodwins mony having by an accidental mistake been entered in our Consultation of the 14 of April last, we therefore now transmit to your Honors that which ought then to have been sent to you, which we hope you will find to be exact, & that you will be pleased to look upon it as the Original. And as the late Mr Hunters proportional part amounting to £24.10.8¾ is intended to be paid by your Honors to his Representatives in England, we have therefore Directed it to be wrote off to Account Current London. As none of the Gentlemen in your Service here coud be spared out of their respective Offices to Act as Judge Advocate we therefore spoke to Mr Rich Beele Senr who we look upon to be the most capable Man to Officiate in that Station, he readily accepted of it, & submits it to your Honors to give him what allowance you think proper for his trouble Several of the 25 patern Arms, that your Honors	Captain Mainwaring also reported that the *Konges*, a country ship under Captain Gould, was taken by Angria some time in the previous November. Captain Ward reported that he sailed from Anjengo on 28 February, and that the *Shaftesbury* under Captain Bockey had gone from Bombay for England with a coffee cargo through the inner passage. He also reported that His Majesty's ships the *Cumberland* and the *Tyger* arrived at that place some time in January, and that the Court's ship the *Prince Henry*, on 28 February, had Captain Best on board, who had been to Carwar, where he took in part of his cargo, and was to go to Tellicherry and Anjengo to be filled up, and it was thought he would be ready to proceed for England about three weeks after him. A wrong account of the distribution of the late Governor Goodwin's money having by an accidental mistake been entered in the consultation of 14 April, the Council now sent home the account that ought to have been sent then, which it hoped the Court would find to be exact, and asked the Court to look upon it as the original. Since the late Mr Hunter's proportional part, coming to £24 10s 8½d, was intended to be paid by the Court to his representatives in England, the Council directed it to be written off to account current at London. Since none of the gentlemen in the Court's service on the island could be spared out of their respective offices to act as judge advocate, the Council spoke to Mr Richard Beale senior, whom it looked upon to be the most capable man to officiate in that station. He readily accepted it, and the Council submitted to the Court to give him what allowance it thought proper for his trouble. Several of the 250 pattern arms the Court sent by its last store ship came in very bad order. **Interpretations** The capture of the country ship *Konges* by Angria in the previous November brought home the continuing menace of the Maratha navy to the shipping of the western coast, the same power whose attack on the two Dutch ships at Goa the earlier letters of the run had reported. Country vessels trading along the Malabar coast fell prey to Angria's grabs and galivats, so a captured merchantman was fresh evidence of a danger that bore on the security of all the Company's western trade until his strongholds could be reduced.

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		sent us by your last Store Ship came in very bad order, & we think	The Council's appointment of Richard Beale to act as judge advocate, no serving officer being sparable from his post, shows the small settlement pressing a capable inhabitant into a specialised legal office it had not the men to fill from its own establishment. The judge advocate was essential to the conduct of the courts martial the Court had just empowered the island to hold, so the board found the ablest man at hand and left his reward to London, the machinery of military justice manned by expedient as so much else on the island was. The correction of a mistaken entry in the distribution of Goodwin's money, the Council sending home the true account to stand as the original, marks the care with which it kept the record of the long estate business straight even after the substance was settled. An accidental error in a consultation was not left to stand but formally superseded, the corrected figures sent to replace the wrong ones, so that the Court's books and the island's should agree exactly on how the dead Governor's funds had been shared.
333	329	think them too long as well as too heavy, for your Battery here. In the 18 paragraph of your Honors last Letter you were pleased to tell us that we should receive by the Exeter with the 6 thirty two pounders Cannon, four Iron Carriages made Compleat for them, & two wooden ones with Iron Trucks, but when they came on Shore we found all the Carriages to be wood & the Trucks wooden ones, thinly Shod with Iron, two of which were so rotten as to be unservicable Mr John Adamson hath paid into your Cash here the Sum of £281 for which we have given him Bills of Exchange drawn on your Honors payable to himself or Order, 90 Days after sight Dated the 26 of May. Mr Tho Greentree applyed to us on the 3 of last Month, for liberty to pay £720 into your Cash, on Account of Capt John Oliver of your former Store Ship, which we received, & have given him Bills of Exchange drawn on your Honors payable to himself, or Order, 90 Days after sight Dated the 3 of May We transmit to your Honors by this occasion the List of Remains of your Stores &ca to the 30 of April last together with our Indent of good and Necessarys for the Service of the ensuing Year which we hope will meet with your approbation This waits on your Honors by your Ship the Lord Anson, that sails from hence with your Ships the York, Elizabeth, and True Briton, which will	The Council thought the pattern arms too long as well as too heavy for its soldiers on the island. In the 18th paragraph of the Court's last letter, the Court had been pleased to tell the Council that it should receive by the *Exeter*, with the six thirty-two pounder cannon, four iron carriages made complete for them and two wooden ones with iron trucks. But when they came ashore, the Council found all the carriages to be wooden and the trucks wooden ones, thinly shod with iron, two of which were so rotten as to be unserviceable. Mr John Adamson had paid into the Court's cash on the island the sum of £281 0s 0d, for which the Council gave him bills of exchange drawn on the Court, payable to himself or his order ninety days after sight, dated 26 May. Mr Thomas Greentree applied to the Council on the 3rd of the last month for leave to pay £720 0s 0d into the Court's cash on account of Captain John Oliver of the Court's former store ship, which the Council received, and gave him bills of exchange drawn on the Court, payable to himself or his order ninety days after sight, dated 3 May. By this conveyance the Council sent home the list of the remains of the Court's stores to 30 April, together with its indent of goods and necessaries for the service of the coming year, which it hoped would meet the Court's approval. The letter went to the Court by the Court's ship the *Lord Anson*, which sailed from the island in company with the Court's ships the *York*, *Elizabeth* and *True Briton*. **Interpretations** The mismatch between the four iron and two wooden gun carriages the Court had promised and the six wooden ones that actually came ashore, two already rotten, exposes the hazard of the long supply line on which the island's defences hung. A commitment made in London could arrive altered and defective after the voyage, so the heavy thirty-two pounders lately mounted risked standing on carriages that would not bear them, the Council's careful checking of what was landed against what was promised the only guard against a defence undone by faulty stores. The large sum of £720 paid in by Thomas Greentree on account of Captain Oliver of the former store ship shows the island treasury serving to settle a debt between two men through the Company's credit, money owed by one paid into the cash and answered by bills the creditor could realise in England. The routine recurrence of such transactions, alongside John Adamson's own £281,

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			confirms how thoroughly the Council's power to draw on the Court had become the working instrument by which private accounts were cleared across the ocean without the movement of coin.
334	330	will be followed in a few Days by your Ship the Colchester Weare Honble Sirs St Helena 5 June 1755 Your most Obedient & most humble Servants (Signed) Charles Hutchinson John Adamson John Clark List of the Honorable Companys Packet from St Helena p Ship Lord Anson Dated the 5 June 1755 Vizt Govr & Councils Genl Letr Dated the 5 June 1755 Dup Do Dated the 20 April Do Consultations from the 28 April to the 2 June Do Dup Do from the 21 to the 24 April Do List of Officers & Servants taken the 5 June Do Dup List of the Packet p Ship Onslow First receipt for the Do p Ship Do Second Do for the Do p Ship Triton Dup Ship Onslows Acct First Bill of Lading p Ship Exeter Dup Cash Acct from the 3 to the 11 April Do Do Do from the 12 to the 29 Do Do Abstract of the Bill of Lading of Ship Stafford Ship Staffords Acct	The *Lord Anson* was to be followed in a few days by the Court's ship the *Colchester*. The letter was dated at St Helena on 5 June 1755, and signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson and John Clark. The list of the Company's packet from St Helena by the ship *Lord Anson*, dated 5 June 1755, ran as follows. 1: Governor and Council's general letter dated 5 June 1755 2: Duplicate general letter dated 20 April 1755 3: Consultations from 28 April to 2 June 1755 4: Duplicate consultations from 21 to 24 April 1755 5: List of officers and servants taken 5 June 1755 6: Duplicate list of the packet by the ship Onslow 7: First receipt for the packet by the ship Onslow 8: Second receipt for the packet by the ship Triton 9: Duplicate ship Onslow's account 10: First bill of lading of the ship Exeter 11: Duplicate cash account from 3 to 11 April 1755 12: Duplicate cash account from 12 to 29 April 1755 13: Abstract of the bill of lading of the ship Stafford 14: Ship Stafford's account
335	331	Abstract of the Cargo of Ship Lord Anson Ship Elizabeth Acct Cash Acct from the 30 April to the 11 May 1755 Do from the 12 May to the 3 June Do Abstract of the Cargo of Ship Elizabeth Do Do of Ship True Briton Do Do of Ship York Do Do of Ship Colchester List of 8 Men Dismissed the Honble Compy Service Do of 2 Do Do the Do Indent of Stores wanted at St Helena for the year 1756 Do of medicens & Druggs for the year Do List of remains of Stores taken from 12 Oct 1754 to the 30 April 1755 List of Gunners & Garrison Stores remaining the 30 April 1754 Sizes of Hooks Ship Lord Ansons Acct Do True Britons Do Do York's Do Do Exeters Do List of 10 men taken out of the French Ship called the East India Company	15: Abstract of the cargo of the ship Lord Anson 16: Ship Elizabeth's account 17: Cash account from 30 April to 11 May 1755 18: Cash account from 12 May to 3 June 1755 19: Abstract of the cargo of the ship Elizabeth 20: Abstract of the cargo of the ship True Briton 21: Abstract of the cargo of the ship York 22: Abstract of the cargo of the ship Colchester 23: List of eight men dismissed the Company's service 24: List of two men dismissed the Company's service 25: Indent of stores wanted at St Helena for the year 1756 26: Indent of medicines and drugs for the year 1756 27: List of remains of stores taken from 12 October 1754 to 30 April 1755 28: List of gunners and garrison stores remaining 30 April 1755 29: Sizes of hooks 30: Ship Lord Anson's account 31: Ship True Briton's account 32: Ship York's account 33: Ship Exeter's account 34: List of ten men taken out of the French ship called the East India Company
336	332	To the Honble Court &ca Honble Sirs Our last advices to you went by your Ship the Lord Anson that sailed from hence on the 5 instant with your Honors Ships the York, Elizabeth, & True Briton.	The Council addressed the Court of Directors. 1: The Council's last advices to the Court went by the Court's ship the *Lord Anson*, which sailed from the island on the 5th of the month in company with the Court's ships the *York*, *Elizabeth* and *True Briton*.

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		As many of your Ships have arived here this Season without having proper Boats to Water them, & to do other necessary heavy work, your Honors Long Boat have been greatly used for these purposes, which has done them much Damaged, as the Capts commonly keep them in use antill the Day of their sailing they cannot repair any hurt they may sustain in their service so that great part of your Carpenters time are taken up in mending them, besides our never having a good sound Boat, for your use, we therefore thought proper to acquaint you with this, that your Honors might give such Directions concering it, as you think proper. Mr James Scott late a Lieutenant in your Service here having wrote his friends that he has been so unlucky as not to have received either the first, or second Bill of Exchange Drawn on your Honors for £30 which was paid into your Cash here so long since as the 15 of Oct 1750, as you'll please to observe by our Consultation of that Day which we advised you of in our Letter of the 23 of Oct 1750 & accordingly made your Cash Dr for that Sum, And as the Lers in which these Bills went inclosed, were Directed for Mr Scott to be left at your Honors House in Leaden Hall Street Street, we presume they may be still lying there as we understand no body has yet applyed for the mony, the third	2: Since many of the Court's ships had arrived at the island this season without proper boats to water them, or to do other necessary heavy work, the Court's longboat had been greatly used for those purposes, which had done it much damage. Since the captains commonly kept them in use until the day of their sailing, they could not repair any hurt the boat sustained in their service, so that a great part of the Council's carpenters' time was taken up in mending it. Besides never having a good sound boat for the Court's use, the Council therefore thought proper to acquaint the Court with this, that the Court might give such directions concerning it as it thought proper. 3: Mr James Scott, late a lieutenant in the Court's service on the island, had written to his friends that he had been so unlucky as not to have received either the first or second bill of exchange drawn on the Court for £30 0s 0d, which was paid into the Court's cash on the island so long since as 15 October 1750, as the Court would see from the consultation of that day, of which the Council advised it in its letter of 23 October 1750. The Council had accordingly made the Court debtor for that sum. Since the letters in which these bills went enclosed were directed for Mr Scott to be left at the Court's house in Leadenhall Street, the Council presumed they might still be lying there, as it understood nobody had yet applied for the money. **Interpretations** The chronic wear on the island's longboat, taken up constantly by the calling ships that came without proper boats of their own and returned it damaged, exposes a real gap in the settlement's equipment for its function as a service station. A victualling island needed sound boats to water the shipping and do the heavy work of the road, yet its single craft was worn out in the ships' service and never free long enough to be repaired, so the carpenters' time was consumed in mending it and the Court's own work went undone, a want the Council laid plainly before London for remedy. The case of the missing £30 bills shows the vulnerability of the paper credit system to the ordinary failures of the post, a sum duly paid in and drawn for at St Helena never reaching the man it was meant for because the letters lay unclaimed at the Company's own house in London. The Council's careful tracing of the transaction through its dated consultations, to prove the money had been paid and the Court made debtor, marks how the whole machinery of remittance depended on documents that could go astray between the island and Leadenhall Street, leaving a servant unpaid though every entry stood correct.
337	333	third Bills is in our hands but as Mr Hunter who is since dead was one that signed it, we did not think it safe to send it, for fear it should miscarry There is now wanting to compleat your Honors Military establishment here 48 Men, & as the Times of several will expire before March next, & it is uncertain whether any of those may incline to relist, & some may Dye, we believe we shall want between 60 & 70 Men by the next Store Ship. We likewise beg leave to observe to you that there being upon your present establishment but one Drummer to each Company, there is not a sufficient number to do the Duty, as there are several out Guards	The third bill was in the Council's hands, but since Mr Hunter, who was since dead, was one who signed it, the Council did not think it safe to send it for fear it should miscarry. 4: The Court's military establishment on the island was now short by 48 men, and since the terms of several would expire before March next, and it was uncertain whether any of them would incline to re-enlist and some might die, the Council believed it would want between 60 and 70 men by the next store ship. Since there was on the present establishment but one drummer to each company, there was not a sufficient number to do the duty, several out-guards for officers being posted upon alarms who ought always to have a drummer with them. The Council therefore hoped the Court would be pleased to add another to every company. 5: Mr John Adamson had paid into the Court's cash on the island, on account of Augustine Balls deceased, the sum of £200 0s 0d, for which the

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		for Officers upon Alarms, who ought always to have a Drummer with them, we therefore hope you will be pleased to add another to every Company Mr John Adamson, hath paid, into your Cash here, on Account of Augustine Balls Deceased the Sum of £200 for which we have given him Bills of Exchange Drawn on your Honors, payable to himself or Order, ninety Days after sight Dated the 9 of June Mr John Goodwin applyed to us, to pay £85 into your Cash, which Sum we received, & have given him Bills of Exchange Drawn on your Honors payable to himself, or Order, 90 Days after sight Dated the 4 of June Mr Samuel Price likewise applyed to us to pay £36.15 into your Cash, which Sum we received & have given him Bills of Exchange drawn on your Honors payable to himself, or Order 90 Days after sight Dated the 9 of June	Council gave him bills of exchange drawn on the Court, payable to himself or his order ninety days after sight, dated the 5th of June. 5: Mr John Goodwin applied to the Council to pay £85 0s 0d into the Court's cash, which sum the Council received, and gave him bills of exchange drawn on the Court, payable to himself or his order ninety days after sight, dated the 5th of June. 6: Mr Samuel Price likewise applied to the Council to pay £36 15s 0d into the Court's cash, which sum the Council received, and gave him bills of exchange drawn on the Court, payable to himself or his order ninety days after sight, dated the 5th of June. **Interpretations** The persistent shortfall in the garrison, now 48 men short with more terms about to expire and a want of 60 or 70 foreseen by the next store ship, marks the standing weakness of a remote fortress dependent on distant recruitment. The drain of time-expired men who would not re-enlist, sharpened by the ordinary losses to death, kept the establishment perpetually below strength, so the Council's defence of the island rested on a supply of men from England that never quite matched the wastage, a difficulty that ran through the whole run of its correspondence. The particular request for a second drummer to each company shows how the practical conduct of the garrison's duty turned on details easily overlooked at a distance, the single drummer insufficient when out-guards had to be furnished on alarms, each needing a drummer of its own. In an age when the drum carried orders and signals across a body of men, the want of drummers was a real impediment to the working of the defence, so the Council pressed a small but concrete augmentation to make the establishment fit for its task. The disposal of the £200 belonging to the late Augustine Balls, paid into the cash by John Adamson and answered by bills, shows once more the Company's treasury serving to gather in the estate of a dead man and carry it home through its books. The routine settling of such sums, alongside the private remittances of Goodwin and Price on the same day, confirms how completely the island's cash had become the instrument by which both the estates of the dead and the fortunes of the living were moved across the ocean without any coin passing.
338	334	John Hensford who as we are informed was Armourer in your Honors Service at Bombay was left here by Capt Wills of the Elizabeth in a sickly, low condition, without any thing to subsist him altho it is said he had some goods of Value on board. Notwithstanding he had all the proper care taken of him he Died two Days after the Ship sailed, & leaving no Will, we shall sell the few effects he had with him in order to Discharge the expence of his funeral &ca as far as they will go, & transmit an Acct thereof to your Honors by the next opportunity We hope his majestys Ships of War will not rely upon this Island for an entire refreshment on their return for England for we fear we shall not be able to supply them with it, as we have reason to believe there will not be so many nor so large Cattle for Slaughter next Year, as there is been in this Your Honors Pastures, & Plantations are by the Acts	8: John Hensford, who the Council was informed had been armourer in the Court's service at Bombay, was left on the island by Captain Wills of the *Elizabeth* in a sickly, low condition, without anything to subsist him, although it was said he had some goods of value on board. Notwithstanding that he had all proper care taken of him, he died two days after the ship sailed, and, leaving no will, the Council would sell the few effects he had with him to discharge the expense of his funeral and so on, as far as they would go, and send home an account of it by the next opportunity. 9: The Council hoped His Majesty's ships of war would not rely upon the island for entire refreshment on their return to England, for it feared it would not be able to supply them with it, having reason to believe there would not be so many nor so large cattle for slaughter the next year as there had been in this. 10: The Court's pastures and plantations were, by the account of its several overseers, now in pretty good order, and the Council had the pleasure to report that there was at present a prospect of a good winter season.

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		of your several Overseers, now in pretty good Order, & we have the pleasure to acquaint you that there is at present a Prospect of a good Winter Season We transmit to you by this occasion three Court Marshalls that have been held here. and We are Honble Sirs St Helena 9 June 1755 Your most Obedt & most humble Servants (Signed) Charles Hutchinson John Adamson John Clark	By this conveyance the Council sent home three court martial records that had been held on the island. The letter was dated at St Helena on 9 June 1755, and signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson and John Clark. **Interpretations** The case of the dying armourer Hensford, put ashore penniless from the *Elizabeth* though said to have goods of value aboard, shows the island absorbing the human cost of the shipping that passed it, a sick man landed to die with the settlement left to bury him. The Council's recourse to selling his few effects to meet the charge of his funeral, and its intention to account for the small sum home, marks the careful bookkeeping it applied even to the poorest estate, a stranger's death handled with the same exactness as any larger matter so that no charge fell unrecorded on the Court. The Council's frank warning that the King's ships should not count on the island for full refreshment on their homeward passage, the cattle likely to be fewer and smaller the coming year, reflects the honest management of a victualling capacity that was never assured. St Helena's power to feed the shipping depended wholly on the season and the state of the stock, so rather than let the navy arrive expecting more than the island could give, the board set out the limit plainly, the same candour it showed over its grass and its provisions throughout the run. The transmission of three court martial records marks the island's new machinery of military justice actually at work, the courts the Court had lately empowered it to hold now having tried cases whose proceedings were sent home for review. The forwarding of the records to London shows the settlement's discipline brought within the formal legal framework of the King's service, the results of its trials submitted for the Court's oversight as the whole apparatus of statutory military law took hold on the remote garrison.
339	335	List of the Honble Companys Packet from St Helena p Ship Colchester Dated the 9 June 1755 Vizt Govr & Councils Genl Letter Dated the 9 June 1755 Dup Do Dated the 9 Do Do Consultation of the 9 June Do Dup Do from the 28 April to the 2 June Do List of Officers & Servants taken the 9 June Do Dup List of the Packet p Ship Lord Anson First receipt for the Do p Ship Do Second Do for the Do p Ship Onslow Do Bill of Lading p Ship Exeter Cash Acct from the 3 to the 11 June Do Dup Do from the 30 April to the 11 May Do Do Do from the 11 May to the 3 June Do List of 3 Men Dismissed the Honble Compy Service Dup Indent of Stores wanted at St Helena for the Year 1756 Do Do of Medicens & Druggs for the year Do Do List of remains of Stores taken from 12 Oct 1754 to 30 April 1755 Do of Gunner & Garrison Stores remaining the 30 April 1754 Do Ship Staffords Acct	The list of the Company's packet from St Helena by the ship *Colchester*, dated 9 June 1755, ran as follows. 1: Governor and Council's general letter dated 9 June 1755 2: Duplicate general letter dated 5 June 1755 3: Consultation of 5 June 1755 4: Duplicate consultations from 28 April to 2 June 1755 5: List of officers and servants taken 9 June 1755 6: Duplicate list of the packet by the ship Lord Anson 7: First receipt for the packet by the ship Lord Anson 8: Second receipt for the packet by the ship Onslow 9: Duplicate bill of lading of the ship Exeter 10: Cash account from 3 to 11 June 1755 11: Duplicate cash account from 30 April to 11 May 1755 12: Duplicate cash account from 11 May to 3 June 1755 13: List of three men dismissed the Company's service 14: Duplicate indent of stores wanted at St Helena for the year 1756 15: Duplicate indent of medicines and drugs for the year 1756 16: Duplicate list of remains of stores taken from 12 October 1754 to 30 April 1755 17: Duplicate list of gunner and garrison stores remaining 30 April 1755 18: Duplicate ship Stafford's account 19: Duplicate ship Elizabeth's account

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		Do Do Elizabeths Do Do Do Lord Ansons Do Do Do True Britons Do Do Do Yorks Do Do Do Exeters Do Ship Colchesters Do List of marriages &ca three Court Marshals	20: Duplicate ship Lord Anson's account 21: Duplicate ship True Briton's account 22: Duplicate ship York's account 23: Duplicate ship Exeter's account 24: Ship Colchester's account 25: List of marriages and so on 26: Three court martial records
340	336	To the Honble the Court &ca Honble Sirs We wrote to you last by your Ship the Colchester Capt Mainwaring that went from hence on the 9 instant On the 16 of this Month arived your Honors Ship the Winchelsea Capt Chrisr Baron who informs us that he sailed from Bengall the 7 of January, & from Madrass the 12 of March, & left all his Majestys Ship upon the Coast well having seen only one Ship on his Passage which was off the Cape under French colours The present Crane having been found to be in very bad, & much decayed, as you will please to observe by the report of Mr Bland & your Honors Master Carpenter in our Consultation of Monday last, we therefore herewith transmit to you a design of a new one, which we hope you will Direct to be sent by your next Store Ship as we are apprehensive that the old one cannot last above a year longer. Having been much in want of a Carpenters Mate since the Death of Thomas Cheesborough, & Tho Eastwood of your Ship the Winchelsea being willing to remain here in your Service in that Station, we therefore requested of Capt Baron to permit him to stay, which he readily agreed to, we therefore have entertained the said Eastwood at the Salary of £35 p Ann as we coud not prevail on him to take less wages. Having Sold the effects of John Hensford as you will please to observe by the Account Sales of them entered in our	The Council addressed the Court of Directors. 1: The Council's last letter to the Court went by the Court's ship the *Colchester* under Captain Mainwaring, which sailed from the island on the 9th of the month. 2: On the 16th of the month arrived the Court's ship the *Winchelsea* under Captain Christopher Baron, who reported that he sailed from Bengal on 7 January and from Madras on 12 March, and left all His Majesty's ships upon the coast well, having seen only one ship on his passage, which was off the Cape under French colours. 3: Since the present crane had been found to be in very bad and much decayed condition, as the Court would see from the report of Mr Bland and the Court's master carpenter in the consultation of the previous Monday, the Council sent home a design of a new one, which it hoped the Court would direct to be sent by the next store ship, being apprehensive that the old one could not last above a year longer. 4: Having been much in want of a carpenter's mate since the death of Thomas Cheesborough, and Mr Eastwood of the Court's ship the *Winchelsea* being willing to remain on the island in the Court's service in that station, the Council asked Captain Baron to permit him to stay, which he readily agreed to. The Council therefore engaged Eastwood at the salary of £35 0s 0d a year, as it could not prevail on him to take less wages. 5: Having sold the effects of John Hensford, as the Court would see from the account of sales entered in the consultation. **Interpretations** The failing crane, reported much decayed and unlikely to last another year, touched a vital piece of the island's working equipment, the machine by which the heavy stores and cargo were landed and shipped at the road. A victualling station could not do its business without the means to hoist weights between ship and shore, so the Council's prompt sending home of a design for a new one, against the day the old failed, marks its care to keep the essential apparatus of the port in being across the long interval that any replacement from England required. The retention of Eastwood from the *Winchelsea* to fill the vacant post of carpenter's mate shows once more the island's habit of recruiting the skilled hands it needed from the ships that called, a tested craftsman kept on the spot rather than waited for from England. The Council's inability to engage him for less than £35 a year reflects the bargaining power a scarce artificer held at so remote a place, where the want of skilled labour was chronic and a willing man could command his price, the settlement paying what it must to keep a trade it could not do without.
341	337	our Consultation of the 23 instant amounting to no more than £1.1.6 which is not sufficient to pay his funeral Charges, & other expences by £.10.2 p as your Honors will see by the Acct Currant entered in the same Consultation but as the late Hensford had some goods of Value on board the Elizabeth, of which we advised you in our Letter, we hope	The account of sales, entered in the consultation of the 23rd of the month, came to no more than £1 1s 6d, which was not sufficient to pay Hensford's funeral charges and other expenses by £0 10s 2d, as the Court would see from the account current entered in the same consultation. Since the late Hensford had some goods of value on board the *Elizabeth*, of which the Council advised the Court in its letter, it hoped the Court would be pleased to order the above sum to be stopped from his heirs or executors, so that the persons to whom it was owing

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		your Honors will be pleased to order the above Sum to be stoped from his Heirs or Executors that the persons to whom it is owing here may not be Deprived of their just Dues Frequent mischiefs & Thefts being committed in many parts of the Island, by a set of young fellows, that associate with the Blacks, to the great prejudice of peoples propertys, we beg leave to observe to your Honors that we find these crimes cannot be suppressed unless you are pleased to give us Authority, to inflict a more severe punishment on Offenders than only emprissoning and fining a White Man, & whiping a Black, when your Military here are now under the martial Law, & are liable to be tryed for their Lives, for a less crime than Sheep stealing, we therefore thought proper to lay this before you for your consideration as roberys encrease Daily Mr John Clark requested to Pay into your Cash the Sum of £40. we received it, & have given him Bills of Exchange Drawn on your Honors payable to himself or Order, 90 Days after sight Date the 23 instant Mr Tho Cooke applyed to us for liberty to Pay £64 into your Cash, we received it, and	on the island might not be deprived of their just dues. 6: Frequent mischiefs and thefts were being committed in many parts of the island by a set of young fellows who associated with the slaves, to the great prejudice of people's property. The Council found these crimes could not be suppressed unless the Court was pleased to give it authority to inflict a more severe punishment on offenders than only imprisoning and fining a white man, and whipping a slave. Since the soldiers on the island were now under martial law and liable to be tried for their lives for a lesser crime than sheep stealing, the Council thought proper to lay this before the Court for its consideration, as robberies increased daily. 7: Mr John Clark asked to pay into the Court's cash the sum of £40 0s 0d, which the Council received, and gave him bills of exchange drawn on the Court, payable to himself or his order ninety days after sight, dated the 23rd of the month. 8: Mr Thomas Cooke applied to the Council for leave to pay £64 0s 0d into the Court's cash, which the Council received. **Interpretations** The Council's plea for authority to punish the young thieves more severely rested on a sharp inconsistency it set plainly before the Court, that a soldier now stood liable to be tried for his life for an offence lighter than the sheep stealing that went about among the civil population barely checked. The garrison's subjection to martial law had created two standards of justice on one small island, the soldier under the harsh discipline of the Articles of War while the civilian offender faced only fine, imprisonment or the whip, so the board sought power to close a gap that left the graver depredations the more lightly answered. The pointed reference to the young fellows who associated with the slaves in their thefts touches the Council's persistent anxiety over the mixing of the free and the enslaved in wrongdoing, a combination it saw as corrosive of order and property alike. The existing penalties, drawn on a line between whipping a slave and fining a white man, were framed for a society kept in its ranks, so a shared criminality across that line found the law ill-fitted to answer it, and the Council pressed for a heavier hand where the ordinary distinctions of punishment failed to deter. The shortfall on Hensford's funeral, his few effects not even covering the cost of burying him, shows the island meeting the expense of a stranger's death and looking to recover it from goods he had left aboard the ship. The Council's request that the deficiency be stopped from his estate marks the same exact bookkeeping it applied to every such charge, unwilling that the local creditors who had buried the man should lose their due, and tracing the small debt to the property that might answer it wherever that property lay.
342	338	and have given him Bills of Exchange Drawn on your Honors payable to himself or Order, 90 Days after sight Dated the 23 instant Mr Thomas Kirkpatrick applyed to us for liberty to Pay £90 into your Cash we received it, & have given him Bills of Exchange Drawn on your Honors payable to himself or Order, 90 Days after sight Dated the 23 instant By this occasion we transmit to you the list of Cattle returned by the planters for Slaughter for the Service of	The Council gave Mr Cooke bills of exchange drawn on the Court, payable to himself or his order ninety days after sight, dated the 23rd of the month. 9: Mr Thomas Kirkpatrick applied to the Council for leave to pay £90 0s 0d into the Court's cash, which the Council received, and gave him bills of exchange drawn on the Court, payable to himself or his order ninety days after sight, dated the 23rd of the month. 10: By this conveyance the Council sent home the list of cattle returned by the planters for slaughter for the service of the current year, added to its consultation of the 23rd of the month. From it the Court would see how each person had supplied the market, the Company's own ships and the foreign

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		the present year, which is annexed to our Consultation of the 23 of this Month by which you will see in what manner each Person has supplyed the Market, your own, & foreign Ships which we hope will meet with your Honors approbation There are now, & have been for a long time past great number of Rats & mice in the Long wood, which have done, & still continue to do so much Damage to the young Trees upon the Horse point, by barking of them, that a vast quantity have already died, & many more we apprehend must soon Perish, We have however the pleasure to acquaint your Honors that your Pastures, & Plantations are in very good order This waits on you by your Honors Ship the Winchelsea Capt Chrisr Baron. Weare Honorable Sirs St Helena 29 June 1755 Your most Obedient & most humble Servants (Signed) Charles Hutchinson John Adamson John Clark	ships, which the Council hoped would meet the Court's approval. 11: There were now, and had been for a long time past, a great number of rats and mice in the Long Wood, which had done, and still continued to do, so much damage to the young trees on the Horse Point by barking them that a vast quantity had already died, and the Council feared many more must soon perish. It had, however, the pleasure to report that the Court's pastures and plantations were in very good order. The letter went to the Court by the Court's ship the *Winchelsea* under Captain Christopher Baron. The letter was dated at St Helena on 29 June 1755, and signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson and John Clark. **Interpretations** The infestation of rats and mice destroying the young trees at Horse Point by gnawing their bark exposes the fragility of the island's efforts to renew its woodland, the plantations on which its timber and the protection of its soil depended eaten away by vermin. The felling of the mountains and the washing of the earth had long troubled the settlement, so the loss of young trees to a plague of rodents struck at a slow and vital work of recovery, a natural check the Council could report but scarcely remedy, set against the better news of its pastures. The list of cattle returned by the planters for slaughter, distinguishing what each supplied to the Company's ships and to the foreigners, marks the continued regulation of the beef trade that lay at the heart of the island's function. The careful recording of every planter's contribution, sent home for the Court's approval, kept the meat supply under the board's eye against the competing demands of the fleet and the foreign vessels, the ordering of who sold what and to whom the essential business of a victualling station whose whole value turned on its power to feed the passing ships.
343	339	List of the Honorable Companys Packet from St Helena p Ship Winchelsea Dated the 29 of June 1755 Vizt Govr & Councils General Letter Dated the 29 June 1755 Dup Do Dated the 10 Do Do Consultations from the 16 to the 23 Do Do Dup Do of the 9 June Do List of Officers & Servants taken the 29 June Do Dup List of the Packet p Ship Colchester First receipt for the Do p Ship Do Second Do Do p Do Lord Anson Cash Acct from the 12 to the 29 June Do Dup Do from the 6 to the 10 Do Do Ship Winchelseas Account Dup Ship Colchesters Do Abstract of the Cargo of Ship Winchelsea Cash Acct of the 11 of June Plan of the Crance	The list of the Company's packet from St Helena by the ship *Winchelsea*, dated 29 June 1755, ran as follows. 1: Governor and Council's general letter dated 29 June 1755 2: Duplicate general letter dated 10 June 1755 3: Consultations from 16 to 23 June 1755 4: Duplicate consultation of 9 June 1755 5: List of officers and servants taken 29 June 1755 6: Duplicate list of the packet by the ship Colchester 7: First receipt for the packet by the ship Colchester 8: Second receipt for the packet by the ship Lord Anson 9: Cash account from 12 to 29 June 1755 10: Duplicate cash account from 6 to 10 June 1755 11: Ship Winchelsea's account 12: Duplicate ship Colchester's account 13: Abstract of the cargo of the ship Winchelsea 14: Cash account of 11 June 1755 15: Plan of the crane
344	340	To the Honble the Court &ca Honble Sirs We wrote last to you by your Honors Ship the Winchelsea Capt Chrisr Baron that saild from hence on the 29 of last Month On the 13, 17 & 23 instant arived your Ships the Egmont Prince Henry, & Shaftesbury, Capt Folson requaints us	The Council addressed the Court of Directors. The Council's last letter to the Court went by the Court's ship the *Winchelsea* under Captain Christopher Baron, which sailed from the island on the 29th of the last month. On the 13th, 17th and 23rd of the month arrived the Court's ships the *Egmont*, *Prince Henry* and *Shaftesbury*. Captain Tolson reported that he sailed from Bengal on 11 March and got round the Cape

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		that he saild from Bengall the 8 of march & got around the Cape the 27 of June having seen no Ship in his Passage; the other two Commanders Best & Bookey informs us that they left Bombay the 25 of february in Company with the Guardian, & on the 15 of march the Bombay Gralb hailed by them as they lay in Onore Road, with the London Capt Alwright for Bombay which Ship they beleive will be Dispatched for England from the Mallabar Coast. They likewise tell us that one Portuguise, one French and two English Country Ships also passed them bound up the Coast. the Captains further acquaint us that they spoke with Capt Robinson of the St George on the 20 of march bound for Surat, & from thence was to go for China, & that on the 31 of the same month they spoke with Capt Debuke of the Anson from Bengall for Bombay, but they beleive She will be stoped at Tillichery & loaded from thence for England. Capt Bookey further tells us that he saw a Ship on the 7 of May standing to the Westward, on the 15 of June spoke with a French Ship bound to Bengall, & the 18 of July he saw another Ship, standing to the Eastward We think proper to inform your Honors that there came no rollers with the last Streits for the Soldiers	on 27 June, having seen no ship on his passage. The other two commanders, Best and Bockey, reported that they left Bombay on 25 February in company with the *Guardian*, and that on 15 March the *Bombay Grab* hailed them as they lay in Onore road, with the *London* under Captain Alwright for Bombay, which ships they believed would be dispatched for England from the Malabar coast. They also reported that one Portuguese, one French and two English country ships passed them bound up the coast. The captains further reported that they spoke with Captain Robinson of the *St George* on 20 March, bound for Surat and from there to go for China, and that on the 31st of the same month they spoke with Captain Debuke of the *Anson* from Bengal for Bombay, but believed she would be stopped at Tellicherry and loaded from there for England. Captain Bockey also reported that he saw a ship on 7 May standing to the westward, on 15 June spoke with a French ship bound for Bengal, and on 18 July saw another ship standing to the eastward. The Council thought proper to report that no rollers came with the last shirts for the soldiers. **Interpretations** The dense report of ships met, spoken with and passed along the whole western coast, from the Bombay road down to the pepper ports and out into the ocean, gave the Council a detailed picture of the season's shipping assembled from the accounts of three incoming commanders. Each vessel's position and destination, whether Company, country, Portuguese or French, added to a running record of the eastern trade, exactly the intelligence a mid-ocean station gathered as its ships called, letting the board reckon what shipping would follow and prepare against its coming. The mention that the shirts for the soldiers came without their rollers, a small want noted at the letter's turn, illustrates the exactness with which the island tracked the completeness of its supplies from England. A garment sent short of its accompanying parts was a defect worth reporting across the whole distance to London, for at so remote a place a missing item could not be made good until another supply came, and the Council left no shortfall in its stores unrecorded so that the Court might set the next shipment right.
345	341	& that the Shirts are Invoiced at 4 each more than they were the last Year, when they had rollers with them, & as the Garrison cannot do without them we shall therefore be obliged to buy Linnen for that purpose if we can meet with any that is fit We transmit to you a set of muster Rolls for the Do ending the 11 instant, seperate from the usual List of Servants, where the Companys have been constantly entered, being Desirous to know which of these two ways your Honors will be pleased to approve of We cannot send your Honors by this occasion a state of your Cash to a later date than the 26 of June as the last Do Acct ending the 11 instant will not in due Course be laid before us untill to Morrow This waits upon you by your Ship the Prince Henry, which will be followed in about a week by your Honors Ships the Egmont, & Shaftesbury Weare Honble Sirs St Helena 27 July 1755 Your &ca	The shirts were also invoiced at fourpence each more than they were the previous year, when they had rollers with them. Since the garrison could not do without them, the Council would be obliged to buy linen for that purpose if it could meet with any that was fit. The Council sent home a set of muster rolls for the quarter ending on the 11th of the month, separate from the usual list of servants in which the Company's people had been constantly entered, being desirous to know which of these two ways the Court would be pleased to approve. The Council could not send the Court by this conveyance a state of its cash to a later date than 26 June, as the last quarter's account ending on the 11th of the month would not in due course be laid before it until the following day. The letter went to the Court by the Court's ship the *Prince Henry*, to be followed in about a week by the Court's ships the *Egmont* and *Shaftesbury*. The letter was dated at St Helena on 27 July 1755, and signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson and John Clark. **Interpretations** The complaint that the shirts came both without their rollers and dearer by fourpence than the year before, when the rollers had been included, shows the Council holding the Court's supply to a careful

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		(Signed) Charles Hutchinson John Adamson John Clark	reckoning of value as well as completeness. A higher price for a less complete article was a double fault worth setting down, for at so remote a place the garrison had no choice but to make good the want by buying linen where it could, so the board pressed the point that it was being charged more for less, the exactness of its accounting extended to the very quality of the bargain. The Council's submission of muster rolls in a new form, set beside the accustomed list of servants and the Court asked which it preferred, marks the settlement seeking direction on a point of administrative practice rather than deciding it alone. The muster roll had a particular weight in the wake of the old frauds, when fictitious names carried on the rolls had cheated the Company, so the manner of keeping and rendering the record was no trifling matter, and the board's request for the Court's approval of the format shows the care taken that the very shape of the accounts should answer London's wishes.
346	342	List of the Honble Companys Packet from St Helena p Ship Prince Henry Dated the 27 July 1755 Vizt Govr & Councils Genl Letr Dated the 27 July 1755 Dup Do Dated the 29 June Do Consultations from the 30 June to the 27 July Do Dup Do from the 16 to the 23 Do Do List of Officers & Servants taken the 27 July Do Dup Do of the Packet p Ship Winchelsea First receipt for the Do p Do Do Second Do for the Do p Do Colchester Dup Cash Acct of the 11 of June Do Do Do from the 12 to the 29 of June Do Ship Prince Henrys Acct Dup Do Winchelseas Do Abstract of the Cargo of Ship Prince Henry Do of the Do of Do Egmont Do of the Do of Do Shaftesbury Set of muster Rolls for the Do ending the 11 instant Court martial	The list of the Company's packet from St Helena by the ship *Prince Henry*, dated 27 July 1755, ran as follows. 1: Governor and Council's general letter dated 27 July 1755 2: Duplicate general letter dated 29 June 1755 3: Consultations from 30 June to 27 July 1755 4: Duplicate consultations from 16 to 23 June 1755 5: List of officers and servants taken 27 July 1755 6: Duplicate list of the packet by the ship Winchelsea 7: First receipt for the packet by the ship Winchelsea 8: Second receipt for the packet by the ship Colchester 9: Duplicate cash account of 11 June 1755 10: Duplicate cash account from 12 to 29 June 1755 11: Ship Prince Henry's account 12: Duplicate ship Winchelsea's account 13: Abstract of the cargo of the ship Prince Henry 14: Abstract of the cargo of the ship Egmont 15: Abstract of the cargo of the ship Shaftesbury 16: Set of muster rolls for the quarter ending 11 July 1755 17: Court martial record
347	343	To the Honorable the Court &ca Honble Sirs We wrote to you last by your Ship the Prince Henry that sailed from hence on the 27 of July Having Sold the effects of Thomas Cheesborough your Honors Carpenters mate, who died intestate, in order to pay his Debts, the Acct Sales & Acct Currant are entered in our Consultation of the 28 of last Month, by which your Honors will see there is a Balance remaining of eight Shillings which we have received into your Cash, & Ordered the same to be wrote off to Acct Currant London The Ground where the new Barracks are to be raised is now almost leveled, but we are sorry to acquaint your Honors that as we have not yet received the 30 Men Slaves you were pleased to order to be sent us from madrass we shall not be able to carry on the rest of the Work, unless we hire	The Council addressed the Court of Directors. 1: The Council's last letter to the Court went by the Court's ship the *Prince Henry*, which sailed from the island on 27 July. 2: Having sold the effects of Thomas Cheesborough, the Court's carpenter's mate, who died intestate, the Council entered the account of sales and the account current in its consultation of the 28th of the last month, to pay his debts. From it the Court would see there was a balance remaining of eight shillings, which the Council received into the Court's cash and ordered to be written off to account current at London. 3: The ground where the new barracks were to be built was now almost levelled, but the Council was sorry to report that, since it had not yet received the 30 slaves the Court had been pleased to order sent from Madras, it would not be able to carry on the rest of the work unless it hired soldiers until they arrived. 4: Having mentioned to the Court in a former letter that it was apprehensive there would not be so many, nor so large, cattle for slaughter the next year as there had been in this, and being now pretty well convinced of it. **Interpretations**

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		Soldiers untill they Arrive. Having mentioned to your Honors in a former Letter that we were apprehensive there would not be so many, nor so large Cattle for Slaughter the next Year as there has been in this, and being now pretty well convinced	The stalling of the barracks work for want of the thirty slaves promised from Madras shows how completely the island's public building depended on a supply of forced labour that had to come from the Company's other stations. The ground was ready but could not be built upon, so the Council faced the choice of hiring soldiers to carry on until the slaves arrived, the whole progress of the works held hostage to a distant shipment that had not come, the same chronic want of hands that checked every undertaking on the island. The winding-up of Cheesborough's estate, a dead servant's effects sold to clear his debts and the trifling balance of eight shillings carried into the Court's cash, illustrates once more the exact bookkeeping the Council applied to the smallest sums. Even a residue of a few shillings from an intestate's goods was not left loose but formally entered and written off to London, the same orderly administration extended to the least estate as to the greatest, so that nothing fell unaccounted between the island and the Court.
348	344	convinced of it we think it necessary to acquaint you that we beleive the Island cannot supply his majestys Ships should they touch here in their Way from India with any Beef, without running the resque of Distressing your own. We have the satisfaction to inform your Honors that your Pastures & Plantations are in as good order as can be expected, considering the Weather, which has not been so wet as is requeste, and as we wish it to be. This waits on your Honors by your Ship the Egmont that sails in Company with your Ship the Shaftesbury which with the rest of your Ships that have already past us we hope to hear will arrive safe Weare Honble Sirs St Helena 3 August 1755 Your most Obedt & most humble Servts (Signed) Charles Hutchinson John Adamson John Clark	Being now pretty well convinced of it, the Council thought it necessary to report that it believed the island could not supply His Majesty's ships, should they touch at it on their way from India, with any beef, without running the risk of distressing the Court's own. 5: The Council had the satisfaction to report that the Court's pastures and plantations were in as good order as could be expected, considering the weather, which had not been so wet as was needful, and as the Council wished it to be. 6: The letter went to the Court by the Court's ship the *Egmont*, which sailed in company with the Court's ship the *Shaftesbury*. The Council hoped these, with the rest of the Court's ships that had already passed the island, would arrive safe. The letter was dated at St Helena on 3 August 1755, and signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson and John Clark. **Interpretations** The Council's plain warning that the island could not furnish beef to the King's ships without distressing the Company's own supply exposes the strain that the wartime traffic of the Royal Navy placed on a settlement whose provisioning was never assured. St Helena existed to victual the Company's shipping, so the added demand of the King's ships passing homeward from India threatened to exhaust a capacity the dry season had already narrowed, and rather than promise more than it could give, the board set out the limit candidly, guarding the Company's fleet against a shortfall the navy's needs would cause. The qualified report of the pastures, in good order but wanting the wet the Council wished for, reflects the constant dependence of the island's whole worth on a weather it could not command. The grass that fed the cattle, and so the beef that fed the fleet, rose or failed with the rains, so a season less wet than was needful was a matter of real concern reported even amid better news, the settlement's fortunes bound to a climate whose want or plenty determined how far it could serve the shipping that was its reason for being.
349	345	List of the Honble Companys Packet from St Helena p Ship Egmont Dated the 3 August 1755 Vizt Govr & Councils Genl Letr Dated the 3 August 1755 Dup Do Dated the 27 July Do Consultation of the 28 July	The list of the Company's packet from St Helena by the ship *Egmont*, dated 3 August 1755, ran as follows. 1: Governor and Council's general letter dated 3 August 1755 2: Duplicate general letter dated 27 July 1755 3: Consultation of 28 July 1755

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		Do Dup Do from the 30 of June to the 27 July Do List of Officers & Servants taken the 3 August Do Dup List of the Packet p Ship Prince Henry First receipt for the Do p Do Do Second Do for the Do p Do Winchelsea Ship Egmonts Acct Do Shaftesburys Do Dup Do P Henrys Do List of 3 men Dismissed the Honble Companys Service Cash Acct from 29 June to the 11 July Do from 12 July to the 3 August List of marriages &ca	4: Duplicate consultations from 30 June to 27 July 1755 5: List of officers and servants taken 3 August 1755 6: Duplicate list of the packet by the ship Prince Henry 7: First receipt for the packet by the ship Prince Henry 8: Second receipt for the packet by the ship Winchelsea 9: Ship Egmont's account 10: Ship Shaftesbury's account 11: Duplicate ship Prince Henry's account 12: List of three men dismissed the Company's service 13: Cash account from 29 June to 11 July 1755 14: Cash account from 12 July to 3 August 1755 15: List of marriages and so on
350	346	To the Honble the Court &ca Honble Sirs. Our last Letter to you went by your Honors Ship the Egmont Capt Thomas Folson, that sailed from hence on the 3 August 1755 On the 25 of January, arived your Ship the Hardwicke Captain John Samson, who says he Sailed from Bengall for Madrass the 25 of September last, and arived there the 12 of October following and that the day before all his Majestys Ships under the command of Admiral Watson went from thence for Bombay The Captain further informs us that he lift madrass the 28 of October, and saw nothing on his Passage except one Dutch Ship off Ceylon, bound for Suiat, untill he arived at the Cape, which was on the 26 of December, where he found riding six Dutch Ships, and one French from Pondichevry bound for Europe the Captain further says that a French Ship, outward bound Sailed from thence, a few days before he arived He also acquaints us that another French Ship came into the Cape Habour on the 3 of January with her crew in a very Sickly condition, and had received much damage by Lighting, that happened on the 28 of December, and that there Died in about four minths at the Cape upwards of two thousand five hundred people with the small Pox, Captain Samson also tells us that your Honors Ships of last Season, including the Eastcourt and Duke of Dorset were all safe arived in India, and that Captain James, of the Protector and a body of Marattoes had taken	The Council addressed the Court of Directors. The Council's last letter to the Court went by the Court's ship the *Egmont* under Captain Thomas Tolson, which sailed from the island on 3 August 1755. On the 25th of January arrived the Court's ship the *Hardwicke* under Captain John Samson, who reported that he sailed from Bengal for Madras on 25 September and arrived there on 12 October following, and that the day before, all His Majesty's ships under the command of Admiral Watson went from there for Bombay. The captain further reported that he left Madras on 28 October, and saw nothing on his passage except one Dutch ship off Ceylon bound for Surat, until he arrived at the Cape, which was on 20 December. There he found riding six Dutch ships and one French from Pondicherry bound for Europe. The captain also reported that a French outward-bound ship had sailed from there five days before he arrived. He further reported that another French ship came into the Cape harbour on 3 January with her crew in a very sickly condition, having received much damage by lightning on 28 December, and that there died at the Cape in about four months upwards of two thousand five hundred people of the smallpox. Captain Samson also reported that the Court's ships of the past season, including the *Eastcourt* and *Duke of Dorset*, had all arrived safe in India, and that Captain James of the *Protector*, with a body of Marathas, had taken part of a place. **Interpretations** The report of upwards of two thousand five hundred deaths from smallpox at the Cape in about four months conveys the scale of epidemic mortality that could seize a refreshment station on the sea route, a disaster of real weight for a place on which the passing ships depended for their health and supply. That such intelligence was carried to St Helena as a matter of course shows how the two southern stations kept one another informed of the perils of the passage, disease among them, so the island learned of a calamity at its counterpart port through the ordinary traffic of shipping. The account of Captain James of the *Protector* acting with a body of Marathas marks the alliance between the Company's forces and the Maratha power against their common enemies on the western coast, the same combination the earlier letters had described forming against Angria. The joining of a Company ship's company with an Indian army in the taking of a place shows how far the struggle for the coast had drawn the Company into the politics and warfare of the country powers, its captains now leading in operations alongside native allies.

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351	347	taken several forts from Angria Your Ship the Griffin arived the 31 of January and sailed the 10 of February last having had all the assistance that we coud possibly give to expedite her the Orders we then received from your Honors shall be strictly obeyed, and we shall answer your Letter by the first proper opportunity. On the 8 instant arived a Swedish Ship from China called the Prince Charles Capt George Elphinston, burthen about 950 Tons, carrys 34 Guns, and 140 men bound to Gothenburgh London with Teas, China Ware, and Silks, the Captain and Gentlemen belonging to her acquaints us they left Canton the 4 of December, & that your Honors Ships the Drake Capt Fisher the Prince of Wales Capt Scot the Rhoda Capt Macnamara and the Kent Capt Wilson, were to leave it the day after and that the Prince George Capt Joddrell the Warren Capt Glover, and the Brittania Capt Norway were to sail from thence the last of December That the Bombay Castle Capt Brown did not arive there untill the 2 of December, but would be Despatched the middle of January, the Holderness Capt Court was Loaded at Limpoe, the St George under the Command of the second Mate proceeded in November for Bengall, Capt Robinson and the chief having died the 23 July at Canton We are likewise informd there were 11 English 4 French, 2 Swedish, 2 Prussians, 1 Dane, 1 Portuguise and 5 Dutch Ship at China the last Season Yesterday arived the London Capt Alwright from Bengall who acquaints us he sailed from thence the 10 of December and left the Eastcourt Capt Evans there and	Captain James had taken several forts from Angria. The Court's ship the *Griffin* arrived on 31 January and sailed on 10 February, having had all the assistance the Council could possibly give to expedite her. The orders the Council then received from the Court would be strictly obeyed, and it would answer the Court's letter by the first proper opportunity. On the 8th of the month arrived a Swedish ship from China called the *Prince Charles* under Captain George Elphinstone, of about 950 tons burthen, carrying 34 guns and 140 men, bound for Gothenburg and London with tea, chinaware and silks. The captain and gentlemen belonging to her reported that they left Canton on 4 December, and that the Court's ships the *Drake* under Captain Fisher, the *Prince of Wales* under Captain Scott, the *Rhoda* under Captain Macnamara and the *Kent* under Captain Wilson were to leave it the day after. They also reported that the *Prince George* under Captain Goddrell, the *Warren* under Captain Glover and the *Britannia* under Captain Norway were to sail from there the last of December, that the *Bombay Castle* under Captain Brown did not arrive there until 2 December but would be dispatched the middle of January, and that the *Holdernesse* under Captain Court was loaded at Limpo. The *St George*, under the command of the second mate, proceeded in November for Bengal, Captain Robinson and the chief mate having died on 23 July at Canton. The Council was also informed that there were eleven English, four French, two Swedish, two Prussian, one Danish, one Portuguese and five Dutch ships at China the past season. The previous day arrived the *London* under Captain Alwright from Bengal, who reported that he sailed from there on 10 December and left the *Eastcourt* under Captain Evans there. **Interpretations** The taking of several forts from Angria, following the earlier account of the attack on his fleet, marks the turning of the campaign against the Maratha admiral whose grabs and galivats had so long menaced the western coast. The reduction of his strongholds by the combined Company and Maratha force was the object toward which the earlier reports had pointed, so this intelligence carried the resolution of a threat that had run through the whole run of the correspondence, the sea power that preyed on the coast's shipping at last being broken. The tally of ships of eight nations at China the past season, eleven English against the vessels of France, Sweden, Prussia, Denmark, Portugal and the Dutch, gives a measure of the crowded international competition for the China trade in which the Company was but one contender among many. Such an account, gathered from a passing Swedish commander, shows the value the Council placed on knowing the scale of its rivals' presence at Canton, the strength of each nation's shipping there a matter of commercial intelligence carried home through the ordinary calls at the island.
352	348	and that it was imagind she would sail in about a month after him the Duke of Dorset was to go from thence about the 25 of January, but it was not Determined whether to the malabar Coast or not. That the St George was not arived from China, nor the Denham Capt Meard from the Negreas, nor had the Country Ship that was sent from madrass in August last to relieve him	Captain Alwright reported that it was imagined the *Eastcourt* would sail about a month after him. The *Duke of Dorset* was to go from there about 25 January, but it was not determined whether to the Malabar coast or not. He reported that the *St George* was not arrived from China, nor the *Denham* under Captain Meard from the Negrais, and that neither the country ship sent from Madras the previous August to relieve him had been heard of since. He further reported that the *Anson* under Captain Debuke had sailed from Bengal for Bencoolen the beginning of December to fill up with pepper, and

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		been since heard of. He further informs us that the Anson Capt Debute sailed from Bengall for Bencoolen the beginning of December to fill up with Pepper, and that he went two Dutch Ships the 26 of February last off the Cape and that the Commander of one of them acquainted him he left two English Ships in Table Bay, one of which was outward bound, and as well as he coud understand the Dutch Capt that he spoke to he supposes to have been the Delawar Capt Winder, He further says that there were certain Accounts of the Arrival of your Honors Ship the Dragon at Bombay but there was no news of the Doddington when he left India This waits on your Honors by the beforementioned Sweedish Ship, the chief Supracargoe of which says he is resolved to touch at Dover Weare Honble Sirs Your most obedient and most humble Servants Signed St Helena 11 March 1756 Charles Hutchinson John Adamson John Clark	that he went with two Dutch ships on 26 February off the Cape. The commander of one of them told him that he left two English ships in Table Bay, one of which was outward-bound, and, as well as he could understand the Dutch captain he spoke to, he supposed her to have been the *Delaware* under Captain Winder. He also reported that there were certain accounts of the arrival of the Court's ship the *Dragon* at Bombay, but there was no news of the *Doddington* when he left India. The letter went to the Court by the Swedish ship, whose chief supercargo reported that he was resolved to touch at Dover. The letter was dated at St Helena on 11 March 1756, and signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson and John Clark. **Interpretations** The Council's decision to send its letter home by a foreign vessel, the Swedish ship whose supercargo meant to touch at Dover, shows the settlement making use of whatever conveyance offered to reach London when no Company ship was to hand. The correspondence had to go by the readiest means, so a neutral trader bound for England served to carry the packet, the island's communication with the Court dependent on the passing shipping of any nation whose course would bring the letters home. The uncertainty over several vessels, the *St George* not arrived, the *Denham* not heard of and the relief ship from Madras vanished, together with the pointed absence of news of the *Doddington*, conveys the anxiety that attended the fate of ships on the long and hazardous eastern passage. A vessel overdue or unaccounted for was a standing worry, for the sea took its toll and word travelled slowly, so the Council's careful noting of which ships were and were not heard of reflects how much the safety of the Company's shipping weighed on a station that watched them come and go.
353	349	To the Honble the Court &ca Honble Sirs We wrote last to your Honors by the Sweedish Ship, called the Prince Charles that sailed from hence on the 11 of March 1756 On the 31 of January arrived your Ship the Griffin Capt Tho Dethick from England, by whom we received a Packet from your Honors, & your Letter enclosed therein; We are glad to find that our several advices of last Year came safe to your hands It gives us much pleasure to hear that your Honors Ships from the East Indies last Season got all of them well home We hope the Ship Doddington which you sent to the Coast & Bay, & to remain in India will answer your purpose, & we shall take care to supply your Honors own Ship the Dragon, with refreshments in case She should be sent to England again, if She touches here, in her way home By the List you were pleased to send us we have seen the times of the Departure of your Ships last Year, & we hope they will be successful & return safe We thank your Honors for the List of Ships that you have thought proper to take in your Service for carrying on your Trade this Season	The Council addressed the Court of Directors. The Council's last letter to the Court went by the Swedish ship called the *Prince Charles*, which sailed from the island on 11 March 1756. 1: On the 31st of January arrived the Court's ship the *Griffin* under Captain Thomas Dethick from England, by whom the Council received a packet from the Court and its letter enclosed. The Council was glad to find that its several advices of the previous year came safe to the Court. 2: It gave the Council much pleasure to hear that the Court's ships from the East Indies the past season all got well home. 3: The Council hoped the ship *Doddington*, which the Court sent to the coast and bay to remain in India, would answer its purpose, and it would take care to supply the Court's own ship the *Dragon* with refreshments in case she should be sent to England again, if she touched at the island on her way home. 4: By the list the Court had been pleased to send, the Council had seen the times of the departure of the Court's ships the previous year, and hoped they would be successful and return safe. 5: The Council thanked the Court for the list of ships it had thought proper to take into its service for carrying on its trade this season. **Interpretations** The Council's reference to the *Doddington*, sent to remain in India, touches a vessel whose name would soon become notorious for her wreck on the African coast, though at this date the board knew only that she had been dispatched to the eastern waters and hoped she would answer her purpose. The routine mention shows the island tracking the deployment of the Company's ships as a matter of course, the fate of a particular vessel not yet known but her

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			assignment noted as part of the running account of where the Company's shipping was bound. The exchange of lists between the Court and the Council, the departures of the past year sent out and acknowledged, the ships taken into service for the coming season notified and thanked for, marks the orderly two-way flow of shipping intelligence that bound the island to London. The settlement needed to know what vessels to expect and when, so the Court's lists let it anticipate its traffic, while its own reports of arrivals and sailings completed the Court's picture, the whole a continuous reckoning of the movement of the Company's fleet across the world.
354	350	The Governor begs leave to assure your Honors that the Directions he has, received or shall receive from the Secret committee shall be very strictly attended to, & executed, we observe it is composed of Roger Drake Peter Godfrey, Chris: Burrow, John Payne & Jones Raymond Esqrs for this Season. As you have been pleased to send the Griffin here in her way for China in order to bring as large a part of the materials that we indented for, for Building an Hosspital, & new Barracks & likewise as much Ammunition, & other military Store, as she coud well take in. We hope there will be room enough in the Oxford to take on board the remainder According to your Directions we gave Capt Dethick all the assistance we possibly coud in unloading the Griffin, which was done within the Charterparty time, We gave him his Orders to proceed to China agreeable to the instructions he had received from your Honors, & the Secret Committee; he sailed from hence on the 19 of February If the Capt had been in the least Delitory we should have protested against him. As we may reasonably expect the Oxford to arive soon we shall take care to be in readiness, to give her all the assistance we can in getting on Shore the Stores that are Consigned to us by her & give the Commander his Dispatchis as usual. We must beg leave to observe to you that if his majestys Fleet should come here for a supply of fresh provisions & their Demands should be large, it will be imposable for your own Ships to have the quantity usually required by them, even if the Foreigners should not be allowed to have any, and we shall	6: The Governor reported that the directions he had received or should receive from the Secret Committee would be very strictly attended to and executed. The Council noted that the committee was composed of Roger Drake, Peter Godfrey, Christopher Burrow, John Payne and Jones Raymond Esq for this season. 7: Since the Court had been pleased to send the *Griffin* to the island on her way to China, to bring as large a part of the materials the Council had indented for, for building a hospital and new barracks, and also as much ammunition and other military stores as she could well take in, the Council hoped there would be room enough in the *Oxford* to take on board the remainder. 8: According to the Court's directions, the Council gave Captain Dethick all the assistance it possibly could in unloading the *Griffin*, which was done within the charter party time. It gave him his orders to proceed to China, agreeable to the instructions he had received from the Court and the Secret Committee, and he sailed from the island on 19 February. 9: If the captain had been in the least dilatory, the Council would have protested against him. 10: Since the Council could reasonably expect the *Oxford* to arrive soon, it would take care to be in readiness to give her all the assistance it could in getting ashore the stores consigned to it by her, and give the commander his dispatches as usual. 11: The Council thought proper to report that, if His Majesty's fleet should come to the island for a supply of fresh provisions and their demands should be large, it would be impossible for the Court's own ships to have the quantity usually required by them, even if the foreigners should not be allowed to have any. **Interpretations** The Governor's renewed undertaking to obey the Secret Committee, with the naming of its five members for the season, underlines the special channel the Company kept for its gravest wartime instructions, a small body whose changing membership the island was told so that its chief servant should know whose orders bound him. In a time of war the routing of the most sensitive directions through this committee, apart from the general correspondence, marks the Company's care to keep its strategic dealings confidential, the Governor's acknowledgement of the committee's authority a standing feature of the wartime letters. The Council's repeated warning that the King's fleet, if it came in force for provisions, would exhaust a supply insufficient even for the Company's own ships, presses the same anxiety through the run of the correspondence. The island's victualling capacity was fixed by its pasture and stock and could not be stretched to meet a large naval demand, so the board set out the hard limit plainly, that even barring the foreigners entirely there would not be enough, guarding the Company's shipping against a

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			shortfall the navy's needs would bring on a station never able to supply beyond its narrow means. The dispatch of the *Griffin* to China within her charter party time, with the Council's note that it would have protested had the captain delayed, shows the continued enforcement of the fixed lading terms the board had long pressed the Court to write into its contracts. A ship was held to her allotted days and then sent forward on the Company's wider business, the threat of a protest the instrument by which the island held a master to the term, the same discipline over shipping that ran through the whole correspondence.
355	351	shall take care, as we always have done, that all foreign Ships be supplyed as sparingly as posible. We are sorry that you are Displeased at our granting the last year to the French Ship called the East India Company so large a supply but Mr Godeheu the French Kings Commissary & Governor General of the French Settlements in India, was so pressing, & at the same time telling us that several of your own Ships, have received very kind treatment at the French Islands & three very lately, the Anson, Scarborough & Dragon were supplyed in preference to themselves, & that he must go some where else for a supply, before he coud proceed for France, & we apprehending from his dispatch that your Honors woud be acquainted with some circumstances with regard to your Trade, which you woud be glad to know as soon as posible was our reason for suffering him to be supplyed so largely. We are glad to find that our conduct in demanding the British subjects discovered on board the abovementioned French Ship, & delivering man, for man of the French found on board your Ships then in the Road, met with your approbation. The Commanders of your Ships who have not time to repair any Damage your Boats sustain in their service, shall for the future be sharged a reasonable Sum for it, as well as for the use of them, as you have been pleased to order, & we will supply ourselves with proper Boats out of your returning Ships from time to time, as we want them, & can get such as are useful.	The Council would take care, as it always had done, that all foreign ships were supplied as sparingly as possible. It was sorry that the Court was displeased at its granting so large a supply the previous year to the French ship called the *East India Company*. But Mr Godeheu, the French King's commissary and governor general of the French settlements in India, was so pressing, and at the same time telling the Council that several of the Court's own ships had received very kind treatment at the French islands, and there very lately the *Anson*, *Scarborough* and *Dragon* had been supplied in preference to the French themselves, and that he must go somewhere else for a supply before he could proceed for France. The Council, apprehending from his dispatch that the Court would be acquainted with some circumstances concerning its trade which it would be glad to know as soon as possible, was its reason for suffering him to be supplied so largely. 12: The Council was glad to find that its conduct in demanding the British subjects discovered on board the above-mentioned French ship, and delivering man for man of the French found on board the Court's ships then in the road, met with the Court's approval. 13: The commanders of the Court's ships who had not time to repair any damage the boats sustained in their service would for the future be charged a reasonable sum for it, as well as for the use of them, as the Court had been pleased to order. The Council would supply itself with proper boats out of the Court's returning ships from time to time, as it wanted them, and could get such as were useful. **Interpretations** The Council's defence of its generous supply to the French governor Godeheu turned on a calculation of reciprocity and advantage rather than mere hospitality, the board weighing the kind treatment the Company's own ships had lately received at the French islands, where the *Anson*, *Scarborough* and *Dragon* had been served ahead of the French themselves. A refusal might have soured a relation from which the Company's shipping benefited, and the pressing circumstance of Godeheu carrying home news that touched the Company's trade added a further reason to oblige him, so the Council justified an apparent excess as a considered exchange of favours between rivals whose ships depended on one another's ports. The Court's order that ships' commanders be charged for the use and repair of the island's boats answered the very grievance the Council had raised over its longboat worn out in the ships' service. By putting a reasonable charge on the captains who used the boats and returned them damaged, the arrangement made the shipping bear the cost it imposed, while the board's undertaking to fit itself with sound boats from the returning ships addressed the standing want of good craft, a practical resolution matching the recruitment of men and materials from the vessels that called.

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356	352	We have not taken any of your Treasure out of your Ship the Griffin, & you may Depend that we shall not take more out of the Oxford than such a sum as will be as absolutely necessary, for the expences of the Current Year By the Invoice p Griffin, we see that you have been pleased to comply, with great part of our Indent, & we are greatly obliged to you for sending us a larger quantity of Beef, Pork & Flour, as the present conjuncture of affairs may require it We are very glad to find by your Letter p the Griffin that you have directed our Indent to be so fully complyed with for Military Stores, & that we may expect, what we have not received by the Griffin, to come by the Oxford. We are much obliged, and thank you for intending to give Directions to the Supracargoes of your China Ships, to supply us with such Articles as we Indent for from Canton According to your orders we shall this year renew our Indent for Sugar from the West Coast, as your Honors will send particular directions to your Servants there to supply us we need be under no apprehensions of its miscoming We are glad that you will enforce your Orders to the President & Councel of Fort St George for supplying us with 30 Slaves, as they are much wanted, & we will take care to acquaint them in our next Letter for that place, of our necessity. We will also apply to the Gentlemen of Madrass for what Diaper Table cloths & Napkins, may be wanted for the use of your House from time to time, as you have been pleased to direct.	14: The Council had not taken any of the treasure out of the Court's ship the *Griffin*, and the Court might depend that it would not take more out of the *Oxford* than such a share as would be absolutely necessary for the expense of the current year. 15: By the invoice by the *Griffin*, the Council saw that the Court had been pleased to comply with a great part of its indent, and it was greatly obliged to the Court for sending a larger quantity of beef, pork and flour, as the present state of affairs might require it. 16: The Council was very glad to find by the Court's letter by the *Griffin* that the Court had directed its indent to be so fully complied with for military stores, and that it might expect what it had not received by the *Griffin* to come by the *Oxford*. 17: The Council was much obliged and thanked the Court for intending to give directions to the supercargoes of its China ships to supply it with such articles as it indented for from Canton. 18: According to the Court's orders, the Council would this year renew its indent for sugar from the west coast. Since the Court would send particular directions to its servants there to supply the Council, it need be under no apprehensions of its miscarrying. 19: The Council was glad the Court would enforce its orders to the President and Council of Fort St George for supplying it with 30 slaves, as they were much wanted, and it would take care to acquaint them in its next letter to that place of its necessity. 20: The Council would also apply to the gentlemen of Madras for whatever diaper tablecloths and napkins might be wanted for the use of the Court's house from time to time, as the Court had been pleased to direct. **Interpretations** The Court's larger supply of beef, pork and flour, sent with an eye to the present state of affairs, shows London provisioning the island against the uncertainties of war, a heavier stock of salt provisions and military stores laid in for a settlement that might be pressed. The Council's gratitude for the fuller compliance with its indent, and its expectation of the remainder by the *Oxford*, reflects the island's dependence on these shipments for what it could not raise, the timing and completeness of the store ships' cargoes the measure of its readiness for whatever the war might bring. The Court's undertaking to enforce its order on Fort St George for the thirty slaves the island needed, backed by the Council's intention to press its necessity on Madras directly, exposes the difficulty the settlement faced in actually obtaining the forced labour promised it. The slaves had been ordered before yet had not come, so both London and the island had to press the Coromandel authorities to supply them, the barracks and plantations waiting on hands that the Company's own settlements were slow to furnish, the want of labour the standing check on the island's works.
357	353	We should not have detained the 25 Musquets intended for Bencoolen had they not been Invoiced for this Place And we are still of opinion that those Arms are too long for the Generallity of the size of your Soldiery here, we are glad you have been pleased to order the 250, we indented for to be made four inches Shorter According to your orders all the useless small Arms, & Cannon shall be sent to England instead of their being forwarded to Batava & Pollo, & we will use our	21: The Council would not have detained the 25 muskets intended for Bencoolen had they not been invoiced for the island. 22: The Council was still of opinion that those arms were too long for the general size of the Court's soldiers, and was glad the Court had been pleased to order the 250 it had indented for to be made four inches shorter. 23: According to the Court's orders, all the useless small arms and cannon would be sent to England instead of being forwarded to Batavia and sold, and the Council would use its endeavours to get the commanders' consent to carry them freight free.

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		endeavours in getting the Commanders consent to carry them Freight Free We are sorry you are under such apprehensions of our being disappointed of the use of a Crane this Year The Crane was good enough to have lasted for a Couple of Years more, had it not been for some high Surfs that happened a little, before the Winchelsea sailed, which damaged it in such a manner that obliged us to write So pressingly for a new one, We have had it repaired, & now hope, that we shall be able to make the present last, untill you can supply us with materials for another We will be sure to put your orders in execution with regard to those unthinking, disorderly, young fellows we mentioned last Year, by sending off the Island any that should prove irreclaimable It gives us pleasure to find that the manner in which the Cattle upon the Island, were disposed of last Year in general met with your approbation	24: The Council was sorry the Court was under such apprehensions of its being disappointed of the use of a crane this year. The crane was good enough to have lasted a couple of years more, had it not been for some high surf that happened a little before the *Winchelsea* sailed, which damaged it in such a manner that obliged the Council to write so pressingly for a new one. The Council had had it repaired, and now hoped it would be able to make the present one last until the Court could supply it with materials for another. 25: The Council would be sure to put the Court's orders in execution over those unthinking, disorderly young fellows it had mentioned the previous year, by sending off the island any that should prove irreclaimable. 26: It gave the Council pleasure to find that the manner in which the cattle on the island were disposed of the previous year in general met with the Court's approval. **Interpretations** The Court's reversal on the disposal of the worn arms and cannon, now ordering them sent home rather than sold at Batavia as the Council had earlier proposed, shows London preferring to recover the material in England over realising its small value in the eastern markets. The Council's undertaking to get the commanders' consent to carry the useless stores freight free matched its earlier arrangement over the ballast cannon, turning worthless iron into a ship's lading at no charge, so the change of destination was met by the same practical economy in getting the stuff home. The Court's authority to send off the island any of the disorderly young men who proved irreclaimable gave the Council a means of dealing with the persistent thefts it had complained could not be checked under the ordinary penalties. Transportation of an incorrigible offender was the island's ultimate sanction against those its milder punishments could not reform, so the power to remove the worst of them answered in part the board's earlier plea for a heavier hand, the settlement ridding itself of men it could not otherwise control. The candid account of the crane, damaged by a high surf just before the *Winchelsea* sailed and since repaired, corrects the alarm the Council's urgent request for a replacement had raised in London. The board explained that the machine would have served some years more but for the accident, and would now be nursed along until materials came for a new one, the frank setting-out of the true state of a vital piece of the port's equipment showing the same honesty over its works that ran through the correspondence.
358	354	approbation, & we shall take care that the same method, shall be constantly pursued, & no foreign Ships have more provisions that is absolutely necessary As there was Peace between the British, & French Nations & we having no Accounts of there being a litely hood of any breach, we for these reasons thought it was soon enough to apprise you of the quantity of Warlike Stores that woud be wanting, upon the first news we had of suspecting a War, this being brought us by your Ship Dragon we therefore took that opportunity to acquaint you what we thought woud be	The Council would take care that the same method was constantly pursued, and that no foreign ship had more provisions than were absolutely necessary. 27: Since there was peace between the British and French nations, and the Council had no accounts of there being a likelihood of any breach, it thought for these reasons it was soon enough to apprise the Court of the quantity of warlike stores that would be wanting upon the first news it had of suspecting a war. This news being brought by the Court's ship the *Dragon*, the Council took that opportunity to acquaint the Court what it thought would be necessary in such a circumstance. The Court might depend upon the Council's utmost diligence in fortifying the island in the best manner it was able, which had always been its constant attention. According to the Court's permission, it would employ the soldiers to assist, and give them a reasonable allowance for their labour, in carrying on

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		necessary in such a Circumstance, & you may Depend upon our utmost diligence in Fortifying the Island in the best manner we are able, which has been always our constant attention, & according to your permission we shall employ the Soldiers to assist & give them a reasonable allowance for their Labour, in carrying on the works of the Fortifications, as well as building the Barracks We likewise assure you, we shall take particular care of the Battery at Bankis, & put it in as good order as posable, as soon as the season will permit, & there is a sufficient quantity of Lime burnt An exact Discipline shall be observed, & your Soldiers made expert in their exercises, the Planters also are under Arms upon all Double Alarms, & we dont doubt but they will do their utmost in Defending the Island. You may rely upon our not suffering any Ship or Ships whatever to pass Bankis in the night time, untill we are fully satisfyed by the Officer which comes on Shore in their Boat, that they are Ships belonging to your Honors	the works of the fortifications as well as building the barracks. The Council also assured the Court it would take particular care of the battery at Banks's and put it in as good order as possible as soon as the season would permit, there being a sufficient quantity of lime burnt. 28: An exact discipline would be observed, and the Court's soldiers made expert in their exercises. The planters were also under arms upon all double alarms, and the Council did not doubt they would do their utmost in defending the island. 29: The Court might rely upon the Council not suffering any ship or ships whatever to pass Banks's at night until it was fully satisfied, by the officer who came ashore in their boat, that they were ships belonging to the Court. **Interpretations** The Council's explanation of its timing over the warlike stores, that peace held and it had thought it soon enough to report its wants only when the *Dragon* brought the first rumour of war, answers a point of judgement about when to prepare a distant fortress. Provisioning against a war not yet declared was a matter of anticipation, so the board defended having waited for a real signal before pressing its needs, while assuring the Court of its constant diligence in fortifying the island, the reasoning showing how a remote garrison had to balance readiness against the cost and uncertainty of preparing too early. The mustering of the planters under arms on double alarms shows the island's defence resting not on the regular garrison alone but on the armed inhabitants, a militia of the settlement's own people called out when danger threatened. In a place too small to hold a large standing force, the planters formed the reserve of its defence, so their willingness to bear arms and their subjection to the alarm were essential to the security of the island, the whole community turned out to meet a threat the garrison alone could not repel. The strict rule against any ship passing Banks's at night until an officer came ashore to prove her a Company vessel reflects the same care over the approaches that the Council had shown in reading the Court's order on night arrivals. A ship allowed too far in under cover of darkness might be an enemy, so the requirement that every vessel be identified before it passed the battery guarded against surprise, the discipline of the road a standing part of the island's defence in an age when a hostile ship might come disguised.
359	355	By the List of Soldiers we received by the Griffin, there are 41 names put down, but one of them John Read having died on the Passage, there was only 40 Landed, & they prove to be good men, & we hope the 30 more you intend to send us by the Oxford will arrive safes You may Depend that the Act of Parliament for punishing Mutiny & Desertion &ca among the Soldiery shall be reagularly carryed into execution, & they used with all the Lenity posable, & we Will be sure to transmit to you the proceedings of all Courts Martial held here in the same manner your Honors had them the last Year by the Prince Henry & Colchester, the Articles of War were read to the recruits which we received by the Griffin, but	30: By the list of soldiers the Council received by the *Griffin*, there were 41 names put down. But since one of them, John Read, had died on the passage, only 40 were landed. They proved to be good men, and the Council hoped the 30 more the Court intended to send by the *Oxford* would arrive safe. 31: The Court might depend that the Act of Parliament for punishing mutiny and desertion among the soldiers would be regularly carried into execution, and the men used with all possible lenity. The Council would be sure to send home the proceedings of all courts martial held on the island, in the same manner the Court had them the previous year by the *Prince Henry* and *Colchester*. The Articles of War were read to the recruits the Council received by the *Griffin*, but the question whether they would serve subject to them or not was not asked, as the Council had great reason to believe that most of them would have inclined to return to England had it been put to their choice. The Council therefore asked the Court to give it some further directions on this head.

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		the Question whether they woud serve, subject to them, or not was not asked as we had great reason to beleive that most of them woud have inclind to have returnd to England, had it been put to their Choice We therefore beg that your Honors will be pleased to give us some further Directions upon this head We have added another Drummer to each Company, as we found it necessary, & meets with your approbation The muster Rolls of your Military, & the Lists of your Civil Servants shall be sent to you, in the manner they were by the Prince Henry as it is the method you approved Having considered the trouble & Office of Judge	32: The Council had added another drummer to each company, as it found it necessary, and it met with the Court's approval. 33: The muster rolls of the Court's soldiers, and the lists of its civil servants, would be sent home in the manner they were by the *Prince Henry*, as it was the method the Court approved. 34: Having considered the trouble and office of judge advocate. **Interpretations** The Council's decision not to ask the newly arrived recruits whether they would serve under the Articles of War, fearing that most would choose to return home if given the option, exposes a real tension in imposing the Crown's military discipline on men recruited under other terms. To have put the question openly risked losing the very men the garrison needed, so the board withheld the choice it had earlier offered the standing soldiers and sought the Court's further direction, the difficulty of binding fresh men to a harsher law weighed against the chronic want of hands that made every soldier precious. The careful transmission of every court martial's proceedings to London, in the same manner as before, shows the island's new military justice kept firmly under the Court's review, no trial concluded on the spot without its record sent home. The soldiers were to be used with all possible lenity even as the statute against mutiny and desertion was enforced, so the board tempered the severity of the Articles of War with a promise of mildness in their application, the whole apparatus of discipline held accountable to London through the papers it forwarded.
360	356	Judge Advocate we have appointed Mr Richard Beale £40 p Annum for doing that Duty, until your Honors pleasure is known. Our reason for acquainting, you last year, of the Rats & Mice barking the Young trees in the Long wood, was only because we looked upon it Something, extraordinary, We wish we coid find out a method to destroy them, but this we look upon to be next to an imposibility. Mr Wrangham & Charles Steward Writes beg leave to acquaint your Honors that the friends they wrote to in England having been already bound for other people in your Service did not think it so proper to Stand sureties for them, therefore hope that you will accept of two of your Homeward bound Commanders whom they will speak to for that purpose We are glad to find you have approved of the rectifyd Account of the Distribution of the late Govr Goodwins mony being the Sum £141.10.11½ we observe that you have paid the Widow of Capt David Hunter Deceased his claim, & are pleased that we wrote it off to Account Current London, as it meets with your approbation According to your Orders there goes enclosed herewith the Third Bill of Exchange Dated the 15 Oct 1750 for £30 drawn in favour of Mrs martha Scott, which She has	The Council had appointed Mr Richard Beale at £40 0s 0d a year for doing the duty of judge advocate, until the Court's pleasure was known. 35: The Council's reason for reporting the previous year about the rats and mice barking the young trees in the Long Wood was only because it looked upon it as something extraordinary. It wished it could find out a method to destroy them, but it looked upon this as next to an impossibility. 36: Mr Wrangham and Mr Charles Steward Wilkis asked leave to report that the friends they had written to in England, having already been bound for other people in the Court's service, did not think it so proper to stand sureties for them. They therefore hoped the Court would accept two of its homeward-bound commanders whom they would speak to for that purpose. 37: The Council was glad to find the Court had approved of the corrected account of the distribution of the late Governor Goodwin's money, being the sum of £141 10s 11½d. It noted that the Court had paid the widow of Captain David Hunter, deceased, his claim, and was pleased that it had written it off to account current at London, as it met with the Court's approval. 38: According to the Court's orders, there went home with the letter the third bill of exchange dated 15 October 1750 for £30 0s 0d, drawn in favour of Mrs Martha Scott, which she had endorsed to be paid to her husband. The Council had got, and would keep, an authentic copy of the bill and the endorsement, as the Court directed. 39: Since the Court had advised the Council that Captain Dethick was to detain 30 barrels of the Court's gunpowder for the ship's use. **Interpretations** The difficulty over sureties for Wrangham and Steward, their friends in England unwilling to be bound because they had already stood security for other Company servants, exposes the strain the

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		Endorsed to be paid to her Husband, & we have got, & shall keep an Authentick Copy of the Bill & endorsement thereon as you Directed. As you have advised us that Capt Dethick was to detain 30 Barrells of your Gun Powder for the Ships use, we have therefore	system of home bonds placed on a small circle of connected people. The requirement that a servant find guarantors in England could exhaust the willingness of the few who might answer, so the two men fell back on offering homeward-bound commanders as sureties instead, the practical limits of the bonding system met by looking to the ships' captains when the usual friends were already committed. The resolution of the £30 bill drawn for Mrs Martha Scott and endorsed to her husband, sent home with a certified copy kept on the island, closes the earlier trouble over the missing bills that had left the payee unpaid. The Council's care to retain an authentic copy of the bill and its endorsement shows the exactness the whole remittance system demanded, a document that had once gone astray now handled with a duplicate secured against loss, the machinery of paper credit made more careful by the very failure that had exposed its fragility.
361	357	therefore agreeable to your Directions received that Quantity short of the Invoice On the 24 of last Month passed by 8 Dutch Ships & the same Day came into the road one, that sent a Boat on Shore, to desire they might fill a few Casks of Water, which they accordingly did, & joyned the fleet that evening the Dutch Officer that came in the Boat informed us they left the Cape the 2 of last month, & that your Ship the Delawar sailed from thence some time before. On the 26 of March arrived your Ship the Drake Capt Fisher from China, & on the same Day passed by a Danish Ship from Tranquebar but last from the Cape, & on the 20 of the same Month arrived your Ship the Britannia Capt Norway from China The 1 instant arrived your Ships the Rhoda Capt McNemara, the Prince of Wales Capt Scot, & the Kent Capt Wilson, & on the 3 came in your Ship the Prince George Capt Jodrell, who informs us that the Bombay Castle when He lift Wampo were almost loaded, & was to sail about a fortnight after him. He likewise says he sailed from the Padroons in Company with the Warren Capt Glover the 3 of January, & parted from him the 20 of the two Brothers, so that She may be soon expected. the Captain also says that he passed by a Dutch flute in the Streights of Sundy. This waits upon you by your Ship the	The Council had therefore, agreeable to the Court's directions, received that quantity short of the invoice. 40: On the 24th of the last month passed by eight Dutch ships, and the same day came into the road one that sent a boat ashore to ask that it might fill a few casks of water, which it accordingly did and joined the fleet that evening. The Dutch officer who came in the boat reported that they left the Cape on the 2nd of the last month, and that the Court's ship the *Delaware* sailed from there some time before. 41: On the 26th of March arrived the Court's ship the *Drake* under Captain Fisher from China, and the same day passed by a Danish ship from Tranquebar but last from the Cape, and on the 20th of the same month arrived the Court's ship the *Britannia* under Captain Norway from China. 42: On the 1st of the month arrived the Court's ships the *Rhoda* under Captain Macnamara, the *Prince of Wales* under Captain Scott and the *Kent* under Captain Wilson, and on the 3rd came in the Court's ship the *Prince George* under Captain Goddrell, who reported that the *Bombay Castle*, when he left Whampoa, was almost loaded and was to sail about a fortnight after him. He also reported that he sailed from the Ladrones in company with the *Warren* under Captain Glover on 3 January, and parted from him on the 20th off the Two Brothers, so that she might be soon expected. The captain also reported that he passed by a Dutch fleet in the Straits of Sunda. 43: The letter went to the Court by the Court's ship. **Interpretations** The dense succession of arrivals in these paragraphs, Company ships from China crowding into the road within days of one another alongside the passing Dutch and Danish vessels, marks the height of the homeward season when the settlement's whole apparatus of supply was most stretched. Each ship brought its account of others left loading or parted with at sea, so the Council assembled from their reports a continuous picture of the returning fleet, the very concentration of shipping that tested the island's provisions also furnishing the intelligence by which it tracked the trade. The Dutch ship's brief call for water, a boat sent ashore to fill a few casks before rejoining her fleet, illustrates the ordinary courtesies of the sea route that the island extended even to the vessels of rival nations. A passing foreigner in want of water was accommodated as a matter of custom, the refreshment of shipping the island's very function, so the Council's granting of so small a supply to a

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			Dutch fleet reflects the working reciprocity of the ocean's waypoints, where the ships of all nations depended on one another's ports for the necessities of the passage.
362	358	the Drake, that sails from hence with your Honors Ships the Rhoda and Britannia Weare Honorable Sirs St Helena 16 April 1756. Your most Obedient & most humble Servants (Signed) Cha Hutchinson John Adamson John Clark	The letter went to the Court by the Court's ship the *Drake*, which sailed from the island in company with the Court's ships the *Rhoda* and *Britannia*. The letter was dated at St Helena on 6 April 1756, and signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson and John Clark.
363	359	List of the Honorable Companys Packet from St Helena p Ship Drake Dated the 16 April 1756 Vizt Govr & Councils General Letter Dated the 16 April 1756 Duplicate Do the 3 August 1755 Do Do the 11 march 1756 Consultations from the 4 August 1755 to the 9 April Do Duplicate Do of the 28 July 1755 List of Officers & Servants taken the 16 April 1756 Duplicate List of the Packet p Ship Egmont First receipt for the Do p Do Second Do Do p Ship Prince Henry First Do Do p the Sweed Ship Prince Charles General Books of Accounts List of Familys taken the 10 October 1755 Do of Rent Do Do Do of Blacks Do Do Abstract of the Cargo of Ship Hardwicke Do London Do Rhoda Do P of Wales Do P George Do Kent Do Drake Do Britannia Duplicate Cash Account from 29 June to 11 July 1755 Duplicate Cash Do 12 July to 3 August Do	The list of the Company's packet from St Helena by the ship *Drake*, dated 10 April 1756, ran as follows. 1: Governor and Council's general letter dated 10 April 1756 2: Duplicate general letter dated 3 August 1755 3: Duplicate general letter dated 11 March 1756 4: Consultations from 4 August 1755 to 6 April 1756 5: Duplicate consultation of 28 July 1755 6: List of officers and servants taken 10 April 1756 7: Duplicate list of the packet by the ship Egmont 8: First receipt for the packet by the ship Egmont 9: Second receipt for the packet by the ship Prince Henry 10: First receipt for the packet by the Swedish ship Prince Charles 11: General books of accounts 12: List of families taken 10 October 1755 13: List of rents taken 10 October 1755 14: List of slaves taken 10 October 1755 15: Abstract of the cargo of the ship Hardwicke 16: Abstract of the cargo of the ship London 17: Abstract of the cargo of the ship Rhoda 18: Abstract of the cargo of the ship Prince of Wales 19: Abstract of the cargo of the ship Prince George 20: Abstract of the cargo of the ship Kent 21: Abstract of the cargo of the ship Drake 22: Abstract of the cargo of the ship Britannia 23: Duplicate cash account from 29 June to 11 July 1755 24: Duplicate cash account from 12 July to 3 August 1755
364	360	Cash Account from the 4 to the 11 August 1755 Do the 12 August to 11 Sept Do Do the 12 Sept to 11 Oct Do Do the 12 Oct to 11 Novr Do Do the 12 Novr to 11 Decr Do Do the 12 Decr 1755 to 11 January Do Do the 12 Jan to 11 Feby Do Do the 12 Feby to 11 March Do Do the 12 March to 16 April Do Ship Britannias Account Do Rhodas Do	25: Cash account from 4 to 11 August 1755 26: Cash account from 12 August to 11 September 1755 27: Cash account from 12 September to 11 October 1755 28: Cash account from 12 October to 11 November 1755 29: Cash account from 12 November to 11 December 1755 30: Cash account from 12 December 1755 to 11 January 1756 31: Cash account from 12 January to 11 February 1756 32: Cash account from 12 February to 11 March 1756 33: Cash account from 12 March to 10 April 1756 34: Ship Britannia's account 35: Ship Rhoda's account 36: Ship Drake's account 37: Duplicate ship Egmont's account

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		Do Drakes Do Dup Ship Egmonts Do Do Shaftesburys Do List of Men Discharged the H. C. Service Governors Letter to the Secret Committee Court Martial muster Rolls Effective State of the Garrison Ship Griffins Account Third Bill of Exchange Drawn in favour of Mrs M. Scott	38: Duplicate ship Shaftesbury's account 39: List of men discharged the Company's service 40: Governor's letter to the Secret Committee 41: Court martial record 42: Muster rolls 43: Effective state of the garrison 44: Ship Griffin's account 45: Third bill of exchange drawn in favour of Mrs Martha Scott
365	361	To the Honble &ca Honorable Sirs Our last advices to you, went by your Honors Ship the Drake that Sailed from hence on the 16 instant in company with your Ships the Rhoda & Britannias We cannot send you by this opportunity a state of your Cash to a later date than the duplicate to the 16 instant, as the Quarters Accounts will not be laied before us until the 26 of this Month Mr H Beale one of the Attorneys to the late Capt Parker applyed to us to pay £530.5 into your Cash, which we have received & given him Bills of Exchange drawn on your Honors for that Sum payable to himself, or Order, 90 Day after sight dated the 16 instant The Summer Rains this Year are very backward, there being but little fallen lately, & no great appearance of any at present your Pastures & Plantations are in as good condition as posibly can be expected	The Council addressed the Court of Directors. 1: The Council's last advices to the Court went by the Court's ship the *Drake*, which sailed from the island on the 10th of the month in company with the Court's ships the *Rhoda* and *Britannia*. 2: The Council could not send the Court by this opportunity a state of its cash to a later date than the duplicate to the 10th of the month, as the quarter's accounts would not be laid before it until the 26th of the month. 3: Mr Richard Beale, one of the attorneys to the late Captain Parker, applied to the Council to pay £530 5s 0d into the Court's cash, which the Council received, and gave him bills of exchange drawn on the Court for that sum, payable to himself or his order ninety days after sight, dated the 12th of the month. 4: The summer rains this year were very backward, little having fallen lately and none much in prospect at present. The Court's pastures and plantations were in as good condition as could possibly be expected. **Interpretations** The payment of £530 5s 0d by Richard Beale as attorney to the late Captain Parker shows the island treasury once more serving to gather in and remit the estate of a dead commander, a large sum paid into the cash by his agent and answered by bills on London. The recurrence of such transactions through the run of the correspondence confirms how the Council's power to draw on the Court had become the standing instrument by which the fortunes of the dead were carried home, an attorney lodging the money on the island and taking the paper that would realise it in England. The renewed concern over backward rains, the pasture holding only as well as could be expected in a dry season, returns to the anxiety that ran through the whole run of the letters. The island's power to feed the shipping rested wholly on the grass the rains brought on, so a season slow to break was a matter of real weight even when the plantations bore up, the settlement's fortunes bound to a weather it could not command and watched with a farmer's care at every turn.
366	362	We are sorry to acquaint you, that your Surgeon Mr Inglis, Stabb'd himself on Monday last in two places, neither of the wounds prove to be mortal, the cause of this rash & unhappy action was owing to a criminal intercourse between him & the Wife of your Secretary Mr Wrangham. This waits on you, by your Ship the Prince George that sails from hence with the Kent & Prince of Wales, when they are gone, there will remain here only your Ships the Hardwicke & London. St Helena 16 April 1756 Weare Honorable Sirs Your most obedient & most humble servants (Signed) Cha Hutchinson John Adamson John Clark	The Council was sorry to report that the Court's surgeon, Mr Ingle, stabbed himself on the previous Monday in two places, neither of the wounds proving mortal. The cause of this rash and unhappy action was a criminal intercourse between him and the wife of the Court's secretary, Mr Wrangham. The letter went to the Court by the Court's ship the *Prince George*, which sailed from the island in company with the *Kent* and *Prince of Wales*. When they were gone, there would remain only the Court's ships the *Hardwicke* and *London*. The letter was dated at St Helena on 16 April 1756, and signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson and John Clark. **Interpretations** The surgeon Ingle's attempt on his own life, driven by his affair with the secretary's wife, exposes how the confined society of the island magnified a private scandal into a matter reported home to the

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			Court. In so small a community the entanglement of two of its principal servants, the surgeon and the secretary's household, could not stay hidden, and the desperate act that followed became a public event the Council was bound to set before London, the isolation and closeness of the settlement turning a personal disgrace into official business. This is a sensitive topic. If you or someone you know is struggling with thoughts of self-harm, support is available through a doctor or a local crisis line, and I can help find appropriate resources if that would be useful.
367	363	List of the Honorable Companys Packet from St Helena p Ship Prince George Dated the 15 April 1756 Govr & Councils General Letter Dated the 16 April 1756 Duplicate Do the 10 Do Do Consultation of the 12 April Do Dup Do from the 4 August 1755 to the 9 April Do List of Officers & Servants taken the 15 of April Do Duplicate List of the Packet p Ship Drake First receipt for the Do p Do Second Do Do p Ship Egmont Do Do Do p the Sweed Ship P Charles Duplicate List of Familys taken the 10 Oct 1755 Do Rents Do Do Do Blacks Do Do Duplicate Cash Acct from the 4 to the 11 Aug Do 12 Aug to 11 Sept Do 12 Sept to 11 Oct Do 12 Oct to 11 Novr Do 12 Novr to 11 Decr Do 12 Decr 1755 to 11 Jan 1756 12 Jan to 11 Feb Do 12 Feb to 11 March Do 12 March to 10 April Do Duplicate Ship Britannias Account Do Rhodas Do Do Drakes Do	The list of the Company's packet from St Helena by the ship *Prince George*, dated 16 April 1756, ran as follows. 1: Governor and Council's general letter dated 16 April 1756 2: Duplicate general letter dated 10 April 1756 3: Consultation of 12 April 1756 4: Duplicate consultations from 4 August 1755 to 6 April 1756 5: List of officers and servants taken 16 April 1756 6: Duplicate list of the packet by the ship Drake 7: First receipt for the packet by the ship Drake 8: Second receipt for the packet by the ship Egmont 9: Duplicate receipt for the packet by the Swedish ship Prince Charles 10: Duplicate list of families taken 10 October 1755 11: Duplicate list of rents taken 10 October 1755 12: Duplicate list of slaves taken 10 October 1755 13: Duplicate cash account from 4 to 11 August 1755 14: Duplicate cash account from 12 August to 11 September 1755 15: Duplicate cash account from 12 September to 11 October 1755 16: Duplicate cash account from 12 October to 11 November 1755 17: Duplicate cash account from 12 November to 11 December 1755 18: Duplicate cash account from 12 December 1755 to 11 January 1756 19: Duplicate cash account from 12 January to 11 February 1756 20: Duplicate cash account from 12 February to 11 March 1756 21: Duplicate cash account from 12 March to 10 April 1756 22: Duplicate ship Britannia's account 23: Duplicate ship Rhoda's account 24: Duplicate ship Drake's account
368	364	Ship Prince Georges Account Do Rents Do Do Prince of Wales Do List of Men Discharged the Honorable Companys Service Duplicate Ship Griffins Account muster Rolls Governors Letter to the Secret Committee To the Honble &ca Honble Sirs We wrote to you last by your Honors Ship the Prince George, that sailed from hence on the 16 of April, in company with your Ships the Prince of Wales & Kent On the 3 instant, arrived a Sweed Ship from China, called the Princess Sophia Albertina Captain	25: Ship Prince George's account 26: Ship Kent's account 27: Ship Prince of Wales's account 28: List of men discharged the Company's service 29: Duplicate ship Griffin's account 30: Muster rolls 31: Governor's letter to the Secret Committee The Council addressed the Court of Directors. The Council's last letter to the Court went by the Court's ship the *Prince George*, which sailed from the island on the 16th of April in company with the Court's ships the *Prince of Wales* and *Kent*. On the 3rd of the month arrived a Swedish ship from China called the *Princess Sophia Albertina* under Captain Leham, of about 900 tons burthen, carrying 20 guns and 140 men, loaded with tea, chinaware and silks and bound for Gothenburg. The captain reported that he left Canton on 11 January, and that

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		Leham, Burthen about 900 Tons, carrys 20 Guns & 140 Men loaden with Tea, China Ware & Silks bound to Gothenburgh, the Capt informs us he left Canton the 11 of January last, & that your Ship the Bombay Castle, was to Sail from thence in about 8 or 10 Days after him. On the 6 of this month, passed by 6 Dutch Ships one of which sent in her Boat about eleven oClock at Night, the officer that came on Shore, informed the Governor that they left the Cape on the 17 of last Month, & that they wanted Water & fresh Provisions, & that the Capt of the Ship he belonged to was to remain for them, while the other lay in the offing	the Court's ship the *Bombay Castle* was to sail from there about 8 or 10 days after him. On the 6th of the month passed by six Dutch ships, one of which sent in her boat about eleven o'clock at night. The officer who came ashore reported to the Governor that they left the Cape on 17 of the last month, that they wanted water and fresh provisions, and that the captain of the ship he belonged to was to come in for them while the others lay in the offing. **Interpretations** The arrival of a Dutch boat at eleven o'clock at night, sent ashore to ask for water and provisions while the fleet lay off, tested the very rule the Council had lately affirmed against ships approaching after dark. The officer came in his boat to identify his ship and state her wants, exactly as the settlement's discipline required, so the night visit was handled by the established procedure, the foreigner's need for refreshment accommodated within the caution the island maintained over its approaches even in time of formal peace. The regular calls of the Swedish and Dutch China ships, each bringing an account of the Company's own vessels left at Canton, show how thoroughly the island depended on foreign shipping for its knowledge of the eastern trade when its own ships were not to hand. A Swedish commander's report of when the *Bombay Castle* would sail was intelligence the Council valued as much as any from a Company captain, the neutral traders passing the island a constant source of the shipping news by which it tracked the movement of the whole China fleet.
369	365	offing; the Governor acquainted the Officer that he should be provided with what we could conveniently spare, & as he was going off the Governor desired him to tell his Capt that his Ship would not be allowed to come into the Road before Day. But the Ships attempting, to pass Bankis about one oClock in the morning, She was hailed from thence, & told to bring to, or stand of, or She would be fired upon, but She continuing her Course, the Officer fired a Shot athwart her fore foot, upon which She stood off, & at Daybreak we descerned the six Ships standing to the North West, the Officer likewise told the Governor that on the 16 of March, a small French Ship from Europe, last from the Coast of Guinea, was lost in Table Bay, but all the People were saved. Yesterday arrived the Warren Capt Glover from China, but last from Princess Island which he left on the 8 of February, & on the 18 he parted from a Dane Ship, which sailed with him from thence. This goes to your Honors under the care of the Chief Supracargoe of the beforementioned Sweed Ship Weare Honble Sirs St Helena 8 May 1756 Your most obedient & most humble Servants Signed Chas Hutchinson John Adamson	The Governor told the officer that the ship should be provided with what the Council could conveniently spare, and, as he was going off, desired him to tell his captain that his ship would not be allowed to come into the road before day. But the ship attempting to pass Banks's about one o'clock in the morning, she was hailed from there and told to bring to, or she would be fired upon. She continued her course, so the officer fired a shot athwart her forefoot, upon which she stood off, and at daybreak the Council saw the six ships standing to the north-west. The officer also told the Governor that on the 10th of March a small French ship from Europe, last from the coast of Guinea, was lost in Table Bay, but all the people were saved. The previous day arrived the *Warren* under Captain Glover from China but last from Princes Island, which he left on 8 February. On the 18th he parted from a Danish ship that sailed with him from there. The letter went to the Court under the care of the chief supercargo of the above-mentioned Swedish ship. The letter was dated at St Helena on 8 May 1756, and signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson and John Clark. **Interpretations** The firing on the Dutch ship that tried to pass Banks's at one in the morning, after her officer had been plainly told she must not enter before day, shows the island's discipline of the approaches enforced with real force against a vessel that defied it. A warning shot across the bows was the settlement's answer to a ship that would not bring to as ordered, the whole procedure of hailing, warning and firing carried through against a foreigner who broke the rule, the caution over night arrivals no empty form but backed by the guns when a master ignored it. The Council's recourse to a foreign vessel to carry its letter home, no Company ship being to hand, marks again the settlement's dependence on whatever conveyance the passing shipping offered. A

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		John Clark	Swedish trader bound for Europe served to bear the packet, the island's communication with London resting on the ships of any nation whose course would bring the correspondence home, the neutral trade that watered at the island also carrying its despatches when its own ships were gone.
370	366	To the Honble the Court Honble Sirs. Our last advices went to your Honors by the Sweed Ship called the Princess Sophia Albertina On the 9 instant arrived a Dane Ship called the Queen Juliana Maria Capt Singer, burthen about 700 Tons, carrys 26 Guns & 140 Men, Loaden with Tea China Ware & Silks bound to Copenhagen, Capt Singer informd us that on the 15 of April he saw two Ships on the Banks of Angola, one of them Hoisted Portuguese Colours the other French, which had lost her Mizzen Mast. On the 16 arrived your Ship the Anson Capt Debuke from Bengall, last from Bencoolen from whence he sailed the 19 of January, Capt Debuke acquainted us that in a violent Gale of Wind in the Latitude of 32 South he was obliged to Cut away his main mast; and that on the 13 of April he spoke with a Dutch Ship homeward bound, called the Vantillborough Capt Patteson Commander, who told him that he sailed from Bengall the middle of January, & lift your Ship the Eastcourt Capt Evans at Ingelee ready for sailing, Capt Debuke & likewise Mr Combes who came passenger with him informed us that your Ship the Exeter was Daily expected at Marlborough from Natall whither she was sent to carry some Millitary, & that a Cargo of Pepper was ready to be put on board her upon her arrival at Bencoolen. The 17 came in a Dane Ship called the Three Princesses Capt Smidt Burthen about 500 Tons, carrys 12 Guns & 48 Men from Bengall last from Tranquebar having 500 Bales of Bengall	The Council addressed the Court of Directors. The Council's last advices to the Court went by the Swedish ship called the *Princess Sophia Albertina*. On the 9th of the month arrived a Danish ship called the *Queen Juliana Maria* under Captain Finger, of about 700 tons burthen, carrying 26 guns and 140 men, loaded with tea, chinaware and silks and bound for Copenhagen. Captain Finger reported that on 15 April he saw two ships on the Banks of Angola, one of them under Portuguese colours and the other French, which had lost her mizzen mast. On the 15th arrived the Court's ship the *Anson* under Captain Debuke from Bengal, last from Bencoolen, from where she sailed on 15 January. Captain Debuke reported that in a violent gale of wind in latitude 32 south he was obliged to cut away his mainmast, and that on 13 April he spoke with a Dutch ship homeward-bound called the *Vantillborough* under Captain Patteson, who told him that he sailed from Bengal the middle of January and left the Court's ship the *Eastcourt* under Captain Evans at Ingelee ready for sailing. Captain Debuke, and likewise Mr Combes who came passenger with him, reported that the Court's ship the *Exeter* was daily expected at Marlborough from Natal, whither she was sent to carry some military, and that a cargo of pepper was ready to be put on board her upon her arrival at Bencoolen. On the 17th came in a Danish ship called the *Three Princesses* under Captain Smidt, of about 500 tons burthen, carrying 12 guns and 48 men, from Bengal last from Tranquebar, having 500 bales of Bengal goods. **Interpretations** Captain Debuke's report of cutting away his mainmast in a violent gale off latitude 32 south conveys the ordinary peril of the passage that the island's incoming commanders so often carried in their accounts. A ship might reach the road having sacrificed a mast to ride out a storm, the damage a mark of the hazards of the southern ocean, so the settlement heard through such reports the constant risk its shipping faced and the makeshifts by which vessels survived, the loss of a mast a common price of the voyage. The steady succession of Danish China ships calling at the island, each of substantial burthen and armament and laden with the tea, chinaware and silks of the Canton trade, gives a measure of the scale on which the smaller European powers shared in the eastern commerce. Denmark's regular vessels passing homeward for Copenhagen were part of the crowded international traffic the island observed, their reports of ships seen and passed adding to the running account of the shipping by which the Council kept its picture of the trade current.
371	367	Bengall Goods 1600 Bags of Salt Petre & 200 maunds of Red Wood on board as he informs us. the Capt also acquaints us that about 200 Europeans have been lately, sent from Tranquebar to make a Settlement upon one of the Nicobar Islands, & that the Danes were clearing some Ground at Bengall for a factory for which as he says they have paid one Lack of Rupees to the Nabob	The *Three Princesses* had aboard, as her captain reported, 1,600 bags of saltpetre and 200 maunds of redwood besides her Bengal goods. The captain also reported that about 200 Europeans had lately been sent from Tranquebar to make a settlement upon one of the Nicobar Islands, and that the Danes were clearing some ground at Bengal for a factory, for which he said they had paid one lack of rupees to the Nabob. On the 18th arrived the Court's ship the *Bombay Castle* under Captain Brown from China.

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		On the 18 arrived your Ship Bombay Castle Capt Brown from China the Day after arrived the Oxford Capt Stevens from England with all the People well on board, by which conveyance we received 28 of the 31 Recruits two of them Dying on the Passage the other being Discharg'd, the Oxford is now unloading & will be Dispatched as soon as posible This waits on you, by a Dane Ship called the Three Princesses Weare Honble Sirs St Helena 23 May 1756 Your most Obedient & most hble Servants Signed Charles Hutchinson John Adamson John Clark	The day after arrived the *Oxford* under Captain Stevens from England, with all the people well on board. By this conveyance the Council received 28 of the 31 recruits, two of them dying on the passage and the other being discharged. The *Oxford* was now unloading and would be dispatched as soon as possible. The letter went to the Court by a Danish ship called the *Three Princesses*. The letter was dated at St Helena on 23 May 1756, and signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson and John Clark. **Interpretations** The intelligence of the Danes settling one of the Nicobar Islands and clearing ground at Bengal for a factory, for which they had paid a lakh of rupees to the Nabob, shows the Council attentive to the expansion of the smaller European powers in the eastern seas. The founding of new settlements and the buying of trading rights from the country authorities bore on the wider competition in which the Company was engaged, so a Danish captain's account of his nation's ventures was noted as commercial and political intelligence, the movements of every rival tracked from the island's watch on the passing trade. The arrival of the recruits by the *Oxford*, 28 of the 31 landed after two died on the passage and one was discharged, illustrates the steady wastage that attended the supply of men to the garrison even before they reached the island. The long voyage took its toll of the very drafts sent to make good the settlement's chronic shortage, so a company of recruits arrived already reduced, the difficulty of holding the garrison at strength compounded by the losses of the passage that thinned each supply before it could be entered on the establishment.
372	368	To the Honble the Court &ca Honble Sirs. We wrote to you last, by a Dane Ship, called the Three Princesses, that sailed from hence on the 24th of May. We are sorry to hear, that the Griffin and Delawar were detained so long by contrary Winds, the former delivered us her Consignments & proceeded on her Voyage the 19 of Febry last. We return you thanks for complying so fully with our last Year's Indent, & have received all the Necessarys, you were pleased to send us by the Oxford We have been obliged to detain, one Chest of your Treasure consigned to Fort Marlb, & are very apprehensive; that will not be sufficant for the Expences of the Current Year As you will be pleased to observe, that we had but very little Cash remaining in our last Account that went by the Prince George, we have advised the Gentlemen of Fort Marlb of it agreeable to your Directions. We gave Capt Stevens his sailing Orders, to make the best of his way to Fort Marlb. upon the West Coast of Sumatra at the expiration of the Ten working Days allowed by Charterparty pursuant to the Directions he received from your Honors & the Secret Committee. We received by the Oxford, the Stone & materials	To the Honourable Court and so forth. Honoured Sirs. 1: The Council last wrote by a Dutch ship called the *Three Princesses*, which sailed on 24 May. 2: The Council was sorry to learn that the *Griffin* and the *Delaware* had been held so long by contrary winds, the former having delivered her consignments and gone on with her voyage on 19 February. 3: The Council thanked the Court for meeting its last year's indent so fully, and had received all the necessaries sent out by the *Oxford*. 4: One chest of the Court's treasure consigned to Fort Marlborough had to be held back, and the Council feared it would not be enough for the year's charges. As the Court would see, very little cash remained in the last account sent by the *Prince George*, and the Council had accordingly advised the gentlemen of Fort Marlborough of the position, following the Court's directions. 5: Captain Stevens received his sailing orders to make the best of his way to Fort Marlborough on the west coast of Sumatra, once the ten working days allowed by his charter party had run out, in keeping with the directions he had from the Court and the Secret Committee. 6: The *Oxford* brought the stone and materials for a new crane, which the Council would put up as soon as it conveniently could. **Interpretations** Fort Marlborough, on the west coast of Sumatra at Bencoolen, was the Company's principal pepper settlement in the eastern seas and a standing drain on resources rather than a source of profit. St Helena sat on the treasure route between London and the East, so chests of coin for the eastern settlements were routinely landed and reshipped through the island. The Council's decision to hold back one chest, and its fear that even the retained silver would

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		for a new Crane, which we shall erect as soon as we conveineintly can	fall short, shows how far the island's finances leaned on that flow of specie passing through its hands. The ten working days set by the charter party fixed the time a commander was bound to give to unloading and refitting before the Company owed him demurrage. The clause governed the pace of every call, and the Council's practice of holding a ship to it, and despatching her the moment it expired, protected the Court from paying for idle ship time. The reference to the Secret Committee marks the wartime footing of the Company's business by the mid 1750s. That committee ran the confidential and military side of the Court's affairs, and a commander sailing under its orders as well as the Court's ordinary directions points to a voyage carrying instructions the open correspondence did not set down.
373	369	We acquainted Lieut. Thomas Easthope, with your Orders relating to him & accordingly discharged him from his post of first Lieut. He desired us to return you his most humble & hearty thanks for the annuity, you have been pleased to allow him. We have appointed Mr Wm Kennedy, who was the eldest second Lieut. to the Command of the Company, that became vacant upon Mr Easthopes removal, & likewise Mr Henry Bazett Cadett to suicede Mr Kennedy as second Lieut, who begs leave to make his acknowledgments for this Your favour to him. The convoy ordered, by the Right Honorable the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, is not yet arrived, What directions the Governor has received or shall receive, from the Secret Committee, he assures your Honors, shall be punctually complyed with. The Fruit Trees, you were pleased to send us by the Oxford have agreeable to your Directions been distributed to such of the Planters as inclined to have any. As your Honors are pleased to inform us, that Hostilitys are carryed on with vigor between the British & French Nations in America & that although his Majestys Ships, continue to take theirs, they have not as yet declared War, It may however be presumed they soon will from the great preparations they are making. It therefore gives us great pleasure to hear that the Nation seemeg unanimously determined to support his Majesty, against any attempt the French may make upon his Dominions, and even they to attack this place; we shall do our utmost to defend it, & hope we should be able to repel them. Mr Inglis your Surgeon having drawn on himself the Resentment	7: The Council told Lieutenant Thomas Easthope of the Court's orders concerning him and discharged him from his post of first lieutenant. He asked that his humble and hearty thanks be returned for the annuity granted him. In his place the Council gave the command of the company, left vacant by his removal, to Mr William Kennedy, who had been the eldest second lieutenant, and appointed Mr Henry Bazett, cadet, to succeed Mr Kennedy as second lieutenant, who asked leave to acknowledge the Court's favour to him. 8: The convoy ordered by the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty had not yet arrived. Whatever directions the Governor had received or might receive from the Secret Committee would be punctually carried out. 9: The fruit trees sent out by the *Oxford* had been shared, following the Court's directions, among those planters who wished to have any. 10: The Court had reported that hostilities were being pursued with vigour between the British and French in America, and that although His Majesty's ships continued to take French vessels, war had not yet been declared. It could be supposed war would soon come, given the great preparations the French were making. The Council was glad to hear that the nation seemed united in its resolve to support the King against any attempt the French might make on his dominions, and, should they attack the island, the Council would do its utmost to defend it and hoped to be able to drive them off. 11: Mr Inglis, the Court's surgeon, having brought upon himself the resentment [...] **Interpretations** The annuity granted to Easthope on his discharge marks the Company's practice of pensioning off a long-serving officer rather than simply dismissing him, a settled charge on the establishment that secured the goodwill of a man who had held the senior lieutenancy and smoothed the promotions filling the vacancies below him. The convoy from the Admiralty and the war news from America place this letter in the opening of the Seven Years War, before the formal declaration of May 1756. His Majesty's ships were already seizing French vessels at sea while the two crowns remained nominally at peace, and a small, exposed island on the treasure route watched the coming conflict with particular anxiety over whether the promised naval protection would reach it in time.
374	370	of several of the Familys here, by his late immoral Indiscretion, which is mentioned in our Letter, dated the 15th April last, is sensible, that he cannot on that account continue here. And Mr Evans his Mate	Mr Inglis had drawn upon himself the resentment of several of the families on the island by his recent immoral indiscretion, mentioned in the Council's letter of 15 April, and was aware that he could not on that account remain. Mr Evans, his mate, refused to stay on the island unless his salary was raised or

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		refusing to remain upon the Island, unless his Salary was augmented or he could have part of the Practice which no Mate but Mr Inglis ever had & that only was permitted him. for a short time, when Mr Falconer by Drunkeness was incapable to do his Duty, As Mr Inglis & Mr Evans are for these several Reasons going for England, We are upon this Account, much at a loss for a proper Person as Surgeon, to take care of your Island. Mr Robt Barclay Surgeon of the Ship Warren At our Request to him, having consented to stay in the room of Mr Inglis, if he could be certain of being confirmed, as it would be very detrimental to him to leave the Ship, if he was not, & as he has been impresented to us & we believe him, to be a very sober, diligent Man, & perfectly well qualifyed, in all respects, to discharge every part of his Duty, that may be required of him, we therefore have entertained him, at the usual Salary, & allowance & request of your Honors to establish him. As our present long Boat is almost worn out, by reason of her being frequently lent to the Ships, & Capt Glover having a very good one to spare which he would not dispose of for less than £30, we were obligd to pay him that price as we could not possibly do without her. We desire you will be pleased to send every other Year, a pipe of Madera Wine for your Table by your Ship that touches at that Island, if it can be conveniently done, as it will be much Cheaper than any that comes from England. Mr Mowatt the Adjutant having not only refused to Obey	he could have a share of the practice, which no mate but Mr Inglis had ever held, and that only for a short time, when Mr Falconer through drunkenness was incapable of doing his duty. As both Mr Inglis and Mr Evans were for these several reasons going home to England, the Council was much at a loss for a proper person to serve as surgeon and care for the island. Mr Robert Barclay, surgeon of the ship *Warren*, at the Council's request agreed to stay in Mr Inglis's place if he could be sure of being confirmed, since it would harm him greatly to leave his ship if he were not. As he had been represented to the Council, and as the Council believed him to be, a very sober and diligent man, thoroughly qualified in every way to discharge every part of his duty, the Council had taken him on at the usual salary and allowance, and asked the Court to confirm him in the post. 12: The Council's present longboat was almost worn out, through being frequently lent to the ships, and Captain Glover having a very good one to spare that he would not part with for less than £30 0s 0d, the Council was obliged to pay him that price, since it could not possibly manage without one. 13: The Council asked that a pipe of Madeira wine be sent every other year for the Governor's table by whichever ship touched at that island, if it could conveniently be done, since it would be much cheaper than any brought from England. 14: Mr Mowatt, the adjutant, having not only refused to obey [...] **Interpretations** The dispute over the surgeon's practice reveals how medical provision on the island worked in fact. The Company paid a salaried surgeon, but the right to take private patients for fees was a valuable perquisite reserved to the principal surgeon alone, granted to a mate only as a stopgap when the senior man was incapacitated. Evans's demand for either a rise or a share of that practice, and his readiness to leave when refused, shows the fee income mattered more than the salary, and left the Council scrambling to recruit a replacement from a ship in the road on the promise of confirmation from London. Madeira lay directly on the outward route to the East, so wine could be loaded there by a passing ship at source and carried on to the island far more cheaply than the same wine shipped from England, where it would have borne the cost and duty of a double passage. The request for a pipe every other year reflects the settled use of the island's calling ships to supply the Governor's household by the cheapest available channel.
375	371	the Governors Orders but likewise persisted in that refusal, as your Honors will find in Consultation of the 10 May 1756. We therefore suspended him untill your Honors pleasure is known. He has since applyed to us for leave to go to England which we have Granted. And as Solomon Jacobs who has acted as Sergeant Major for several Years & now does Duty as Adjutant, we propose to appoint to Succeede Mr Mowatt if your Honors should think proper to Dismiss him from your Service. Mr John Goodwin your Accountant, likewise desired permission for him and his Family to go for England upon the Ship Warren, we granted his Request. On the 21 & 22 of May last, there fell so violent a Rain, that it did great damage to some of your Plantations, &	Mr Mowatt, the adjutant, had not only refused to obey the Governor's orders but persisted in that refusal, as the Court would find in the consultation of 10 May 1756. The Council had therefore suspended him until the Court's pleasure was known. He had since applied for leave to go to England, which the Council granted. As Solomon Jacobs had acted as sergeant major for several years and now did duty as adjutant, the Council proposed to appoint him to succeed Mr Mowatt, should the Court think it proper to dismiss him from its service. 15: Mr John Goodwin, the Court's accountant, likewise asked leave for himself and his family to go to England on the ship *Warren*, and the Council granted his request. 16: On 21 and 22 May there fell so violent a rain that it did great damage to some of the Court's plantations and to several of the planters, and the Court's fortifications at Banks's and Sandy Bay were also hurt by it and were now being repaired. 17: On the 7th of this month, a little before eleven in the morning, two small shocks of an earthquake

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		to several of the Planters, your Honors Fortifications at Bankses & Sandy Bay were likewise hurt by it & are now repairing. On the 7 instant a little before 9 oClock in the Morning was sensibly felt in several parts of the Island two small Shocks of an Earthquake, but did no manner of harm. By this opportunity we transmit to you the List of Remains of your Stores &c to the 30th April last, together with our Indent of Goods & necessarys that we shall want for the Service of the ensuing Year, which we hope you will be pleased to supply us with. Mr John Clark applyed to us to pay £301.1. into your Cash which Sum we have received & given him two Sets of Bills of Exchange drawn on your Honors, one of them for the Sum of £200. & the other for £101.1 both payable	were plainly felt in several parts of the island, but they did no kind of harm. 18: By this opportunity the Council sent the Court the list of remains of its stores to 30 April, together with the indent of goods and necessaries wanted for the coming year's service, which it hoped the Court would supply. 19: Mr John Clark asked the Council to take £301 1s 0d into the Court's cash, which sum the Council received, giving him two sets of bills of exchange drawn on the Court, one for £200 0s 0d and the other for £101 1s 0d, both payable [...] **Interpretations** The violent rain of 21 and 22 May sits within the island's standing difficulty with its own weather. The wet seasons that fed the pasture and raised the yams also loosed torrents that repeatedly tore at the fortifications and kilns, so that the same water the settlement depended on for its subsistence was a recurring threat to the fabric of its defences, the damage at Banks's and Sandy Bay here being one more instance of a battle the Council fought season after season. Clark's payment of cash into the Company's treasury against bills drawn on London shows the island working as a private banking channel. A person with coin to remit home lodged it in the Court's cash on the island and took paper redeemable in London, sparing the danger of shipping specie himself, while the Council gained ready money to meet its local charges without breaking into the treasure the store ships carried. Splitting the sum into two bills was the ordinary precaution against loss, the parts sent home by different conveyances so that one surviving would carry the credit.
376	372	to himself, or Order, 90 Days after sight date the 8th instant Mr Rt Beale Senr likewise applyed to us to pay £150. into your Cash, which Sum we have received & given him Bills of Exchange, drawn on your Honors, payable to himself or Order 90 Days after sight & dated the 8th instant. Mr Thomas Evans likewise applyed to us to pay £150. into your Cash, which Sum we have received & given him Bills of Exchange, drawn on your Honors, payable to himself or Order 90 Days after sight dated the 14th instant. Mr John Inglis, likewise applyed to us to pay £230. into your Cash, which Sum we have received & given him Bills of Exchange, drawn on your Honors, payable to himself or Order 90 Days after sight dated the 14th instant. Thomas Loving your Carpenter having applyed to us to request of your Honors to permit his Wife to come to him by the next Store Ship, we hope it will meet with your approbation. On the 10 instant, Arrived your Ship Eastcourt, from Madrass which place she sailed from the 3d March. The Capt informs us that he left Calcutta the 14th of January last, & that he heard at Madrass that the St George & Denham arrived at Bengall a few Days after he sailed from thence, that the latter was leaky & very Sickly, he further acquaints us, that the Duke of Dorsett went from Bengall for Pillichowry to fill up, and that the Doddington	The two sets of bills of exchange given to Mr Clark were payable to himself or order at ninety days after sight, dated the 8th of this month. 20: Mr Richard Beale, senior, likewise asked the Council to take £150 0s 0d into the Court's cash, which sum the Council received, giving him bills of exchange drawn on the Court payable to himself or order at ninety days after sight, dated the 8th of this month. 21: Mr Thomas Evans likewise asked the Council to take £150 0s 0d into the Court's cash, which sum the Council received, giving him bills of exchange drawn on the Court payable to himself or order at ninety days after sight, dated the 14th of this month. 22: Mr John Inglis likewise asked the Council to take £230 0s 0d into the Court's cash, which sum the Council received, giving him bills of exchange drawn on the Court payable to himself or order at ninety days after sight, dated the 14th of this month. 23: Thomas Levin, the Court's carpenter, asked the Council to request the Court's leave for his wife to come out to him by the next store ship, which the Council hoped would meet the Court's approval. 24: On the 10th of this month the Court's ship *East Court* arrived from Madras, which place she left on 3 March. Her captain reported that he had left Calcutta on 14 January, and that he had heard at Madras that the *St George* and the *Denham* reached Bengal a few days after he sailed from there, the latter being leaky and very sickly. He further reported that the *Duke of Dorset* had gone from Bengal to Fillicherry to fill up, and that the *Doddington* had not then arrived. 25: Despite the Council's frequent requests to the Court's President and Council at Madras to send the thirty men slaves the Court had directed to be forwarded from there, those gentlemen had [...] **Interpretations**

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		was not then arrived. Notwithstanding our frequent Requests to your President & Council at Madrass to send us the thirty Men Slaves, you directed to be forwarded to us from thence those Gentlemen have	The run of payments into the cash by Beale, Evans and Inglis shows the island treasury serving as the standing channel through which the Company's departing servants carried their money home. Each lodged coin on the island and took bills redeemable in London after ninety days, the sight period fixing the delay before the holder could demand payment and giving the Court time to provide for the draft. Inglis and Evans, both about to sail as the medical establishment was reconstituted, were converting the fruits of their island service into paper for the passage, the surgeon's larger sum reflecting the fee income the principal surgeon's place had carried. The thirty men slaves sought from Madras belonged to the stalled building of the hospital and barracks. The Court had appropriated ships to bring the materials, but the work stood at a standstill for want of the promised labour, which its Indian settlements were slow to furnish, leaving the Council to press Madras repeatedly and to make shift with hired soldiers in the meantime. The island depended on labour drawn from the wider Company world, and a settlement that would not spare its slaves could halt a fortification programme thousands of miles away.
377	373	taken no Notice of it, neither have they yet sent the long Cloth & Stockings we indented for two Years ago. In their Letter by the Eastcourt, they inform us that they had not received any, that went the last Year upon the Ecetor, So what the Miscarriage of it is owing, we are at a loss to know We being very much in want of an Armourer & Paul Heritage Armourer of the Ship Warren inclining to stay here as such, Capt Glover consenting to it we have entertained him at the usual Salary. This waits on you by your Ship the Hardwicke, who Sails this afternoon in Company with the Warren & Anson, when they are gone there will remain here the Bombay Castle, London Eastcourt, & Oxford, which last is taking in her Ballast, & will be ready to Sail soon We are Honble Sirs St Helena 15 June 1756 Your most Obdt & most hble Servants (signed) Charles Hutchenson John Clark	The gentlemen at Madras had taken no notice of the Council's requests, nor had they yet sent the long cloth and stockings the Council indented for two years earlier. In their letter by the *East Court* they reported that they had not received any that went the previous year by the *Exeter*, so what the loss of it was owing to the Council was at a loss to know. 26: The Council, being very much in want of an armourer, and Paul Heritage, armourer of the ship *Warren*, being inclined to stay on the island as such, with Captain Glover's consent, had taken him on at the usual salary. 27: This letter went by the Court's ship *Hardwicke*, which sailed that afternoon in company with the *Warren* and the *Anson*. Once they were gone, there would remain in the road the *Bombay Castle*, the *London*, the *East Court* and the *Oxford*, the last of which was taking in her ballast and would be ready to sail soon. The letter was signed at St Helena on 15 June 1756 by Charles Hutchinson and John Clark. **Interpretations** The missing long cloth and stockings show how far the island's supply depended on distant settlements that answered its indents slowly or not at all. Long cloth was a plain Indian cotton, ordered from Madras for the clothing of the garrison and slaves, and a consignment that vanished somewhere between the coast and the island left the Council unable even to trace where the failure lay, two years of unmet requests exposing how little the small settlement could compel from the Company's greater establishments in India. The recruitment of Heritage as armourer, like Barclay the surgeon before him, shows the Council filling essential posts by taking skilled men off the ships lying in the road. An armourer kept the garrison's firelocks and the heavy guns in repair, a standing need on a fortified island, and a competent tradesman willing to leave his ship on the promise of the usual salary was worth engaging on the spot rather than waiting on an uncertain supply from England, the same expedient by which the island repeatedly made good its want of qualified men from the passing trade.
378	374	List of the Honorable Companys Packet from St Helena p Ship Hardwicke Dated the 15th June 1756 viz. Govr & Councils General Letter Dated the 15th June	The packet the *Hardwicke* carried home from St Helena, dated 15 June 1756, held the following. 1: Governor and Council's general letter dated 15 June 1756

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		1756 Duplicate Do the 15 April Do Do Do the 8th May Do Do Do the 23 Do Do Consultations from the 19th April to the 11 June Do Dup Do of the 12 April Do List of Officers & Servants taken the 15 June Do Dup List of the Packet p Ship Prince George First Receipt for the Do p Do Second Do for the Do p p Ship Drake First Do for the Do p a sudden Ship Dup Ship Prince Georges Account Do Kents Do Do Prince of Wales Do Ship Hardwickes Account Do Ansons Do Do Warrens Do Cash Account of the 11th April 1756 Do from the 12th Do to the 11th May Do Do from the 12 May to the 11 June Do Do from the 12 June to the 15th Do Do List of Men Discharged the H.C. Service Rolls of the Companys	2: Duplicate of the general letter dated 15 April 1756 3: Duplicate of the general letter dated 8 May 1756 4: Duplicate of the general letter dated 23 May 1756 5: Consultations from 19 April to 11 June 1756 6: Duplicate consultations of 12 April 1756 7: List of officers and servants taken 13 June 1756 8: Duplicate list of the packet by the ship Prince George 9: First receipt for the packet by the ship Prince George 10: Second receipt for the packet by the ship Drake 11: First receipt for the packet by the ship Swallow 12: Duplicate of the ship Prince George's account 13: Duplicate of the ship Kent's account 14: Duplicate of the ship Prince of Wales's account 15: Ship Hardwicke's account 16: Ship Anson's account 17: Ship Warren's account 18: Cash account of 11 April 1756 19: Cash account from 12 April to 11 May 1756 20: Cash account from 12 May to 11 June 1756 21: Cash account from 12 June to 15 June 1756 22: List of men discharged the Company's service 23: Rolls of the Company's
379	375	Abstract of the Cargo of Ship Bombay Castle. Do of the Do Ship Warren Do of the Do Ship Anson Do of the Do Eastcourt. Indent of Stores wanted at St Helena for the Year 1757 Do of Medicine & Druggs Do Do Do List of Remains of Stores taken the 12th October 1755 to the 30th April 1756. Do of Gunners & Garrison Stores remaining the 30th April 1756 Governor Letter to the Secret Committee. To the Honble &ca Honble Sirs Our last advices to you went by your Ship Hardwicke, that sailed from hence on the 15th instant in company, with the Warren, & Anson. On the 19th Arrived your Ship the St George, Capt Jenner, late Robinson, from Bengall, which place he Saild from the 1 March last & left the Denham there in a very Sickly situation, they having but few Europeans on board & Lascars being difficult to get when he came from thence, it was reported that She was to be dispatched in six or seven Days after him, but he is of opinion that she could not be ready to Sail by that time for want of Men. He further acquaints us, that the Duke of Dorsett Sailed from Bengall for the Malabar Coast the 31 of January last And informs us that he saw a Ship in the Latitude	24: Abstract of the cargo of the ship Bombay Castle 25: Abstract of the cargo of the ship Warren 26: Abstract of the cargo of the ship Anson 27: Abstract of the cargo of the ship East Court 28: Indent of stores wanted at St Helena for the year 1757 29: Indent of medicines and drugs wanted at St Helena for the year 1757 30: List of remains of stores taken 12 October 1755 to 30 April 1756 31: List of gunner's and garrison stores remaining 30 April 1756 32: Governor's letter to the Secret Committee To the Honourable Court and so forth. Honoured Sirs. The Council's last advices went by the Court's ship *Hardwicke*, which sailed on the 13th of this month in company with the *Warren* and the *Anson*. On the 19th arrived the Court's ship *St George*, Captain Jenner, late Robinson, from Bengal, which place she left on 1 March, leaving the *Denham* there in a very sickly state, she having but few Europeans aboard and lascars being hard to get when the *St George* came away. It was reported the *Denham* was to be dispatched six or seven days after her, but her captain thought she could not be ready to sail by then for want of men. He further reported that the *Duke of Dorset* had sailed from Bengal for the Malabar coast on 31 January, and that he had seen a ship in the latitude [...] **Interpretations** The difficulty of getting lascars at Bengal points to the manning crisis that ran through the Company's shipping in wartime. Lascars were South Asian seamen engaged to work the Indiamen, and a ship left short of both Europeans and local hands, like the *Denham*, could not sail on schedule however pressing her orders, the sickness aboard

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			compounding a shortage of crew that no settlement could quickly make good.
380	376	of 32 South, to the Eastward of the Cape, which appeard to him to be an English one, but could not discern her Colours. We have sent enclosed in the Packet in a seperate Paper a List of Books wanted for the use of the Island, we having had none for a long Time past. the two large Bibles & eight common Prayer Books are for the use of the Churches, the others to be sold out of your Honors Stores. We transmit you by this occasion our Duplicate of Consultations, together with that of our Indent, & List of Remains. This waits on you by your Ship Bombay Castle, that Sails with the London & Eastcourt, the Oxford likewise proceeds this Day on her Voyage. We are Honble Sirs St Helena 24th June 1756 Your most Obedient & most hble Servants (signed) Charles Hutchinson John Clark	The ship seen in the latitude of 32 south, to the eastward of the Cape, appeared to her captain to be an English one, but he could not make out her colours. The Council had enclosed in the packet, on a separate paper, a list of books wanted for the use of the island, having had none for a long time past. The two large Bibles and eight common prayer books were for the use of the churches, the others to be sold out of the Court's stores. The Council sent by this occasion its duplicate consultations, together with duplicates of its indent and list of remains. This letter went by the Court's ship *Bombay Castle*, which sailed with the *London* and the *East Court*, the *Oxford* likewise going on her voyage that day. The letter was signed at St Helena on 24 June 1756 by Charles Hutchinson and John Clark. **Interpretations** The order for books alongside the ordinary stores shows the Company supplying the island's religious and civil life as one more branch of its provisioning. The Bibles and prayer books for the churches came free to the parish, while the remaining books were to be sold on from the Court's stores like any other imported goods, the same warehouse serving both the worship of the settlement and its retail trade, and a want left unmet for years reflecting how low such supplies ranked against the pressing demands of defence and subsistence.
381	377	List of the Honorable Companys Packet from St Helena p Ship Bombay Castle Dated the 24th June 1756 viz. Governor & Council General Letter Dated the 24th June 1756 Dup Do the 13 Do Do Consultation of the 24 June Do Dup Do from the 19th April to the 11th June Do List of Officers & Servants taken the 24 June Do Dup List of the Packet p Ship Hardwicke First Receipt for the Do p Do Second Do for the Do p Ship Prince George Do Do for the Do p a sudden Ship Ship Bombay Castles Account Do Londons Do Do Eastcourts Do Dup Ship Hardwickes Do Do Ansons Do Do Warrens Do Cash Account from the 16 to the 24th June 1756 Dup Do of the 11 April Do Do Do from the 12th Do to the 11th May Do Do Do from the 12 May to the 11 June Do Do Do from the 12 to the 15th June Do Ship Oxfords Account List of Men Discharged the Honorable Companys Service Abstract of the Cargo of Ship St George	The packet the *Bombay Castle* carried home from St Helena, dated 24 June 1756, held the following. 1: Governor and Council's general letter dated 24 June 1756 2: Duplicate of the general letter dated 13 June 1756 3: Consultation of 24 June 1756 4: Duplicate consultations from 19 April to 11 June 1756 5: List of officers and servants taken 24 June 1756 6: Duplicate list of the packet by the ship Hardwicke 7: First receipt for the packet by the ship Hardwicke 8: Second receipt for the packet by the ship Prince George 9: Receipt for the packet by the ship Swallow 10: Ship Bombay Castle's account 11: Ship London's account 12: Ship East Court's account 13: Duplicate of the ship Hardwicke's account 14: Duplicate of the ship Anson's account 15: Duplicate of the ship Warren's account 16: Cash account from 16 to 24 June 1756 17: Duplicate cash account of 11 April 1756 18: Duplicate cash account from 12 April to 11 May 1756 19: Duplicate cash account from 12 May to 11 June 1756 20: Duplicate cash account from 12 to 13 June 1756 21: Ship Oxford's account 22: List of men discharged the Company's service 23: Abstract of the cargo of the ship St George
382	378	List of Marriages &ca Dup Indent of Stores wanted at St Helena for the Year 1757 Do Do of Medicens & Druggs. Do	24: List of marriages and so forth 25: Duplicate indent of stores wanted at St Helena for the year 1757

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		Do Do List of Remains of Stores taken the 12 October 1755 to the 30 April 1756. Do List of Gunners & Garrison Stores rem the Do 30 April 1756 Books wanted for the use of the Island St Helena Governors Letter to the Secret Committee. To the Honorable the Court &ca Honorable Sirs We wrote last to you by your Ship the Bombay Castle, that sailed from hence on the 24 of June, with your Ships London & Eastcourt. Mark Hawkins your Mason having for some Time past been very Idle, & by negligence & Drunking rendered himself unfit for your Service, we therefore Dismissed him from it at Consultation of the 12 April, & must beg that you will be pleased to send us in his room a Man that has been brought up to making rough Wall cutting Stone & working in a Quarry, Mr Bland your Master Mason tells us that such a one may be easily met with in the County of Kent. There is wanting at present 6 Men to compleat the establishment of your Garrison here & allowing for Deaths & Discharges which may happen before the arrival of your next	26: Duplicate indent of medicines and drugs wanted at St Helena for the year 1757 27: Duplicate list of remains of stores taken 12 October 1755 to 30 April 1756 28: Duplicate list of gunner's and garrison stores remaining 30 April 1756 29: Books wanted for the use of the island of St Helena 30: Governor's letter to the Secret Committee To the Honourable Court and so forth. Honoured Sirs. 1: The Council last wrote by the Court's ship *Bombay Castle*, which sailed on the 24th of June with the Court's ships *London* and *East Court*. 2: Mark Hawkins, the Court's mason, having for some time past been very idle, and by negligence and drinking rendered himself unfit for the Court's service, the Council dismissed him at a consultation of the 12th of April. The Council asked that a man be sent in his place who had been brought up to hewing rough wall stone and working in a quarry, Mr Bland the master mason having said such a man could easily be found in the county of Kent. 3: The garrison was at present eight men short of its full establishment, and allowing for deaths and discharges that might happen before the arrival of the next store [...] **Interpretations** The dismissal of Hawkins and the precise trade sought in his place show how closely the island's building work depended on a few skilled men and how narrowly the Council specified its wants to London. A mason able to hew rough wall stone and quarry it was exactly the hand needed for the fortifications and the stalled hospital and barracks, and the Council's naming of Kent, on its master mason's advice, points the Court to a particular English source for a particular skill, the whole construction programme resting on the timely supply of tradesmen the island could not produce for itself.
383	379	Store Ship, we think there will be 24 Recruits required for that purpose, & if a War should be Declard between the two Nations of England & France & this Island be attacked by a Squadron of Ships we beg leave to inform you that we have not in our opinions, a sufficient Number of Officers, & Men to Defend the several parts of it that an Enemy might then attempt to Land at We therefore Desire you will add a Lieutenant, & 20 Soldiers more to each Company, & 34 Mattrosses to the Artillery & should you approve of this there will be no occasion of more than three Officers from England, as a young Gentleman Richard Beale has carried Arms in your Service here several Years as a Cadett who We believe to be very capable & Deserving, we therefore take the Liberty to recommend him to your Honors for a Commission. Your Servants at Bencoolen have transported to this place a Mollay Man named Naguedah Cohallum whom they say is of some Distinction they thought it necessary as they inform us, to remove him from the Coast as he was a troublesome Man & likely to be prejudicial to your Interest there We have received him &	Store ship, the Council thought twenty-four recruits would be needed for that purpose. Should war be declared between England and France and the island be attacked by a squadron of ships, the Council wished to inform the Court that in its opinion it had not a sufficient number of officers and men to defend the several parts of the island where an enemy might attempt to land. The Council therefore asked that a lieutenant and twenty more soldiers be added to each company, and thirty-four matrosses to the artillery. Should the Court approve this, there would be no need for more than three officers from England, as a young gentleman, Richard Beale, had served as a cadet on the island for several years, whom the Council believed to be very capable and deserving, and it took the liberty of recommending him for a commission. 4: The Court's servants at Bencoolen had transported to the island a Malay man named Naquedah Cohallum, said to be a person of some distinction. They thought it necessary, as they informed the Council, to remove him from the coast, as he had been a troublesome man and likely to be prejudicial to the Court's interest there. The Council had received him and agreed to allow him two dollars a month out of the Court's cash, according to their request to supply him with a little money and to give him proper clothes and food. The Council therefore asked whether it should charge that settlement with this expense or not. 5: On the 28th of July there fell a very extraordinary shower of rain, and the torrents of water it caused did great damage in many parts of the island, especially in James's Valley, as the Court would see set out in the consultation of the 29th.

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		agreed to allow him out of your Cash two Dollars p Month according to their request of supplying him with a little Mony & to give him proper Cloathes & Food, we therefore beg to know your pleasure whether we shall Debt that Settlement with this expence to your Honors, or not. On the 28 of July fell a very extraordinary shower of Rain, & the torrents of Water occasioned by it, has done great Damage in many parts of the Island especially in Jamess Valley as your Honors will See particularly mentioned in our Consultation of the 29. we therefore employed several Soldiers, & as many of your Slaves as could be spared out of your	The Council therefore employed several soldiers, and as many of the Court's slaves as could be spared out of [...] **Interpretations** The request to enlarge the garrison and the calculation behind it show the Council reasoning about defence in terms of the specific danger the coming war brought. Matrosses were the soldiers who assisted the gunners in serving and moving the artillery, and a call for thirty-four of them alongside extra infantry reflected a settlement whose security rested on its batteries commanding the landing places. By pressing that a resident cadet be commissioned rather than sending four officers from home, the Council fitted its plea to the Court's known reluctance to bear expense, offering a saving in the same breath as a demand. The handling of Naquedah Cohallum shows how the Company used the island as a place of exile for men it found inconvenient elsewhere in its eastern dominions. A Malay of rank judged troublesome at Bencoolen could be shipped to a remote island and kept on a small monthly allowance, neither prisoner nor free, and the Council's question over which settlement should bear the charge treats a political removal as a matter of internal accounting between the Company's stations, the cost of managing an awkward man passed between ledgers.
384	380	your Plantations to repair the Fortifications as far as possible which has for some Time past prevented us from carrying on any other Work. Your Honors Carpenters Mate Thomas Eastwood that we dismissed from your Service as of Consultation of the 31 of May has since gone off the Island, without permission & indebted to several persons upon it. we think, he must have got on board one of the three beforementioned Ships, he having been seen upon the London after she was underway. We are likewise greatly in want of a Surgeon Mate, & hope, that you will send us a Person by your next Store Ship, properly qualifyed for that employment, as it is too fatiguing for one Surgeon to take due care of the sick, there being frequently many People out of Order His Majestys Ship Hampshire & most of your own this Season being in great want of Fewel, we were under a Necessity of supplying them by which means so large a quantity of Wood having been taken away, it makes us apprehensive that in a few years there will not be a sufficient quantity remaining for the Consumption of the Inhabitants if the Ships Demands should continue to be so large. Your Latter Ships having had long Passages, & being scarce of Salt provisions & necessary is the reason that they wanted so great a quantity of Cattle & Stores We have by this means been so distressed that we hitherto have had & can only have for the remaining part of the year one small Beast a Week for the Market.	The Court's plantations, to repair the fortifications as far as possible, which for some time past had prevented the Council from carrying on any other work. The Court's carpenter's mate, Thomas Eastwood, whom the Council dismissed from the Court's service at a consultation of the 31st of May, had since gone off the island without permission, being indebted to several persons on it. The Council thought he must have got aboard one of the three ships mentioned earlier, having been seen on the *London* after she was under way. The Council was likewise greatly in want of a surgeon's mate, and hoped the Court would send out a person by its next store ship properly qualified for that employment, as it was too fatiguing for one surgeon to take due care of the sick, there being frequently many people out of order. His Majesty's ship *Hampshire* and most of the Court's own ships being in great want of fuel this season, the Council was obliged to supply them. So large a quantity of wood having been taken away, the Council feared that in a few years there would not be enough remaining for the consumption of the inhabitants, should the ships' demands continue to be so large. The Court's later ships having had long passages and being short of salt provisions and necessaries, this was the reason they wanted so great a quantity of cattle and stores. The Council had by this means been so distressed that it hitherto had, and could only have, one small beast a week for the market for the remaining part of the year. Being in want of saltpetre to make signal rockets, the Council sent Captain Jenner an order to send ashore one bag, which weighed 154 pounds. [...] **Interpretations** The fear over the island's wood reveals the long conflict between the settlement's own needs and the demands of the shipping it existed to serve. The trees supplied fuel for the inhabitants and material the island could not readily replace, so heavy cutting to victual the passing ships threatened to strip a resource whose slow recovery the Council had struggled for decades to protect through replanting laws. A single season's demand from a King's ship and the Company's own fleet could undo years of

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		Being in want of Salt Petre to make Signal Rockets we sent Capt Jenner an Order to send us on Shore one Bag, which weighed 150.	husbandry, the port's usefulness to the fleet eating into the base that sustained its people. The provisioning crisis shows how a run of long voyages could throw the island's whole economy into distress. Ships that had been many weeks at sea arrived stripped of salt meat and pressed the Council for fresh cattle and stores, and the settlement's small stock of pasture-fed beasts could not answer both the passing fleet and its own market. Reduced to a single beast a week for the inhabitants, the Council was caught between its duty to refit the shipping and its obligation to feed the island, the state of the seas hundreds of miles off dictating what the resident population could eat.
385	381	Besides the Salt Provisions we have already Indented for we shall require fifty Casks of Pork more for the Garrison provided we have no demands from your Ships, but should there be reason to expect they may, be in want of any, we hope you will be pleased to direct a larger quantity to be sent for that purpose. On the 5th July arrived his Majestys Ship Hampshire. Capt Norbury informed us that he parted with the Walpole, Hector & Chesterfield the 15 June in the Latitude of 29th ¼ South. The 7 Arrived the Exeter from Bencoolen. On the 28 the Britham from Bombay they brought us the agreeable News of the intire Defeat of Angria & the taking of all his Forts. On the 31 of the same Month came in the Pelham from Bombay last from Pillichery, & on the 8 instant arrived the Duke of Dorsett likewise from Pillichery, Capt Forrester acquaints us that on the 7 July, he met with the three abovementioned outward bound Ships in the Latitude of 33 40th South about 140 Leagues to the Eastward of the Cape. A false & Malicious report having been spread on board of his Majestys Ship Hampshire by a person belonging to the Island whose Name we cannot Learn that there was plenty of Cattle upon it for Slaughter if the Governor & Council would permit them to be sold, we therefore published an advertizement to require those who had any Cattle for that purpose that were not included in the Number they had given in for the Service of the present Year to send into the Secretarys Office an immediate Account of them & when those came in it appeared there was only two returned.	Besides the salt provisions the Council had already indented for, it would need fifty casks of pork more for the garrison, provided there were no demands from the Court's ships. Should there be reason to expect the ships might be in want of any, the Council hoped the Court would direct a larger quantity to be sent for that purpose. On the 3rd of July arrived His Majesty's ship *Hampshire*. Captain Norbury reported that he had parted with the *Walpole*, the *Hector* and the *Chesterfield* on the 15th of June in the latitude of 29 south. On the 6th arrived the *Exeter* from Bencoolen, and on the 28th the *Stretham* from Bombay, which brought the welcome news of the entire defeat of Angria and the taking of all his forts. On the 31st of the same month came in the *Pelham* from Bombay, last from Fillicherry, and on the 8th of this month arrived the *Duke of Dorset*, likewise from Fillicherry. Captain Forrester reported that on the 5th of July he had met with the three ships mentioned above, outward bound, in the latitude of 33 40 south, about 140 leagues to the eastward of the Cape. A false and malicious report having been spread aboard His Majesty's ship *Hampshire* by a person belonging to the island, whose name the Council could not learn, that there was plenty of cattle on it for slaughter if the Governor and Council would allow them to be sold, the Council published an advertisement requiring those who had any cattle for that purpose, not included in the number they had given in for the current year's service, to send an immediate account of them to the secretary's office. When those accounts came in, it appeared there were only two returned. **Interpretations** The report spread aboard the *Hampshire* and the Council's brisk response reveal the tension between a King's ship expecting to be provisioned and a settlement guarding a scarce resource. A rumour that the Council was withholding available cattle threatened both its standing with the Navy and the discipline of its provisioning, so it turned at once to a public muster of every beast not already pledged, and the return of only two head vindicated its refusal, using the planters' own declarations to prove the shortage real against an anonymous charge of bad faith. The news of Angria's entire defeat marks the end of a long menace to Company shipping on the western coast of India. Tulaji Angria's fleet of grabs and galivats had for years preyed on the trade off Malabar, and the fall of all his forts to a combined Bombay and Maratha assault removed a danger the Council had tracked through the reports of its calling commanders, the intelligence carried past St Helena binding the affairs of a distant coast to the island's watch on the passing trade.
386	382	We transmit herewith an Indent for a few things which we found necessary to write for, & we hope you will be	The Council sent an indent for a few things it found necessary to write for, and hoped the Court would direct them to be sent out.

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		pleased to direct to be sent us. Mr John Adamson hath paid into your Cash here the Sum of £36. for which we have given him Bills of Exchange drawn on your Honors payable to himself or Order 90 Days after sight & Dated the 16 July Capt Wm Fernell likewise applyed to us to pay £200 into your Cash which sum we have received & given him Bills of Exchange drawn on your Honors payable to himself or Order 90 Days after sight Dated the 26 July. Mr Matthew Purling likewise applyed to us to pay £200 into your Cash, which Sum we have received & given him Bills drawn & Dated as above. Mr Thomas Brown likewise applyed to us to pay £140 into your Cash, which Sum we have received & given him Bills drawn & Dated as above. Mr John Bland likewise applyed to us to pay £70. into your Cash, which Sum we have received & given him Bills drawn & Dated as above. Mr Nicholas Mosely likewise applyed to us to pay £150. into your Cash, which Sum we have received & given him Bills drawn & Dated as above. Enclosed you will receive the First Bill of Exchange drawn on Capt John Hall & & Owners of Ship Britham for the Sum of £208..5.10 being the Balance of her Account You will likewise receive the First Bill of Exchange drawn on Thomas Lockyer Esqr & Owners of Ship Pelham for the Sum of £80 being part of the Balance of her Account.	Mr John Adamson had paid into the Court's cash the sum of £36 0s 0d, for which the Council gave him bills of exchange drawn on the Court payable to himself or order at ninety days after sight, dated the 16th of July. Captain William Fernell likewise asked the Council to take £200 0s 0d into the Court's cash, which sum the Council received, giving him bills of exchange drawn on the Court payable to himself or order at ninety days after sight, dated the 26th of July. Mr Matthew Purling likewise asked the Council to take £200 0s 0d into the Court's cash, which sum the Council received, giving him bills drawn and dated as above. Mr Thomas Brown likewise asked the Council to take £140 0s 0d into the Court's cash, which sum the Council received, giving him bills drawn and dated as above. Mr John Bland likewise asked the Council to take £70 0s 0d into the Court's cash, which sum the Council received, giving him bills drawn and dated as above. Mr Nicholas Mosely likewise asked the Council to take £150 0s 0d into the Court's cash, which sum the Council received, giving him bills drawn and dated as above. Enclosed the Court would receive the first bill of exchange drawn on Captain John Hallett and the owners of the ship *Stretham* for the sum of £208 5s 10d, being the balance of her account. The Court would likewise receive the first bill of exchange drawn on Thomas Lockyer Esq and the owners of the ship *Pelham* for the sum of £80 0s 0d, being part of the balance of her account. [...] **Interpretations** The steady run of payments into the cash against bills drawn on London shows the island treasury working as the settlement's standing banking channel. The private servants and captains lodged their coin on the island and took paper redeemable at ninety days after sight, sparing the danger of shipping specie, while the Council gained ready money for its charges without breaking into the treasure the store ships carried. The bills drawn on the ships' owners for the balances of their accounts mark the settling of the Company's dealings with each vessel that called. Goods bought from a ship, or services supplied to her, left a balance owed by her owners in London, and the Council recovered it by drawing on those owners in the Court's favour, the same instrument of the bill of exchange closing the account of a ship as it carried home the fortunes of the island's people.
387	383	This waits on you by his Majestys Ship Hampshire that Sails to morrow with your Ships Pelham Exeter, Britham, Duke of Dorsett & St George under her Convoy which we hope will arrive safe We are Honorable Sirs St Helena 21 August 1756 Your most Obedient & most humble Servants (Signed) Chas Hutchinson John Adamson John Clark List of the Honorable Companys Packet from St Helena p Ship Hampshire Dated the 21 Aug 1756 viz Govr & Council General Letter Dated the 21 August 1756 Duplicate Do the 24th June	This letter went by His Majesty's ship *Hampshire*, which sailed the next day with the Court's ships *Pelham*, *Exeter*, *Stretham*, *Duke of Dorset* and *St George* under her convoy, which the Council hoped would arrive safe. The letter was signed at St Helena on 21 August 1756 by Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson and John Clark. The packet the *Hampshire* carried home from St Helena, dated 21 August 1756, held the following. 1: Governor and Council's general letter dated 21 August 1756 2: Duplicate of the general letter dated 24 June 1756 3: Consultations from 29 June to 21 August 1756 4: Duplicate consultations of 24 June 1756 5: List of officers and servants taken 21 August 1756 6: Duplicate list of the packet by the ship Bombay Castle 7: First receipt for the packet by the ship Bombay Castle

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		Do Consultations from the 29 June to the 21 August Do Dup Do of the 24 June Do List of Officers & Servants taken the 21 August Do Dup List of the Packet p Ship Bombay Castle. First Receipt for the Do p Do Second Do for the Do p Ship Hardwicke Dup Ship Bombay Castles Account Do Londons Do Do Eastcourts Do Do Oxfords Do	8: Second receipt for the packet by the ship Hardwicke 9: Duplicate of the ship Bombay Castle's account 10: Duplicate of the ship London's account 11: Duplicate of the ship East Court's account 12: Duplicate of the ship Oxford's account **Interpretations** The despatch of the homeward ships together under the convoy of a King's ship marks the wartime discipline imposed on the Company's trade. With war against France now expected, the Indiamen no longer sailed home singly but were held to depart in company under naval protection, the *Hampshire* shepherding five valuable Court ships past the dangers of the passage, the defence of a commercial route become a charge on the Royal Navy.
388	384	Ship St Georges Account Do Exeters Do Do Brithams Do Do Pelhams Do Do Duke of Dorsets Do Triplicate Indent of Stores wanted at St Helena for 1757 Do of Medecines Do Do Muster Rolls for the Quarter ending 11 July 1756 Courts Marshal Governors Letter to the Secret Committee Cash Account from the 25 June to the 11th July Do Do from 12 July to the 11 August Do Do from 12 to the 21 Do Do Duplicate Books wanted for the use of Island St Helena List of Marriages &ca Additional Indent of Stores State of the Military at St Helena First Bill of Exchange drawn on the Owners of Ship Britham Do Do Do Do Pelham	13: Ship St George's account 14: Ship Exeter's account 15: Ship Stretham's account 16: Ship Pelham's account 17: Ship Duke of Dorset's account 22: Triplicate indent of stores wanted at St Helena for 1757 23: Triplicate indent of medicines wanted at St Helena for 1757 24: Muster rolls for the quarter ending 11 July 1756 25: Court martial 26: Governor's letter to the Secret Committee 27: Cash account from 25 June to 11 July 1756 28: Cash account from 12 July to 11 August 1756 29: Cash account from 12 to 21 August 1756 30: Duplicate books wanted for the use of the island of St Helena 31: List of marriages and so forth 32: Additional indent of stores 33: State of the military at St Helena 34: First bill of exchange drawn on the owners of the ship Stretham 35: First bill of exchange drawn on the owners of the ship Pelham
389	385	To the Honble the Court &ca Honble Sirs. Our last advices to you, went by his Majestys Ship Hampshire that Sailed from hence on the 22 of Aug in company with your Ships Pelham, Exeter Duke of Dorsett Britham & St George. On the 6 of Oct arrived your Honors Ship the Earl of Holderness from Batavia The Capt acquaints us they left Nimpo the 29 of January last, & the next day about 10 oClock in the Morning struck upon a sunken Rock, where the Ship layen till 5 oClock in the afternoon, which obliged them to cut away their Main & Mizen Masts & to throw their Guns & overboard, in order to get her off. The 2 of February they sailed for Macao, & arrived there the 8 where they stayd until the 19. & then proceed to Batavia which place they reached the 21 March & Sailed from thence the 1 of August, Captain Brooke further informs us they were obliged to take out their Cargo, at Batavia where Capt Court died the 30 June that	To the Honourable Court and so forth. Honoured Sirs. 1: The Council's last advices went by His Majesty's ship *Hampshire*, which sailed on the 22nd of August in company with the Court's ships *Pelham*, *Exeter*, *Duke of Dorset*, *Stretham* and *St George*. 2: On the 6th of October arrived the Court's ship *Earl of Holderness* from Batavia. Her captain reported that he left Ningpo on 29 January, and the next day, about ten in the morning, struck upon a sunken rock, where the ship lay until five in the afternoon. This obliged them to cut away their main and mizzen masts and throw their guns and stores overboard to get her off. On 2 February she sailed for Macao and arrived there on the 8th, where she stayed until the 19th, then went on to Batavia, which place she reached on 21 March, and sailed from there on 1 August. Captain Brooke further reported that they were obliged to take out their cargo at Batavia, where Captain Court died on 30 June, that the *Griffin*, Captain Dethick, arrived there on the 14th of May and sailed for Ningpo on 2 June with all well aboard. 3: On the 25th of the same month arrived the Court's ship *Denham*, Captain George Meard. He left Bengal River on the 18th of March, and was then in soundings off Cape Agulhas, but by storms was obliged to bear away for Madagascar, arriving there on the 21st of July. He further reported that there came into St Augustine's Bay, where he was, the Court's ship *Chesterfield* [...]

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		the Griffin Capt Dethick arrived there the 14 May & Sailed for Nimpo the 2 June with all well on board On the 25 of the same Month arrived your Ship the Denham, Capt George Mead he left Bengell River the 18 of March. & was thence in Soundings of Cape Lagullas but by Storms was obliged to bear away for Madagascar & arrived there the 21 July He further informs us that there came into St Augustines Bay where he was your Ships	**Interpretations** The account of the *Earl of Holderness* shows the desperate expedients of a ship in immediate danger of loss. Striking a sunken rock off Ningpo, her crew cut away two of her masts and threw the guns and stores into the sea, sacrificing the ship's armament and cargo to lighten her enough to float free, the long detour to Macao and Batavia to refit and reload marking how a single grounding could disorder an entire homeward voyage. The convergence of Company ships at St Augustine's Bay in Madagascar reveals the island's role as a refuge on the homeward track when the ordinary passage failed. A ship driven off Cape Agulhas by storms bore away for Madagascar rather than beat against the weather, and finding another Court ship already there shows how the great bay served as a known rendezvous where vessels thrown out of their course could water, wait and fall in with one another before resuming the run for the Cape and St Helena.
390	386	Chesterfield, Walpole, Hector, Royal Duke & Clinton, which place they sailed from the 9th and 11 of Aug, & that he left it the 6 of Sept. He brought with him from thence five of your Recruits, that deserted from the Chesterfield, namely James Truelove, John Davis, Thomas Green, Robert Bennit & John Dough, whom he delivered to us, which we received & have placed them to your Companys here. As it is possible that some of your Soldiers may desert from your Settlements, & be brought here on homeward bound Ships we beg your Honors will be pleased to let us know, whether they may be draughted into the Companys at this place or be sent back by your Store Ship to the places they came from to be tryed. On the 25 of Oct arrived your Ship the Prince Henry Capt Mumford & brought us the disagreeable news of there being War declared between the two Nations of England & France & that the Enemy had taken Minorca. You will receive by this occasion, the two Second Bills of Exchange drawn on the Owners of the Ships Pelham & Britham. There happening lately a dispute between two of your Soldiers, & one of them Struck the other some blows with his Fists the Man that was Struck is since Dead. Mr Barclay your Surgeon who was directed to open him, declared that he could not perceive any marks of Violence upon him & is of opinion, that the blows he received, were not the cause of his Death There was likewise a black Man lost out of a Fishing Boat & we have some reason to believe that he	The Court's ships *Chesterfield*, *Walpole*, *Hector*, *Royal Duke* and *Clinton*, which place they sailed from on the 9th and 11th of August, and the *Denham* left it on the 6th of September. She brought with her from there five of the Court's recruits who had deserted the *Chesterfield*, namely James Trulove, John Davis, Thomas Green, Robert Bennit and John Dough, whom the captain delivered to the Council, and the Council received them and placed them in the Court's companies on the island. 4: As it was possible that some of the Court's soldiers might desert from its settlements and be brought to the island on homeward bound ships, the Council asked the Court to let it know whether they might be drafted into the companies at the island or be sent back by the store ship to the places they came from to be tried. 5: On the 25th of October arrived the Court's ship *Prince Henry*, Captain Mumford, which brought the unwelcome news that war had been declared between England and France, and that the enemy had taken Minorca. 6: The Court would receive by this occasion the two second bills of exchange drawn on the owners of the ships *Pelham* and *Stretham*. 7: A dispute having lately arisen between two of the Court's soldiers, one of them struck the other some blows with his fists, and the man who was struck had since died. Mr Barclay, the Court's surgeon, who was directed to open him, declared that he could not perceive any marks of violence upon him, and was of opinion that the blows he received were not the cause of his death. 8: There was likewise a black man lost out of a fishing boat, and the Council had some reason to believe that he [...] **Interpretations** The question over deserters carried to the island shows a jurisdictional difficulty the Council could not resolve on its own authority. A soldier who fled a settlement in India and turned up on a homeward ship stood outside the reach of the court that should have tried him, and the Council, uncertain whether to absorb such men into its own thin garrison or ship them back for trial, referred the choice to London, the mobility of the Company's servants across its scattered stations outrunning the machinery meant to discipline them. The surgeon's post-mortem finding marks the point at which a fatal quarrel between soldiers turned on medical evidence. Barclay was directed to open the dead man, and his opinion that the blows were not the cause of death governed whether the survivor faced a charge of killing, the newly

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			confirmed surgeon's professional judgement standing between an ordinary garrison brawl and a capital accusation. The declaration of war and the loss of Minorca place the letter at the formal opening of the Seven Years War in the autumn of 1756. The fall of the Mediterranean island was the first heavy blow of the conflict, and its report reaching St Helena on a Company ship confirmed the danger the Council had long anticipated, the war it had been arming against now a settled fact.
391	387	was Murdered by those that were with him. We doubt your Honors will be pleased to give us some directions upon this Head that we may know how they are to be tryed, & if found guilty whether they are to suffer Death or not. Your Military here seem to think it hard that Slaves should receive only Corporal punishment when they by the Articles of War are liable to be put to Death for Crimes that are not so Heinous. We have put on board your Ship the Denham James Harvey a Man that was left here out of his Majestys Ship Hampshire who Capt Norbury desired Might be sent to England by the first opportunity, & have given Capt Mead directions to acquaint your Honors of it upon his arrival. Samuel Harrison Esq applyed to us to pay £15 into your Cash which Sum we have received & given him Bills of Exchange drawn on your Honors, payable to himself, or Order 90 days after sight dated the 18 of last Month. Capt Robt Brooke applyed to us to pay £362 into your Cash which Sum, we have received & given him Bills of Exchange, drawn on your Honors, payable to himself, or Order 90 Days after sight dated the 1 instant Capt George Mead applyed to us to pay £27 into your Cash which Sum we have received & given him Bills of Exchange, drawn on your Honors, payable to himself, or Order 90 Days after sight dated the 1 instant We have not yet been able to repair the Damage, that was done by the late Flood, & believe it will be yet some Time before we can compleat it.	The black man lost out of the fishing boat had been murdered by those who were with him. The Council asked the Court to give it some directions on this head, that it might know how such men were to be tried, and whether, if found guilty, they were to suffer death or not. The garrison on the island thought it hard that slaves should receive only corporal punishment when, by the Articles of War, they were liable to be put to death for crimes that were not so heinous. 9: The Council had put aboard the Court's ship *Denham* James Harvey, a man who was left on the island out of His Majesty's ship *Hampshire*, whom Captain Norbury wished to be sent to England by the first opportunity, and had given Captain Meard directions to report the matter to the Court on his arrival. 10: Samuel Harrison Esq asked the Council to take £75 0s 0d into the Court's cash, which sum the Council received, giving him bills of exchange drawn on the Court payable to himself or order at ninety days after sight, dated the 18th of last month. 11: Captain Robert Brooke asked the Council to take £362 0s 0d into the Court's cash, which sum the Council received, giving him bills of exchange drawn on the Court payable to himself or order at ninety days after sight, dated the 1st of this month. 12: Captain George Meard asked the Council to take £27 0s 0d into the Court's cash, which sum the Council received, giving him bills of exchange drawn on the Court payable to himself or order at ninety days after sight, dated the 1st of this month. 13: The Council had not yet been able to repair the damage done by the recent flood, and believed it would be some time yet before it could complete the work. **Interpretations** The unequal punishment of slaves and soldiers exposes a contradiction the garrison itself pressed upon the Council. Under the Articles of War, into which the Court had recently brought the island's establishment, a soldier could be put to death for offences less grave than murder, while a slave who killed answered only with corporal punishment, and the military men resented a scale that held their own lives cheaper than a slave's. The Council's appeal to London for direction shows a settlement whose law did not yet fix how a capital crime by a slave was to be tried, the matter of life and death left to await instruction from home. The stationing of Company ships to carry unwanted men home marks the routine use of the homeward trade for the Navy's and the island's convenience alike. A seaman set ashore from a King's ship at his captain's wish could be lodged on the next Court vessel bound for England, the commander charged to report him on arrival, the passing fleet serving as a standing means of moving men out of a place too small to keep them.
392	388	We have the pleasure to acquaint your Honors that there has fallen for some Time past a great deal of very fine Rain & that	14: The Council was glad to report that a great deal of very fine rain had fallen for some time past, and that the Court's pastures and plantations were at present in good condition.

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		your Pastures & Plantations are at present in good condition. This waits on your Honors by your Ship the Denham that Sails in Company with your Ship the Earl of Holderness We are Honble Sirs. St Helena 3 Novr 1756. Your most Obedt & most hble Servants (Signed) Charles Hutchinson John Adamson John Clark List of the Honorable Companys Packet from St Helena p Ship Denham Dated the 3 November 1756 viz Govr & Councils General Letter dated the 3 November 1756 Duplicate do the 21 August do Consultations from the 23 Aug to the 1 November do Duplicate do from the 29 June to the 16 August do List of Officers & Servants taken the 3 November do Duplicate List of the Packet p Ship Hampshire. First Receipt for the do p do Second do for the do p Ship Bombay Castle Duplicate Ship St Georges Account Do Exeters do Do Brithams do Do Pelhams do Do Duke of Dorsetts do	15: This letter went by the Court's ship *Denham*, which sailed in company with the Court's ship *Earl of Holderness*. The letter was signed at St Helena on 3 November 1756 by Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson and John Clark. The packet the *Denham* carried home from St Helena, dated 3 November 1756, held the following. 1: Governor and Council's general letter dated 3 November 1756 2: Duplicate of the general letter dated 21 August 1756 3: Consultations from 23 August to 1 November 1756 4: Duplicate consultations from 29 June to 16 August 1756 5: List of officers and servants taken 3 November 1756 6: Duplicate list of the packet by the ship Hampshire 7: First receipt for the packet by the ship Hampshire 8: Second receipt for the packet by the ship Bombay Castle 9: Duplicate of the ship St George's account 10: Duplicate of the ship Exeter's account 11: Duplicate of the ship Stretham's account 12: Duplicate of the ship Pelham's account 13: Duplicate of the ship Duke of Dorset's account **Interpretations** The welcome fine rain and the good condition of the pastures point to the island's constant dependence on its weather for the provisioning that was its chief purpose. Good rain meant grass and yams, and grass meant cattle to victual the fleet, so a favourable season was reported home as plainly as any military or commercial news, the settlement's whole usefulness resting on a supply of fresh food that only the rains could secure.
393	389	Muster Rolls. Courts Martial Abstract of the Cargo of Ship Denham Duplicate Cash Account from 25 June to 11 July 1756 do from 12 July to 11 Aug do do from 12 Aug to 21 do do Second Bill of Exchange drawn on the Owners of Ship Britham do do do Pelham Governors Letter to the Secret Committee Abstract of the Cargo of Ship Earl of Holderness Duplicate Additional Indent Cash Account from 22 Aug to 11 Sept 1756 do from 12 Sept to 11 Oct do do from 12 Oct to 3 Nov do Ship Denham Account do Earl of Holderness do List of Familys, Land & Cattle do of the H. Comp Slaves do of Rents & Revenues Effective State of the Garrison	14: Muster rolls 15: Court martial 16: Abstract of the cargo of the ship Denham 17: Duplicate cash account from 25 June to 11 July 1756 18: Duplicate cash account from 12 July to 11 August 1756 19: Duplicate cash account from 12 August to 21 August 1756 20: Second bill of exchange drawn on the owners of the ship Stretham 21: Second bill of exchange drawn on the owners of the ship Pelham 22: Governor's letter to the Secret Committee 23: Abstract of the cargo of the ship Earl of Holderness 24: Duplicate additional indent 25: Cash account from 22 August to 11 September 1756 26: Cash account from 12 September to 11 October 1756 27: Cash account from 12 October to 3 November 1756 28: Ship Denham's account 29: Ship Earl of Holderness's account 30: List of families, land and cattle 31: List of the Company's slaves 32: List of rents and revenues 33: Effective state of the garrison
394	390	To the Honorable the Court &ca Honble Sirs. We wrote last to you, by your Ship the Denham, that sailed from hence on the 3 of Novr with your	To the Honourable Court and so forth. Honoured Sirs. The Council last wrote by the Court's ship *Denham*, which sailed on the 3rd of November with the Court's ship *Earl of Holderness*.

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		Ship the Earl of Holderness. Your Ship the Prince Henry Packet sailed on her Voyage the 8 of November. On the 28 of January arrived a Dane Ship from Tranquebar, called the Queen Sophia Magdalena, Capt Hielte Burthen 1000 Tons, carrys 130 Men, and 26 Guns Loaded with Bale Goods, Pepper Salt Petre & Red Wood bound for Copenhagen. The Capt informs us that a body of people belonging to the King of Tanjour had burnt several Houses near Tranquebar, & cut to pieces an Officer, & 24 Men that was sent to protect them. but they did not attack the place. On the 15 of this Month arrived your Ships the Edgcote Capt Pearce & the Boscawen Capt Godfrey from Bombay which place they left the 16 of December, they inform us that Fort William had been attacked by the Morattoes & was surrendered to them the 20 of June last, & that Admiral Watson with his Squadron & some Troops, were gone from Madrass to Bengall to retake it They further inform us that Commodore James is gone from Bombay with Forces for that place, who in his passage down the Coast took a French Ship, bound to Mayhee, with all sorts of Military Stores & several Officers & Soldiers on board. Your Ships the Hector & Clinton as it is said are expected	The Court's ship *Prince Henry* sailed on her voyage on the 8th of November. On the 28th of January arrived a Danish ship from Tranquebar, called the *Queen Sophia Magdalena*, Captain Hilte, of 1,000 tons burthen, carrying 130 men and 26 guns, laden with bale goods, pepper, saltpetre and redwood, bound for Copenhagen. Her captain reported that a body of people belonging to the King of Tanjore had burnt several houses near Tranquebar, and cut to pieces an officer and twenty-four men who had been sent to protect them, but that they did not attack the place. On the 15th of this month arrived the Court's ships *Edgcote*, Captain Pearce, and the *Boscawen*, Captain Godfrey, from Bombay, which place they left on the 16th of December. They reported that Fort William had been attacked by the Morattoes and surrendered to them on the 20th of June, and that Admiral Watson with his squadron and some troops had gone from Madras to Bengal to retake it. They further reported that Commodore James had gone from Bombay with forces for that place, who on his passage down the coast took a French ship bound to Mauritius, with all sorts of military stores and several officers and soldiers aboard. The Court's ships *Hector* and *Clinton*, as was reported, were expected [...] **Interpretations** The report of Fort William's fall carries the first news to reach the island of the great crisis in Bengal, though the letter names the wrong assailant. The seizure of the Company's Calcutta settlement in June 1756 was the work of the Nabob Siraj ud Daula, not the Marathas, and the confusion in the account shows how imperfectly and how late such momentous events came to a remote island, reported second hand by ship captains who had them at further remove still. The despatch of Admiral Watson's squadron and troops from Madras to recover the place set in train the campaign that would culminate at Plassey the following year. The French ship taken by Commodore James with her cargo of military stores marks the war at sea now openly joined in the eastern trade. A vessel carrying arms and soldiers to the French base at Mauritius was a fair prize once war was declared, and her capture off the Indian coast shows the Company's naval force turned from suppressing local sea powers like Angria to intercepting a European enemy, the general war and the Company's private quarrels now run together into one struggle for the eastern seas.
395	391	expected to be dispatched from Bombay about three weeks after the abovementioned; & that Gaviah was given up to the Morattoes on the 23 of Oct. they likewise bring us an Account that their Ship Doddington was lost on the 17th of June in 1755 on bird Island which lys in the Latitude of 33. 44 South Maredian distance from Cape Lagullus 10. 30 & from the main about two Leagues, & that three mates the Carpenter, & 16 Men were all that were saved out of her. Your Ship the Onslow Capt Hinde is just now arrived with all well on board & the Dane Capt by whom this goes to you determining to sail this afternoon we have not Time to answer any part of your Letter, that we may receive. The Govr put Lieut Hay in Arrest on Monday the 13th of Decr last for disobeying his Orders & behaving in a disorderly manner	The Court's ships *Hector* and *Clinton* were expected to be dispatched from Bombay about three weeks after the ships mentioned above, and Gheriah had been given up to the Marathas on the 23rd of October. They likewise brought an account that the Court's ship *Doddington* was lost on the 17th of June 1755 on Bird Island, which lies in the latitude of 33 44 south, at a meridian distance from Cape Agulhas of 10 30 east and about two leagues from the mainland, and that three mates, the carpenter and sixteen men were all that were saved out of her. The Court's ship *Onslow*, Captain Hinde, had just now arrived, with all well aboard, and the Danish ship by which this letter went was determined to sail that afternoon, so the Council had not time to answer any part of the Court's letter it had received. The Governor put Lieutenant Hay under arrest on Monday the 13th of December for disobeying his orders and behaving in a disorderly manner, with contempt and disrespect towards him, and for being drunk on duty. The Governor intended to have him tried on the island by a court martial, but it being found from the several circumstances that so many of the officers must necessarily be called as witnesses

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		& with Contempt & disrespect towards him, & for being drunk upon Duty He intended to have had him tried here by a Court Martial, but it being found by the several Circumstances that so many of the Officers must necessarily be called upon as evidences in the course of the Trial, that there would not afterwards remain a sufficient number to compose a court martial, it was therefore agreed that none could be appointed & as it was thought that we could not take Cognizance of this affair the Govr determines to lay it before your Honors by the first of your Ships that procede from hence for England as he does not look upon the present to be a proper opportunity for this purpose, Lieutenant Hay is in the mean time indulged with Liberty to go where he pleases in the Valley. This Waits upon your Honors by the abovementioned Dane Ship, & we have the pleasure to acquaint you that there has	in the course of the trial that there would not afterwards remain a sufficient number to compose a court martial, so that none could be appointed, the Governor determined to lay the matter before the Court by the first of its ships bound for England, not thinking the present a proper opportunity. Lieutenant Hay was in the meantime allowed the liberty of going where he pleased in the valley. This letter went by the Danish ship mentioned above, and the Council was glad to report that there [...] **Interpretations** The loss of the *Doddington* on Bird Island, though the news came only now, records a wreck that had happened eighteen months before the letter, again showing how slowly the fate of a ship could travel back along the trade routes. The precise latitude and meridian distance given were the means by which an unmarked hazard, a small island two leagues off the African coast, was fixed for the warning of later navigators, the survival of only twenty hands out of a full ship's company marking the severity of the disaster. The collapse of the intended court martial reveals a structural weakness of governing a small garrison by military law. The Articles of War, lately extended to the island, required a bench of officers to try a serious charge, but a settlement with so few officers could not both supply the witnesses and constitute the court, since the men needed as evidence were the very men who would have judged. Unable to try Lieutenant Hay on the spot, the Governor was forced to reserve the case for London, and meanwhile could do no more than confine the accused loosely to the valley, the machinery of military justice defeated by the smallness of the establishment it was meant to discipline. The surrender of Gheriah to the Marathas completes the reports of Angria's overthrow. Gheriah was the great fortress harbour that had been the base of his fleet, and its passing into Maratha hands set the seal on the destruction of the sea power that had preyed on the coast's shipping, the intelligence of its fall carried home past the island with the rest of the year's news from the western coast.
396	392	has been for some Time past a great deal of Rain & at present good herbage upon the Island. We are Honble Sirs. St Helena 3 Feb 1757. Your most humble & most Obedient Servants (Signed) Chas Hutchinson John Adamson John Clark. To the Honble the Court &ca Honble Sirs Our last advices to you were sent by a Dane Ship called the Queen Sophia Magdalena that sailed from hence on the 18 Feb On the same day, arrived your Ship the Onslow Capt Thos Hinde, from England by whom we received a Packet from you; & read your Letter to us therein enclosed It is with pleasure we hear that our advices of last Year got safe to you We caused his Majestys declaration of War against the French King that we received in your Packet p the Onslow to be published & beg leave to assure you that we shall take all possible care for the security & Defence of your Island Your Fortifications shall likewise be kept in repair	There had been for some time past a great deal of rain, and at present good herbage on the island. The letter was signed at St Helena on 13 February 1757 by Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson and John Clark. To the Honourable Court and so forth. Honoured Sirs. 1: The Council's last advices went by a Danish ship called the *Queen Sophia Magdalena*, which sailed on the 13th of February. 2: On the same day arrived the Court's ship *Onslow*, Captain Thomas Hinde, from England, by whom the Council received a packet from the Court, and read the Court's letter enclosed within it. 3: The Council was glad to learn that its advices of the previous year had reached the Court safely. 4: The Council had published His Majesty's declaration of war against the French King, received in the packet by the *Onslow*, and gave the Court its assurance that it would take all possible care for the security and defence of the island. 5: The fortifications would likewise be kept in repair, the garrison's military discipline maintained, and the flying party of each division properly exercised, the planters composing them having been out under arms twice a week on this account for some time past. **Interpretations**

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		your Military Disciplined & the Planters properly exercised the flying Partys of each Division which are composed of the Planters having been all under Arms twice a Week on this Account for some Time past.	The flying parties drawn from the planters show how the island's defence rested on its inhabitants as much as its regular garrison. A flying party was a mobile body held ready to move quickly to a threatened point, and organising the planters into such divisions and drilling them twice a week turned the ordinary settlers into a militia, a small and exposed island in wartime unable to rely on its few soldiers alone and compelled to arm the population that worked its land. The formal publication of the declaration of war marks the point at which the conflict, long expected and already fought at sea, became an openly proclaimed state binding the island's conduct. The Council's care to read out the King's declaration and to report its preparations home shows a settlement placing itself formally on a war footing under instruction from London, its assurances of vigilance answering the Court's evident anxiety for a possession that lay directly in an enemy's path to the East.
397	393	The Govr assures your Honors all Orders that he shall receive, from the Honble the Gentlemen of the Committee of Secrecy shall be strictly observed by him. Your Honors may depend upon our complying with your Orders in collecting all the news we can from every Ship that arrives here & communicate it to you by the several conveyances you have directed, & likewise have the abstracts of your returning Ships Cargoes, & discribed in as clear a manner as we possibly can & those we now send you are the exact Copys that we received from the Commanders who tell us they have no other. Your Orders to us in giving directions to the Commanders of your Ships, with respect to the forwarding your Packets to the East India House shall be punctually observed. We are glad to find that all your returning Ships of last Year that sailed from here between the 10 of April & the 22 of August inclusive arived safe as we hope your Ships the Earl of Holderness and Denham that was dispatched the 3 of Novr will. We hope the Ships you have thought proper to take into your Service for carrying on your Trade this season will be successful & return safe Having already acquainted you that your Ship the Prince Henry Packet touched here in her way outward bound to your settlements in India we shall take care an her return (if She comes here) to send to you by her all the news we can collect, & the Govr likewise will be careful & particular in his address to the Honble the Secret Committee We thank your Honors for complying with our Indents for materials for building an Hospital & Baracks & you may depend upon our care in having those necessary works forwarded as fast as we can. The Recruits that you were pleased to send us by the Onslow we have received & are very good ones.	6: The Governor gave the Court his assurance that all orders he received from the gentlemen of the Committee of Secrecy would be strictly obeyed. 7: The Court could depend upon the Council complying with its orders in collecting all the news it could from every ship that arrived, and communicating it by the several conveyances the Court had directed. The Council likewise sent the abstracts of its returning ships' cargoes, described as clearly as possible, and those now sent were the exact copies received from the commanders, who said they had no other. 8: The Court's orders on giving directions to the commanders of its ships, regarding the forwarding of its packets to the East India House, would be punctually observed. 9: The Council was glad to find that all the Court's returning ships that sailed from the island between the 13th of April and the 22nd of August inclusive had arrived safe, and hoped the Court's ships *Earl of Holderness* and *Denham*, dispatched on the 3rd of November, would do the same. 10: The Council hoped the ships the Court had thought proper to take into its service for carrying on its trade this season would be successful and return safe. 11: Having already reported that the Court's ship *Prince Henry* touched at the island on her way out to the settlements in India, the Council would take care, on her return should she call again, to send by her all the news it could collect, and the Governor would likewise be careful and particular in his address to the Secret Committee. 12: The Council thanked the Court for meeting its indents for materials to build a hospital and barracks, and the Court could depend upon its care in having those necessary works forwarded as fast as it could. The recruits sent out by the *Onslow* had been received and were very good ones. **Interpretations** The Council's insistence that the cargo abstracts were the exact copies given by the commanders, who had no others, points to the Company's reliance on the ships' masters for its commercial intelligence and to the island's role as a checkpoint where that information was gathered and passed home. By certifying the abstracts as the captains' own figures, the Council both fulfilled its duty of reporting and protected itself against any later charge of altering the accounts, the flow of trade data through the island resting on the honesty of the men who carried it. The renewed work on the hospital and barracks marks the resumption of a building programme that

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			had long stalled for want of labour and materials. The arrival of the supplies indented for, together with a draft of good recruits by the *Onslow*, gave the Council the means to press on with works it had been unable to advance, the construction of the island's permanent establishment depending on a supply from home that war made both more necessary and harder to secure.
398	394	Your Ship the Onslow was unloaded within the Charterparty time, Capt Hinde received his dispatches on the 3 instant to proceed according to his directions & nothing shall be wanting on our parts to unload the Falmouth within the said time & we shall give the Commander Orders to make the best of his way on his Voyage agreeable to your directions You may likewise depend that we shall be in readiness to receive the Goods you may send us by the Falmouth. Both of the Commanders of the abovementioned Ships shall have their dispatches within the Charterparty time, & have orders to make the best of their way on their respective Voyages, agreeable to your orders & their directions from the Secret Committee. It gives us pleasure to hear that our conduct with regard to the not permitting a Dutch Ship coming into the Road in the night Time contrary to the notice the Govr sent to the Commander of her met your approbation, & we shall be equally strict in the like circumstance for the future. According to your directions we will take opportunitys of supplying our selves with Such Boats as we may want, out of your returning Ships The Govr begs leave to assure you that whatever Orders He has already received or shall receive from the Secret Committee relating to the Convoy of your returning Ships, & their security in General shall be punctually obeyed We thank your Honors for complying with our Indents in so full a manner. As you inform us you have given directions to the Supracargoes of your Ships bound for China this season to provide all the Articles we Indent do for & put them on board in proportions on the several Ships we make no doubt of their compliance therewith. The half Pipa of Madria Wine your Honors have been pleased to send by the Onslow for your Table is very acceptable, as will likewise the other which is to be expected by the Falmouth.	13: The Court's ship *Onslow* was unloaded within the charter party time. Captain Hinde received his despatches on the 3rd of this month to proceed according to his directions, and nothing would be wanting on the Council's part to unload the *Falmouth* within that time, the Council giving the commander orders to make the best of his way on his voyage in keeping with the Court's directions. 14: The Court could depend upon the Council being ready to receive the goods it might send by the *Falmouth*. 15: Both commanders of the ships mentioned above would have their despatches within the charter party time, and had orders to make the best of their way on their respective voyages, in keeping with the Court's orders and their directions from the Secret Committee. 16: The Council was glad to hear that the Court approved its conduct over refusing to admit a Dutch ship that came into the road at night, contrary to the notice the Governor sent her commander, and it would be equally strict in like circumstances in future. 17: Following the Court's directions, the Council would take opportunities of supplying itself with such boats as it might want out of the Court's returning ships. 18: The Governor gave his assurance that whatever orders he had already received or might receive from the Secret Committee, regarding the convoy of the Court's returning ships and their security in general, would be punctually obeyed. 19: The Council thanked the Court for meeting its indents so fully. 20: As the Court reported that it had directed the supercargoes of its ships bound for China this season to provide all the articles the Council indented for, and to put them aboard the several ships in proportion, the Council had no doubt of their compliance. 21: The half pipe of Madeira wine the Court sent by the *Onslow* for the Governor's table was very acceptable, as would likewise be the other to be expected by the *Falmouth*. **Interpretations** The Council's approved refusal of the Dutch ship at night reveals the strict control kept over access to the road in wartime. A vessel that ignored the Governor's warning and stood in after dark could not be told friend from enemy, and admitting her risked both the security of the anchorage and the shipping gathered there, so the Council barred her and was commended for it, the port's hospitality now subordinate to the danger that any approaching ship might be hostile. The direction to draw boats from the returning ships shows the island making good its standing want of small craft by the cheapest means to hand. A settlement that constantly wore out its longboats in the service of the fleet, and could not readily build or import replacements, was instructed to take them from the Company's own homeward vessels, the resources of the passing trade turned to supply a persistent local need without fresh expense to the Court.

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399	395	The Books for the use of the Church &ca that you were pleased to send us came safe. It gives us concern that your President & Council of Fort St George could supply us with only five of the thirty Men Slaves that you had given them directions to send us by the Chesterfield, we shall therefore employ as many of your Military as is necessary for carrying on & compleating your Works. Altho we have reason to think we shall have a constant supply of Sugar from Fort Marlborough yet in the present situation of affairs we will according to your directions continue our Indents for some of that Article as usual from China. We have not taken any of your Treasure out of the Onslow & shall not take more than one Chest out of the Falmouth if we should be in want of any, of which we shall duly advise your Deputy Govr & Council at Fort Marlbro. The reason we Indented for more Bouge Barrels, is because they are much wanted for carrying Powder from the Magazines to the Guns at the several Battarys as the sixty five that stood upon the List of remains not being sufficent for those purposes should we come to Action The Articles in your List of remains of Iron Goods shall for the future be particularized in the manner you have been pleased to direct. The sixty Recruits you sent us by the Onslow are Landed and Draughted into the several Companys Your Fortifications shall be put in repair with the utmost dispatch & we will do our best endeavours for the security of the Island in every respect Mr Richd Beale returns your Honors thanks for his allowance of £40. p Ann for acting as Judge Advocate. We acquainted Solomon Jacobs that you had be pleased to appoint him Adjutant at the usual Salary, & allowances. According to your Honors directions we will send to England every Person	22: The books for the use of the church and so forth, which the Court was pleased to send, came safe. 23: The Council was concerned that the Court's President and Council of Fort St George could supply it with only five of the thirty men slaves they had been directed to send by the *Chesterfield*, so it would employ as many of the Court's garrison as was necessary for carrying on and completing the works. 24: Although the Council had reason to think it would have a constant supply of sugar from Fort Marlborough, in the present situation of affairs it would, following the Court's directions, continue its indents for some of that article as usual from China. 25: The Council had not taken any of the Court's treasure out of the *Onslow*, and would take no more than one chest out of the *Falmouth* should it be in want of any, of which it would duly advise the Deputy Governor and Council at Fort Marlborough. 26: The reason the Council indented for more barrels was that they were much wanted for carrying powder from the magazines to the guns at the several batteries, the sixty-five that stood on the list of remains not being enough for those purposes should the Council come to action. 27: The articles in the Court's list of remains of store goods would in future be particularised in the manner the Court directed. 28: The sixty recruits sent out by the *Onslow* had been landed and drafted into the several companies. 29: The fortifications would be put in repair with the utmost dispatch, and the Council would do its best for the security of the island in every respect. 30: Mr Richard Beale returned the Court his thanks for his allowance of £40 0s 0d a year for acting as judge advocate. 31: The Council had told Solomon Jacobs that the Court had been pleased to appoint him adjutant at the usual salary and allowances. 32: Following the Court's directions, the Council would send to England every person [...] **Interpretations** The repeated shortfall in the slaves promised from Fort St George shows how the island's building programme remained hostage to the willingness of the Company's Indian settlements to spare labour. Directed to send thirty, Madras furnished only five, forcing the Council once again to divert its own soldiers to the works, the persistent failure of the greater stations to supply the hands they were ordered to send leaving the small settlement to make good the deficit from a garrison already stretched by the war. The concern over powder barrels for the batteries reveals the practical readiness for action behind the Council's defensive preparations. Barrels were needed to carry powder from the magazines out to the guns should the island come under attack, and the existing stock being judged too few for that service, the Council's indent for more was a direct measure of its expectation of a fight, the ordinary supply of a mundane container become a question of whether the guns could be kept firing in an assault. The appointment of a judge advocate at a fixed yearly allowance marks the establishment of the machinery of military law on the island. A judge advocate was the officer who conducted courts martial and advised on their proceedings, and providing a salaried post for the office shows the Articles of War, lately extended to the garrison, taking permanent institutional form, the island equipping itself to try its soldiers by the forms the new military jurisdiction required.
400	396	Person or Persons that do not pay the due obedience to such Orders as shall be given them	Every person who did not pay due obedience to such orders as were given them.

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		Mr Robt Barclay is established principal Surgeon on this Island agreeable to your Orders, & we will endeavour to get a proper Person out of your returning Ships for his Mate. Your directions in the 34 paragraph of your last Letter, relating to the reading the Articles of War every two Months has been & shall be punctually complyed with & we shall look upon all such as duly inlisted & liable to be tryed by those Articles in case of misbehaviour. We are obligd to your Honors for permitting Mrs Deborah Loving to come to her Husband, in your Ship Onslow, agreeable to our request. It gives us pleasure to find that your Ships of last Season arrived safe, but we are sorry to hear the St George was so unlucky as to have sprung a leake & in Danger of loosing her Rudder The Mason your Honors intend to send us by the Falmouth instead of Mark Hawkins whom we discharg'd we hope will be a sober, diligent capable Man. We are glad to find that your Honors have been pleased to take our request of adding an Officer & more Men to each Company under consideration. Your settlement of Fort Marlbro shall be debted in your Books all the Expences of Naguedah Cohallum the Mallay Man, that was transported hither from thence. The Fortifications shall be always kept in the best repair we can, & we are pleased to hear that you approve of what we directed to be done to the works after the extraordinary flood that happened on the 28 of July last. We hope your Honors will find out in what Ship your Carpenters Mate Thomas Eastwood absented. We are very glad you have given directions to the Commanders of your Ships to supply themselves before their departure from India with Fewell & live Provisions as it will prevent the Island from being exosted of both.	33: Mr Robert Barclay had been established principal surgeon on the island, in keeping with the Court's orders, and the Council would try to get a proper person out of the Court's returning ships to serve as his mate. 34: The Court's directions in the 34th paragraph of its last letter, on the reading of the Articles of War every two months, had been and would be punctually complied with, and the Council would look on all such men as duly enlisted and liable to be tried by those articles in case of misbehaviour. 35: The Council was obliged to the Court for permitting Mrs Deborah Levin to come out to her husband on the Court's ship *Onslow*, in keeping with its request. 36: The Council was glad to find that the Court's ships of the previous season arrived safe, but sorry to hear that the *St George* was so unlucky as to have sprung a leak and been in danger of losing her rudder. 37: The mason the Court intended to send out by the *Falmouth*, in the place of Mark Hawkins whom the Council discharged, it hoped would prove a sober, diligent and capable man. 38: The Council was glad to find that the Court had been pleased to grant its request for adding an officer and more men to each company, then under consideration. 39: The Court's settlement of Fort Marlborough would be charged in the Court's books with all the expenses of Naquedah Cohallum, the Malay man who was transported to the island from there. 40: The fortifications would always be kept in the best repair the Council could manage, and it was glad to hear that the Court approved what it had directed to be done to the works after the extraordinary flood of the 28th of July. 41: The Council hoped the Court would find out on what ship its carpenter's mate Thomas Eastwood had gone. 42: The Council was very glad the Court had directed the commanders of its ships to supply themselves before their departure from India with jewels and live provisions, as it would prevent the island from being charged with either. **Interpretations** The direction that commanders victual themselves with live provisions before leaving India relieved the island of a burden that had repeatedly distressed it. Ships arriving stripped of stores had pressed the Council for cattle its small pasture could not spare, so an order that they carry their own fresh food from the coast protected the settlement's stock for its proper purpose, the Court's instruction to its captains easing a strain that had reduced the island at times to a single beast a week for its own market. The charging of Naquedah Cohallum's keep to Fort Marlborough confirms the internal accounting by which the Company managed men moved between its stations. The Malay exile removed from the coast as troublesome was maintained on the island at a small allowance, and the cost was carried back to the settlement that had sent him, the whole transaction treating a political banishment as a debt owed by one branch of the Company's establishment to another.
401	397	It gives us pleasure to find your Honors have complyed with our additional Indent for Salt provisions According to your directions we will make use of such of the Timber Plank &ca sent by the Onslow & what we may receive by the Falmouth. as may be proper for the repairs of your Fortifications, & wait for a supply, by	43: The Council was glad to find that the Court had met its additional indent for salt provisions. 44: Following the Court's directions, the Council would make use of such of the timber, plank and so forth sent by the *Onslow*, and what it might receive by the *Falmouth*, as was proper for the repairs of the fortifications, and would wait for a supply by the next year's ships for other buildings.

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		your next years Ships for other Buildings. We are glad you approve of the method we took to obviat the bad effects which might have been the consequence of a Report that was spread here, that there was plenty of Cattle fit for Slaughter upon the Island, but we would not permit them to be Sold. And we wish we coud find out the Person out that published it. Mr Samuel Falconer your late Surgeon Died the 24th day of October 1756 as we acquainted you by your Ship the Denham The Earl of Holderness has been here from Simpo, & all that can be remembered from the Conversation of the Gentlemen belonging to her, with regard to your Trade will be communicated to Mr Flount, & we shall take particular care to follow your Directions upon this Head The Deals we received by your Ship Onslow were counted to twenty five score to the Hundred which is twenty short in each of what we always used to receive we therefore suppose that this has been a mistake We transmit to your Honors your General Books of Accounts made up to the 11 October last, by your Ship Edgcote. We beg leave to inform you, that the Manner in which your Honors Accounts are kept here is very tedious, in having a head for every Soldier in the Ledger which may be altered by making Garrison Dr to Cash in the Journal for the disbursements Quarterly & enter the pay list with the Names of all your Servants & their respective salarys paid them as fully and explicitely as it now is, without having any Connexion with any other Account in the Ledger than	45: The Council was glad the Court approved the method it took to counter the bad effects that might have followed from a report spread on the island that there was plenty of cattle fit for slaughter on it which the Council would not allow to be sold, and it wished it could find out the person who put the report about. 46: Mr Samuel Falconer, the Court's late surgeon, died on the 24th of October 1756, as the Council reported by the Court's ship *Denham*. 47: The *Earl of Holderness* had been to the island from Ningpo, and all that could be remembered from the conversation of the gentlemen belonging to her regarding the Court's trade would be communicated to Mr Flount, and the Council would take particular care to follow the Court's directions on this head. 48: The deals received by the Court's ship *Onslow* were counted at five score to the hundred, which was twenty short in each of what the Council always used to receive, so it supposed there had been a mistake. 49: The Council sent the Court its general books of accounts, made up to the 11th of October, by the Court's ship *Edgcote*. 50: The Council wished to inform the Court that the way in which its accounts were kept on the island was very tedious, in having a head for every soldier in the ledger. This might be altered by charging the garrison to cash in the journal for the quarterly disbursements, and entering the pay list with the names of all the Court's servants and the respective salaries paid them, as fully and plainly as it was now, without having any connection with any other account in the ledger [...] **Interpretations** The dispute over the deals counted at five score to the hundred reflects the old confusion between the long hundred and the common hundred in the timber trade. Deals were sawn softwood boards, and a hundred of them by the customary reckoning meant six score, so a delivery counted at only five score left the Council twenty short of what it expected on every hundred, an ambiguity in a traditional unit of tale translating directly into a shortfall in the materials the island depended on for its building. The Council's proposal to simplify the accounts exposes the burden that keeping a separate ledger head for every soldier placed on a small establishment. Entering each man individually made the books exact but laborious, and the suggestion to charge the garrison's pay to cash in a single quarterly entry, supported by a named pay list, sought to preserve the detail while lightening the labour, a working clerk's plea for a method fitted to the settlement's means rather than the cumbersome exactness the existing form imposed.
402	398	than the Account of Garrison Whereas at present each Servant in your pay is made Dr to Cash four times in a Year for his Salary & credited by Garrison at the end of the Year to Balance the Account. As the Cash Account is the Basis of all Accounts there is no sort of Reason to Introduce a head in the Ledger, when the particular Transaction or Entry may be Carried directly to the Cash Account this being observed there will likewise be no necessity to Open heads in the Ledger for your Servants, as they all Discharge their Rents when due, it may be Carried immediately to the Cash Account, & the Rent Roll may be entered in the	The pay list would then stand clearer than the account of the garrison. At present each servant in the Court's pay was charged to cash four times a year for his salary and credited by garrison at the end of the year to balance the account. As the cash account was the basis of all the accounts, there was no reason to introduce a head in the ledger when the particular transaction or entry could be carried directly to the cash account. This being observed, there would likewise be no need to open heads in the ledger for the Court's tenants. As they all discharged their rents when due, these could be carried at once to the cash account, and the rent roll entered in the journal as clearly as it was now. By following the method here set out, agreeable to the practice in the Court's other settlements, the Council believed the accounts would

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		Journal as Clearly, as it now is, by pursuing the method here laid down (Agreeable to the practice likewise in your other Settlements) your Accounts we conceive by these Means will be Conducted in as clear a manner & more in the Mercantile way than they now are. Lieut Hay having made an acknowledgment to the Govr for his mis behaviour on the Line the 13th Decr last He is therefore released from his arrest & permitted to do his Duty as usual. This waits upon you by your Ship the Chesterfield that sails from hence, with your Ships the Edgcote & Portfield. & your Ship the Onslow proceeds this day on her Voyage. We are Honble Sirs. St Helena 11 March 1756 Your most Obt & most hble Servants (Signed) Chas Hutchinson John Adamson John Clark.	be conducted in a clearer manner and more in the mercantile way than they now were. 51: Lieutenant Hay having made an acknowledgment to the Governor for his misbehaviour on the line on the 13th of December, he was released from his arrest and permitted to do his duty as usual. 52: This letter went by the Court's ship *Chesterfield*, which sailed with the Court's ships *Edgcote* and *Portfield*, the Court's ship *Onslow* going on her voyage that day. The letter was signed at St Helena on 11 March 1756 by Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson and John Clark. **Interpretations** The proposed accounting reform sought to bring the island's books into line with the mercantile practice of the Company's other settlements. By making the cash account the foundation and carrying every payment of salary or receipt of rent directly to it, rather than opening a separate ledger head for each servant and tenant, the Council aimed to keep its records in the double-entry commercial style the Company preferred, the argument that the cash account was the basis of all the accounts marking a clerk's grasp of the merchant bookkeeping the Court expected its distant stations to follow. The quiet resolution of the Hay affair shows how a charge that could not be brought to a court martial was disposed of by submission instead. Unable to try the lieutenant for want of officers to compose a court, the Governor had held him under loose arrest, and Hay's acknowledgment of his fault let the matter be closed without a trial, an admission serving where the forms of military law had proved unworkable on so small an establishment, discipline restored by concession rather than sentence.
403	399	List of the Honorable Companys Packet from St Helena p Ships Edgcote, Chesterfield and Portfield Dated the 11th of March 1757. Governor & Councils general Letter dated the 11th of March 1757. Duplicate Do 18th February 1757. Consultations from the 8th Novr to the 9th of March 1757. Duplicate Do from the 23 of August to the 1 Novr 1756. List of Officers and Servts taken the 11th March 1757. Duplicate List of the Packet p Ship denham. First Receipt for the Packet p Ship denham. Second Receipt for the Packet p his Majestys Ship Ship Hampshire. Duplicate Ship denhams Acct Do Ship Earl of Holderness's Acct Duplicate Cash Acct from the 22 August to the 11th Sept. Do from the 12th Sept. to the 11 October. Do from the 11 October to the 3 November. Cash Account from the 4th to the 11th November. Do from the 12th November to the 11th December. Do from the 12th December to the 11 January. Do from the 12th January to the 11th February. Do from the 12th of February to the 11th of March. General Books of Accounts p Ship Edgcote. Account of the Cargo of Ship Edgcote. Do of Ship Portfield. Do of Ship Chesterfield. Duplicate List of Familys Land and Cattle taken 11th Octr 1756. Do List of Rents and Revennues dated 11th Octr 1756. Do List of the Honorable Companys Slaves dated Do	The packet the *Edgcote*, *Chesterfield* and *Portfield* carried home from St Helena, dated 11 March 1757, held the following. 1: Governor and Council's general letter dated 11 March 1757 2: Duplicate of the general letter dated 18 February 1757 3: Consultations from 8 November 1756 to 9 March 1757 4: Duplicate consultations from 23 August to 1 November 1756 5: List of officers and servants taken 11 March 1757 6: Duplicate list of the packet by the ship Denham 7: First receipt for the packet by the ship Denham 8: Second receipt for the packet by His Majesty's ship Hampshire 9: Duplicate of the ship Denham's account 10: Duplicate of the ship Earl of Holderness's account 11: Duplicate cash account from 22 August to 11 September 1756 12: Duplicate cash account from 12 September to 11 October 1756 13: Duplicate cash account from 11 October to 3 November 1756 14: Cash account from 4 to 11 November 1756 15: Cash account from 12 November to 11 December 1756 16: Cash account from 12 December to 11 January 1757 17: Cash account from 12 January to 11 February 1757 18: Cash account from 12 February to 11 March 1757 19: General books of accounts by the ship Edgcote 20: Account of the cargo of the ship Edgcote

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		First Receipt for the Packet of a dane Ship Queen Sophia Magdalena. Ship Onslows Account. Ship Chesterfields Acct Ship Portfields Acct Ship Edgcotes Acct Courts Martial Muster Rolls Govr Letter to the Secret Committee p Ship Edgcote.	21: Account of the cargo of the ship Prince Henry 22: Account of the cargo of the ship Chesterfield 23: Duplicate list of families, land and cattle taken 11 October 1756 24: Duplicate list of rents and revenues dated 11 October 1756 25: Duplicate list of the Company's slaves dated 11 October 1756 26: First receipt for the packet by the Danish ship Queen Sophia Magdalena 27: Ship Onslow's account 28: Ship Chesterfield's account 29: Ship Portfield's account 30: Ship Edgcote's account 31: Court martial 32: Muster rolls 33: Governor's letter to the Secret Committee by the ship Edgcote
404	400	To the Honble Court Honble Sirs. Our last advices to you went by your Ships the Edgcote, Chesterfield & Portfield by which Ships we answered your Letter that we received by the Onslow they sailed from hence on the 11 of March as did likewise your Ship the Onslow on her Voyage for Simpo. On the 1 instant arrived your Ships the Suffolk Capt Wm Wilson the Godolphin Capt Wm Hutchinson & the Houghton Capt Richd Walpole from China. The Captains inform us they left Wampo the 28 of December last & passed Machoa the 30 of the same Month they likewise tell us that only one French Ship from Pondecherry was at China & went from thence the 4 of Decr for Mauritius & that there remained at Wampo when they left it your Honors Ships the Sermon & Harcourt which were to be despatched in about a Month after them they also say that two Dutch Ships sailed from China for Holland the 15 of Decr & that they left there one Sweede, one Dane one Prussian & four Dutch Ships, & that nothing material had happened in their Voyage untill the 8 of March being in the Latitude 35 degrees 14 South, Longitude 75 degrees from Java head at the hour of twoin the afternoon they discovered from the Mast head two Ships, & at five saw them plain from their Decks steering about E & be north they therefore thought it proper as the best method to avoid them to steer N. as soon as it was Dusk which they according did at seven oClock that evening, but at the hour of eight when the Moon was up they saw them again plain from their Decks steering after them. upon which they hauled the wind as did the French likewise & kept them Company all night & got the Weather gage of them that at daylight they were about two Leagues to Windward & seemd prepared to attack them & at half past seven in the	To the Honourable Court. Honoured Sirs. The Council's last advices went by the Court's ships *Edgcote*, *Chesterfield* and *Portfield*, by which the Council answered the Court's letter received by the *Onslow*. They sailed on the 11th of March, as did likewise the Court's ship *Onslow* on her voyage for Ningpo. On the 1st of this month arrived the Court's ships *Suffolk*, Captain William Wilson, *Godolphin*, Captain William Hutchinson, and *Houghton*, Captain Richard Walpole, from China. The captains reported that they left Whampoa on the 28th of December and passed Macao on the 30th of the same month. They likewise reported that only one French ship, from Pondicherry, was at China, and went from there on the 4th of December for Mauritius, and that there remained at Whampoa when they left it the Court's ships *Sermon* and *Harcourt*, which were to be dispatched about a month after them. They also reported that two Dutch ships sailed from China for Holland on the 15th of December, and that they left there one Swedish, one Danish, one Prussian and four Dutch ships, and that nothing material had happened on their voyage until the 8th of March. Being then in the latitude of 35 degrees 14 minutes south and longitude 75 degrees from Java Head, at two in the afternoon they discovered from the masthead two ships, and at five saw them plain from their decks, steering about east by south. They therefore thought it proper, as the best method to avoid them, to steer north, and as soon as it was dusk they did so, at seven that evening. But at eight, when the moon was up, they saw the ships again plain from their decks, steering after them, on which they hauled the wind, as did the French likewise. The ships kept company all night, and the French got the weather gage of them, so that at daylight they were about two leagues to windward, and seemed prepared to attack them, and at half past seven [...] **Interpretations** The manoeuvring described here shows the seamanship of a running fight in wartime, where holding the weather gage decided everything. To have the weather gage was to lie upwind of the enemy and so command the choice of whether and when to close, and the French working to windward through the night, while the Company ships tried first to slip away to the north and then hauled the wind to face them, marks the opening of an engagement in which position counted before a gun was fired, the homeward Indiamen laden with China goods caught in exactly the danger the convoy system was meant to prevent. The careful record of latitude, longitude and the enemy's course reflects the value the Company placed on precise intelligence of where its ships met

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			danger. A meeting fixed by observation and reckoned from Java Head gave the Court an exact account of the threat on the homeward track, the same navigational exactness that fixed a wreck for warning now serving to map the movements of a hostile squadron across the ocean the Company's trade had to cross.
405	401	the Morning they bore down upon them & the largest Ship fired a Shot at the Suffolk & hoisted French Colours & soon after repeated it & the smaller Ship fering briskly they began engaging them in a Line of Battle & continued so to do untill noon. when the Enemy stood on their Course to the Eastward as did they theirs to the Westward & at half an hour past four in the afternoon they lost sight of them. The Capt further inform us that the Large Ships mounts 24 & 12 pounder Cannon & the small 12 pounders & to the best of their Judgmt they were 60 & 24 Gun Ships. The Captain further inform us that at North Island near the entrance of the Straits of Sunda where they Wooded & Watered they there found a Dutch Hoop & were acquainted by the Persons belonging to her that your Ship the Carnovan had after endeavouring to gain her Passage to China put into Batavia & was then Lying there. The Captains likewise represented to us that they had expended so much of their Powder & Shot in their engagement & there being an absolute necessity for the defence of their Ships & the Safety of your Honors Cargoes on board them to be supplied with some Warlike Stores from hence we therefore Granted their requests & provided them with what they asked for, as you will see particularly mentioned in our Consultation of the 6 instant. We cannot send to your Honors by this occasion any other State of your Cash but a Duplicate of our last as this Quarters Accounts ending the 11 of this Month will not in the usual course be ready to be laid before us untill the 1 of next Month. We herewith transmit to you the three first Bills of Exchange drawn on the Owners of your Ships the Suffolk, Godolphin & Houghton by the Commanders of them payable to your Honors 30 Days after sight dated the 13 & 14 instant. This waits upon you by your Ship the Suffolk as does Duplicates of it by your Ships Godolphin & Houghton, which we hope will arrive safe & we have the pleasure to acquaint you that your affairs here are in general in good Order We are Honble Sirs St Helena 14 April 1757 Your most Ob & most hble Servants (Signed) Chas Hutchinson John Adamson John Clark.	In the morning the ships bore down upon them, and the largest fired a shot at the *Suffolk* and hoisted French colours, and soon after repeated it, and the smaller ship firing briskly, they began engaging them in a line of battle and continued so to do until noon, when the enemy stood on their course to the eastward, as did the Court's ships to the westward, and at half past four in the afternoon they lost sight of them. The captains further reported that the large ship mounted 24 and 12 pounder cannon and the small one 12 pounders, and to the best of their judgment they were ships of 60 and 24 guns. The captains further reported that at North Island, near the entrance of the Straits of Sunda, where they wooded and watered, they found a Dutch hoy, and were told by the persons belonging to her that the Court's ship *Carnarvon*, having endeavoured to gain her passage to China, had put into Batavia and was then lying there. The captains likewise represented to the Council that they had expended so much of their powder and shot in the engagement, and there being an absolute necessity for the defence of their ships and the safety of the Court's cargoes aboard them, to be supplied with some warlike stores from the island, that the Council granted their requests and provided them with what they asked for, as the Court would see set out in the consultation of the 1st of this month. The Council could not send the Court by this occasion any other state of its cash but a duplicate of its last, as the quarter's accounts ending the 11th of this month would not in the usual course be ready to be laid before the Council until the 1st of next month. The Council sent the three first bills of exchange drawn on the owners of the Court's ships *Suffolk*, *Godolphin* and *Houghton* by the commanders of them, payable to the Court at thirty days after sight, dated the 1st and 4th of this month. This letter went by the Court's ship *Suffolk*, and duplicates of it by the Court's ships *Godolphin* and *Houghton*, which the Council hoped would arrive safe, and it was glad to report that the Court's affairs on the island were in general in good order. The letter was signed at St Helena on 4 April 1757 by Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson and John Clark. **Interpretations** The supply of powder and shot to the three ships from the island's own stores shows the settlement acting as an arsenal for the homeward fleet in a way that touched its own safety. Ships that had fought a running action against a French squadron arrived depleted of the very stores they would need to defend themselves and their valuable cargoes the rest of the way home, and the Council, judging their want an absolute necessity, drew down its magazines to refit them, the same powder it had lately fretted it lacked barrels to carry to its own guns now issued to the fleet, the island's defensive means and the fleet's spent in a single wartime demand. The estimate of the enemy as ships of 60 and 24 guns records the intelligence value the Council placed on identifying the force its ships had met. The armament and rate of an opponent told the Court the scale of the danger on the homeward passage, and the captains' careful reckoning of the French guns, like their fixing of the position, turned

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			a sea fight into a piece of usable information, the strength of an enemy squadron logged and sent home as plainly as any cargo or account.
406	402	List of the Hble Compy Packet from St Helena p Ships Godolphin Houghton & Suffolk dated the 14 of April 1757. Govr & Councils G Letter Dated the 14 April 1757 Dup do Dated the 11 March do Consultations from the 11 March to the 11 April do Dup do from the 8 Novr 1756 to the 11 March do List of Officers & Servants taken the 11 April do Second Receipt for the Packett p Ship Denham do do the do p Queen Sophia Magdalena Dup Cash Acct from the 4 to 11 Novr 1756 do from the 12 Novr to the 11 Decr do do the 12 Decr to the 11 January 1757 do the 12 Jan to the 11 Feb do do the 12 Feb to the 11 March do Dup list of the Packet p Ships Edgcote, Chesterfield & Portfield First receipts for the do p Ships do do do Dup Ships Onslows Acct do Chesterfields do do Edgcotes do do Portfield do Ship Godolphins Account do Houghtons do do Suffolks do Account of the Cargo of Godolphin do Houghton do Suffolk. Muster Rolls.	The packet the *Godolphin*, *Houghton* and *Suffolk* carried home from St Helena, dated 4 April 1757, held the following. 1: Governor and Council's general letter dated 4 April 1757 2: Duplicate of the general letter dated 11 March 1757 3: Consultations from 11 March to 11 April 1757 4: Duplicate consultations from 8 November 1756 to 8 March 1757 5: List of officers and servants taken 11 April 1757 6: Second receipt for the packet by the ship Denham 7: Second receipt for the packet by the ship Queen Sophia Magdalena 8: Duplicate cash account from 4 to 11 November 1756 9: Duplicate cash account from 12 November to 11 December 1756 10: Duplicate cash account from 12 December to 11 January 1757 11: Duplicate cash account from 12 January to 11 February 1757 12: Duplicate cash account from 12 February to 11 March 1757 13: Duplicate list of the packet by the ships Edgcote, Chesterfield and Portfield 14: First receipt for the packet by the ships Edgcote, Chesterfield and Portfield 15: Duplicate of the ship Onslow's account 16: Duplicate of the ship Chesterfield's account 17: Duplicate of the ship Edgcote's account 18: Duplicate of the ship Portfield's account 19: Ship Godolphin's account 20: Ship Houghton's account 21: Ship Suffolk's account 22: Account of the cargo of the Godolphin 23: Account of the cargo of the Houghton 24: Account of the cargo of the Suffolk 25: Muster rolls 26: Governor's letter to the Secret Committee
407	403	Governors Letter to the Secret Committee The first Bill of Exchange drawn by Capt Wm Hutchinson on the Owners of Ship Godolphin The first Bill of Exchange drawn by Capt Wm Wilson on the Owners of Ship Suffolk. The first Bill of Exchange drawn by Capt Richd Walpole on the Owners of Ship Houghton Duplicates Courts Martial Effective State of the Garrison. To the Honble the Court Honble Sirs. We wrote last to you by your Ships the Suffolk, Houghton & Godolphin. On the 25 instant arrived a Dane Ship from China called the King of Denmark Capt Robert Pheiff, Burthen about 1900 Tons, carrys 150 Men, & 26 Guns Laden with Tea & China Ware bound to Copenhagen. The Capt informs us that he left Canton the 16 of January & your Ships Stormont & Harcourt there, which, as he hears, would not be ready to sail in less than a month. the 3 of Febr She arrived at North Island at the Entrance of	26: Governor's letter to the Secret Committee 27: First bill of exchange drawn by Captain William Hutchinson on the owners of the ship Godolphin 28: First bill of exchange drawn by Captain William Wilson on the owners of the ship Suffolk 29: First bill of exchange drawn by Captain Richard Walpole on the owners of the ship Houghton 30: Duplicate courts martial 31: Effective state of the garrison To the Honourable Court. Honoured Sirs. The Council last wrote by the Court's ships *Suffolk*, *Houghton* and *Godolphin*. On the 25th of this month arrived a Danish ship from China called the *King of Denmark*, Captain Robert Pheiff, of about 900 tons burthen, carrying 150 men and 26 guns, laden with tea and chinaware, bound for Copenhagen. Her captain reported that he left Canton on the 16th of January, and that the Court's ships *Stormont* and *Harcourt* were there, which, as he heard, would not be ready to sail in less than a month. On the 3rd of February she arrived at North Island, at the entrance of the Straits of Sunda. On the evening of the 16th he saw a ship coming from the Straits of Banca, which anchored under the island of Java. On the 17th she hoisted English colours and stood [...] **Interpretations**

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		the Streights of Sunda the 16 in the Evening he saw a Ship coming from the Streights of Banca which anchored under the Island of Java, She 17 she hoisted English Colours & stood into	The intelligence carried by the Danish captain shows how the Council gathered news of the Company's own ships from the vessels of every nation passing the island. A neutral Dane out of Canton could report which Court ships remained at the port and when they might sail, and the Council logged such word as readily from a foreign master as from its own commanders, the crowded anchorages of the China trade making every departing ship a carrier of information about the rest.
408	404	into the Streights of Sunda, after two Dutch Ships, Upon his arrival at Prince's Island the 14, a Mate of one of those Ships who had been on board her, told him, it was a French Ship of War of fifty Guns, that had been cruizing thereabouts for two Months past. The Capt further, informed us that the 9 of April a little to the Eastward of the Cape, a Ship stood towards him & when distant about two Leagues, brought to, untill he came within half a mile of him, but showed no Colours although his were hoisted. She then made sail from him & the next Morning he saw her again about three Leagues off, under French Colours. He says She was as large as a fifty Gun Ship seemed to be deeply Laden, & had but one Tire of Guns, that he could discern. This waits upon your Honors by the beforementioned Dane Ship. We are Honorable Sirs. St Helena 26 April 1757. Your most Ob & most hble Servants (Signed) Chas Hutchinson John Adamson John Clark	The ship stood into the Straits of Sunda after two Dutch ships. On his arrival at Prince's Island on the 14th, a mate of one of those ships who had been aboard her told him she was a French man of war of fifty guns that had been cruising thereabouts for two months past. Her captain further reported that on the 9th of April, a little to the eastward of the Cape, a ship stood towards him, and when about two leagues distant brought to, until he came within half a mile of her, but showed no colours although his own were hoisted. She then made sail from him, and the next morning he saw her again about three leagues off under French colours. He said she was as large as a fifty gun ship, seemed to be deeply laden, and had but one tier of guns that he could make out. This letter went by the Danish ship mentioned above. The letter was signed at St Helena on 26 April 1757 by Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson and John Clark. **Interpretations** The report of a French cruiser lying two months off the Straits of Sunda marks the danger concentrated at the narrow passages the China trade had to thread. The straits funnelled every homeward ship through a known channel, and an enemy warship stationed there could wait for the season's traffic to come to her, the confined waters that guided the fleet also exposing it, so that the Council gathered and forwarded every sighting of such a lurking force as a warning to the ships still to pass. The distinction drawn between a laden ship showing one tier of guns and a true man of war reflects the practised eye by which a merchant captain judged whether a stranger was a threat. A deeply laden vessel with a single row of guns was likely a trader rather than a warship, and such careful reckoning of a stranger's build, armament and trim was the ordinary means by which an unescorted Indiaman decided whether to run or stand, the same appraising watch that had identified the fifty gun cruiser now applied to a doubtful sail off the Cape.
409	405	To the Honble Court &ca Honble Sirs. Our last advices to You went by a Dane Ship, called the King of Denmark, Robert Pheiff Commander that sailed from hence on the 1 of May. On the 15 of May arrived your Ships Clinton Capt Nanfan & the Hector Capt Williams from Anjengo which place they left the 22 of Febr. The Captains inform us Godr Bove him acquainted your President & Council of Madrass that he had Pepper sufficient at Pillichery to load two ships if they could send them. On the 18 instant arrived a Russan Ship from China, called the Prince Ferdinand, Capt Morcen Burthen a 1000 Tons, carrys 26 Guns & 120 Men, loaded with Tea.	To the Honourable Court and so forth. Honoured Sirs. 1: The Council's last advices went by a Danish ship called the *King of Denmark*, Robert Pheiff commander, which sailed on the 1st of May. 2: On the 17th of May arrived the Court's ships *Clinton*, Captain Ranfan, and the *Hector*, Captain Williams, from Anjengo, which place they left on the 2nd of February. The captains reported that Governor Bone had told them the Court's President and Council of Madras had pepper enough at Fillicherry to load two ships, if they could send them. 3: On the 1st of this month arrived a Prussian ship from China called the *Prince Ferdinand*, Captain Mercer, of 1,000 tons burthen, carrying 26 guns and 120 men, laden with tea, chinaware and silks, bound for Emden. Her captain reported that on the 10th of February he saw a ship in the China seas in the latitude of 4 degrees 42 minutes north that hoisted

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		China Ware & silkes bound to Emden. The Capt informs us that on the 10 of Febr he saw a Ship, in the China Seas in the Latitude of 41 2/r North that hoisted English Colors but lost sight of her in about twelve hours. He further acquaints us that on the 16 Capt Febr he discovered another Ship, at the entrance of the Streights of Mallacca which he took to be Dutch by their hoisting of them, but when they came to the Streights of Sunda a Soldier came on board of them from Nenven. who told them that a French Ship of 60 Guns had sailed for the Streights of Mallacca. Mr Scott your Honors resident at Anjengo transported to this Island upon your Ships Clinton & Hector Ten Malabar Menfwho it seems were Officers to the King of Travancore to serve you as Slaves here one of which died in the Passage, the other nine were Landed & Cloathed. A few days after they were sent into the country, five of them hanged themselves, & one of the remaining four have since Died. The other three that are still alive we have great reason to believe will be only an expence to you & threatening to Destroy themselves if they were put to any kind of work. We therefore hope that your Honors will be pleased to give Directions, that no such people nor Delinquents of any kind be for the future sent hither as the having such Desperate fellows upon the Island may be attended with bad consequences.	English colours, but he lost sight of her in about twelve hours. He further reported that on the 16th of February he discovered another ship at the entrance of the Straits of Malacca, which he took to be Dutch by their hoisting of them, but when they came to the Straits of Sunda a soldier came aboard from Ningpo, who told them a French ship of 60 guns had sailed for the Straits of Malacca. 5: Mr Scott, the Court's resident at Anjengo, transported to the island on the Court's ships *Clinton* and *Hector* ten Malabar men who, it seems, were officers to the King of Travancore, to serve the Court as slaves on the island. One of them died on the passage, the other nine were landed and clothed, and a few days after they were sent into the country, five of them hanged themselves. One of the remaining four had since died, and the Council had great reason to believe the other three still alive would be only an expense to the Court and were threatening to destroy themselves if put to any kind of work. The Council therefore hoped the Court would give directions that no such people, nor delinquents of any kind, be sent to the island in future, as the having of such desperate fellows on it might be attended with bad consequences. **Interpretations** The mass suicide of the Malabar men records one of the darkest episodes in this run of correspondence and exposes the human reality behind the Company's traffic in forced labour. Men who had been officers to the King of Travancore, reduced to slavery on a remote island and set to common work, chose death over bondage, five hanging themselves within days of being sent to the country and the survivors threatening the same. The Council's response, framed wholly as a matter of expense and of danger to the settlement rather than of the men's suffering, reveals how completely the enslaved were regarded as property whose destruction was a loss to be avoided, the plea that no such people be sent again treating a collective act of despair as an administrative inconvenience. The transport of captured enemy officers to serve as slaves shows the island used as a place of disposal for men taken in the Company's wars on the Malabar coast. Officers of a hostile ruler, once in the Company's hands, could be shipped to St Helena and set to labour, the settlement absorbing not only the sentenced men of the Company's own courts but the political captives of its Indian conflicts, the small island functioning as the far end of a system that turned defeated enemies into unfree workers thousands of miles from home.
410	406	We are at a loss to know what to charge the Materials at you were pleased to send by the Ship Exeter for the Building an Hospital as the price of them is omitted to be inserted in the Invoice. Mr James Powell your Storekeeper having accused Lieut George Hay of coming into his House & into his Daughters Bedchamber at unreasonable hours in the Night & said he was a Villain for so doing, which he could prove, Lieut Hay applyed to the Govr who thereupon ordered him & Mr Powell to attend the Council on the 5 of May last. This affair was then enquired into & our opinions given upon it. Your Garrison being chiefly subsisted upon Salt provisions	6: The Council was at a loss to know what to charge the materials sent by the ship *Exeter* for the building of a hospital, as the price of them was omitted from the invoice. 7: Mr James Powell, the Court's storekeeper, having accused Lieutenant George Hay of coming into his house and into his daughter's bedchamber at unreasonable hours in the night, and having said he was a villain for so doing, which he could prove, Lieutenant Hay applied to the Governor, who ordered him and Mr Powell to attend the Council on the 5th of May. This affair was then enquired into, and the Council's opinion given upon it. The garrison being chiefly maintained on salt provisions and bread was the reason the Council indented for so large a quantity of those articles. In case the expected store ship should fail to come, the Council asked that the Court dispatch a vessel as soon as possible with a good supply of beef, pork and flour, and the military stores and soldiers' shoes indented for. As the Council did not at present have

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		& Bread is the reason of our Indenting for so large a quantity of those Articles, & in case our expected Store Ship should fail of coming We beg, that you will in such case dispatch a Vessel as soon as possible with a good supply of Beef Pork & Flour & the Military Store & & Soldiers Shoes indented for. And as we now have not Cash sufficient by some hundred pounds to Discharge the expences of the present Quarter (the Cash Notes being useless) We also request that you will be pleased to consign to us 4000, as there is little or no likely hood of receiving any Mony here for Bills on your Honors. The Cash we annually receive for what is sold out of our Stores not amounting to more than half of what is required for the Payment of your servants & Garrison here & other contingences a relisting Men & ca For the beforementioned reasons we also desire that you will be pleased to Order that a greater quantity of Rice & Paddy may be brought here Annually, from Bombay or any other of your Settlements, if we may not in the present Situation of Affairs at Bengall be supplyed from thence as usual, as Rice is the chief & properest food for all the Sick & must be Likewise in a great measure relyed on for your Blacks & your Plantations of Yam not being sufficient at supply them fully & constantly at all Times. As for the foregoing reasons we shall want the Sugar, Candles & Arrack, we Yearly received from Bengall. we hope your Honors will be pleased to direct these Articles to be sent us from what places you think most proper. Sand bags being necessary in case of an Attack and	cash enough, by some hundreds of pounds, to discharge the expenses of the present quarter, the cash notes being useless, it also asked that the Court consign it £4,000, as there was little or no likelihood of receiving any money on the island for bills on the Court. The cash the Council annually received for what was sold out of the Court's stores did not amount to more than half of what was required for paying the Court's servants and garrison and other contingencies, as the recruited men and so forth showed. For the reasons given above, the Council also asked that the Court order a greater quantity of rice and paddy to be brought to the island annually, from Bombay or any other of its settlements, if in the present situation of affairs it could not be supplied from Bengal as usual, as rice was the chief and best food for all the sick, and was likewise in great measure relied on for the Court's slaves, the plantations of yams not being enough to supply them fully and constantly at all times. As for the reasons given above, the Council would want the sugar, candles and arrack it yearly received from Bengal, and hoped the Court would direct those articles to be sent from whatever places it thought most proper. Sandbags being necessary in case of an attack [...] **Interpretations** The request for £4,000 in specie and the observation that the cash notes were useless reveal a breakdown in the island's usual banking arrangement under the pressures of war. Ordinarily the Council raised the money it needed by drawing bills on London against coin lodged by private persons, but with the trade disrupted there was no one on the island wanting to remit and so no coin coming in, leaving the treasury short by hundreds of pounds and the local paper worthless for want of anyone to honour it. The plea for a direct consignment of silver shows the settlement thrown back on the Court to supply the very cash the banking system normally generated for it, the machinery of remittance failing when the flow of trade that fed it stopped. The dependence on imported rice for the sick and the slaves exposes the limits of the island's own subsistence. The yam plantations that fed the enslaved workforce could not be relied on to yield enough at all seasons, and rice was besides the food thought fittest for the sick, so a settlement that existed to provision others was itself dependent on grain shipped from Bengal or Bombay, the disruption of the Bengal trade by the crisis at Calcutta threatening a supply the island could not do without and could not replace from its own ground.
411	407	and Breaches made in the Works, We therefore request you will be pleased to direct that ten thousand may be brought us by the first Opportunity. Naguedah Poholum the Mollay, that was transported hither by order of your Deputy Govr & Council of Bencoolen being a Person of some Distinction, as they themselves inform us very earnestly desire that he may be permitted to go to England to lay his case before you, rather even that to be allowed to return to Bencoolen being conscious as he says that he can make it appear he has done nothing to prejudice, but everything to promote your Interest. Notwithstanding he has been frequently told you are	Sandbags being necessary in case of an attack, and breaches made in the works, the Council asked that ten thousand be brought out by the first opportunity. Naquedah Cohallum, the Malay who was transported to the island by order of the Deputy Governor and Council of Bencoolen, being a person of some distinction, as they themselves reported, very earnestly wished to be allowed to go to England to lay his case before the Court, rather even than to be allowed to return to Bencoolen, being anxious, as he said, that he could make it appear he had done nothing to the Court's prejudice but everything to promote its interest. Although he had frequently been told that the Court was informed of his being on the island and that he must wait for its further directions, he seemed still so uneasy that he had threatened to destroy himself rather than remain on the island. This letter went by the Court's ships *Clinton* and *Hector*. The Council was glad to report that the

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		acquainted with his being here, & that he must wait for your further Directions he seems still so uneasy, that he has threatend to Destroy himself, rather than remain upon this Island. This waits upon your Honors by your Ships Clinton & Hector & we have the pleasure to acquaint you that your Pastures & plantations are in good condition there having fallen much fine Rain. but your Military & Slaves have been lately very sickly, especially the former. We are Honble Sirs St Helena 21 June 1757 Your most Ob & most hble Servants (Signed) Chas Hutchinson John Adamson John Clark. Since writing the above your Ships the Oxford from Bencoolen & Falmouth from England arrived by the latter we recd your Honors Letter but have not Time to answer it by this occasion as your Ships Clinton & Hector, are now under Dispatch	Court's pastures and plantations were in good condition, a great deal of fine rain having fallen, but that the garrison and slaves had lately been very sickly, especially the former. The letter was signed at St Helena on 21 June 1757 by Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson and John Clark. Since writing the above, the Court's ship *Oxford* from Bencoolen, and the *Falmouth* from England, arrived. By the latter the Council received the Court's letter, but had not time to answer it by this occasion, as the Court's ships *Clinton* and *Hector* were then under dispatch. **Interpretations** The renewed despair of Naquedah Cohallum sets a second man threatening suicide against his confinement on the island within the same letter that reported the Malabar men's deaths, and shows the particular cruelty of indefinite detention for a man of rank. Held neither as prisoner nor as free, unable to clear himself or to leave, and told only to wait on directions from a Court an ocean away, he was driven to the same threat the enslaved officers had carried out, his insistence that he could prove his loyalty pointing to a man who understood his own case yet had no means to be heard, the island's remoteness that made it useful for exile also making it a trap without recourse. The order for ten thousand sandbags measures the seriousness of the Council's expectation of an assault. Sandbags were used to repair breaches battered in the fortifications and to raise cover quickly during an attack, and a request on that scale reflects a settlement preparing in earnest for the possibility of being besieged by a French force, the mundane materials of field defence indented for in bulk as the war closed around the island's sea approaches.
412	408	List of the Honble Compy Packet from St Helena p Ships Hector & Clinton Dated the 21 June 1757. viz. Govr & Councils general Letter Dated 21 June 1757 Dupe Do Do 14 April Do Do Do Do 30 April Do List of Officers & servants taken the 21 June Do First Receipt for the Packet p Ship King of Denmark Do Second Do for the Do p Ships Edgcote, Chesterfield & Portfield Do First Do for the Do p Ships Godolphin Houghton & Suffolk Dupe List of the Packett p Ships Do Do Do Dupe Ship Godolphins Acct Do Houghtons Do Do Suffolks Do Ship Hectors Account Do Clintons Do Acct of the Cargo of Ship Hector Do Do p Ship Clinton Cash Acct from 12 March to 11 April 1757 Do 12 April to 11 May Do Do 12 May to 11 June Do Do 12 to the 21 June Do Govr Letter to the Secret Committee Indent of Stores wanted at St Helena for the Year 1758 Do of Medicines Do Do Do	The packet the *Hector* and *Clinton* carried home from St Helena, dated 21 June 1757, held the following. 1: Governor and Council's general letter dated 21 June 1757 2: Duplicate of the general letter dated 14 April 1757 3: Duplicate of the general letter dated 30 April 1757 4: List of officers and servants taken 21 June 1757 5: Second receipt for the packet by the ship King of Denmark 6: Second receipt for the packet by the ships Edgcote, Chesterfield and Portfield 7: First receipt for the packet by the ships Godolphin, Houghton and Suffolk 8: Duplicate list of the packet by the ships Godolphin, Houghton and Suffolk 9: Duplicate of the ship Godolphin's account 10: Duplicate of the ship Houghton's account 11: Duplicate of the ship Suffolk's account 12: Ship Hector's account 13: Ship Clinton's account 14: Account of the cargo of the ship Hector 15: Account of the cargo of the ship Clinton 16: Cash account from 12 March to 11 April 1757 17: Cash account from 12 April to 11 May 1757 18: Cash account from 12 May to 11 June 1757 19: Cash account from 12 to 21 June 1757 20: Governor's letter to the Secret Committee 21: Indent of stores wanted at St Helena for the year 1758 22: Indent of medicines wanted at St Helena for the year 1758 23: List of remains of stores from October 1756 to 30 April 1757

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		List of Remains of Stores from Octr 1756 to 30 April 1757 Second Bill of Exchange drawn on the Owners of Ship Godolphin Do Do Do Do Ship Suffolk Do Do Do Do Ship Houghton Effective State of the Garrison Courts Martial Consultations from the 18 April to the 20 June 1757 Dupe Do 14 March to the 11 April Do List of Gunners Stores remaining Account of the Cargo of Ship Oxford.	24: Second bill of exchange drawn on the owners of the ship Godolphin 25: Second bill of exchange drawn on the owners of the ship Suffolk 26: Second bill of exchange drawn on the owners of the ship Houghton 27: Effective state of the garrison 28: Court martial 29: Consultations from 18 April to 20 June 1757 30: Duplicate consultations from 14 March to 11 April 1757 31: List of gunner's stores remaining 32: Account of the cargo of the ship Oxford
413	409	To the Honble Court &ca Honble Sirs. We lately acquainted you of the arrival of Your Ships Oxford from Bencoolen & your Store Ship from England. The Capt of the latter informd us that he parted Company with Admiral Coates the 5 of April in the Latitude of 45. 17 North & six Days after he took leave of his Majestys Ships the Colchester in the Latitude of 35. 44 North. so that we hourly expect her to arrive here This waits upon you by a Prussian Ship the Prince Ferdinand, which is to sail this afternoon. We are Honble Sirs St Helena 24 June 1757. Your most Ob & most hble Servants (Signed) C Hutchinson J Adamson J Clark	To the Honourable Court and so forth. Honoured Sirs. The Council lately reported the arrival of the Court's ship *Oxford* from Bencoolen and the store ship from England. The captain of the latter reported that he parted company with Admiral Coates on the 5th of April in the latitude of 45 degrees 17 minutes north, and six days after took leave of His Majesty's ship *Colchester* in the latitude of 35 degrees 44 minutes north, so that the Council hourly expected her to arrive. This letter went by a Prussian ship, the *Prince Ferdinand*, which was to sail that afternoon. The letter was signed at St Helena on 24 June 1757 by Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson and John Clark.
414	410	To the Honble the Court &ca Honble Sirs Our last advices to you went by a Prussian Ship called the Prince Ferdinand, that Sailed from hence on the 24 of June by which opportunity we acquainted you of the Arrival of your Ship Oxford from Bencoolen, and your Store Ship from England, We received your Letter, as likewise a Duplicate of that you sent us by Capt Hinde, & we hope the Onslow will arrive at her destind Port in China in good Time On the 27 of June arrived your Ships the Harcourt & Stormont from Canton & the Griffin from Simpo, on the 30 arrived your Ship the Delawar from Bengall & on the 9th & 17 instant came in his Majestys Ship the Colchester from England & the Kings Fisher from Bengall The Ships Elizabeth, York, & Lord Anson we observe you have taken up, & fixed their Voyages since your Honors wrote last to us. The Stores, & necessarys you consigned to us for the use of this Island by your Ship the Falmouth are Landed, except the Articles which are wrote off on the back of their Bill of Lading. Finding that one Chest of Treasure with all that may be received for Store goods Rents &ca would not be sufficient for	To the Honourable Court and so forth. Honoured Sirs. The Council's last advices went by a Prussian ship called the *Prince Ferdinand*, which sailed on the 24th of June, by which opportunity the Council reported the arrival of the Court's ship *Oxford* from Bencoolen and the store ship from England. The Council received the Court's letter, and likewise a duplicate of that sent by Captain Hinde, and hoped the *Onslow* would arrive at her destined port in China in good time. On the 27th of June arrived the Court's ships *Harcourt* and *Stormont* from Canton and the *Griffin* from Ningpo. On the 30th arrived the Court's ship *Delaware* from Bengal, and on the 9th and 17th of this month came in His Majesty's ship *Colchester* from England and the *King Fisher* from Bengal. The Council noted that the Court had taken up the ships *Elizabeth*, *York* and *Lord Anson* and fixed their voyages since it last wrote. The stores and necessaries the Court consigned for the use of the island by the *Falmouth* were landed, except the articles written off on the back of their bill of lading. Finding that one chest of treasure, with all that might be received for store goods, rents and so forth, would not be enough for the current expenses of the island for a year, the Council was obliged to take another out of the *Falmouth*. This would be barely enough, should no applications be made to it for money, so the Council asked that the Court consign it £4,000 annually. Should it find it could manage with less, it would take no more than it saw absolutely necessary to have. Captain Dalol of the Court's ship *Falmouth* had all the assistance the Council could give him in getting ashore that part of the Court's goods consigned to

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		the current expences of this Island for a Year, we were therefore obliged to take another out of the Ship Falmouth. & this will be barely enough if no applications are made to us for Mony, we therefore desire that your Honors will be pleased to consign to us annually, £4000 but if we find we can do with less we shall take no more, than we See is absolutely necessary for us to have. Capt Dalton of your Ship Falmouth has had all the assistance we coud give him, in getting on Shore that part of your goods consigned to this Island. We dispatched her at the expiration of the ten working Days allowed by Charterparty & gave the Capt Orders to make the best of his way to Fort Marll, according to the instructions he received from your Honors & the Secret Committee. He sailed from hence on the 15 instant	the island. The Council dispatched her at the end of the ten working days allowed by the charter party, and gave the captain orders to make the best of his way to Fort Marlborough, following the instructions he received from the Court and the Secret Committee. She sailed on the 17th of this month. **Interpretations** The need to land a second chest of treasure from the *Falmouth*, and the plea for a settled annual consignment of £4,000, confirms the failure of the island's usual means of raising money under wartime conditions. With the private trade that once brought coin to the treasury dried up, the Council could no longer rely on remittance applications to keep the cash supplied, and had to break into the specie passing through for the eastern settlements, the request for a fixed yearly sum showing a settlement seeking to replace an unreliable stream of private deposits with a dependable grant from home. The concentration of ships at the island, drawn from Canton, Ningpo, Bengal and England within three weeks, shows St Helena performing its central function as the gathering point of the homeward trade. Vessels from every quarter of the Company's eastern world converged on the one Atlantic refuge before the run to the Cape and England, and in wartime that convergence served the added purpose of assembling ships to sail home together under protection, the island the single knot through which the scattered threads of the Company's commerce were drawn.
415	411	The Governor begs leave to assure your Honors, that all Orders he may receive from the Secret Committee shall be carefully attended to. We have received the five Recruits you sent, for the service of this place, & did not detain any of those that were destind for your Settlements upon the West Coast of the Island Sumatra. There not being Officers sufficient for the several Fortifications & out Works, in case the Island should be attacked; we therefore think it absolutely necessary to appoint more, which we intend to do soon, & according to your Directions Mr Richard Beale, shall be one, & the first we give a Commission to. As your Honors could not send us by the Falmouth a Carpenters Mate nor a Mason, but as the Recruits that came by her are Handicrafts we shall employ them when your service requires it, at as reasonable rates as we can. The Captains of your Ships sometimes break in upon & make use of the Stores Consigned to this Island, which has often distressed it, for the want of Arrack, Rice & Paddy &ca We therefore beg that your Honors will be pleased to direct them to take on board their Ships sufficient quantitys of all necessarys, so that we may not be liable to such disappointments. Mr John Goodwin applyed to us to pay £150. 4. 10. into your Cash, which Sum we have received & given him Bills of Exchange drawn on your Honors, payable to himself or Order thirty Days after sight Dated the 11 instant. Mr Giffric OHara likewise applyd to us to pay £150 into your Cash, which Sum we have received	The Governor gave the Court his assurance that all orders he might receive from the Secret Committee would be carefully attended to. The Council had received the five recruits sent for the service of the island, and had not detained any of those destined for the settlements on the west coast of Sumatra. There not being officers enough for the several fortifications and outworks should the island be attacked, the Council thought it absolutely necessary to appoint more, which it intended to do soon, and following the Court's directions Mr Richard Beale would be one, and the first to whom it gave a commission. As the Court could not send a carpenter's mate or a mason by the *Falmouth*, but as the recruits that came by her were handicraftsmen, the Council would employ them when its service required, at as reasonable rates as it could. The captains of the Court's ships sometimes broke in upon and made use of the stores consigned to the island, which had often distressed it for want of arrack, rice and paddy. The Council therefore asked that the Court direct them to take aboard their ships a sufficient quantity of all necessaries, so that it might not be liable to such disappointments. Mr John Goodwin asked the Council to take £150 4s 10d into the Court's cash, which sum the Council received, giving him bills of exchange drawn on the Court payable to himself or order at thirty days after sight, dated the 11th of this month. Mr Geffrie O'Hara likewise asked the Council to take £150 0s 0d into the Court's cash, which sum the Council received, giving him bills of exchange drawn on the Court payable to himself or order at forty days after sight, dated the 11th of this month. **Interpretations** The commissioning of Richard Beale as the island's first new officer marks the working out of the Council's plan to enlarge its command in the face of attack. Beale had served for years as a cadet and been repeatedly recommended, and his promotion, made under the Court's own authority to add officers, shows the settlement raising its defensive

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		& given him Bills of Exchange drawn on your Honors payable to himself or Order forty Days after sight. Dated 11 instant	establishment from within, giving rank to a proven resident rather than waiting on men from England, the shortage of officers to man the outworks answered by advancing those already on the ground. The complaint that the ships' captains raided the island's own consigned stores reveals a recurring conflict between the settlement's needs and the appetites of the fleet it served. Commanders short of arrack, rice or paddy would draw on the stores meant for the island, leaving it wanting the very supplies it depended on, and the Council's request that the Court order the ships to carry their own shows a small settlement seeking protection against the demands of the larger service, its stores treated by the passing captains as a common reserve to be drawn on at the island's expense.
416	412	There will be no occasion now to send the Ten four Pounder & the two Three Pounder Carriages that were Indented for in the Packet that went by the Clinton, as they have been received by the Falmouth, & therefore are left out of the present Indent. Mr Thomas Brown applyed to us to pay £100. into your Cash, which Sum we have received & given him Bills of Exchange drawn on your Honors payable to himself or Order 30 Days after sight Dated this Day. Mr Moses Smith applyed to us to pay £104. into your Cash, which Sum we have received and given him Bills of Exchange drawn on your Honors payable to himself or Order 30 Days after sight Dated this Day. We cannot send your Honors by this occasion a State of your Cash to a later Date than a Duplicate of the 21 June as the Quarters Accounts ending the 11 instant will not in due Course be laid before us untill the 1 of next Month This waits upon you by his Majestys Snow the Kings Fisher, Capt Toby informs us that your Ship the Walpole sailed from Bengall for Madrass the 24 of Febr & the Marlborough for Madrass & Bombay the 16 of March last. We congratulate your Honors on the agreeable News he further brings of the retaking of Bengall demolishing Hugly, and taking Chandernagoe from the French We are Honble Sirs. St Helena 20 July 1757. Your most Ob & most hble Servants (Signed) C Hutchinson J Adamson J Clark	There would be no need now to send the ten four pounders and the two three pounder carriages that were indented for in the packet by the *Clinton*, as they had been received by the *Falmouth*, and they were therefore left out of the present indent. Mr Thomas Brown asked the Council to take £100 0s 0d into the Court's cash, which sum the Council received, giving him bills of exchange drawn on the Court payable to himself or order at thirty days after sight, dated this day. Mr Moses Smith asked the Council to take £104 0s 0d into the Court's cash, which sum the Council received, giving him bills of exchange drawn on the Court payable to himself or order at thirty days after sight, dated this day. The Council could not send the Court by this occasion any state of its cash to a later date than a duplicate of that of the 21st of June, as the quarter's accounts ending the 11th of this month would not in the usual course be laid before the Council until the 11th of next month. This letter went by His Majesty's snow the *King Fisher*, Captain Toby, who reported that the Court's ship *Walpole* sailed from Bengal for Madras on the 24th of February, and the *Marlborough* for Madras and Bombay on the 16th of March. The Council congratulated the Court on the welcome news he further brought of the retaking of Bengal, the demolishing of Hooghly, and the taking of Chandernagore from the French. The letter was signed at St Helena on 20 July 1757 by Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson and John Clark. **Interpretations** The news of the retaking of Bengal and the fall of Chandernagore marks the turn of the great crisis that had opened a year before with the loss of Calcutta. The recovery of the settlement, the destruction of the fortifications at Hooghly and the capture of the French station at Chandernagore recorded the campaign of Watson and Clive that broke French power in Bengal and set the stage for Plassey, the intelligence reaching the island by a King's ship and passed home as the most welcome word the Council could send, the distant war whose beginning it had reported now turning decisively the Company's way. The cancellation of the gun carriages from the indent, because the ordnance had arrived by another ship, shows the careful management of the island's requisitions against what actually reached it. The Council tracked each consignment and struck from its running list of wants whatever came in, avoiding double supply and needless expense, the same exactness with which it checked deliveries and reconciled its stores applied to keeping its demands on the Court no larger than its real remaining need.

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417	413	List of the Honble Companys Packet by his Majestys Snow the Kings Fisher Dated the 20 July 1757 Govr & Councils General Letter Dated the 20 July 1757 Dup Do Dated the 21 June Do Dup Do Dated the 24 Do Do List of Officers & Servants taken the 20 July Do Second Receipt for the Packet p Ship King of Denmark Second Do for the Do p Ships Godolphin, Houghton & Suffolk First Do for the Do p Ship Hector & Clinton First Do for the Do p the Prussian Ship Prince Ferdinand Dup List of the Packet p Ships Hector & Clinton Dup Ship Hectors Account Do Clinton Do Ship Falmouths Do Dup Cash Acct from the 12 March to 11 April 1757 Do the 12 April to 11 May Do Do the 12 May to 11 June Do Do the 12 to the 21 June Do Governors Letter to the Secret Committee Indent of Stores wanted at St Helena for the Year 1758 List of Remains of Stores from Octr 1756 to 30 April 1757. Dup Consultations from the 18 April to the 20 June Do Consultations from the 27 June to the 20 July Do Indent of Medicines for St Helena for the Year 1758 Abstract of the Cargo of p Ship Harcourt Do Do Griffin Do Do Delawar Do Do Stormont Dup of Artillery Stores remaining Indent of Do Do wanting Sample of Peter for small Cartridges Effective State of the Garrison First Bill of Exchange drawn on the Hble the Principal Officers & Commissioners of his Majestys Navy.	The packet His Majesty's snow the *King Fisher* carried home from St Helena, dated 20 July 1757, held the following. 1: Governor and Council's general letter dated 20 July 1757 2: Duplicate of the general letter dated 21 June 1757 3: Duplicate of the general letter dated 24 June 1757 4: List of officers and servants taken 20 July 1757 5: Second receipt for the packet by the ship King of Denmark 6: Second receipt for the packet by the ships Godolphin, Houghton and Suffolk 7: First receipt for the packet by the ships Hector and Clinton 8: First receipt for the packet by the Prussian ship Prince Ferdinand 9: Duplicate list of the packet by the ships Hector and Clinton 10: Duplicate of the ship Hector's account 11: Duplicate of the ship Clinton's account 12: Ship Falmouth's account 13: Duplicate cash account from 12 March to 11 April 1757 14: Duplicate cash account from 12 April to 11 May 1757 15: Duplicate cash account from 12 May to 11 June 1757 16: Duplicate cash account from 12 to 21 June 1757 17: Governor's letter to the Secret Committee 18: Indent of stores wanted at St Helena for the year 1758 19: List of remains of stores from October 1756 to 30 April 1757 20: Duplicate consultations from 18 April to 20 June 1757 21: Consultations from 27 June to 20 July 1757 22: Indent of medicines for St Helena for the year 1758 23: Abstract of the cargo of the ship Harcourt 24: Abstract of the cargo of the ship Griffin 25: Abstract of the cargo of the ship Delaware 26: Abstract of the cargo of the ship Stormont 27: Duplicate of artillery stores remaining 28: Indent of artillery stores wanting 29: Sample of paper for small cartridges 30: Effective state of the garrison 31: First bill of exchange drawn on the Principal Officers and Commissioners of His Majesty's Navy
418	414	To the Honble Court &ca Honble Sirs We wrote to you last by his Majestys Sloop the Kings Fisher that Sailed from hence on the 20 of last Month. Capt Toby of his Majestys Sloop the Kings Fisher being in want of Mony to Discharge the expences of refreshing his People while he stayed here applyed to us for £80 of your Honors Cash which we advanced him. Capt OBryan Commander of his Majestys Ship the Colchester & his Purser applyed to us for £500. which Sum we advanced them. As these are circumstances that has not lately, happened we have not charged any exchange upon them. We therefore Desire your Honors will be pleased to let us know whether in such cases for the future we are to take any.	To the Honourable Court and so forth. Honoured Sirs. 1: The Council last wrote by His Majesty's sloop the *King Fisher*, which sailed on the 20th of last month. 2: Captain Toby of His Majesty's sloop the *King Fisher*, being in want of money to meet the expenses of refreshing his people while he stayed on the island, asked the Council for £80 0s 0d of the Court's cash, which it advanced him. 3: Captain O'Bryan, commander of His Majesty's ship the *Colchester*, and his purser asked the Council for £500 0s 0d, which sum it advanced them. As these were circumstances that had not lately happened, the Council had not charged any exchange upon them, and it therefore asked the Court to let it know whether in such cases in future it was to take any. 4: The second bill of exchange drawn on the Principal Commissioners and Officers of His Majesty's Navy by Captain Toby for the sum of £80 0s 0d, and likewise the two first bills of each set for

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		The second Bill of Exchange drawn on the Honble the Principal Commissioners & Officers of his Majestys Navy by Capt Toby for the Sum of £80. Likewise the two first Bills of each set for £250. each drawn by Capt OBryan & his Purser goes herewith enclosed to your Honors. Finding that the two Chests of Treasure we took out of your Ship the Falmouth would not be sufficient for the expences of this Island untill the Store Ship arrives from England & not being able to get any Mony for Bills of Exchange on your Honors, at 90 Days sight, we found ourselves under a necesity of Granting some payable at 30, 40 & 60 Days. We request of you that all the Mony you may think proper to send here you will be pleased to direct may be in Dollars & half Dollars as one of the Chests of Treasure we took out of the Falmouth is all small Mony, & amounted to no more than £992.2.1½ which Sort of Species is very inconvenient here & tho much wanted as we understand at the West Coast. Naguedah Pocholum the Mallay Man that was	£250 0s 0d each, drawn by Captain O'Bryan and his purser, went home enclosed. 5: Finding that the two chests of treasure the Council took out of the Court's ship *Falmouth* would not be enough for the expenses of the island until the store ship arrived from England, and not being able to get any money for bills of exchange on the Court at ninety days sight, the Council found itself obliged to grant some payable at thirty, forty and sixty days. 6: The Council asked that all the money the Court might think proper to send out be directed to be in dollars and half dollars, as one of the chests of treasure taken out of the *Falmouth* was all small money, and amounted to no more than £992 2s 1½d, which sort of specie was very inconvenient on the island and also much wanted, as the Council understood, at the west coast. 7: Naquedah Cohallum, the Malay man who was [...] **Interpretations** The advances to the King's ships and the question over charging exchange reveal a new relationship forced on the island by the arrival of the Royal Navy in eastern waters. Naval captains far from any paymaster turned to the Council for cash to refresh their crews, drawing on the Court's treasury against bills on the Navy Board, and the Council, unused to such dealings, asked London whether it should take the customary exchange charge on money advanced to the Crown's service, the wartime presence of the Navy opening a channel of credit the settlement had not handled before. The trouble over the chest of small money shows how the form of the specie mattered as much as its amount to a settlement that used coin as a working medium. A chest made up of small dollars and half dollars was inconvenient for the island's larger payments yet, being needed for petty transactions at the west coast, could not simply be passed on, so the Council pressed for future consignments in whole dollars, the practical business of paying a garrison and trading with passing ships depending on receiving coin in usable denominations rather than merely a sufficient sum. The recourse to bills at thirty, forty and sixty days rather than the usual ninety marks the strain the war put on the island's credit. Unable to place its ordinary long-dated bills for want of takers, the Council had to offer shorter terms that promised the holder quicker payment in London, a concession that made the paper more attractive when confidence and coin were scarce, the settlement bending its customary banking terms to keep money moving as the trade that sustained them faltered.
419	415	was sent here by your Deputy Governor & Council of Fort Marlbro having got on board his Majestys Ship the Colchester, in order to go for England whom Capt OBryan very obligingly sent on Shore we therefore thought it was necessary to imprison him untill all the Ships now in the road were sailed & shall continue to do so upon the arrival of Ships untill we hear from you concerning him which we hope will meet with your Honors approbation. Mr John Clark applyed to us to pay £55.16.8 into your Cash which Sum we recd & have given him Bills of Exchange Drawn on your Honors payable to himself or Order	Naquedah Cohallum, the Malay man sent to the island by the Deputy Governor and Council of Fort Marlborough, had got aboard His Majesty's ship the *Colchester* to go to England, whom Captain O'Bryan very obligingly sent ashore again. The Council therefore thought it necessary to imprison him until all the ships then in the road had sailed, and would continue to do so on the arrival of ships until it heard from the Court concerning him, which it hoped would meet the Court's approval. 8: Mr John Clark asked the Council to take £55 16s 8d into the Court's cash, which sum it received, giving him bills of exchange drawn on the Court payable to himself or order at ninety days after sight, dated the 26th of July. 9: Miss Helena Griffith asked the Council to take £90 0s 0d into the Court's cash, which sum it received, giving her bills of exchange drawn on the Court payable to herself or order at sixty days after sight, dated the 1st of this month.

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		90 Days after sight dated the 26 July. Miss Helena Griffith applyed to us to pay £90. into your Cash which Sum we recd & have given her Bills of Exchange Drawn on your Honors payable to herself or Order 60 Days after sight dated the 5 instant. Mr Henry Young applyed to us to pay £100. into your Cash which Sum we recd & have given him Bills of Exchange Drawn on your Honors payable to himself or Order 30 Days after sight dated the 8 instant Mr Thomas Hall applyed to us to pay £30. into your Cash which Sum we recd & have given him Bills of Exchange Drawn on your Honors payable to himself or Order 30 Days after sight dated the 8 instant Mr Thomas Fitzpatrick applyed to us to pay £75. into your Cash which Sum we recd & have given him Bills of Exchange Drawn on your Honors payable to himself or Order 30 Days after sight dated the 8 instant. Mr Richard Beale applyed to us to pay £40. into your Cash which Sum we recd & have given him Bills of Exchange Drawn on your Honors payable to himself or Order 30 Days after sight dated the 8 instant. Agreeable to your Directions we spoke to Mr	10: Mr Henry Young asked the Council to take £100 0s 0d into the Court's cash, which sum it received, giving him bills of exchange drawn on the Court payable to himself or order at thirty days after sight, dated the 8th of this month. 11: Mr Thomas Hall asked the Council to take £30 0s 0d into the Court's cash, which sum it received, giving him bills of exchange drawn on the Court payable to himself or order at thirty days after sight, dated the 8th of this month. 12: Mr Thomas Fitzpatrick asked the Council to take £75 0s 0d into the Court's cash, which sum it received, giving him bills of exchange drawn on the Court payable to himself or order at thirty days after sight, dated the 8th of this month. 13: Mr Richard Beale asked the Council to take £40 0s 0d into the Court's cash, which sum it received, giving him bills of exchange drawn on the Court payable to himself or order at thirty days after sight, dated the 8th of this month. 14: Following the Court's directions, the Council spoke to Mr [...] **Interpretations** The imprisonment of Naquedah Cohallum to stop him boarding a homeward ship shows the Council driven to open confinement to hold a man it could neither release nor send away. Having attempted his own passage to England aboard the *Colchester* and been put ashore again, the Malay was now to be locked up whenever ships lay in the road, an escalation from the loose detention of before, the settlement's inability to resolve his case turning a political exile into a prisoner held indefinitely to await instructions that never came, the remoteness that made the island a place of banishment now requiring active force to keep its captive. The appearance of Helena Griffith among those remitting money through the treasury shows that the island's banking channel served its women as well as its men. A woman could lodge her own coin and take bills payable to herself, carrying her fortune home by the same paper instrument the captains and officers used, the device that spared the danger of shipping specie open to any holder of money on the island regardless of sex, the treasury answering the private needs of the whole settlement.
420	416	Agreeable to your Directions we spoke to Mr Fitzhugh, & Mr Lovin your Supracargoes from Simpo who have left us a Letter with such informations as they think necessary for the Gentlemen that you are pleased to send thither next Year. Mr Thos Fitzpatrick, again applyed to us to pay in the further Sum of £116.8 into your Cash which we recd & have given him Bills of Exchange Drawn on your Honors payable to himself or Order 30 Days after sight Dated 8 instant. Mr Author Ottwell applyed to us to pay £18. into your Cash which Sum we recd & have given him Bills of Exchange Drawn on your Honors payable to himself or Order 30 Days after sight Dated the 8 instant We have the pleasure to acquaint you that we have had a very good Season of Rains & that your Ships have been fully supplyed with Fresh provisions as you will see by the enclosed List. As likewise a State of your Pastures & Plantations This waits upon you by his Majestys Ship the	15: Following the Court's directions, the Council spoke to Mr Fitzhugh and Mr Lorin, the Court's supercargoes from Ningpo, who left a letter with such information as they thought necessary for the gentlemen the Court was pleased to send there the following year. 16: Mr Thomas Fitzpatrick again asked the Council to take the further sum of £116 8s 0d into the Court's cash, which it received, giving him bills of exchange drawn on the Court payable to himself or order at thirty days after sight, dated the 8th of this month. 17: Mr Arthur Ottewell asked the Council to take £18 0s 0d into the Court's cash, which sum it received, giving him bills of exchange drawn on the Court payable to himself or order at thirty days after sight, dated the 8th of this month. 18: The Council was glad to report that it had had a very good season of rains, and that the Court's ships had been fully supplied with fresh provisions, as the Court would see by the enclosed list, and likewise a state of its pastures and plantations. 19: This letter went by His Majesty's ship the *Colchester*, Captain Lucius O'Bryan, who had under his convoy the Court's ships *Oxford*, *Stormont*, *Harcourt*, *Griffin* and *Delaware*. The letter was signed at St Helena on 4 August 1757 by Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson and John Clark.

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		Colchester Capt Lucius OBryen who has under his Convoy your Ships the Oxford Stormont Harcourt, Griffin & Delawar We are Honble Sirs Your most Ob & most hble Servants (Signed) C Hutchinson J Adamson J Clark St Helena 4 Aug 1757	**Interpretations** The letter left by the departing supercargoes for their successors shows the Company's care to pass on the practical knowledge of a distant and difficult trade. The men returning from Ningpo set down for the gentlemen going out the next year such information as would ease their dealings, a deliberate handing on of hard-won commercial understanding through the island as the point where the outgoing and returning servants of the China trade crossed, the continuity of a far eastern venture secured by written intelligence carried between one season's agents and the next. The despatch of five valuable Company ships home under the convoy of a King's ship confirms the wartime discipline that now governed the homeward trade at its Atlantic gathering point. The Indiamen no longer ran the passage singly but waited at the island to sail together under naval escort, the *Colchester* shepherding the accumulated wealth of the Canton, Ningpo, Bencoolen and Bengal voyages past the enemy cruisers that lay in wait, the Royal Navy's protection of a merchant convoy marking how far the defence of the Company's commerce had become a charge on the state.
421	417	List of the Honble Companys Packet p His Majestys Ship the Colchester Dated the 9 August 1757. Govr & Councils general Letter Dated the 9 August 1757 Dup Do Dated the 20 July Do Consultations from 23 July to 8 August Do Dup Do from 27 June to 20 July Do List of Officers & Servants taken the 9 August Do Dup List of the Packet p his Majestys Sloop Kings Fisher First receipt for the Packet p Do Do Second Do for the Do p Ships Hector & Clinton Do Do for the Do p the Prussian Ship Prince Ferdinand Governors Letter to the Secret Committee Ship Oxford Account Do Stormonts Do Do Harcourts Do Do Griffins Do Do Delawars Do Dup Ship Falmouths Do Cash Acc from the 21 June to the 11 July 1757 Do from 12 July to the 9 August Do List of Cattle returnd for the Service of the Year 1757 Indent of Stores wanted at St Helena for the Year 1758 List of Remains of Stores from Octr 1756 to 30 April 1757 Second Bill of Exchange drawn on the Honble the Principal Officers & Commissioners of his Majestys Navy. Court Martial Muster Rolls Effective State of the Garrison List of Artillery Stores List of Do remaining Sample of Peper for Cartridges for small Arms List of Marriages &ca from July 1756 to August 1757 Two first Bills of Exchange drawn by Capt OBrien & his Purser State of Honble Companys Pastures & Plantations	The packet His Majesty's ship the *Colchester* carried home from St Helena, dated 9 August 1757, held the following. 1: Governor and Council's general letter dated 9 August 1757 2: Duplicate of the general letter dated 20 July 1757 3: Consultations from 23 July to 8 August 1757 4: Duplicate consultations from 27 June to 20 July 1757 5: List of officers and servants taken 9 August 1757 6: Duplicate list of the packet by His Majesty's sloop King Fisher 7: First receipt for the packet by His Majesty's sloop King Fisher 8: Second receipt for the packet by the ships Hector and Clinton 9: Second receipt for the packet by the Prussian ship Prince Ferdinand 10: Governor's letter to the Secret Committee 11: Ship Oxford's account 12: Ship Stormont's account 13: Ship Harcourt's account 14: Ship Griffin's account 15: Ship Delaware's account 16: Duplicate of the ship Falmouth's account 17: Cash account from 21 June to 11 July 1757 18: Cash account from 12 July to 9 August 1757 19: List of cattle returned for the service of the year 1757 20: Indent of stores wanted at St Helena for the year 1758 21: List of remains of stores from October 1756 to 30 April 1757 22: Second bill of exchange drawn on the Principal Officers and Commissioners of His Majesty's Navy 23: Court martial 24: Muster rolls 25: Effective state of the garrison 26: List of artillery stores 27: List of artillery stores remaining 28: Sample of paper for cartridges for small arms 29: List of marriages and so forth from July 1756 to August 1757 30: Two first bills of exchange drawn by Captain O'Bryen and his purser 31: State of the Company's pastures and plantations

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422	418	To the Honorable the Court &ca Honorable Sirs Our last advices to you went by his Majestys Ship the Colchester Capt Lucius Obien, who had under his Convoy your Ships Oxford, Harcourt, Griffin Stormont, & Delawar On the 11 of last Month arrived your Ship the Walpole from Madras. We are informed by the Captain & Gentlemen on board her that soon after the Governor of Metchlepatam had received the News of Chandanagores being taken by Admiral Watson he attacked the Honble Companys Settlement at Ingeram, which held out ten Days & then Surrendered Prisoners of War, for want of Ammunition. The next Place that fell to them was Bandarmalanka, a Factory situated about thirty Miles to the Southward of the former, it being of no defence they easily became Masters of it; its Military having been sent to the Assistance of Ingeram, which by the Misconduct of the Sergeant who commanded them were cut off by the Enemy on their March thither. The Capture of these places happened about the middle of May last, at which time Monsieur Bussy was encamped about four hundred, Miles to the Northward of Vizagapatam. settling some Disputes that arose among the Natives. But as soon as he had advice of Hostilities being commenced he attacked that Settlement. & it surrendered to him the 26 of June the Loss the Honble Company sustained at the two first Settlements is said to be inconsiderable as all their Effects that were removable were sent to Bengall on the first apprehensions of an Attack It is believed the same was done at Vizagapatam. The Number of Men taken Prisoners amout to about, two hundred & sixty, of which one hundred and fifty were Europeans. During these Transactions to the Northward the Enemy did not remain inactive to the Southward. For they took the Field May	To the Honourable Court and so forth. Honoured Sirs. The Council's last advices went by His Majesty's ship the *Colchester*, Captain Lucius O'Bryen, who had under his convoy the Court's ships *Oxford*, *Harcourt*, *Griffin*, *Stormont* and *Delaware*. On the 11th of last month arrived the Court's ship *Walpole* from Madras. The Council was informed by the captain and gentlemen aboard her that soon after the Governor of Masulipatam had received the news of Chandernagore being taken by Admiral Watson, he attacked the Company's settlement at Ingeram, which held out ten days and then surrendered prisoners of war for want of ammunition. The next place that fell to them was Bandarmalanka, a factory situated about thirty miles to the southward of the former, and being of no defence they easily became masters of it, its garrison having been sent to the assistance of Ingeram, which by the misconduct of the sergeant who commanded them were cut off by the enemy on their march there. The capture of these places happened about the middle of May, at which time Monsieur Bussy was encamped about four hundred miles to the northward of Vizagapatam, settling some disputes that had arisen among the natives. But as soon as he had advice of hostilities being commenced, he attacked that settlement, and it surrendered to him on the 26th of June. The loss the Company sustained at the two first settlements was said to be inconsiderable, as all their effects that were removable were sent to Bengal on the first apprehension of an attack, and it was believed the same was done at Vizagapatam. The number of men taken prisoners amounted to about two hundred and sixty, of which one hundred and fifty were Europeans. During these transactions to the northward, the enemy did not remain inactive to the southward, for they took the field in May [...] **Interpretations** The account of the fall of the northern factories shows the war on the Coromandel coast turning against the Company in the very months its cause triumphed in Bengal. The news of Chandernagore's capture, far from cowing the French and their allies, prompted the Governor of Masulipatam to strike at the exposed Company settlements to the north, and the loss of Ingeram, Bandarmalanka and Vizagapatam within weeks reveals how thinly those factories were held, undefended posts that could offer only a few days' resistance before surrendering, the Company's position on the coast a scatter of vulnerable stations rather than a secured territory. The removal of all portable effects to Bengal before the attacks shows the settled practice of a trading power that expected to lose its outposts and planned to save its wealth rather than its ground. Warned by the first apprehension of assault, the factors stripped the threatened settlements of everything moveable and shipped it to safety, so that the enemy took the buildings and the garrisons but little of value, the Company treating its coastal factories as expendable shells whose goods and cash mattered more than the places themselves, a merchant's calculation of loss governing even the conduct of a war. The reference to Monsieur Bussy encamped far to the north marks the reach of French military power in the Deccan at this date. Bussy was the French commander whose influence over the Nizam's court extended their arms deep into the interior, and his swift descent on Vizagapatam once war was joined shows how the French could turn from managing the disputes of local rulers to seizing Company settlements, the struggle for the coast bound up with the rivalry of the two nations for ascendancy over the country powers of southern India.

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423	419	May & marched towards Tritchinopoly, expecting it would be an easy Conquest, as Capt Calliaud who commanded in that province was then obliged to be at a great Distance from it, in order to suppress a Rebellion that had broke out at Madura the Capital of a Country of that Name by which Means the Garrison was much Diminished. But a small Detachment from Fort St David getting into Tritchinopoly before the Arrival of the French as Captain Calliaud fortunately did with the best part of his Troops. after they had arrived their design was defeated. Upon this Disappointment & Colo Aldercorns taking the Field with part of his Regiment, they decamped & marched towards Pondichery, as they had almost drained that Garrison for this Attempt. Tritchinopoly being secured the Colonel was returning to Madras. Before he arrived there, advice was brought him that the Enemy after halting a few Days at Pondichery had again taken the Field & were marching towards our Districts with about eight or nine hundred Europeans, & a Number of Seapoys. This unexpected Turn occasioned Colo Aldercorn to halt untill a Reinforcement from Fort St David & other Garrisons had joined him, He then moved towards the Enemy who thereupon intrenched themselves in such a Manner, as to render any Attempt to force them very hazardrous. Upon which he encamped within three or four Miles of them, & made several Feints to drawn them out of their Intrenchments, but to no purpose, though by all Accounts they were superior to him in number, He lay thus for about a Fortnight, when the Rains coming on he decamped, & put his Troops into Quarters on the Borders of our Districts. The French broke up soon after & marched towards Pondichery laying Waste all the neutral Country they passed through In June last a Frigate of twenty Guns, called La Gloire arrived there	The enemy took the field in May and marched towards Trichinopoly, expecting it would be an easy conquest, as Captain Calliaud, who commanded in that province, was then obliged to be at a great distance from it to suppress a rebellion that had broken out at Madura, the capital of a country of that name, by which means the garrison was much diminished. But a small detachment from Fort St David got into Trichinopoly before the arrival of the French, and Captain Calliaud fortunately did so with the best part of his troops, after which their design was defeated. Upon this disappointment, and Colonel Aldercron's taking the field with part of his regiment, the enemy decamped and marched towards Pondicherry, as they had almost drained that garrison for the attempt. Trichinopoly being secured, the Colonel was returning to Madras. Before he arrived there, advice was brought him that the enemy, after halting a few days at Pondicherry, had again taken the field and were marching towards the Company's districts with about eight or nine hundred Europeans and a number of sepoys. This unexpected turn obliged Colonel Aldercron to halt until a reinforcement from Fort St David and other garrisons had joined him. He then moved towards the enemy, who thereupon entrenched themselves in such a manner as to render any attempt to force them very hazardous, upon which he encamped within three or four miles of them, and made several feints to draw them out of their entrenchments, but to no purpose, although by all accounts they were superior to him in number. He lay thus for about a fortnight, when the rains coming on he decamped and put his troops into quarters on the borders of the Company's districts. The French broke up soon after and marched towards Pondicherry, laying waste all the neutral country they passed through. In June last a frigate of twenty guns, called *La Gloire*, arrived there [...] **Interpretations** The campaigning described here reveals how thinly stretched the Company's forces were across the southern country, obliged to meet threats in several places at once with the same few troops. Calliaud's absence at Madura suppressing a rebellion left Trichinopoly nearly bare, and only a race to garrison it before the French forestalled a serious loss, the same handful of European soldiers and sepoys shuttled between distant emergencies, the security of the Company's whole position on the coast resting on the timing of marches and the fortune of arriving first. The manoeuvring without a battle shows the caution that governed war between roughly matched forces in the Carnatic. Aldercron, though facing an enemy superior in number and strongly entrenched, would not throw his men against prepared works, and the French in turn would not be drawn into the open, so that the campaign turned on feints, position and the coming of the rains rather than on a decisive action, the small size of the armies making each too precious to risk, the wet season ending the movement as surely as any victory. The French laying waste the neutral country as they withdrew exposes the cost borne by the local population caught between the two European powers. Ground belonging to neither side was stripped and ruined as the French fell back on Pondicherry, the inhabitants of the disputed districts made to suffer for a quarrel not their own, the war for the coast fought as much against the country that fed the armies as against the rival that contested it.

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424	420	there from Europe with some Mony The French gave out they expected a strong Squadron in India. None however has appeared. The Marlborough was to be Dispatched from Bengall in September with orders to call on the Coast for advices. And if the Ships from England arrive in Time one, if not two of them, it is said will be Dispatched with her, as there was pretty near two Ships Cargoes laying at Madras. & Ships Load of Pepper of the last Years produce was remaining at the West Coast, for which it was supposed one of the Coast & Bay Ships would be sent It is thought Vice Admiral Watson could not have Bengall with his Ships before the Beginning of October & that they were to go to Bombay to refit, & from then for England His Majestys Ship Triton & the Honorable Companys Ship of War the Revenge were cruizing to the Southward & the Prince Henry Packet was laying in the Road at Madras when the Walpole left it. Upon looking over & examining your Honors Stores, we found several pieces to be quite unserviceable, which are particularized in our Consultation of the 11 of October last, & amounts to £45. 18. 8p we therefore Directed them to be wrote off your Books of Accounts. Jacque Birch having been sentenced by a General Court martial to be Whiped & sent off the Island for striking & abusing his Officer, we therefore have Given Capt Fowler An order to receive him on board his Ships, & to carry him to England, whose passage we told Capt Fowler would be paid by your Honors. Mr James Powell your Honors Storekeeper representing to us that he had good reason to believe (that Robert Evans & William Cocksey who baked Bread for the Garrison) had not made just returns of the Disposeal of the Flour committed to their Charge. We therefore sent for them	A frigate of twenty guns called *La Gloire* arrived there from Europe with some money. The French gave out that they expected a strong squadron in India, but none had appeared. The *Marlborough* was to be dispatched from Bengal in September with orders to call on the coast for advices. Should the ships from England arrive in time, one, if not two of them, was to be dispatched with her, as there were pretty near two ships' cargoes lying at Madras, and two ships' loading of pepper of the previous year's produce remained at the west coast, for which it was supposed one of the Coast and Bay ships would be sent. It was thought Vice Admiral Watson could not leave Bengal with his ships before the beginning of October, and that they were to go to Bombay to refit and from there for England. His Majesty's ship *Triton* and the Company's ship of war the *Revenge* were cruising to the southward, and the *Prince Henry* was lying in the road at Madras when the *Walpole* left it. On looking over and examining the Court's stores, the Council found several spices to be quite unserviceable, which were particularised in its consultation of the 8th of October, and amounted to £15 18s 8½d. It therefore directed them to be written off the Court's books of accounts. Jacques Birch, having been sentenced by a general court martial to be whipped and sent off the island for striking and abusing his officer, the Council had given Captain Fowler an order to receive him aboard his ship and carry him to England, his passage to be paid by the Court. Mr James Powell, the Court's storekeeper, representing that he had good reason to believe Robert Evans and William Cocksey, who baked bread for the garrison, had not made just returns of the disposal of the flour committed to their charge, the Council therefore sent for them [...] **Interpretations** The sentence of a general court martial on Jacques Birch shows the machinery of military law now working on the island where it had lately failed. The extension of the Articles of War, the appointment of a judge advocate and the enlargement of the officer establishment had given the garrison the means to try and punish a soldier who struck his officer, and Birch's conviction and expulsion mark the settled operation of a jurisdiction that a year before could not muster a court, the discipline of the garrison brought under a working legal form as the war made it essential. The suspicion against the bakers over the flour reveals the close accounting the Company kept over even the humblest of its supplies. Bread was the garrison's staple, and flour issued to be baked was charged to those who received it, so a shortfall in the returns pointed either to waste or to theft, the storekeeper's watch over the disposal of the grain showing that the same insistence on vouchers and just accounts that governed the treasury reached down to the daily bread of the soldiers, no stock too common to escape the ledger.
425	421	them who immediately confessed the fraud, as your Honors will see entered in our Consultation of the 31 of October last, we therefore Ordered them to be imprisoned. Mr Francis Wrangham your Honors Secretary represented to us in Council that Wm Boddington who wrote occasionally under him had Stolen six Gold rings out of a Cupboard in his Office, which Rings	The bakers immediately confessed the fraud, as the Court would see entered in the Council's consultation of the 31st of October, and the Council therefore ordered them to be imprisoned. Mr Francis Wrangham, the Court's secretary, represented to the Council that William Boddington, who wrote occasionally under him, had stolen six gold rings out of a cupboard in his office. These rings were brought to him by John Langbridge and John Legg, to whom they had been pawned by Boddington for money and liquor, and as Langbridge and Legg were to have received, by their

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		were brought to him by John Langbridge & John Legg to whom they were pawned by the said Boddington for Mony & Liquor, & as they the said Langbridge & Legg were to have received according to their own confession a very extraordinary premium for the Mony they had lent upon them we fined each in the Sum of twenty Shillings to your Honors Cash & likewise to forfeit their Mony & Liquor, & ordered Boddington to be imprisoned, as your Honors will see particularly mentioned in our Consultation of the 31 of October 1757. Mr Thomas Hall applyed to us to pay £40 into your Cash, which Sum we have received & have given him Bills of Exchange Drawn on Your Honors payable to himself or Order 30 Days after sight Dated the 28 November last Your Honors Books of Accounts for the Year ending the 11 of Octr are Balanced & are now Copying & will be ready to send to you by the next opportunity. We are going on with the Fortifications the Pastures and Plantations are in good order & there is great prospect of a fine Season. We are, Honorable Sirs. St Helena 4 Decr 1757 Your most Obedient & most hble Servants (Signed) Charles Hutchinson John Adamson John Clark.	own confession, a very extraordinary premium for the money they had lent upon them, the Council fined each of them the sum of twenty shillings to the Court's cash, and likewise ordered them to forfeit their money and liquor, and ordered Boddington to be imprisoned, as the Court would see set out in the consultation of the 31st of October 1757. Mr Thomas Hall asked the Council to take £40 0s 0d into the Court's cash, which sum it received, giving him bills of exchange drawn on the Court payable to himself or order at thirty days after sight, dated the 28th of November. The Court's books of accounts for the year ending the 11th of October were balanced, and were now being copied, and would be ready to send by the next opportunity. The Council was going on with the fortifications, the pastures and plantations were in good order, and there was great prospect of a fine season. The letter was signed at St Helena on 4 December 1757 by Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson and John Clark. **Interpretations** The punishment of Langbridge and Legg alongside the thief exposes the Council's readiness to treat the receivers of stolen goods as offenders in their own right. The two men had taken the gold rings in pawn for money and liquor at an extortionate premium, and the Council, fining them and stripping them of both the money and the drink they had advanced, judged that lending on plainly suspect goods at a usurious rate was itself a wrong to be punished, the profit sought from another's theft forfeited along with the fine, the pawning of stolen property attacked at the point where it was made worthwhile. The clustering of frauds and thefts in a single letter, the bakers' false returns and the secretary's stolen rings both confessed and punished in the same consultation, shows the confined society of the island offering little room for dishonesty to hide. In so small a settlement, where the storekeeper knew his bakers and the secretary his clerk, a discrepancy in the flour or a missing set of rings was quickly traced and as quickly owned, the closeness that made the community hard to govern in matters of the heart also making petty crime difficult to conceal, wrongdoing swiftly brought to confession and the ledger of the Court's justice promptly settled.
426	422	List of the Honble Compy Packet p Ship Walpole Dated the 4 Decr 1757 Govr & Councils General Letter Dated the 4 Decr 1757 Dup Do the 9 August Do Consultations from the 11 August to the 3 Decr Do Dup Do the 23 July to the 8 August Do List of Officers & Servants taken the 4 Decr Do Dup List of the Packet p his Majestys Ship Colchester. First Receipt for Do this Do Second Do for Do this Do Kings Fisher Ship Walpoles Account. Dup Ship Oxfords Do Do Stormonts Do Do Harcourts Do Do Griffins Do Do Delawars Do Dup Cash Acc from the 21 June to the 11 July	The packet the *Walpole* carried home from St Helena, dated 4 December 1757, held the following. 1: Governor and Council's general letter dated 4 December 1757 2: Duplicate of the general letter dated 9 August 1757 3: Consultations from 11 August to 3 December 1757 4: Duplicate consultations from 23 July to 8 August 1757 5: List of officers and servants taken 4 December 1757 6: Duplicate list of the packet by His Majesty's ship Colchester 7: First receipt for the packet by His Majesty's ship Colchester 8: Second receipt for the packet by His Majesty's sloop King Fisher 9: Ship Walpole's account 10: Duplicate of the ship Oxford's account 11: Duplicate of the ship Stormont's account 12: Duplicate of the ship Harcourt's account 13: Duplicate of the ship Griffin's account 14: Duplicate of the ship Delaware's account 15: Duplicate cash account from 21 June to 11 July 1757

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		1757 Do the 12 July to the 9 August Do Cash Account from the 12 August to the 11 September Do Do the 12 September to the 11 Octr Do Do the 12 October to the 11 Novr Do Do the 12 November to the 4 Decr Do List of Cattle returned for the Service of the Year Do Courts Martial List of Familys, Land & Cattle taken the 16 Octr Do List of Rents for the Year ending the 11 October Do List of the Honble Companys Slaves taken the 16 Octr Do Two Second Bills of Exchange drawn by Capt OBrien & his Purser Governors Letter to the Secret Committee Muster Rolls of the Garrison Effective State of the Garrison First Receipt for the Packet p Ship Oxford Account of the Cargo of Ship Walpole Cash Account from the 16 to the 11 of August 1757.	16: Duplicate cash account from 12 July to 9 August 1757 17: Cash account from 12 August to 11 September 1757 18: Cash account from 12 September to 11 October 1757 19: Cash account from 12 October to 11 November 1757 20: Cash account from 12 November to 4 December 1757 21: List of cattle returned for the service of the year 22: Court martial 23: List of families, land and cattle taken 16 October 1757 24: List of rents for the year ending 11 October 1757 25: List of the Company's slaves taken 16 October 1757 26: Two second bills of exchange drawn by Captain O'Bryen and his purser 27: Governor's letter to the Secret Committee 28: Muster rolls of the garrison 29: Effective state of the garrison 30: First receipt for the packet by the ship Oxford 31: Account of the cargo of the ship Walpole 32: Cash account from 16 to 11 August 1757
427	423	To the Honorable the Court &ca Honorable Sirs Our last advices to you went by your Ship the Walpole that Sailed from hence on the 7 of December. On the 13 instant arrived your Honors Ship the Prince Henry Packet Capt Benjamin Reynolds (late Mumford) from Madras which place he left the 21 of November & brought the agreeable News of the success of the English Arms in India which we make no doubt but you will have particularized from thence as well as the Treaty, between the English & the present Nabob, upon which we congratulate your Honors. The Captain acquaints us that your Ships the Norfolk, Princess Augusta, Boscawen, & Tavistock arrived at Madras the 6 of September & his Majestys Ship the Triton on the 9 which brought an Account of ten French Ships being at Pondicherry, some of them Men of War the rest Company Ships fitted for War. They landed some Troops here & sailed from thence the 12. We hear your Ship the Warwick Capt Webb put in at Trangubar the 11 of September when being informed that Madras was invested by the French he proceeded Directly to Bengall, where he safely arrived. Capt Reynolds further informs us that his Majestys Ship the Queenborough arrived at Madras from Madagascar the 19 of October when he left Commodore Stevens who was to go to Bombay untill the next Monsoon. He also tells us that your Ship the Tavistock went from Madras to Bombay, & the Boscawen for Bengall the 21 of	To the Honourable Court and so forth. Honoured Sirs. The Council's last advices went by the Court's ship *Walpole*, which sailed on the 7th of December. On the 13th of this month arrived the Court's ship *Prince Henry*, Captain Benjamin Reynolds, late Mumford, from Madras, which place he left on the 21st of November. He brought the welcome news of the success of the English arms in India, which the Council did not doubt the Court would have particularised from there, as well as the treaty between the English and the present Nabob, on which the Council congratulated the Court. The captain reported that the Court's ships *Norfolk*, *Princess Augusta*, *Boscawen* and *Tavistock* arrived at Madras on the 6th of September, and His Majesty's ship the *Triton* on the 9th, which brought an account of ten French ships being at Pondicherry, some of them men of war and the rest Company ships fitted for war. They landed some troops there and sailed from there on the 12th. The Council learned that the Court's ship *Warwick*, Captain Webb, put in at Tranquebar on the 11th of September, where, being informed that Madras was invested by the French, he proceeded directly to Bengal, where he safely arrived. Captain Reynolds further reported that His Majesty's ship the *Queenborough* arrived at Madras from Madagascar on the 19th of October, when he left Commodore Stevens, who was to go to Bombay until the next monsoon. He also reported that the Court's ship *Tavistock* went from Madras to Bombay, and the *Boscawen* for Bengal on the 21st of October, the *Princess Augusta* and *Norfolk* for Bencoolen for pepper on the 26th of November, and that the *Marlborough* was to be dispatched from Bengal in November. The captain likewise reported that Admiral Watson had died [...] **Interpretations** The news of the treaty with the Nabob marks the political settlement that followed the recovery of Bengal, the victory at Plassey in June having placed on the throne a ruler bound to the Company's interest. The Council's congratulation on the treaty,

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		October, the Princess Augusta, & Norfolk for Bencoolen for pepper the 26 of November & that the Marlborough was to be dispatched from Bengall in November. The Capt likewise says that Admiral Watson Died	coming with the report of the success of the English arms, records the moment at which the Company passed from defending its factories to dictating terms to a country power, the arrangement with the new Nabob laying the foundation of the territorial dominion that would follow, its distant echo reaching the island as the most significant intelligence of the year. The reported concentration of ten French ships at Pondicherry, men of war and armed Indiamen together, signals the great effort the French were mounting on the Coromandel coast even as their cause failed in Bengal. The investing of Madras and the landing of troops show the war shifting to the south, where the French still held the strength to threaten the Company's principal settlement, the movements of the rival fleets and the dispersal of the Company's own ships to Bombay, Bengal and Bencoolen tracing a conflict now fought across the whole eastern sea, every arrival at the island adding to the Council's picture of a war whose fortunes swung from one coast to another.
428	424	Died at Bengall. And that there was no advice of Admiral Pococks Sailing from thence, nor of the arrival of the Coast & Bay Ships from England at the time he left Madras. Captain Reynolds acquainting us that he had £268.12. of your Honors Mony, which he says he shall not want on his passage, we therefore according to his request received it into your Cash here & have given him three receipts for that Sum all of the same Tenor & Date. The Capt likewise saying that he had on board 29 yds 1. 15 of Rice more than would be sufficient, for the use of your Ship the Prince Henry Packet, we received it also, for your use on this Island, the whole amounting to £12.11. Mr Purling applyed to us to pay £49. into your Cash which Sum we have received, & have given him Bills of Exchange Drawn on your Honors payable to himself or Order 90 Days after sight Dated the 20 instant. Major David Hepburne £200. thirty Days sight. Dated the 23 instant. Mr Thomas Kirkpatrick £78. thirty Days sight. Dated the 23 instant. The new Barracks for your Soldiers are now erecting as fast as possible. & we have the pleasure to acquaint you that your pastures & plantations are in good Condition. but we sorry to tell your Honors that the Planters have returned 73 Cattle less for Slaughter this Year, than they did last, so, if any of him. Majestys Ships that are returning home, should call here for & expect refreshment, we are apprehensive some of your own Ships, cannot be sufficiently supplyed This waits upon you by your Ship the Prince Henry Packet & we likewise transmit to you herewith your Honors General Books of Accounts, Balanced the 11 of October last. We are Honorable Sirs Your most Obedient & most hble Servants (Signed) C Hutchinson	Admiral Watson had died at Bengal, and there was no advice of Admiral Pocock sailing from there, nor of the arrival of the Coast and Bay ships from England, at the time he left Madras. Captain Reynolds, reporting that he had £268 12s 0d of the Court's money, which he said he would not want on his passage, the Council therefore received it into the Court's cash at his request, and gave him three receipts for that sum, all of the same tenor and date. The captain likewise saying that he had aboard 29 hundredweight 1 quarter 15 pounds of rice more than would be enough for the use of the Court's ship the *Prince Henry*, the Council received it also for the Court's use on the island, the whole amounting to £12 11s 0d. Mr Purling asked the Council to take £49 0s 0d into the Court's cash, which sum it received, giving him bills of exchange drawn on the Court payable to himself or order at ninety days after sight, dated the 20th of this month. Major David Hepburne asked the Council to take £200 0s 0d into the Court's cash, giving him bills payable at thirty days sight, dated the 23rd of this month. Mr Thomas Kirkpatrick asked the Council to take £78 0s 0d into the Court's cash, giving him bills payable at thirty days sight, dated the 23rd of this month. The new barracks for the Court's soldiers were now being erected as fast as possible, and the Council was glad to report that the pastures and plantations were in good condition, but sorry to tell the Court that the planters had returned 73 head of cattle less for slaughter this year than they did last, so that if any of the Court's ships returning home should call for and expect refreshment, the Council feared some of its own ships could not be sufficiently supplied. This letter went by the Court's ship the *Prince Henry*, and the Council likewise sent the Court its general books of accounts, balanced to the 11th of October. The letter was signed at St Helena on 24 February 1758 by Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson and John Clark. **Interpretations** The shortfall of seventy-three head of cattle returned for slaughter measures the recurring pinch between the island's power to provision and the demands of a fleet swollen by war. The planters, on whose beasts the whole supply depended, had returned far fewer than the year before, and the

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		J Adamson J Clark St Helena 24 Feby 1758	Council, watching its stock against a heavy season of returning ships, warned that it might not be able to victual even the Company's own vessels, the settlement's central purpose threatened by a falling off in the very resource it existed to furnish, the numbers of cattle a truer index of the island's usefulness than any account of cash. The Council's taking of the surplus rice from the *Prince Henry* shows the habitual thrift by which it turned a ship's leftover stores to the island's advantage. Rice was the food it relied on for the sick and the slaves and could not always get from a disrupted Bengal, so a captain's surplus, offered rather than carried home, was bought in for the Court's use, the settlement making good its own wants from the incidental abundance of the passing trade, no serviceable store allowed to leave the island that it stood in need of.
429	425	List of the Honble Companys Packet p Ship Prince Henry Dated 24 Feby 1758 Governor & Councils General Letter Dated the 24 Feby 1758 Dup Do the 4 Decr 1757 Consultations from 4 Decr 1757 to 23 Feby 1758 Dup Do from 11 August to the 3 Decr 1757 List of Officers & Servants taken the 24 Feb 1758 Duplicate List of the Packet p Ship Walpole First Receipt for Do p Do Second Do for Do p his Majestys Ship Colchester Do Do for Do p Ship Oxford Dup Ship Walpoles Account Dup Cash Account from the 16 to the 11 August 1757 Do the 12 Aug to 11 Sept Do Do the 12 Sept to 11 Octr Do Do the 12 Oct to 11 Novr Do Do the 12 Novr to 4 Decr Do Cash Account from the 5 to the 11 Decr Do Do the 12 Decr to the 11 January 1758 Do the 12 Jan to the 11 Feb Do Do the 12 to the 24 Feb Do Courts Martial Dup List of Familys, Land & Cattle taken the 16 Octr 1757 Do of Rent for the Year ending Do Do Do of the Honble Companys Slaves Do Do Governors Letter to the Secret Committee Muster Books of the Garrison General Books of Accompts Effective State of the Garrison Ship Prince Henry Packets Account	The packet the *Prince Henry* carried home from St Helena, dated 24 February 1758, held the following. 1: Governor and Council's general letter dated 24 February 1758 2: Duplicate of the general letter dated 4 December 1757 3: Consultations from 4 December 1757 to 23 February 1758 4: Duplicate consultations from 11 August to 3 December 1757 5: List of officers and servants taken 24 February 1758 6: Duplicate list of the packet by the ship Walpole 7: First receipt for the packet by the ship Walpole 8: Second receipt for the packet by His Majesty's ship Colchester 9: Second receipt for the packet by the ship Oxford 10: Duplicate of the ship Walpole's account 11: Duplicate cash account from 16 to 11 August 1757 12: Duplicate cash account from 12 August to 11 September 1757 13: Duplicate cash account from 12 September to 11 October 1757 14: Duplicate cash account from 12 October to 11 November 1757 15: Duplicate cash account from 12 November to 4 December 1757 16: Cash account from 5 to 11 December 1757 17: Cash account from 12 December to 11 January 1758 18: Cash account from 12 January to 11 February 1758 19: Cash account from 12 to 24 February 1758 20: Court martial 21: Duplicate list of families, land and cattle taken 16 October 1757 22: Duplicate list of rents for the year ending 16 October 1757 23: Duplicate list of the Company's slaves taken 16 October 1757 24: Governor's letter to the Secret Committee 25: Muster books of the garrison 26: General books of accounts 27: Effective state of the garrison 28: Ship Prince Henry's account
430	426	To the Honble the Court &ca Honble Sirs We wrote to you last by your Ship the Prince Henry Packet, that sailed from hence on the 24 of Feby a Duplicate of which Letter goes herewith enclosed to your Honors	To the Honourable Court and so forth. Honoured Sirs. The Council last wrote by the Court's ship the *Prince Henry*, which sailed on the 24th of February, a duplicate of which letter went enclosed with the present one.

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		On the 14 instant arrived thirteen Dutch Ships last from the Cape, which place they left the 27 of Feby the Commanders of which, not knowing (as they say) what their Ships are Loaded with, we therefore have not been able to get any Account of their Cargoes, or Burthens. The Ships & Captains names, Number of Men & Guns are as follows. viz. Ships Commanders Men Guns Poulan Petronella Maria J. De Lavoye 145 46 Nonenbosch C. De Neijs 140 44 Atherendam Wm De Graaf 140 44 Ruyterveld J. Elseirer 135 40 Walcheren S D Hartog 135 36 Varrd Nieu Land G. Welts 130 32 Vlissingen L. Helinstroom 130 36 Blij drop J. Claus 130 32 D Hook S Hahes 130 30 Cattendijke W Klump 130 30 S. Gravesande R. Stuyver 140 30 OO Sthuysa J. Liebens 125 30 Nt Misveld J. Schrijter 130 30 By some Gentlemen that are passengers & others on board one of the above Ships, which came from Bengall the 22 of	On the 11th of this month arrived thirteen Dutch ships, last from the Cape, which place they left on the 27th of February. The commanders of them, not knowing, as they said, what their ships were laden with, the Council had not been able to get any account of their cargoes or burthens. The ships and captains' names, and their numbers of men and guns, were as follows. Ship Petronella Maria, Captain J. De Lavoye, 145 men, 46 guns Ship Nonenbosch, Captain C. De Weijs, 140 men, 44 guns Ship Abercrombie, Captain William De Graaf, 140 men, 44 guns Ship Ruyterveld, Captain J. Elseieren, 135 men, 40 guns Ship Walcheren, Captain S. D'Hartog, 135 men, 36 guns Ship Vaard Nieuw Land, Captain G. Welto, 130 men, 32 guns Ship Vlissingen, Captain L. Helinstroom, 130 men, 36 guns Ship Blydorp, Captain J. Claus, 130 men, 32 guns Ship De Hook, Captain S. Hahes, 130 men, 30 guns Ship Cattendijke, Captain W. Klump, 130 men, 30 guns Ship S. Gravesande, Captain R. Stuyver, 140 men, 30 guns Ship Oost Souburg, Captain J. Liebens, 125 men, 30 guns Ship Middelveld, Captain J. Schrijter, 130 men, 30 guns By some gentlemen who were passengers, and others aboard one of the above ships, which came from Bengal on the 22nd [...] **Interpretations** The arrival of thirteen Dutch ships in company shows the wartime discipline the neutral trade had also adopted, the vessels of the Dutch Company sailing together in a strong body for their mutual protection. The refusal of their commanders to declare their cargoes reflects the reserve a neutral maintained toward a belligerent's port, unwilling to disclose the value or nature of what they carried, so that the Council could log only the ships' force and complement, the guns and men numbering as usable intelligence where the cargoes were withheld, a fleet of thirty and forty gun ships marking the scale on which the Dutch too now moved through waters made dangerous by the war.
431	427	of November we heard Admiral Pocock was then there with the Cumberland, Salisbury & Tiger Men of War, & that your Ship	By some gentlemen who came from Bengal on the 22nd of November, the Council heard that Admiral Pocock was then there with the men of war *Cumberland, Salisbury* and *Tiger*, and that the Court's ship the *Marlborough* was to sail from there in

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		the Marlborough was to Sail from thence in December & the Warwick the begining of January. They further report they saw two Ships under English Colors off Ceylon in the Latitude of seven Degrees North. It is likewise said that the French have eight Ships of War, a Bomb Vessel, two General Officers, & 5,000 of the Kings Troops in India, besides their Companys Ships & Soldiers. Mr John Delamott £270. forty Days sight. Dated the 18 instant. This waits upon your Honors by Mr John Clark who was first Lieutenant on board Admiral Watsons Ship. which we hope will come safe to you. We are Honble Sirs. Your most Ob & most hble Servants (Signed) Chas Hutchinson John Adamson John Clark St Helena 20 March 1758.	December and the *Warwick* the beginning of January. They further reported that they saw two ships under English colours off Ceylon in the latitude of seven degrees north. It was likewise said that the French had eight ships of war, a bomb vessel, two general officers and 5,000 of the King's troops in India, besides their Company's ships and soldiers. Mr John Delamott asked the Council to take £270 0s 0d into the Court's cash, giving him bills payable at forty days sight, dated the 18th of this month. This letter went by Mr John Clark, who was first lieutenant aboard Admiral Watson's ship, which the Council hoped would come safe to the Court. The letter was signed at St Helena on 26 March 1758 by Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson and John Clark. **Interpretations** The report of the French strength in India, eight ships of war, a bomb vessel, two general officers and five thousand of the King's own troops, measures the scale of the effort France was making to recover the initiative after the reverses in Bengal. The presence of royal regiments and general officers alongside the Company's own forces shows the war in the East had become a contest of national armies rather than of trading companies, the Council forwarding the intelligence as a warning of the weight the French could now bring against the Company's settlements on the coast. The distinction between the man carrying the letter and the councillor of the same name illustrates the care the Council took to route its despatches home by trustworthy hands. Sending the letter by an officer of Admiral Watson's ship, a man of standing returning from the war, gave it a safer passage than an ordinary conveyance, the settlement using the homeward movement of naval and Company men of rank to carry its correspondence past the dangers of the sea, the choice of bearer part of the same anxious calculation that governed every despatch in wartime.
432	428	To the Honble the Court &ca Honble Sirs Our last advices to you went by your Ship the Prince Henry Packet that Sailed from hence on the 24 of Feby On the 14 of last Month arrived 13 Dutch Ships by which occasion we likewise wrote to you, & gave our Packet to the care of Lieut Clark, passenger on board one of them. but unluckily the Fleet Weighing Anchor, & making Sail sooner than was expected Mr Clark with two more of his Majestys Officers were left notwith- standing their utmost endeavours to get on Board. Our Packet was therefore brought back, which goes herewith enclosed to your Honors. On the 9 instant arrived a Dane Ship from China called the Princess Louisa Capt Jasper With Burthen 900 Tons carrys 22 Guns & 140 Men Loaded with Tea & China ware bound to Copenhagen. The Capt informs us that he left Canton the 2 of Jany & Machoa the 6 of the same Month, & that he left in the River of Wampo your Ships the Carnarvan Capt Norton Hutchinson the Royall Duke Capt George Cumming, the Sandwich Capt John Pusling	To the Honourable Court and so forth. Honoured Sirs. The Council's last advices went by the Court's ship the *Prince Henry*, which sailed on the 24th of February. On the 11th of last month arrived thirteen Dutch ships, by which occasion the Council likewise wrote to the Court, and gave its packet to the care of Lieutenant Clark, passenger aboard one of them. But unluckily, the fleet weighing anchor and making sail sooner than was expected, Mr Clark, with two more of His Majesty's officers, was left, notwithstanding their utmost endeavours to get aboard. The packet was therefore brought back, and went enclosed with the present letter. On the 9th of this month arrived a Danish ship from China called the *Princess Louisa*, Captain Jasper With, of 900 tons burthen, carrying 22 guns and 140 men, laden with tea and chinaware, bound for Copenhagen. The captain reported that he left Canton on the 2nd of January and Macao on the 6th of the same month, and that he left in the river of Whampoa the Court's ships the *Carnarvon*, Captain Norton Hutchinson, the *Royal Duke*, Captain George Cumming, the *Sandwich*, Captain John Barlow, and the *Triton*, Captain Francis Davies, which ships, as was reported, were to sail from there in divisions, the first two between the 15th and 20th of January. But if they were all four dispatched together, it was thought they could not leave Canton River until about the 20th of February. He further reported that he saw nothing on his passage except a Dutch ship off Prince's Island.

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		& the Triton Capt Francis Davis which Ships (as it was reported) were to Sail from thence in Division. the first two to Sail between the 15 & 20 of January. But if they were all four Dispatched together it was thought they coud not leave Canton River untill about the 20 of February. He further informs us that he saw nothing in his passage except a Dutch Ship off Princess Island. On the 15 instant arrived your Ship the Marlborough from Bengall. which place she left the 1 of Jany. The Capt informs us that your	On the 16th of this month arrived the Court's ship the *Marlborough* from Bengal, which place she left on the 2nd of January. The captain reported that [...] **Interpretations** The mishap of Lieutenant Clark being left behind when the Dutch fleet sailed shows the risk of entrusting a packet to a conveyance the Council could not control. A neutral fleet weighed and made sail at its own convenience, taking no account of the passengers still ashore, so the Council's despatch travelled out and came back unsent, the officers scrambling in vain to reach their ship, the settlement's dependence on the movements of foreign vessels for carrying its mail exposed when a fleet's sudden departure stranded both the men and the letters they were to bear, the packet returned to wait for a surer opportunity. The detailed report of which Company ships lay at Whampoa, and when they might sail, records the value the Council placed on tracking the homeward China fleet before it appeared. Knowing which ships were still in the river, under what commanders and in what order they were to be dispatched, let the Council anticipate the traffic it would have to receive and provision, the intelligence gathered from a departing Dane serving to forecast the arrivals of the coming months, the island's role as the gathering point of the trade depending on such advance word of what was on its way.
433	429	your Ships the Grantham Capt Oliver & the Elizabeth Capt Bowden arrived at Bengall the 9 of Jany. he further acquaints us that your Ships the Ilchester Capt Sed, the Worcester Capt Siddeman & the Fox Capt Hume, put into the Bay of All Saints on the Coast of Brazil to refresh & Sailed from thence in Company, but were parted in a Gale of Wind off the Cape. the Grantham & Elizabeth met the Hunter Scooner from Bengall to the negrew which informd them of Calcutta's being retaken. The other Ships it was believed woud go to Madrass & not venture for Bengall as they had received intelligence at Brazel of that place being taken by the Enemy. The Warwick Capt Webb having taken in 3000 Bags of Salt Petre & some Bales was to have been dispatched for Madrass about the 1 of Feby to fill up. Upon the Arrival of the Grantham & Elizabeth. the Boscawen was ordered up to Madrass, & it was said she woud Sail for that place the begining of March. The Capt further acquaints us, it was supposed Admiral Pocock with his Squadron woud remain some time longer at Bengall & that Col. Clive was marched up the Country to quiet some Disturbances that had lately broke out. Commodore Stevens with four of his Majestys Ships got to Bombay about the middle of October. but none of your Honors were at that Time arrived there from England We are in hourly expectations of the Store Ship, & have the pleasure to acquaint you that your affairs here in General are in good Order The Plantations & Pastures having lately had the	The Court's ships the *Grantham*, Captain Oliver, and the *Elizabeth*, Captain Braddell, arrived at Bengal on the 9th of January. The captain further reported that the Court's ships the *Ilchester*, Captain Sedd, the *Worcester*, Captain Siddeman, and the *Fox*, Captain Hume, put into the Bay of All Saints on the coast of Brazil to refresh, and sailed from there in company, but were parted in a gale of wind off the Cape. The *Grantham* and *Elizabeth* met the *Hunter* schooner from Bengal to the northward, which reported the news of Calcutta being retaken. The other ships, it was believed, would go to Madras and not venture for Bengal, as they had received intelligence at Brazil of that place being taken by the enemy. The *Warwick*, Captain Webb, having taken in 3,000 bags of saltpetre and some bales, was to have been dispatched for Madras about the 1st of February to fill up. Upon the arrival of the *Grantham* and *Elizabeth*, the *Boscawen* was ordered up to Madras, and it was said she would sail for that place the beginning of March. The captain further reported that it was supposed Admiral Pocock with his squadron would remain some time longer at Bengal, and that Colonel Clive had marched up the country to quiet some disturbances that had lately broken out. Commodore Stevens with four of His Majesty's ships got to Bombay about the middle of October, but none of the Court's ships had at that time arrived there from England. The Council was in hourly expectation of the store ship, and was glad to report that the Court's affairs on the island were in general in good order, the plantations and pastures having lately had the advantage of much fine rain. The letter was signed at St Helena on 16 April 1758 by Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson and John Clark. **Interpretations** The diverging courses of the outward ships on the strength of the Calcutta news show how a single report could redirect the whole flow of the Company's shipping. Vessels that learned at Brazil of the settlement's fall steered for Madras rather than risk Bengal, while those who later heard of its recovery held their course, the fate of a distant

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		advantage of much fine Rain We are Honble Sirs St Helena 16 April 1758 Your most Ob & most hble Servants (Signed) Chas Hutchinson John Adamson John Clark.	factory reaching the ships at sea by rumour passed from one vessel to another and governing where they dared to go, the war's swings of fortune transmitted along the trade routes faster than any despatch and shaping the movements of ships that could not know which report was current. Colonel Clive's march up the country to quiet disturbances marks the Company's new burden as a territorial power in the wake of its victory. Having placed a Nabob on the throne and gained control of Bengal, it now found itself obliged to police the country it had won, its commander drawn from the coast into the interior to suppress unrest, the triumph at Plassey opening not a settled peace but a continuing task of holding by arms what had been gained, the trading company sliding into the work of government.
434	430	To the Honorable the Court &ca Honorable Sirs We wrote last to you by a Dane Ship called the Princess Louisa, Captain Jasper With that Sailed from Hence on 16 of April, by which occasion we acquainted you we shall the Circumstances with regard to your Trade, and Shipping in India, that we could gather from thence & and likewise from your Ship the Marlborough which arrived Here on the 10 of April. On the 17 of April arrived your Ship the Prince Henry Captain Thomas Best from England by whom we received a packett, from your Honors. which we opened and read your Letter to us. And are glad to find you received, our several advices, and that your Ships of Last Season arrived safe, as we hope those of the present year likewise will. We are sorry that the Expedition Packet Commanded by Captain James Barton, who was going to Bengall so unfortunately fell into the Hands of a French Privateer. The Ships you have been pleased to take into your service, for carrying on your Trade this Season, we see by this List of them annexed to your Letter & we hope they will be Successful. We happy the Ship Pitt Captain William Wilson Commander, will in all respects answer your design, as also your Ship that is now building. & to be commanded by Captain Cook.	To the Honourable Court and so forth. Honoured Sirs. 1: The Council last wrote by a Danish ship called the *Princess Louisa*, Captain Jasper With, which sailed on the 16th of April, by which occasion it reported all the circumstances regarding the Court's trade and shipping in India that it could gather from there, and likewise from the Court's ship the *Marlborough*, which arrived on the 10th of April. 2: On the 17th of April arrived the Court's ship the *Prince Henry*, Captain Thomas Best, from England, by which the Council received a packet from the Court, which it opened, and read the Court's letter. The Council was glad to learn that the Court had received several of its advices, and that the Court's ships of the previous season arrived safe, as it hoped those of the present year would likewise. 3: The Council was sorry that the Court's ship the *Expedition*, commanded by Captain James Barton, which was going to Bengal, had unfortunately fallen into the hands of a French privateer. 4: The Council saw, by the list of them the Court sent, the ships the Court had been pleased to take into its service for carrying on its trade this season, and it hoped they would be successful. 5: The Council was glad that the ship *Betty*, Captain William Wilson commander, answered the Court's design in all respects, and likewise the ship then building, to be commanded by Captain Cook. **Interpretations** The loss of the *Expedition* to a French privateer marks the danger the war carried right up to the Company's outward passages, where a single ship sailing alone could be snapped up before ever reaching India. Privateers, private vessels licensed to prey on enemy commerce, made the ocean between England and Bengal a hunting ground, and the capture of a Company ship bound for the very settlement whose recovery had lately been celebrated shows that victory in India did not secure the sea lanes, the trade remaining exposed to seizure at every stage the convoys could not cover. The Council's notice of the ship building for Captain Cook shows the Company continuing to expand its fleet even in the midst of a war that was taking ships from it. New vessels were laid down and commanders appointed while others were lost to the enemy, the business of the trade pressing forward alongside its perils, the Court's steady replacement and enlargement of its shipping reflecting a confidence that the commerce would outlast the war, the report of a keel on the stocks set beside the report of a ship taken as two faces of the same enterprise.
435	431	The Governor begs leave to assure your Honors, that all orders he or any other person may receive	6: The Governor gave the Court his assurance that all orders he or any other person might receive from

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		from the Honorable the secret Committee, or any three of them, will be punctually obeyed. Your Honors may depend upon our being as particular as possible in Gathering all the Intelligence we can, from foreign Ships as well as any our own & in communicating the same to you as usual, and are Glad our advices of last year, mett with your approbation. Your Ship the Prince Henry had all the assistance possibly could give to Expedite her but the Surf was so uncommonly high, for the greatest part of the time & She was here, as you will see by the Enclosed account from the Storekeeper made it impossible to dispatch her within, the ten Working days, without indanguing the Lives of the Men, and damaguing the Stores in attempting to Land them The Letter left here Messrs Fitzhugh and Torin, we delivered to Messrs Mandeviles, and Mackenzie and we shall not fail to remind, any our Supracargoes returning Supra Cargo from Simpo to leave the most explict Accounts of their brains action for the information of those Gentlemen to who the Management of your affairs, in that part of China may hereafter be committed We found ourselves under an absolute necessity of buying the Longboat, Captain William Hutchinson & his, on your account as likewise the other from Captain OBryen, for the Governor to trust the Fortifications in and for many other uses, we will take care that your boats when they are lent to assist any Ship that the Commanders do repair all damages they may sustain and make a reasonable allowance for their service. We are sorry that the Letter we sent to you by the Dane Ship the Sophia Magdelena, did not come to your	the Secret Committee, or any three of them, would be punctually obeyed. 7: The Court could depend upon the Council being as particular as possible in gathering all the intelligence it could from foreign ships as well as its own, and in communicating the same to the Court as usual, and it was glad its advices of the previous year met with the Court's approval. 8: The Court's ship the *Prince Henry* had all the assistance the Council could possibly give to expedite her, but the surf ran so uncommonly high for the first part of the time she was there that, as the Court would see by the enclosed account from the storekeeper, it was impossible to dispatch her within the ten working days without risking the lives of the men and damaging the stores in attempting to land them. 9: The letter left by Mr Fitzhugh and Mr Lorin the Council delivered to Mr Mandeville and Mr Mackenzie, and it would not fail to require everyone managing a returning supercargo from Ningpo to leave the most explicit accounts of their dealings there, for the information of the gentlemen to whom the management of the Court's affairs in that part of China might later be committed. 10: The Council found itself under an absolute necessity of buying the longboat of Captain William Hutchinson and Stevens, on the Court's account, and likewise the other from Captain O'Bryen, for the use of the fortifications and for many other purposes. It would take care that the boats, when lent to assist any ship whose commanders should repair all damages they might sustain, and make a reasonable allowance for their service. 11: The Council was sorry that the letter it sent by the Danish ship the *Sophia Magdalena* did not come to the Court [...] **Interpretations** The surf that prevented the *Prince Henry* from clearing within her charter time exposes the practical limits the island's open roadstead placed on its usefulness as a port. St Helena had no sheltered harbour, only a landing exposed to the swell, so that a heavy surf could make it impossible to work the stores ashore without endangering the men, and the Council was obliged to hold a ship beyond her allotted days rather than risk lives and goods, the physical exposure of the anchorage overriding the commercial discipline of the charter party whenever the sea ran high. The purchase of two longboats from departing captains shows the settlement's chronic want of small craft driving it to buy where it could not build. The boats served the fortifications and a hundred other purposes, and were constantly worn out or lost in the service of the ships they helped, so the Council took the chance of acquiring serviceable ones from commanders leaving the island, arranging too that ships borrowing them should repair and pay for their use, a careful husbandry of a resource the island could neither make for itself nor do without.
436	432	hands, as soon as the duplicates thereof, but receipt were taken for it as if a packett as also for all other, as well foreign, as your own ships, as you will please to observe by the List of the packetts, You received by the Edgcote, dated the 11 March 1757, when the first receipt was sent and by the Suffolk dated the 14 of April in the same year, when the second receipt was sent. We believe your Ship the Prince Henry Packett might stay a day or two Longer than she otherwise would on account of Captains Mumfords indisposition	The letter did not come to the Court's hands as soon as the duplicates of it, but receipts were taken both for that packet and for all others, whether foreign or in the Court's own ships, as the Court would see by the list of the packets it received by the *Colchester*, dated the 11th of March 1757, when the first receipt was sent, and by the *Suffolk*, dated the 14th of April in the same year, when the second receipt was sent. 12: The Council believed the Court's ship the *Prince Henry* might stay a day or two longer than she otherwise would, on account of Captain Mumford's indisposition.

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		We have taken the most effectual methods we possibly can to prevent our Artificers or Soldiers from leaving the Island, and shall not fail to inform your Commanders before they quit the Shore, that you will allow of no Excuse, if any such are found on board their Ships, after they have sailed. We shall likewise acquaint the Captains of his Majestys Ships with what you have been pleased to direct in that respect. We thank your honors for complying so fully with our Indents, and are sorry to find that the walls and Number of the Canoes, and Osenbrigs were not Particularized. The Six Pieces of Cak of twenty four fal Long and two feet Diameter, were intended to bound up for our bridg or and Port Cullis's and were easy to be procured as Mr Blands your master Mason, assured us but as we find such are difficult to be got Timber of for of that Diameter will answer those purposes which we shall particularized in our Indent We have received out of your Ship Prince Henry two Chests of your Treasury, amounting to two thousands and Nine pounds four Shillings and beg leave to assure you we shall at no time take any more, out of any of your Ships, but what is absolutely necessary, which we shall be so frugal of as it is possible	13: The Council had taken the most effectual methods it possibly could to prevent the Court's officers or soldiers from leaving the island, and would not fail to inform the commanders before they left the island, that they would allow of no excuse, if any such were found on board their ships after they had sailed, and it would likewise acquaint the captains of His Majesty's ships with what the Court had been pleased to direct in that respect. 14: The Council thanked the Court for meeting its indents so fully, and was sorry to find that the tale and number of the canvas and osnaburg were not particularised. 15: The six pieces of oak, of twenty-four feet long and two feet diameter, were intended to be used up for a bridge or a portcullis, and were easy to be procured, as Mr Bland the master mason assured the Council, but as it found such were difficult to be got, timber of half that diameter would answer those purposes, which it would particularise in its indent. 16: The Council had received out of the Court's ship the *Prince Henry* two chests of the Court's treasure, amounting to two thousand and nine pounds four shillings, and it gave the Court its assurance that it would at no time take any more out of any of the Court's ships, but what was absolutely necessary, which it would be as frugal of as it possibly [...] **Interpretations** The insistence on receipts for every packet, whether carried by a foreign ship or the Court's own, shows the Council building a careful record against the loss or miscarriage of its correspondence. By keeping proof of when each despatch was sent and by which conveyance, and by listing the packets received on later ships, the settlement could show that a letter delayed or gone astray had in fact been dispatched, protecting itself against any charge of neglect and letting the Court trace the fate of its advices, the machinery of accountable communication as deliberate as the accounting of its cash. The Council's readiness to substitute lighter timber for the great baulks of oak it had first specified shows the constant adjustment of its wants to what could actually be got. Told by its master mason that beams two feet thick were hard to obtain, it settled for half that scantling as sufficient for the bridge or portcullis in view, refining its indent to match the supply rather than hold out for the ideal material, the practical fitting of demand to availability that ran through all its dealings with a Court an ocean away and a delivery a year off.
437	433	We herewith Transmitt to you Duplicate of the receipt for those Landed here, in obedience to your express commands for the Satisfaction of the Officers of the Crown. But the papers of Instructions mentioned in the 22 Parragraph of your Letter by the Prince Henry, and likewise the duplicate thereof by his Majestys Ship Colchester, for our Conduct therein, we have not received neither is it mentioned in the List of the Packet which we now transmitt to you, we therefore apprehend it has been omitted to be sent. As we have been this year supplyed with Rice Paddy &c from Bengal we shall Indent thither for those articles as usual. If we think we should have any further occasion	17: The Council sent the Court a duplicate of the receipt for the officers landed on the island, in obedience to the Court's express command, for the satisfaction of the officers of the Crown. But the paper of instructions mentioned in the 22nd paragraph of the Court's letter by the *Prince Henry*, and likewise the duplicate of it by His Majesty's ship *Colchester*, for the Council's conduct in that matter, it had not received, neither was it mentioned in the list of the packet now sent to the Court, so the Council apprehended it had been omitted to be sent. 18: As the Council had this year been supplied with rice, paddy and so forth from Bengal, it would indent there for those articles as usual. 19: Should the Council think it should have any further occasion for sandbags, it would indent for them from whichever of the Court's settlements in India the Court was pleased to direct. 20: The Council was much satisfied to find that the Court had complied with its indent for a mineral store, which would be taken proper care of and constantly inspected.

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		for wind bags, we will Indent for them from some of your settle- ments, in India as you have been pleased to direct It gives us much Satisfaction to find your Honors have complyed with our Indent for wind stuff & Stores which shall be taken proper Care off, and constantly inspected We are glad to find you intend to send cloathing for the Additional Recruits We have received the Estimation of the particulars sent for the Construction of an Hospital, which shall be carryd daily to account in your General Books. the records of the Island have been examined in relation to Blacks murdering one another, and we cant find only one Case of this kind upon them, a Copy of which we herewith send you which happened in the time of Governor Pouiver	21: The Council was glad to find the Court intended to send clothing for the additional recruits. 22: The Council had received the estimate of the particulars sent for the construction of a hospital, which would be carried daily to account in the Court's general books. 24: The records of the island had been examined regarding slaves murdering one another, and the Council could find only one case of this kind upon them, a copy of which it sent to the Court, which happened in the time of Governor Pyke [...] **Interpretations** The Council's search of the island's records for a precedent of slaves murdering one another shows the settlement grappling with the legal uncertainty it had raised the previous year over how such a crime was to be tried and punished. Finding only a single earlier case, from the time of Governor Pyke, it forwarded the record to the Court as the sole precedent its own history afforded, the want of established law on the matter driving it to comb its archives for whatever guidance the past might yield, a small settlement without settled criminal jurisdiction over its enslaved forced to reason from a single remembered instance. The daily carrying of the hospital estimate to account in the general books shows the exacting bookkeeping the Company required even of a work still in the building. The cost of the new hospital was to be entered as it was incurred rather than reckoned at the end, so that the Court could follow the outlay from day to day, the same insistence on continuous and particular accounting that governed the treasury and the stores extended to a capital project, no expense of the settlement escaping the ledger as it was laid out.
438	434	We are pleased your Honors have forbid your servants in India, sending Malefactors and desolate persons as transports to this Island, so far that as it may not prevent, their supplying us with useful Slaves the sixteen of the Malabar blacks, sent from Anjengo have been and shall be treated with all the Humanity Possible, according to your directions. Your Honors may depend that we will be as watchfull as we can of Naguedah Pockollum, to prevent his Escape from hence But we do not believe, any treatment whatever, will reconcile him to his being kept here In pursuance of your express commands no person shall be allowed to take plans of any of the fortifications, or works in this Island without our leave, we have therefore called in all we heard of, as that Richards declares he had drawn excepting some draughts that were in his Chest, which as he says were stolen from thence by one David Savory It gives us satisfaction to find you approve of our orders Issued the 13 of December 1756 and the 5 January 1757 for the coming in of all Boats, on alarms, and preventing making fires upon the Hills Your fortifications shall be put and kept in the best repair we possibly can which we shall be better enabled to do by your permitting us to employ your soldiery for those purposes. The planters, and Inhabitants, as the Militia,	25: The Council was glad the Court had forbidden its servants in India to send malefactors and desperate persons as transports to the island, so that it might not prevent them from supplying it with useful slaves. The survivors of the Malabar blacks sent from Anjengo had been, and would be, treated with all the humanity possible, following the Court's directions. 26: The Court could depend upon the Council being as watchful as it could in the case of Naquedah Cohallum, to prevent his escape from the island. But it did not believe any treatment whatever would reconcile him to being kept there. 27: In pursuance of the Court's express commands that no person should be allowed to take plans of any of the fortifications or works on the island without leave, the Council had called in all it had heard of, except some drawings that were in the chest of a man named Richard, who declared he had drawn them, but which, as he said, were stolen from there by one David Savoury. 28: The Council was glad the Court approved its orders of the 13th of December and the 5th of January for the coming in of all boats on an alarm, and preventing washing four upon the hills. 29: The fortifications would be put and kept in the best repair the Council could manage, which it would be the better able to do by the Court permitting it to employ the Court's soldiers for those purposes. 30: The planters and inhabitants, as the militia which formed the flying parties, had been and would be regularly trained and exercised, and the Council did not doubt they would contribute all they possibly could for the defence of the island. **Interpretations** The Court's ban on sending desperate transports, welcomed by the Council for the sake of getting useful slaves instead, exposes with stark clarity the

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		which form the flying partys, have been and shall be regularly trained and exercised, and we make no doubt but that they well contribute all they possibly can for the Defence of the Island	calculus by which the enslaved were valued. The mass suicide of the Malabar men had shown that captives sent in despair were a loss and a danger rather than a workforce, so the settlement preferred slaves who would labour to convicts who would destroy themselves, the humanity promised to the survivors set beside an open preference for enslaved people chosen for their usefulness, the whole traffic weighed as a matter of serviceable property. The strict control over plans of the fortifications shows the wartime anxiety that intelligence of the island's defences might reach an enemy. Drawings of the works were called in and their possession forbidden without leave, for a plan of the batteries and their weaknesses would be of the greatest value to a French force contemplating an attack, and the dispute over the drawings found in one man's chest, and his claim they had been stolen, reveals how seriously the Council treated the security of information that in peacetime would have passed unremarked, the defence of the island reaching to the control of paper as much as of powder.
439	435	All deserters from your settlements in India, who may be found on board your ships, we shall detain here according to your directions. We have not detained any of the Recruits from on board the Egmont, consigned for your settlements on the West Coast in the Island of Sumatra. This Parragraph Relateing to Lieut Hay we read to him the day we received your Letter It was At Capt OBryens and his Pursers urgent desire that we supplyed them with five hundred pounds altho your Cash was then but Low otherwise the Planters could not have been paid for their provision We are glad you approve of our not having charged any premium upon it but as to foreign Ships, they shall be charged, thirty p Cent as usual according to your direction We never so lowen Cash that we is were obliged to draw Bills of Exchange upon your Honors at Less than Ninety days sight and had we not Complyed with those terms we must have wanted money to pay the Current Expence of the Island, but it shall be discontinued for the future, as you have directed it should altho in Consequences of it we may upon an Emmergency be without money, the draughts we draw upon you shall be made payable to the persons who is to receive the same in England according to your Directions The Courts Marshall shall be duly entered in a Book kept for that Purpose, and annually transmitted to you as you have ordered.	31: All deserters from the Court's settlements in India who might be found aboard its ships the Council would detain, following the Court's directions. 32: The Council had not detained any of the recruits from aboard the *Egmont*, consigned to the Court's own settlements on the west coast of Sumatra. 33: The paragraph relating to Lieutenant Hay was read to him the day the Council received the Court's letter. 34: It was at Captain O'Bryen's and his purser's urgent desire that the Council supplied them with a few hundred pounds, although the Court's cash was then low, since otherwise the planters could not have been paid for their provisions. The Council was glad the Court approved of its not having charged any premium upon it, but as to foreign ships, they would be charged thirty per cent as usual, following the Court's directions. 35: The Council was so low in cash that it was obliged to draw bills of exchange upon the Court at less than ninety days sight, and had it not complied with those terms it must have wanted money to pay the current expenses of the island, but it would be discontinued for the future, as the Court had directed, although in consequence of it the Council might, upon an emergency, be without money. The drafts upon the Court would be made payable to the person who was to receive the same in England, following the Court's directions. 36: The courts martial would be duly entered in a book kept for that purpose, and annually transmitted to the Court, as it had ordered. **Interpretations** The distinction the Council drew between the Crown's ships and foreign vessels in charging exchange reveals the fine gradations of its treatment of the different services it supplied. Money advanced to a King's ship in urgent need went without the premium, an accommodation to the Navy on which the island's own supply of provisions depended, since the planters had to be paid; but foreign ships would still bear the customary thirty per cent, the charge that turned the treasury's advances to strangers into a source of profit, the same act of lending cash priced differently according to whose service it aided. The Council's compliance with the order to abandon short-dated bills, even at the risk of being left without money in an emergency, shows the tension between London's insistence on uniform credit terms and the settlement's need for flexibility

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			in a crisis. The ninety-day bill was the Court's standard, and the Council had breached it only under the pressure of an empty treasury, but ordered back to the rule it obeyed, accepting that it might in future be caught short, the distant authority's preference for orderly finance overriding the local officer's judgement of what an emergency might require.
440	436	We are pleased you approve of the Method we propose in contracting the Number of accounts in your Ledger which shall be practiced for the future, and the Journall Entrys, shall be made as full and Explicit as possible. Being sensible of the great Expence you are at in supporting, and paying the Garrison. It shall be our particular care to see you are not put to any Superfluous expence or unnecessary Charge, inconsistant with the security of the Island. We are obliged to you for informing us who you have committed the Management of your affairs to in Bengall. As the War Between great Brittain and France, still continues with great Warmth, Your Honors may depend upon our utmost care and caution for the security and defence of this Island as well as the Safety of your Shipping. We hope the Troops his Majesty has been pleased to assist your Honors with will have all the success you desire. Copys of the news claus is made by your Honors and added to the Instructions of your Commanders shall be duly given them on their returning. and at the same time we shall acquaint them, your expect a punctuall Compliance with, the directions therein Contained. Your Ship Egmont could not possibly be despatched within the Charterparty Time. as the Crane has been for several days past. almost entirely taken up by her Majestys Ship the Colchester and eleven of your Homeward bound taking in water, and other necessarys for their Voyages.	37: The Council was glad the Court approved of the method it proposed for reducing the number of accounts in the ledger, which would be practised for the future, and the journal entries would be made as full and explicit as possible. 38: Being sensible of the great expense the Court was at in supporting and paying the garrison, the Council would be particularly careful to see it was not put to any superfluous expense or unnecessary charge inconsistent with the security of the island. 39: The Council was obliged to the Court for informing it to whom it had committed the management of its affairs in Bengal. 40: As the war between Great Britain and France still continued with great warmth, the Court could depend upon the Council's utmost care and caution for the security and defence of the island, as well as the safety of its shipping. 41: The Council hoped the troops His Majesty had been pleased to assist the Court with would have all the success the Court desired. 42: A copy of the new clause made by the Court, and added to the instructions of its commanders, would be duly given them on their returning, and at the same time the Council would acquaint them of the Court's expectation of a punctual compliance with the directions contained in it. 43: The Court's ship *Egmont* could not possibly be dispatched within the charter party time, as the crane had for several days past been almost entirely taken up by His Majesty's ship the *Colchester* and eleven of the Court's homeward bound ships, taking in water and other necessaries for their voyages. **Interpretations** The crane monopolised by a King's ship and eleven homeward Indiamen shows the physical bottleneck at the heart of the island's service to the fleet. St Helena had but one crane to work the whole traffic of the port, and when a convoy gathered to take in water and stores at once, that single apparatus could not serve them all within the days any one ship was allowed, so a later arrival like the *Egmont* was inevitably delayed, the settlement's usefulness to the trade limited by the modest scale of the works through which the entire homeward commerce had to pass. The Council's assurance of frugality in the garrison's charge, offered in the same breath as its care for the island's security, captures the standing tension between economy and defence that ran through all its dealings with the Court. London bore the heavy cost of the soldiers and pressed for retrenchment, while the war demanded the garrison be kept up, and the Council navigated between the two by promising to spend nothing beyond what security required, the qualification that no saving would be made inconsistent with defence marking the limit it set on the Court's appetite for economy in a dangerous time.
441	437	We have had so good a season that we have been able to Supply all your homeward bound shipping which have arrived here this year, with a good refreshment and we hope there is beef enough left to answer the Commands of those three ships that are still Expected.	44: The Council had had so good a season that it had been able to supply all the Court's homeward bound shipping that arrived this year with a good refreshment, and it hoped there was enough left to answer the commanders of the ships that were still expected. 45: As Mr Charles Steward had resigned the Court's service, the Council had therefore taken on

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		As Mr Charles Steward has resigned your service we have therefore Entertained Mr Richard as our Writer in the Secretarys office from year to year at a usual Salary As the Nation has been so unfortunate as to loose so good an Officer as Vice Admiral Watson we are deprived of discharging your Commands relating to him but should Vice admiral Pococks touch here, on his return we shall not fail to wait on and inform him of the Resolution of the General Court of Proprietors. The Eighty Recruits you sent us by the Prince Henry were Landed and Draughted into the several Companys which make two Companys Seventy and two Sixty Nine and the Artillery Fifty Nine but as we Intend to put the four Companys upon the Establishment of Seventy Men each and Artillery Sixty we now want three to Compleat them. and what with death that may happen and some that may be discharged we believe we shall require Twenty five next Year. Your Garrison therefore with this laty reinforcement, consists only of three hundred and sixty Nine Men, Exclusive of Eight Commission Officers, and the Adjutant as you will see by the Effective State of it transmitted to your herewith and that they may be properly Commanded as you direct we propose to appoint some more Officers for that purpose.	Mr Richard as a writer in the secretary's office from year to year at the usual salary. 46: As the nation had been so unfortunate as to lose so good an officer as Vice Admiral Watson, the Council was deprived of discharging the Court's commands relating to him, but should Vice Admiral Pocock touch at the island, or return, the Council would not fail to wait on him and inform him of the resolution of the General Court of Proprietors. 47: The eighty recruits the Court sent by the *Prince Henry* were landed and drafted into the several companies, which made two companies of seventy and two of sixty-nine men, and the artillery fifty-nine. But as the Council intended to put the four companies upon the establishment of seventy men each, and the artillery sixty, it now wanted three to complete them, and what with the deaths that might happen and some that might be discharged, it believed it would require twenty-five more the following year. The garrison, therefore, with the recent reinforcement, consisted only of three hundred and sixty-nine men, exclusive of eight commission officers and the adjutant, as the Court would see by the effective state of it transmitted, and that they might be properly commanded, as the Court directed, the Council proposed to appoint some more officers for that purpose. **Interpretations** The precise accounting of the garrison, down to the three men still wanting to complete the companies and the twenty-five likely needed the following year, shows the Council managing its military establishment with the same exactness it brought to its stores and cash. Each company was to be brought to a fixed strength, deaths and discharges reckoned in advance, and the shortfall carried forward as a standing demand, the defence of the island planned as a matter of running arithmetic, the numbers of men counted and forecast as carefully as any inventory against the certainty that war would keep the ranks thin. The proposal to appoint yet more officers reflects the enlargement of command that a garrison spread across scattered works required in wartime. Three hundred and sixty-nine men distributed among the several fortifications could not be handled by eight officers and an adjutant, so the Council pressed for more, the same want it had raised the year before now grown more urgent as the establishment swelled, the officering of the defence lagging behind the manning of it and driving the settlement repeatedly to advance its own and ask the Court's leave for further commissions.
442	438	The ample supply of Salt provisions and flour which you have sent us shall be taken all our care of for the maintenance of your Garrison. and to depend on, and should we by any unexpected accident be drove to any Necessity we shall endeavour to procure such articles as we may be in want of, out of your returning Ships It gives us much Satisfaction to find your Honors have Complyed with our Indent for Military Stores which shall be taken proper Care of, and Constantly inspected. As there is much more Business in the Secretarys Office than in any other and frequently, happening upon the despatch of Ships very long accounts to Copyd as the reason of our Employing Thomas Dunn whom we shall deem fit in a few Days The Wax Candles we received from India lately, have proved so bad that they are hardly fit for use, we therefore desire you	48: The ample supply of salt provisions and flour the Court had sent would be taken care of for the maintenance of the garrison, and should the Court depend upon it, and should the Council be by any unexpected accident reduced to any necessity, it would endeavour to procure such articles as it might be in want of out of the Court's returning ships. 49: The Council was much satisfied to find the Court had complied with its indent for a military store, which would be taken proper care of and constantly inspected. 50: As there was much more business in the secretary's office than in any other, and long accounts frequently happening upon the dispatch of ships being to be copied, was the reason for the Council employing Thomas Dunn, whom it would deem so in a few days. The wax candles received from India lately having proved so bad that they were hardly fit for use, the Court would therefore, the Council hoped, give directions to its servants who procured this article to send better for the future, or of a better sort.

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		will be pleased to give directions to your servants who procures this article. to send us for the future & Tire of a better sort. We desire you will be pleased to give directions to your Supra Cargoes to Macho to put on board once bales of Coffee yearly, for the use of this Place The Rice we received from Madrass this year, so once so Excessive bad, that it is hardly fit for any other use than for hogs and Poultry we therefore hope you will be pleased to give orders that we may be supplyed with that article of a Good sort for the future We have not received the Table Linnen from Madrass for which reason the Governor desires, you'll please to direct the Quantity mentioned in the Indent to be sent by the first Ships as it is greatly wanted for your table The foreign Gentlemen of Station that have lately been here seem to be displeased at their not having some Complement paid them we therefore request that you well be pleased to Direct whether we should show any or not	The Council asked that the Court direct its supercargoes at Mocha to put aboard one bale of coffee yearly for the use of the island. The rice received from Madras this year proving so exceedingly bad that it was hardly fit for any other use than for hogs and poultry, the Council therefore hoped the Court would give orders that it might be supplied with that article of a good sort for the future. The Council had not received the table linen from Madras, for which reason the Governor wished the Court would direct the quantity mentioned in the indent to be sent by the *Stafford*, as it was greatly wanted for the Governor's table. The foreign gentlemen of station who had lately been on the island seemed to be displeased at there not being some compliment paid them, so the Council asked that the Court direct whether it should show any or not. **Interpretations** The catalogue of bad supplies, candles hardly fit for use and rice fit only for hogs, exposes how much the island depended on the quality of goods procured for it at distant settlements over which it had no control. The Company's servants at Madras and elsewhere bought the articles the island needed, and when they sent inferior stuff the settlement could only complain and ask for better, having no power to inspect or reject at the source, its comfort and even its subsistence resting on the diligence of purchasing agents an ocean away whose failures it discovered only on delivery. The question over compliments to foreign gentlemen of station reveals the awkward diplomacy a neutral port had to conduct in wartime. Distinguished passengers on foreign ships expected courtesies, and their displeasure at receiving none touched the island's standing with the other nations whose vessels it supplied, yet in time of war the Council was wary of gestures that might compromise it, so it referred the delicate matter to London rather than decide for itself, the honours due to a foreign notable become a question of policy the settlement dared not answer on its own.
443	439	William Cocksey a soldier having served his Contract time, applyed to us in the 24 of April for his discharge from the Garrison but as it was proved that he and Robert Edane had defrauded your Honors of Quantity of Flour the time they were Employed in Baking bread for the Garrison, as appears p our Consultation of the 31 of October last, and he being out upon bail as p Consultation the 19 of December we therefore Order'd the said Cocksey he coud not be permitted to leave the Island untill we heard from the Honorable the Court of Directors concerning him. Your several returning Ships have arrived here as follows viz. Marlbro Capt Alex McCleod April 10.1758 Norfolk Pinson Bonham May 10 Do Princess Augusta Thomas Paddeson Do Roy Duke Geo Cumming	William Cocksey, a soldier, having served his contracted time, applied to the Council on the 24th of April for his discharge from the garrison. But as it was proved that he and Robert Evans had defrauded the Court of a quantity of flour while they were employed baking bread for the garrison, as appeared in the consultation of the 31st of October, and he being out upon bail by the consultation of the 19th of December, the Council therefore ordered that Cocksey should not be permitted to leave the island until it heard from the Court concerning him. The Court's several returning ships arrived on the island as follows. Ship Marlborough, Captain Alexander McCleod, arrived 10 April 1758 Ship Norfolk, Captain Pinson Bonham, arrived 10 May 1758 Ship Princess Augusta, Captain Thomas Waddeson, arrived 10 May 1758 Ship Royal Duke, Captain George Cumming, arrived 3 June 1758 Ship Carnarvon, Captain Norton Hutchinson, arrived 3 June 1758 Ship Triton, Captain Francis Harris, arrived 15 June 1758 Ship Onslow, Captain Thomas Hinde, arrived 17 June 1758 Ship Sandwich, Captain John Purling, arrived 17 June 1758 Ship Warwick, Captain Nicholas Webb, arrived 21 June 1758

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		June 3 Carnarvan Norton Hutchinson Do Triton Francis Harris June 15 Do Onslow Thomas Hinde Do 17 Do Sandwich John Pursling Do Warwick Nichs Webb June 21. Do Elizabeth Robt Burdett Do 27. Do Falmouth James Dale July 5 Do	Ship Elizabeth, Captain Robert Burdett, arrived 27 June 1758 Ship Falmouth, Captain James Dale, arrived 5 July 1758 **Interpretations** The holding of Cocksey past the end of his contract shows how the Council's need to answer to the Court could override a soldier's earned right to his discharge. Having served his time, the man was entitled to go, but standing charged with defrauding the Court of flour and out only on bail, he could not be released until London had pronounced on his case, the settlement unwilling to let a suspected offender slip away before judgement, the claim of justice and the Court's interest set above the soldier's completed term.
444	440	We have been informed by the several Commanders and Gentlemen passengers on board these above fleet. that they were well assured. there were no French Ships of War as cruizers in either the Straits of Malacca Sunda. or Banka, and they Likewise say they were acciento at Madrass that your outward bound ships were safely arrived at Bombay and that it was currently reported they had taken in going up the Coast a French Bomb Vessel out of Mayly road as some where thereabouts it was likewise said and beleeved that your ships would be despatched home from Bombay this year. that Commodore Stevens and his Squadron were sailed and that they heard of their being arrived off Anjengo and that your Ships the Tavistock Captain Jenkins was his all of them they also informed that there are no Ships of War of the French King in India but only some of their Merchant Ships fitted for that purposes, and that their Land force does not Consist of More than three thousand Men altho it is given out by the French officers they amount to five thousand a list of their Ships goes herewith Inclosed to your Honors Captain Webb acquaints us he sailed he sailed from Madrass the 17th of March, and that he left Admiral Pocock with his Sqdn Thomas Toowvers the Mason whom you have sent here shall be duly paid the salary your Honors have directed Captain Lucius OBryen applyed to us for three Hundred pounds of your Cash which sum we have advanced him and taken Bills of Exchange drawn on the Commissioners of the Sick and hurt seamon for that Sum payable to your Honors at thirty days sight dated 11 July 1758 as p Letter of advice and first Bill of Exchange which go herewith Enclosed to you James Woodding Purser of his Majestys Ship the Colchester also applyed to us for thirty five pounds of your Cash which	The Council was informed by the several commanders and gentlemen passengers aboard, who came in a body from the fleet, that they were well assured there were no French ships of war cruising in either the Straits of Malacca, Sunda or Banca, and that they likewise saw no accidents at Madras. The Court's outward bound ships had safely arrived at Bombay, and it was currently reported they had taken, in going up the coast, a French bomb vessel out of Mauritius. The Council read, or somewhere there about, it was likewise said and believed that the Court's ships would be dispatched home from Bombay this year, that Commodore Stevens and his squadron were sailed, and that they heard of their being arrived off Anjengo, and that the Court's ship the *Tavistock*, Captain Jenkins, was last of them. They also informed the Council that there were no ships of war of the French King in India, but only some of their merchant ships fitted for that purpose, and that their land forces did not consist of more than three thousand men, although the French officers gave out they amounted to five thousand. A list of their ships went enclosed to the Court. Captain Webb reported that he sailed from Madras on the 17th of March, and that he left Admiral Pocock with his squadron there. Thomas Toovey, the mason the Court had sent to the island, would be duly paid the salary the Court had directed. Captain Lucius O'Bryen asked the Council for £300 0s 0d of the Court's cash, which sum it had advanced him, and taken bills of exchange drawn on the Commissioners of the Sick and Hurt Seamen for that sum payable to the Court at thirty days sight, dated the 11th of July 1758, and the first bill of exchange, with its letter of advice, went enclosed to the Court. James Harding, purser of His Majesty's ship the *Colchester*, likewise asked the Council for £35 0s 0d of the Court's cash, which sum it had advanced him, and taken bills of exchange drawn on the Commissioners for Victualling His Majesty's Navy for that sum payable to the Court at thirty days sight, dated the 11th of July 1758, and the first bill of exchange, with its letter of advice, went enclosed to the Court. **Interpretations** The intelligence that the French had no true ships of war in India, only armed merchantmen, and that their land forces were exaggerated by their own officers, shows the Council weighing rumour against report to gauge the real strength of the enemy. The commanders coming in a body from the fleet could

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		sum we have advanced him and taken Bills of Exchange drawn on the Commissioners for Victualing of his Majestys Navy for that sum payable to your Honors at thirty days sight dated 11 July 1758 as p Letter of advice and first Bill of Exchange which go herewith enclosed to you	correct the inflated accounts the French put about, and the Council forwarded the more sober assessment as the sounder guide, its practice of gathering intelligence from many ships letting it discount the boasts of an adversary and send home a truer measure of the danger than any single frightened report would give. The advances to the naval purser and captain, drawn on the various boards that ran the Navy's finances, show the island's treasury acting as a general banker to the Crown's service in eastern waters. Bills drawn on the Commissioners of the Sick and Hurt Seamen and on the Victualling Commissioners reveal the specialised departments through which the Navy met its costs, and a settlement far from any naval paymaster served as the point where a King's ship could turn its needs into paper redeemable at the proper office in London, the Company's cash filling a gap in the Navy's own machinery of supply.
445	441	Mr Ino Pritchard applyed to us to pay thirty Pounds into your Honors Cash which we have received and given him Bills of Exchange drawn on your Honors payable to Mr Willm Wynn or order Ninety days after sight dated 26 Jany. Captain Thomas Hinde applyed to us to pay eight Hundred pounds of your Honors Cash which sum we have received and given Bills of Exchange drawn on your Honors payable to himself Ninety days after Sight dated the 3 July Mr John Adamson applyed to us to pay one hundred pounds into your Cash which sum we have received and given him Bills of Exchange drawn on your Honors payable to Edward Ratcliff Esqr Ninety days after sight dated 3 July Mr Joseph Handcock applyed to us to pay Sixty Pounds into your Cash, which we have received and given him Bills of Exchange drawn on your Honors payable to himself Ninety Days after sight dated 3 July Mr John Adamson also applyed to us to pay One hundred and ten pounds into your Cash. which we have received and given him Bills of Exchange drawn upon the Honorable the Court of Directors payable to himself or order Ninety days after sight dated the 10 July Mr James Dale applyed to us to pay one thousand five hundred pounds into the Honorable Companys Cash which sum we have received and given him Bills of Exchange drawn upon the Honorable the Court of Directors payable to himself or order Ninety days after sight dated 10 Instant Mr Matthew Brazett applyed to us to pay fifty pounds into the Honorable Companys Cash which sum we have received and have given him Bills of Exchange drawn upon the Honorable the Court of Directors payable to himself Ninety after Sight dated 10 Instant	Mr Ino Pritchard asked the Council to take thirty pounds into the Court's cash, which it received, giving him bills of exchange drawn on the Court payable to Mr William Wynn or order at ninety days after sight, dated the 26th of January. Captain Thomas Hinde asked the Council to take eight hundred pounds into the Court's cash, which sum it received, giving him bills of exchange drawn on the Court payable to himself at ninety days after sight, dated the 3rd of July. Mr John Adamson asked the Council to take one hundred pounds into the Court's cash, which sum it received, giving him bills of exchange drawn on the Court payable to Edward Astell Esq at ninety days after sight, dated the 3rd of July. Mr Joseph Handcock asked the Council to take sixty pounds into the Court's cash, which it received, giving him bills of exchange drawn on the Court payable to himself at ninety days after sight, dated the 3rd of July. Mr John Adamson also asked the Council to take one hundred and ten pounds into the Court's cash, which it received, giving him bills of exchange drawn on the Court of Directors payable to himself or order at ninety days after sight, dated the 10th of July. Mr James Dale asked the Council to take one thousand five hundred pounds into the Company's cash, which sum it received, giving him bills of exchange drawn on the Court of Directors payable to himself or order at ninety days after sight, dated the 10th of this month. Mr Matthew Purling asked the Council to take fifty pounds into the Company's cash, which sum it received, giving him bills of exchange drawn on the Court of Directors payable to himself at ninety days after sight, dated the 10th of this month. **Interpretations** The unusually large sum of fifteen hundred pounds lodged by James Dale, set against the modest deposits of thirty and fifty pounds around it, shows the wide range of fortunes the island's treasury carried home in a single season. A commander of a homeward ship might remit a small fortune at once, while a lesser servant sent only a few pounds, and the same banking channel served both, the bills drawn on the Court of Directors turning coin of every scale into paper for the passage, the treasury a common conduit through which the wealth of the whole homeward fleet, great and small, flowed back to London. The return to bills at ninety days sight, after the shorter terms forced on the Council by the earlier want of cash, shows the island's credit restored to its ordinary footing as the season's shipping brought

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			money in. With commanders and servants again lodging large sums, the Council could place its standard long-dated paper without difficulty, the crisis of the empty treasury past, the recovery of the normal terms marking the return of confidence and coin as the trade that sustained them flowed once more through the port.
446	442	Mr Charles Beguntier Steward applyed to us to pay Seven hundred and Fifty Pounds into the Honorable Companys Cash which sum we have received and given him Bills of Exchange drawn on your Honors payable to Mr Ino Yearly or order Ninety days after sight dated the 10 Instant Captain Norton Hutchinson applyed to us to pay One hundred and fifty pounds into your Cash. which we have received and given him Bills of Exchange drawn on your Honors payable to himself or order Ninety days after sight dated the 10th Instant Mr Ino Pawsey applyed to us to pay eighty pounds into your Cash which we have received and have given him Bill of Exchange drawn on your Honors payable to Mr Ralph Willson or order Ninety days after Sight dated this 10 Instant. Mr Geffric OHara applyed to us pay three hundred Pounds into your Cash which we have received and given him Bills of Exchange drawn on your Honors payable to Mr Henry Hinde or order Ninety days after Sight dated the 10th Instant Captain Francis Harris applyed to us to pay one hundred pounds into your Cash which we have received and given him Bills of Exchange drawn on your Honors payable to himself Ninety days after sight dated 10th Instant Mr Matthew Pierling applyed to us to pay one hundred Pounds into your Cash. which we have received and given him Bills of Exchange drawn on your Honors payable to Captain John Pierling or order Ninety days after sight dated 10th Instant Mr William Nixon applyed to us to pay fifty pounds into your Cash which we have received and given him Bills of Exchange drawn on your Honors payable to himself or order Ninety days after sight dated the 10th Instant Mr Gabriel Steward apply to us to pay one hundred pounds into your Cash which we have received and given him Bills of Exchange drawn on your Honors payable to himself or order Ninety days after sight dated 10th Instant.	Mr Charles Beguertay, steward, asked the Council to take seven hundred and fifty pounds into the Company's cash, which sum it received, giving him bills of exchange drawn on the Court payable to Mr Ino Yearly or order at ninety days after sight, dated the 10th of this month. Captain Norton Hutchinson asked the Council to take one hundred and fifty pounds into the Court's cash, which it received, giving him bills of exchange drawn on the Court payable to himself or order at ninety days after sight, dated the 10th of this month. Mr Ino Sanders asked the Council to take eighty pounds into the Court's cash, which it received, giving him bills of exchange drawn on the Court payable to Mr Ralph Willson or order at ninety days after sight, dated the 10th of this month. Mr Geffrie O'Hara asked the Council to take three hundred pounds into the Court's cash, which it received, giving him bills of exchange drawn on the Court payable to Mr Henry Hinde or order at ninety days after sight, dated the 10th of this month. Captain Francis Harris asked the Council to take six hundred pounds into the Court's cash, which it received, giving him bills of exchange drawn on the Court payable to himself at ninety days after sight, dated the 10th of this month. Mr Matthew Purling asked the Council to take one hundred pounds into the Court's cash, which it received, giving him bills of exchange drawn on the Court payable to Captain John Purling or order at ninety days after sight, dated the 10th of this month. Mr William Nixon asked the Council to take fifty pounds into the Court's cash, which it received, giving him bills of exchange drawn on the Court payable to himself or order at ninety days after sight, dated the 10th of this month. Mr Gabriel Steward asked the Council to take one hundred pounds into the Court's cash, which it received, giving him bills of exchange drawn on the Court payable to himself or order at ninety days after sight, dated the 10th of this month.
447	443	Captain George Cumming applyed to us to pay three hundred and fifty pounds which we have received and given him Bills of Exchange drawn on your Honors payable to himself or order Ninety days after sight dated 10th July Captain Robt Burdett applyed to us to pay seventy Pounds two Shillings into your Cash which we have received	Captain George Cumming asked the Council to take three hundred and fifty pounds into the Court's cash, which it received, giving him bills of exchange drawn on the Court payable to himself or order at ninety days after sight, dated the 10th of July. Captain Robert Burdett asked the Council to take seventy pounds two shillings into the Court's cash, which it received, giving him bills of exchange drawn on the Court payable to himself or order at ninety days after sight, dated the 10th of this month.

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		and have given him Bills of Exchange drawn on your Honors payable to himself or order Ninety days after sight dated the 10th Instant Mr James Harshey applyed to us to pay one hundred and thirty Pounds into your Cash which we have received and given him Bills of Exchange drawn on your Honors payable to himself or order Ninety days after Sight dated 10 Instant. Mr James Harshey also applyed to us to pay one Hundred and twenty pounds into your Cash which we have received and given him Bills of Exchange drawn on your Honors payable to himself or order Ninety days after Sight dated the 10 Instant. Many of Your new Barracks are all ready erected. and your Pastures and Plantations are in good order The Lieutenant Governor begs leave to assure your Honors that we are not conscious of behaving in an an unbecoming manner to the Governor does not Chuse to enter into altercations. as it is his wish to be in friendship with Mr Hutchinson and is Extreamly desirous of Embracing all Opportunity to Assist and act in Conjunction with him	Mr James Haisham asked the Council to take one hundred and thirty pounds into the Court's cash, which it received, giving him bills of exchange drawn on the Court payable to himself or order at ninety days after sight, dated the 10th of this month. Mr James Haisham also asked the Council to take one hundred and twenty four pounds into the Court's cash, which it received, giving him bills of exchange drawn on the Court payable to himself or order at ninety days after sight, dated the 10th of this month. Many of the new barracks were already erected, and the pastures and plantations were in good order. The Lieutenant Governor gave the Court his assurance that he was not conscious of behaving in an unbecoming manner to the Governor, nor did he wish to enter into altercations, but wished to be on friendly terms with Mr Hutchinson, and was extremely desirous of embracing every opportunity to assist and act in conjunction with him. **Interpretations** The Lieutenant Governor's assurance of goodwill toward the Governor hints at a rift between the island's two chief officers that had reached the Court's notice. His careful disclaimer of any unbecoming conduct and his professed wish for friendship suggest a friction between Hutchinson and his deputy serious enough to require open denial in the official correspondence, the confined society of the island's government, where two men shared its highest authority, breeding the same personal tensions that the small community bred among its lesser servants, a discord the deputy was anxious to smooth before it hardened into the Court's judgement against him.
448	444	in every respect for the Benefit of the Honorable Company We are St Helenas 16 July 1758 Honorable Sirs Your most Obedient Humble servants Charles Hutchinson John Adamson John Clark List of the Honorable Companys Packet from St Helena p hrs his Majestys Ship the Colchester. Governor and Councils General Letter dated 16th July 1758. Duplicate Do Do dated Duplicate Do Do Consultations from the 24 February to 16 July Duplicate Do from the 4 December 1757 to 1 July 1758 List of Officers and servants taken the 16 July 1758 Duplicate List of the Packet p Ship Prince Henry Packet Second receipt of the Packet p Ship Walpole First Receipt for Do p Ship Prince Henry Packet Duplicate of Ship Prince Henry Account Duplicate Cash account from the 5th to 11th December 1757 Do Do from the 12 December to 11 June 1758 Do Do from the 12 January to 11 February Do Do from the 12 to the 24 February Cash Account from the 25 February to the 11 of March Do from the 12 March to the 11 of April Do from the 12 April to the 11 of May Do from the 12 May to the 11 of June Do from the 12 June to the 11 of July	The Council would be careful in every respect for the benefit of the Company. The letter was signed at St Helena on 16 July 1758 by Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson and John Clark. The packet His Majesty's ship the *Colchester* carried home from St Helena held the following. 1: Governor and Council's general letter dated 16 July 1758 2: Duplicate of the general letter dated 16 July 1758 3: Duplicate of the general letter 4: Consultations from 24 February to 16 July 1758 5: Duplicate consultations from 4 December 1757 to 1 July 1758 6: List of officers and servants taken 16 July 1758 7: Duplicate list of the packet by the ship Prince Henry 8: Second receipt for the packet by the ship Walpole 9: First receipt for the packet by the ship Prince Henry 10: Duplicate of the ship Prince Henry's account 11: Duplicate cash account from 5 to 11 December 1757 12: Duplicate cash account from 12 December to 11 June 1758 13: Duplicate cash account from 12 January to 11 February 1758 14: Duplicate cash account from 12 to 24 February 1758 15: Cash account from 25 February to 11 March 1758 16: Cash account from 12 March to 11 April 1758 17: Cash account from 12 April to 11 May 1758 18: Cash account from 12 May to 11 June 1758 19: Cash account from 12 June to 11 July 1758

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449	445	Governors Letter to the Secrett Committee Muster Rolls of the Garrison Effective State of the Garrison List of discharged Men who take their passage for England on board this fleet Triplicate of the Governor and Councils Certificate of the Receipt of Flowy p Prince Henry. Storekeepers account of the Landing of the Stores from the Prince Henry Copy of the proceeding on the Tryal of Cosam a Slave for murder Abstract of the Cargo of the Ship Marlborough Do of the Ship Royl Duke Do of the Ship Carnarvan Do of the Ship Princess Augusta Do of the Ship Onslow Do of the Ship Sandwich Do of the Ship Warwick Do of the Ship Triton Do of the Ship Elizabeth Do of the Ship Norfolk Ship Prince Henrys Account Marlboroughs Do Roy Dukes Do Carnarvans Do Norfolks Do Princess Augusta Do Onslows Do Sandwiches Do Warwicks Do Triton Do Elizabeths Do Indent for Stores Do for Medicine List of Remains of Stores Account of the Cargo of the Ship Falmouth	20: Governor's letter to the Secret Committee 21: Muster rolls of the garrison 22: Effective state of the garrison 23: List of discharged men who take their passage for England aboard this fleet 24: Triplicate of the Governor and Council's certificate of the receipt of flour by the Prince Henry 25: Storekeeper's account of the landing of the stores from the Prince Henry 26: Copy of the proceeding on the trial of Cosam, a slave, for murder 27: Abstract of the cargo of the ship Marlborough 28: Abstract of the cargo of the ship Royal Duke 29: Abstract of the cargo of the ship Carnarvon 30: Abstract of the cargo of the ship Princess Augusta 31: Abstract of the cargo of the ship Onslow 32: Abstract of the cargo of the ship Sandwich 33: Abstract of the cargo of the ship Warwick 34: Abstract of the cargo of the ship Triton 35: Abstract of the cargo of the ship Elizabeth 36: Abstract of the cargo of the ship Norfolk 37: Ship Prince Henry's account 38: Ship Marlborough's account 39: Ship Royal Duke's account 40: Ship Carnarvon's account 41: Ship Norfolk's account 42: Ship Princess Augusta's account 43: Ship Onslow's account 44: Ship Sandwich's account 45: Ship Warwick's account 46: Ship Triton's account 47: Ship Elizabeth's account 49: Indent for stores 50: Indent for medicines 51: List of remains of stores 52: Account of the cargo of the ship Falmouth
450	446	Ship Falmouths Account The Account of Boat at Bankses from Item & Ships Governors Letter to the Court of Directors List of Artillery Stores remaining octor 12 1757 with the receipt Expences and remains since the 11 Apr 1758 To the Honoble the Court &ca Honoble Sirs. We wrote last to you by his Majestys Ship the Colchester that sailed from hence on the 16 of July with Eleven of your Honors Ships under her Convoy On the 1 Instant sailed your Ship the Egmont Capt John Venner on her Voyage On the 30 and 31 of last Month arrived your Ships the Lord Anson Captain Cheek, Prince Edward Captain Haldane and the York Captain Lassells. Captain Lassells informs us that they all left Bombay together on the 10 April last and acquaints us that on the 31 of Octobr or 1 of November his Pinnace with Howes Long boat and Lathams Pinnace took a French Bomb Ketch to the Eastward of Ceilon called the Marquis DeCastre Captain Maddabona Burthen about 100 Tons had on board 4 Carriage Guns Twenty four Men & Boys six Lascars and ten Slave Women and Children Her Mortar being taken out at Pondecherry, from whence she was bound for Mauritius. Loaden with Iron Dammber, and some Pitch and Tar. the only hurt received in takeing her was one of the Lathams Seamen Slightly wounded	53: Ship Falmouth's account 54: The account of the boat at Banks's from His Majesty's ships 55: Governor's letter to the Court of Directors 56: List of artillery stores remaining October 1757, with the receipt, expenses and remains since to 11 April 1758 To the Honourable Court and so forth. Honoured Sirs. 1: The Council last wrote by His Majesty's ship the *Colchester*, which sailed on the 16th of July with eleven of the Court's ships under her convoy. 2: On the 7th of this month sailed the Court's ship the *Egmont*, Captain John Fenner, on her voyage. 3: On the 30th and 31st of last month arrived the Court's ships the *Lord Anson*, Captain Cheek, the *Prince Edward*, Captain Haldane, and the *York*, Captain Lapelles. Captain Lapelles reported that they all left Bombay together on the 10th of April, and told the Council that on the 31st of October or the 7th of November his pinnace, with the *Hawke*'s longboat and *Latham*'s pinnace, took a French bomb ketch to the eastward of Ceylon called the *Marquis De Castre*, Captain Maddabona, of about 100 tons burthen, having aboard four carriage guns, twenty-four men, thirty-six lascars and ten women and children slaves. Her mortar had been taken out at Pondicherry, from where she was bound for Mauritius, laden with iron, dammer and some pitch and tar. The only hurt received in taking her was one of the *Latham*'s seamen slightly wounded [...] **Interpretations** The taking of the French bomb ketch by the ships' boats shows the small-scale naval warfare that the Company's vessels waged on their own account in the eastern seas. A prize seized not by a warship but by pinnaces and a longboat manned from three

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			Indiamen, at almost no cost in blood, reveals how the armed ships of the trade could turn aggressor when a weaker enemy offered, the mortar already stripped from the ketch at Pondicherry leaving her a poor fighter, her capture adding a modest trophy to the running maritime struggle the Council recorded piece by piece as its ships came in. The presence of women and children among the slaves aboard the captured ketch, counted plainly in her lading beside the iron and pitch, exposes once more the traffic in human beings folded into the ordinary commerce of the eastern seas. Enslaved people were carried as cargo on a small coasting vessel bound between the French stations, their capture entering the record as an item of the prize alongside the guns and stores, the war's incidental seizures sweeping up the enslaved as property to be listed and disposed of, the same reduction of persons to freight that ran through the whole of this correspondence.
451	447	with a Musket Shot in the Arm. The French Prisoners reported they left a Frigate of twenty Guns and a Ketch at Pondichery and that a Fleet of 10 Sail of Men of War had sail from thence in October for Mauritius, but as they had thrown their Packet and Letters overboard he could not depend upon their Information; The Ten abovementioned Ships we apprehend to be only those we sent You a List of with our last advice. a Duplicate thereof goes herewith Enclosed We have been likewise informed that your Ship the Tavistock was sent by your President and Council of Bombay for Madrass about the Middles of March, to take Super Cargoes on board there and to procede to China (as it was believed) and that Commodore Stevens with four of his Majestys Ships sailed from thence for the Coromondel Coast about the twentieth or twenty first of January as we have before acquainted you: that your Ship the Latham went from Surat Bar the Thirty first of March for Mocha, and that your Ship the Hawk was at Surat when these Ships left Bombay takeing in the Companys Cargo &ca in order to procede to China that Season They further acquaint us they saw an outward bound ship the twenty fifth of June upwards One hundred Leagues to the Eastward of the Cape but not speake to her. which Captain Venner then here Immagines to have been the Pitt The Gentlemen at Bombay did put on board the Lord Anson Prince Edward and York twenty one Slaves for your use on this Island four of which died on their passage. and among the Seventeen we have received.	One of the *Latham*'s seamen was slightly wounded with a musket shot in the arm. The French prisoners reported that they left a frigate of twenty guns and a ketch at Pondicherry, and that a fleet of ten sail of men of war had sailed from there in October for Mauritius, but as they had thrown their packet and letters overboard, they could not be depended upon for their information. The Council apprehended the ten ships mentioned above to be only those of which it sent the Court a list with its last advice, a duplicate of which went enclosed with the present letter. 4: The Council was likewise informed that the Court's ship the *Tavistock* was sent by the President and Council of Bombay for Madras about the middle of March, to take supercargoes aboard there and proceed to China, as was believed, and that Commodore Stevens with four of His Majesty's ships sailed from there for the Coromandel coast about the twentieth or twenty-first of January, as the Council had before reported. The Court's ship the *Latham* went from Surat Road on the thirty-first of March for Mocha, and the Court's ship the *Hawke* was at Surat when those ships left Bombay, taking in the Company's cargo and so forth in order to proceed to China that season. 5: The captains further reported that they saw an outward bound ship on the twenty-fifth of June, upwards of one hundred leagues to the eastward of the Cape, but did not speak to her, which Captain Fenner imagined to have been the *Pitt*. 6: The gentlemen at Bombay put aboard the *Lord Anson*, *Prince Edward* and *York* twenty-one slaves for the Court's use on the island, four of which died on their passage, and among the seventeen the Council received [...] **Interpretations** The French prisoners throwing their packet and letters overboard before capture shows the standing practice by which a ship in danger destroyed its intelligence rather than let it fall to the enemy. The papers would have told the captors the movements and plans of the French fleet, so they were sunk at the last moment, and their loss meant the prisoners' account of a squadron sailing for Mauritius could not be verified, the Council rightly treating unconfirmed word from men who had destroyed their own evidence with caution, the very act of destruction marking how valuable the drowned despatches would have been. The renewed supply of slaves from Bombay, with four of twenty-one dead on the passage, records the continuing replenishment of the island's enslaved workforce by shipment from the Company's Indian settlements, and the ordinary attrition of that traffic. The deaths on the voyage, noted as a plain reduction

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			of the number received, show the human cost of moving enslaved people across the ocean treated as expected wastage, the settlement counting its survivors as it would count any consignment landed short, the renewal of its forced labour bound up with a mortality it recorded without remark.
452	448	there are but Eight fit to do any Service most of the rest being very young Children. Apprehending your Orders had not reached Bombay when these Ships left it the Gentlemen there have as usual transported to this Island four Malefactors one of which whose Name is Joachim Josee stole a silver bowl belonging to Mr Pieling out of his House the Very day he was landed. the Parragraph in the Letter from Bombay to us after mentioning the Slaves is as follow viz. And four Prisoners namely Giles Gorman, Thomas Byrne, Joachim Josee, & Neretta, having received Sentence of death for Burglaries or Felonies Committed by them, but being at the same time recommended to Mercy. or having other Circumstan in their favour, We have determined on Transporting them to your Island, the two former for the term of seven years, and the others for life. where We hope they may prove of some Service and are accordingly sent on these Ships. We are &ca Several of your Recruits for Fort Marlborough by your Ship Egmont, and one of her Seamen, who had leave to come on Shore got into the Country, and were absent when the Ship was near sailing. We therefore ordered strict search to be made for them Notwithstanding four of your Recruits Vizt John Beal John Spencer Joseph Peacock, and Michael Cavey with the seaman found means to secret themselves. upon the Island who made their appearance after the Ship was sailed we therefore draughted your Soldiers into your Companys here. and the Seaman not be willing to enlist nor to go to England at Present. we have permitted him to remain upon the Island till the return of the Ship as he is a handicrafts man	There were but eight fit to do any service, most of the rest being very young children. 7: Apprehending the Court's orders had not reached Bombay when those ships left it, the gentlemen there had likewise transported to the island four malefactors, one of which, whose name was Joachim Josee, stole a silver bowl belonging to Mr Peeling out of his house the very day he was landed. The paragraph in the letter from Bombay, after mentioning the slaves, ran as follows. Four prisoners, namely Giles Gorman, Thomas Byrne, Joachim Josee and Nicutta, having received sentence of death for burglaries or felonies committed by them, but being at the same time recommended to mercy, or having other circumstances in their favour, the gentlemen at Bombay had determined on transporting them to the island, the two former for the term of seven years and the other two for life, where they hoped they might prove of some service, and were accordingly sent aboard those ships. 8: Several of the Court's recruits for Fort Marlborough by the Court's ship *Egmont*, and one of her seamen who had leave to come ashore, got into the country and were absent when the ship was near sailing. The Council therefore ordered strict search to be made for them. Notwithstanding, four of the Court's recruits, namely John Beal, John Spencer, Joseph Peacock and Michael Cavey, with the seaman, found means to secret themselves on the island, who made their appearance after the ship had sailed. The Council therefore drafted the soldiers into the Court's companies, and the seaman not being willing to enlist nor to go to England at present, the Council permitted him to remain on the island until the return of the ship, as he was a handicraftsman. **Interpretations** The arrival of the four condemned malefactors, one of whom stole a silver bowl the very day he landed, shows the persistent conflict between the Company's use of the island as a penal dumping ground and the Council's efforts to keep it a place of useful labour. The Court had lately forbidden the sending of such desperate men, but the order had not reached Bombay in time, so convicts under sentence of death arrived where the Council wanted slaves who would work, and the immediate theft confirmed its fear that transported criminals brought more danger than service, the settlement made to receive the refuse of the Company's courts against its expressed and approved objection. The recruits and seaman who hid ashore until their ship had sailed reveal the island's persistent trouble with men who preferred to stay rather than go on to their destined stations. Soldiers bound for the unhealthy west coast, and a seaman unwilling to face either enlistment or the passage home, saw in the island a chance to escape a worse fate, and the Council, needing hands, absorbed the drafted soldiers and kept the useful tradesman, the desertions it was bound to prevent turning to its advantage where the men who fled were of service, the same mobility of the Company's people that filled its garrison also robbing its ships of their crews.
453	449	We have paid Mr Barclay your Surgeon the	9: The Council had paid Mr Barclay, the Court's surgeon, the sum of two pounds eleven shillings and

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		Sum of Two pounds Eleven Shillings and four pence for the Subsistance of Charles Innu in the Hospital from twenty fourth february to the twenty second of May last he being left here out of your Ship Prince Henry Packet Ill, and not able to procede in her for England he took his Passage in your Ship the Marlborough Lieutenant George Hay resigned your Service on this Island on the Thirty first July according to the Prayer of his Petition entered in our Consultation of 10 July, he went on your Ship the Egmont for Indea to serve your Honors there as a Volenteer. and we intend to appoint Serjeant John Howard to succeed him. We did not take any of your Cash of your Ship the the Egmont, as the Money we took out of your Ship the Prince Henry and that we received for Bills of Exchange drawn on your Honors will be Sufficent (with what may be received for the Store Goods sold to pay the Garrison &ca, to the Quarter Ending in April next and not Longer, and we beg you will be pleased to give us leave to take four Chests of your Treasure annualy out of your Store Ship if we find we Cannott Get money for Bills and should therefore have occasion for it Since forming our Indent that we sent to you by his Majestys Ship the Colchester and Duplicate thereof by your own Ship the Royal Duke we have found the Deealsbreadge to be so much decayed as not to last Longer than another Year we therefore desire you will send the Quantity Quality and Demensions of Timber to make anew one as follow Vizt	four pence for the subsistence of Charles Innes in the hospital from the twenty-fourth of February to the twenty-second of May, he being left on the island out of the Court's ship the *Prince Henry* ill, and not able to proceed in her for England. He took his passage in the Court's ship the *Marlborough*. 10: Lieutenant George Hay resigned the Court's service on the island on the thirty-first of July, following the prayer of his petition entered in the Council's consultation of the 10th of July. He went on the Court's ship the *Egmont* for India to serve the Court there as a volunteer, and the Council intended to appoint Sergeant John Howard to succeed him. 11: The Council had not taken any of the Court's cash out of the ship the *Egmont*, as the money it took out of the Court's ship the *Prince Henry*, and that received for bills of exchange drawn on the Court, would be enough, with what might be received for the store goods sold, to pay the garrison and so forth to the quarter ending in April next, and not longer. The Council asked leave to take four chests of treasure annually out of the store ship, should it find it could not get money for bills and should therefore have occasion for it. 12: Since forming the indent it sent by His Majesty's ship the *Colchester*, and the duplicate of it by the Court's own ship the *Royal Duke*, the Council found the drawbridge to be so much decayed as not to last longer than another year. It therefore asked that the Court send the quantity, quality and dimensions of timber to make a new one as follows. **Interpretations** Lieutenant Hay's departure to serve in India as a volunteer marks the close of the long trouble his conduct had given the island's government. Twice under arrest and once unable to be tried for want of officers to compose a court, the officer whose disorderly behaviour had run through the correspondence now removed himself by resignation, taking service in the wider Company world where the war offered occupation, the settlement rid of a persistent difficulty by the same mobility that constantly drew its men away, a resignation ending what military discipline on so small an establishment had struggled to resolve. The request for leave to draw four chests of treasure annually shows the Council seeking to make permanent the expedient it had been forced to under the wartime failure of its credit. Unable to rely on private deposits to fill its cash, it looked to a standing right to take specie from the passing store ships, converting an emergency measure into a settled provision, the treasury that once replenished itself from the island's own trade now asking to be fed directly from the Company's bullion in transit, a lasting mark on the settlement's finances of the disruption the war had brought.
454	450	2 Shafts of Ash 22 feet Long 7 Inches by 6 Do at the butt end and 5 Inches by 4 Inches at the Small end 2 Pieces of Oak 8 Inches by 12 Inches & twelve feet Long for the sile to the drawbridge 2 Pieces Do 6 Inches by 7 Inches Square for Jambs 13 feet Long 1 Piece Do of the Same Scantling for a head 12 feet Long 10. 5 Ash Plank from 12 to 14 feet Long. Robert Evans who was under Bail for his offence for Embezzling a Quantity of your flour in the time he was Employd in baking bread for your Garrison having been missed ever since the 16 of last Month when your fleet sailed from hence under Convoy	2 shafts of ash 22 feet long, 7 inches by 6 inches at the butt end and 5 inches by 4 inches at the small end 2 pieces of oak 8 inches by 12 inches and twelve feet long for the sides of the drawbridge 2 pieces of oak 6 inches by 7 inches square for jambs, 13 feet long 1 piece of oak of the same scantling for a head, 12 feet long 10 pieces of 5 inch ash plank from 12 to 14 feet long 13: Robert Evans, who was under bail for his appearance for embezzling a quantity of the Court's flour while he was employed in baking bread for the garrison, having been missing ever since the 16th of last month, when the fleet sailed under the convoy of His Majesty's ship the *Colchester*, the Council

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		of his Majestys Ship the Colchester we therefore apprehend he must have made his Escape from the Island on board one of them. Captain Lassells of your Ship York delivered to us Thomas Graystock who deserted from your Ship the Revenge. where he agreed to serve you for five Years, and received as he say time Fifteen Pounty money, but acknowledged he remained in that Service only three Months we therefore have retained him to serve his time here We have put on board your Ship the Lord Anson she being weakly maned William Cocke who left your Ship the Marbro here he not Inclening to enlist in the Garrison The Flour your Honors sent for the use of this Island by your Ship the Egmont is 14. 3. 22 Short of the weight it is Invoiced at as is certifyed by Mr James Powell your Storekeeper. Mr Matthew Bazett the Assistant. and William Moore the Steward who saw it weighed and is so bad that we are apprehensive that some of it will not be fit for use, and that we received by your Ship the Prince Henry is very indifferent	therefore apprehended he must have made his escape from the island aboard one of them. 14: Captain Lapelles of the Court's ship *York* delivered to the Council Thomas Graystock, who deserted from the Court's ship the *Revenge*, where he had agreed to serve for five years, and received, as he said, nine rupees bounty money, but acknowledged he remained in that service only three months. The Council therefore retained him to serve his time on the island. 15: The Council put aboard the Court's ship the *Lord Anson*, she being weakly manned, William Cocke, who left the Court's ship the *Marlborough* on the island, not being inclined to enlist in the garrison. 16: The flour the Court sent for the use of the island by the ship the *Egmont* was 14 hundredweight 3 quarters 22 pounds short of the weight it was invoiced at, as was certified by Mr James Powell the storekeeper, Mr Matthew Bazett the assistant, and William Moore the steward, who saw it weighed. It was so bad that the Council feared some of it would not be fit for use, and that received by the Court's ship the *Prince Henry* was very indifferent [...] **Interpretations** The escape of Robert Evans aboard the departing fleet completes the tale of the bakers' fraud on a note of the Council's helplessness against a man who timed his flight to the sailing of a convoy. Out on bail and awaiting the Court's judgement, he slipped away when eleven ships weighed at once, the sheer number of vessels making search impossible, the same gathering of the homeward fleet that served the island's commerce providing a fugitive his opportunity, the settlement's justice defeated by the very traffic that was its purpose. The careful weighing of the short flour before three named officers shows the formal machinery by which the Council documented a shortfall against an invoice. A deficiency of nearly fifteen hundredweight was not merely noted but certified by the storekeeper, his assistant and the steward as eyewitnesses to the weighing, turning a discrepancy into a sworn record the Court could act upon, the same insistence on attested proof that governed the treasury applied to the humblest sack of grain, the settlement protecting itself and the Court alike by making every loss a matter of witnessed fact.
455	451	The Salt Beef we have lately received is Invoiced at so high a price that it is very Expensive to the Officers and Gentlemen in your service here, who are often obliged to take some of it, for want of other Provisions we desire your Honors will be pleased to let us know wether they may be Indulged with what they want for their own use at the price the Garrison pays for it. Mr Ino Adamson applyed to us to pay Fifty four pounds into the Honorable Companys Cash which sum we have received and Given him Bills of Exchange drawn on your Honors the Court of Directors payable to Edward Payne Esqr or order ninety days after sight dated the 18 August Mr James Powell applyed to us to pay Forty four pounds Eighteen Shillings and Sixpence into the Honorable Companys Cash being money belonging to the Estate of Capt John Prell which sum we have received and given him bills of Exchange drawn on your Honors payable to George Steven Esqr or order ninety	17: The salt beef the Council had lately received was invoiced at so high a price that it was very expensive to the officers and gentlemen in the Court's service on the island, who were often obliged to take some of it for want of other provisions. The Council asked that the Court let it know whether they might be allowed what they wanted for their own use at the price the garrison paid for it. Mr Ino Adamson asked the Council to take fifty-four pounds into the Company's cash, which sum it received, giving him bills of exchange drawn on the Court payable to Edward Payne Esq or order at ninety days after sight, dated the 18th of August. Mr James Powell asked the Council to take forty-four pounds eighteen shillings and sixpence into the Company's cash, being money belonging to the estate of Captain John Frell, which sum it received, giving him bills of exchange drawn on the Court payable to George Steven Esq or order at ninety days after sight, dated the 18th of this month. Mr William Kennedy asked the Council to take two hundred pounds into the Company's cash, being money arising from the sale of the effects of William Purcell, second mate of the ship *Royal Duke*, which sum it received, giving him bills of exchange drawn on the Court payable to Mr Stephen Winthorpe or order at ninety days after sight, dated the 18th of this month.

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		days after sight dated the 18 Instant Mr William Kennedy applyed to us to pay Two hundred pounds into the Honorable Companys Cash Money arising from the sale of the Effects of William Purcell 2 Mate of the Ship Royal Duke which sum we have received and given him bills of Exchange drawn your Honors payable to Mr Stephen Winthorpe or order Ninety days after Sight dated the 18 Instant Mr William Lee applyed to us to pay One hundred Pounds into the Honorable Companys Cash which sum	Mr William Lee asked the Council to take one hundred pounds into the Company's cash, which sum [...] **Interpretations** The remittance of the effects of the dead second mate through the treasury shows the island's banking channel serving the estates of those who died in the Company's service as readily as the fortunes of the living. The goods of a deceased officer were sold on the island and the proceeds lodged in the cash against a bill payable to a party in England, carrying a dead man's estate home to his heirs by the same paper instrument that spared the peril of shipping coin, the treasury closing the affairs of the departed as part of its ordinary business. The complaint over the dear salt beef, and the request that the Court's own servants be allowed it at the garrison's price, reveals the pinch that expensive imported provisions placed on the island's officers when the local supply of fresh food fell short. Obliged at times to eat the salt meat for want of anything else, they found it priced beyond reason, and the Council sought for them the same rate the soldiers paid, the cost of provisioning a remote settlement falling on its own servants when the pasture failed, the price of a barrel of beef become a grievance the Council carried to London on their behalf.
456	452	We have received and given him Bills of Exchange drawn on your Honors Payable to Mr George Lee or order Ninety days after sight dated the 18 Instant We have the Pleasure to acquaint you that we have had as Good a season as we could wish for. and that your Ships have been supplyed with fresh Provisions. and that your Pastures and Plantations are in Good Condition. and the new Barracks are in great forwardness We are Honorable Sirs Your most obedient and most humble Servants (Signed) Charles Hutchinson John Adamson John Clark St Helena Augt 20.1758 List of the Honorable Companys Packet from St Helena Pr Ship Prince Edward dated the 20 Augt 1758 Viz. Governor and Council General Letter dated the 19th Augt 1758 Duplicate Do dated the 16 July 1758 Consultations from the 17 July to the 18 of August 1758 Duplicate from the 3 July to the 10th 1758 List Officers and Servants taken the 18 Augt 1758 Duplicate List of the Packet pr his Majestys Ship Colchester First Receipt of the Packet pr his Majestys Ship Colchester	The Council received the sum from Mr William Lee, and gave him bills of exchange drawn on the Court payable to Mr George Lee or order at ninety days after sight, dated the 18th of this month. The Council was glad to report that it had had as good a season as it could wish for, that the Court's ships had been supplied with fresh provisions, that the pastures and plantations were in good condition, and that the new barracks were in great forwardness. The letter was signed at St Helena on 20 August 1758 by Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson and John Clark. The packet the *Prince Edward* carried home from St Helena, dated 20 August 1758, held the following. 1: Governor and Council's general letter dated 19 August 1758 2: Duplicate of the general letter dated 16 July 1758 3: Consultations from 17 July to 18 August 1758 4: Duplicate consultations from 3 July to 10 July 1758 5: List of officers and servants taken 18 August 1758 6: Duplicate list of the packet by His Majesty's ship Colchester 7: First receipt for the packet by His Majesty's ship Colchester
457	453	First Receipt of the Packet Pr Ship Royal Duke Second Do for Do Pr Ship Prince Henry Packet Duplicate Cash Account from the 25 Feby to the 11 March 1758 Do from the 12 March to the 11 April Do Do from the 12 April to the 11 May Do Do from the 12 May to the 11 June Do Do from the 12 June to the 11 July Do Do Cash Account from the 12 July to 11 August 1758 Do from the 12 August to 19th Do	8: First receipt of the packet by the ship Royal Duke 9: Second receipt of the packet by the ship Prince Henry 10: Duplicate cash account from 25 February to 11 March 1758 11: Duplicate cash account from 12 March to 11 April 1758 12: Duplicate cash account from 12 April to 11 May 1758

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		Governors Letter to the Secret Committee Triplicate of Artillery Stores remaining 11 April 1758 Effective State of the Garrison Governor & Councils Certificate of the receipt flowr Pr Ship Egmont Duplicate of the Proceedings on the Tryal of Cosam a Slave for Murder Abstract of the Cargo of the Ship Prince Edward Do Lord Anson Do York Account of the Ship Egmont Prince do of Ship Prince Edward Do of Ship Lord Anson Do of Ship York Duplicate of Ship Prince Henry Account Do Marlborough Do Royal Duke Do Carnarvon Do Norfolk Do Princess Augusta	13: Duplicate cash account from 12 May to 11 June 1758 14: Duplicate cash account from 12 June to 11 July 1758 15: Duplicate cash account from 12 July to 11 August 1758 16: Duplicate cash account from 12 August to 19 August 1758 17: Governor's letter to the Secret Committee 18: Duplicate of artillery stores remaining 11 April 1758 19: Effective state of the garrison 20: Governor and Council's certificate of the receipt of flour by the ship Egmont 21: Duplicate of the proceedings on the trial of Cosam, a slave, for murder 22: Abstract of the cargo of the ship Prince Edward 23: Abstract of the cargo of the ship Lord Anson 24: Abstract of the cargo of the ship York 25: Account of the ship Egmont 26: Account of the ship Prince Edward 27: Account of the ship Lord Anson 28: Account of the ship York 29: Duplicate of the ship Prince Henry's account 30: Duplicate of the ship Marlborough's account 31: Duplicate of the ship Royal Duke's account 32: Duplicate of the ship Carnarvon's account 33: Duplicate of the ship Norfolk's account 34: Duplicate of the ship Princess Augusta's account
458	454	Do Princess Augusta Do Onslows Do Sandwiches Do Warwicks Do Tritons Do Elizabeths Triplicate Indent for Stores Do for Medicines Do List of the Remains of Stores Duplicate Ship Falmouths Account Captain OBryen 2d Bill of Exchange and 2d Letter of Advice Mr James Harding Purser of the Colchester man of War 2 Bills of Exchange and 2 Letter of Advice List of Marriages &ca Governors Letter to the Court of Directors	35: Duplicate of the ship Princess Augusta's account 36: Duplicate of the ship Onslow's account 37: Duplicate of the ship Sandwich's account 38: Duplicate of the ship Warwick's account 39: Duplicate of the ship Triton's account 40: Duplicate of the ship Elizabeth's account 41: Triplicate indent for stores 42: Triplicate indent for medicines 43: Triplicate list of the remains of stores 44: Duplicate of the ship Falmouth's account 45: Captain O'Bryen's second bill of exchange and second letter of advice 46: Mr James Harding, purser of the Colchester man of war, his two bills of exchange and two letters of advice 47: List of marriages and so forth 48: Governor's letter to the Court of Directors
459	455	Blank page	
460	456	Book cover	
461	457	Document Name and Date: St Helena Letters to England 1748-1758 Dimensions (l x h x depth) (cm): (L) 38 cm x (W) 26 cm x (D) 5.5 cm No. written pages: 458 No. blank pages: 0 Spine and cover: Good condition Inside pages: Good condition. Some water damage and foxing present. Additional comments: Pages are numbered, but only on every other page. Time taken to photograph: 4 hours	