THE 1794 WRECK OF THE TEN SAIL,
CAYMAN ISLANDS, BRITISH WEST INDIES:
A HISTORICAL STUDY AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY
Volume II

A Dissertation
by
MARGARET ELAINE LEHISKAR

Submitted to the Office of Graduate Studies of
Texas A&M University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

December 1993

Major Subject: Anthropology
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December 1993

Major Subject: Anthropology
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<td>AR</td>
<td>Archives du Port de Rochefort, Rochefort, France</td>
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<td>CINA</td>
<td>Cayman Islands National Archive, Cayman Islands, B.W.I.</td>
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<td>CINM</td>
<td>Cayman Islands National Museum, Cayman Islands, B.W.I.</td>
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<td>JA</td>
<td>Jamaica Archives, Spanish Town, Jamaica</td>
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<td>MDHD</td>
<td>Ministry of Defense, Hydrography Department, Somerset, England</td>
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<td>NLJ</td>
<td>National Library of Jamaica, Institute of Jamaica, Kingston, Jamaica</td>
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<td>PRO</td>
<td>Public Record Office, Kew, England</td>
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<td>SHM</td>
<td>Ministère de la Défense, Service Historique de la Marine, Château de Vincennes, France</td>
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CHAPTER VII

THE WRECK OF THE TEN SAIL

It was always trying to be the Royal Navy officer in charge and accountable for the safety of a merchant convoy. Although legal restrictions applied to merchantmen under convoy, their masters often disobeyed signals and orders. Some disregarded cannon shots; others deserted the formation without giving notice, particularly upon nearing the destination, for it could be lucrative to reach port ahead of the fleet. A case in point is that of the Hector convoy which sailed between 22 July and 4 October 1793. At the end of the voyage, Captain George Montague furnished the Admiralty with a document in which he wrote this final note, "The Above is the list of the Trade who sailed from Jamaica under Convoy of His Majesty's Ship Hector under my Command. The Disobedience of the Masters of the Merchantmen in General to my Signals not only retarded our Passage but very frequently placed them out of my Protection". While little repercussion was felt by masters of merchantmen for disobedience of directions, the captain of a convoy escort who neglected his convoy was subject to penalty.

The Voyage

On Thursday, 6 February 1794, the Convert convoy sailed westward from Jamaica. According to Commodore Ford's orders of 5 January 1794, Captain Lawford aimed to sail the Leeward Passage. The Convert would lead the fleet through the Yucatan Channel and the Florida Straits, and then follow the Gulf Stream across the Atlantic to Britain (Figure 40, p. 188). The convoy was to proceed to Cape Clear in Ireland, and upon sighting land Lawford was to direct the masters of vessels bound up St. George's Channel to proceed directly to those ports (Figure 56). The Convert was to escort the remainder of the merchantmen through the Channel to the Downs, an important anchorage near Dover, Deal, where on arrival Captain Lawford was to make his report
Figure 56. Referenced Ports of the British Isles (drawn by R.L. Craig).
of the voyage to the Secretary of the Admiralty. Along the way he was
to permit the ships under his command to call at their respective
ports. Commodore Ford specifically directed Captain Lawford to be
attentive to all the vessels in his care and to pace the voyage at the
speed of the worst sailing ship among them. But if any of the
merchantmen disobeyed orders or parted the convoy without notice, he
was to make a report of their conduct to the Admiralty.4

Captain Lawford later commented on the circumstances of the
Convert convoy after parting from Long Bay at the west end of Jamaica:

On Friday noon the 7th Instant the Master, with three
Assistants, with two Sextants and two Quadrants, found by
Observation the Latitude to be 18°, 47' North and from the
Course Steer'd, and the Distance run from the West end of
Jamaica, we considered that the East end of the Island of
Grand Cayman, bore N.W. ½ N. 18 Leagues Distant, the Convoy
had been lying too for several hours to give Assistance to
a Schooner in Distress, and after getting the Observation
(the goodness of which there could be no doubt) we bore
away and Steer'd W.N.W; at 1 PM I made Sail ahead of the
Convoy in order to make the Land before Dark, but a Gun
being fired astern about 3 o'clock I conceived it my Duty,
(knowing that several of the Ships were in bad Condition)
to stand back into the Fleet to give all the Assistance in
my power; I accordingly Wore Ship, and found that the
Signal of Distress was made by the same Schooner that had
delayed me in the morning, this Circumstance having
prevented me from prosecuting my original intention of
making the Land before Dark, I steered West from Six to
twelve o'clock, making a run of nine or Ten Leagues, which
by our Reckoning carried us to the Westward of the Grand
Cayman, and Seven Leagues to the Southward: at 12 o'clock
the Master, who then became officer of the Watch upon Deck,
representing to me that from the Prevalence of the
Northernly Winds, it might be necessary to haul more to the
Northward to ensure the making Cape Corrientes, and deeming
ourselves perfectly Clear of the Grand Caymans, I directed
him to steer W.N.W., the Convoy being at this time well
Collected and not one Ship ahead; the Convert had at this
time (as well as during the greater part of the time) her
Sails all furl'd and Yards braced aback, owing to her very
great Superiority in point of Sailing.5

Thus, at noon on the day following the fleet's departure from Jamaica,
the master and his assistants took bearings that suggested Grand Cayman
lay 18 leagues to the northwest. When the observation was taken the
convoy was standing by to help a schooner in distress. At 1:00 pm the
Convert, a superior sailor, cruised ahead of the merchantmen with the
intention of sighting Grand Cayman before dark. At 3:00 pm, however, a
signal of distress was fired by the same troubled vessel and the Royal Navy frigate returned to the fleet to render assistance. The officers of the Convert did not see land before nightfall. At midnight they reckoned that the convoy was positioned to the westward, and 7 leagues to the southward of Grand Cayman. Due to northerly winds the master recommended that the course be adjusted more to the northward, for he believed this measure would ensure their making Cape Corrientes on the western tip of Cuba. Captain Lawford believed the convoy was safely clear of Grand Cayman and directed the master, who was then officer of the watch, to alter the course from W to WNW. The Convert's sails were furled to maintain the slower speed of the fleet, and all the merchant ships were on her quarters according to their stations.

The Wrecking

In his letter of 20 February 1794, Captain Lawford regretfully informed the Commodore and Commander in Chief of the Jamaica squadron:

It is with extreme concern that I have to report to you that His Majesty's Ship Convert was unfortunately Wreck'd, together with Nine Sail of Merchantmen under my Convoy, on the Reefs of the East end of the Grand Cayman on the morning of 8th Instant; but it is some Alleviation of this misfortune to be enabled to add, that from the most Strenuous exertions on our part, and the timely assistance rendered by the Few Inhabitants (by all the means in their power) few Lives were lost."

Captain Lawford described the disaster that had occurred in the early morning hours of 8 February 1794 to Commodore Ford (Figure 57):

About 3 oClock the Master came down and inform'd me that one of the Ships to Leeward had fired two Guns, on which conceiving it to be a Signal of Distress, I directed him to make Sail and run down to her; on my getting on Deck instantly after this, I found that the Guns had been fired by a Ship ahead, and that several Ships of the Convoy had run ahead since 12 oClock. I had not been on Deck a Minute before some of the Men on the Topsail Yard called out, "Breakers ahead Close to us". I immediately (as the Breakers appeared in every direction and I could not tell from the Darkness of the Night to what extent they might run,) deemed it most expedient to make the Signal for the Convoy to disperse and do the best for their own Safety that their own judgement could suggest, and as the Topsails were now sheeted home, the Convert would have certainly cleared the Breakers, if a Ship ahead had not unfortunately fallen on Board us, and before it was possible to extricate
Figure 57. The Route of the Convoy from Jamaica to Grand Cayman Where Ten Ships of the Fleet Were Wrecked (drawn by R.L. Craig).
ourselves we got so near the Reefs, that all hopes of Clearing them vanished and she in a few moments struck, and very soon after Bilged. 7

Several merchantmen had sailed ahead of the Convert after midnight and most of these vessels wrecked on the reefs of Grand Cayman. One of the ships fired a signal of distress. Captain Lawford saw the breaking reefs and realized the circumstances of the fleet. Immediately he signaled for the convoy to disperse. In the confusion a merchant ship collided and became entangled with the Convert, thwarting the frigate's maneuver to escape. And the Convert crashed into the reefs.

Captain Lawford believed that the disobedient merchantmen were largely responsible for causing the misfortune to occur. He explained his reasoning to Commodore Ford:

Had the Ships of the Convoy kept their stations and attended to Signals, which I am sorry to say was not the Case generally with the far greater part, this misfortune could not have happened, for however the Current might have set us to the Northward of our Course; or from whatever Cause any error might have arisen in the reckoning, had the Ship I commanded been the leader without any intervening Object being between her and the Breakers, they must have been observed in time enough to have warned the Ships astern of their Danger, and the worst that could possibly have happened which I do not Conceive could be the Case, would have been the loss of the Convert: I have since learned that the Ship that fired the Guns was on Shore before she fired, and that Five or Six others were on Shore before her. 8

At daylight on Saturday, 8 February 1794, Captain Lawford observed the other ill-fated ships of the convoy and endeavored to save the Convert's crew. He described his actions to the Commodore:

The dawning of the Day presented a most Melancholy scene, Seven Ships and two Brigs on the same Reef with the Convert, a very heavy sea running and the Wind blowing directly on the Shore; from the Bad appearance of the Weather the Merchant Ships would not venture near enough to us to give any effectual assistance, and the Ships on Shore could not assist each other; I immediately ordered out the Boats to provide as far as possible for the safety of the Ships Company, the Masts were Cut away, and by unremitting exertions untill Night, the whole of the Ships Company excepting about Twenty who, has [sic] the Weather seemed to moderate, preferr'd staying on Board to the risque of getting on Shore) were put on Board two or three Vessels that appeared at a great Distance in the offing, or were put on the reef by means of rafts, &c. and taken up by Canoes. 9
Although bad weather had not caused the Wreck of the Ten Sail, strong winds and rough seas hindered rescue efforts. Each ship was forced to provide for its own passengers and crew with little assistance from the others. Lawford had the Convert's masts cut away. He launched the ship's boats in an attempt to carry over 280 people to safety. On the day the Convert wrecked all but 20 individuals (who chose to stay on board) were removed from the frigate. They were transported to two or three merchantmen that hovered in the distance, or were landed on the reef by rafts and other improvised means to be assisted by Caymanians in canoes who waited on the leeward side.

John Lawford, described his continued management of the rescue operation to Commodore Ford:

On Sunday morning I prevailed on a Canoe to go to the few remaining Ships in the Offing with a Letter to the Commanders of them to desire them either to Anchor at the Hogsties or lay off and on there to receive the men saved from the Different Ships, whom I found from the strictest Investigation, and on the Affidavits of the Principal Inhabitants, it would be impossible to subsist for any time on this little Island, which suffered most severely from a Hurricane in October last. The greater part had bore away to the Westward before they could receive this Intimation, and only Nine of the remainder thought proper to pay any regard to it.10

And so, a rendezvous at the Hogsties on the west end of Grand Cayman was appointed for the remaining merchantmen; the name Hogsties was commonly applied to George Town in the late eighteenth century (Figure 58).11 Captain Lawford's 9 February 1794 letter to the "Commanders of the Merchant Ships and Vessels off the Island of Grand Cayman" follows:

I beg to acquaint You that the Officers and Crew of the Convert and the Merchant Vessels lately Wrecked on the reefs to the Eastward of this Island are in the greatest distress, not being able from the very great Surf to save any Provisions or any other necessary Convenience. I must therefore desire of You, Either to anchor at the Hogsties, or lay off and on there ready to take the People on board as soon as it is possible to get them over, it being impracticable to embark them from this part of the Island whilst the Sea is so great.12

Lawford related the critical situation of the shipwreck victims and directed the remaining merchantmen to provide assistance.
Figure 58. A British Admiralty Map are Dated 1773, While the First Printed Version Bears the Date 179
In a document dated 12 February 1794, signed by eight principal inhabitants of Grand Cayman, the Caymanians testified to Captain Lawford that they could not provide subsistence for the shipwreck survivors. They implored Captain Lawford to quickly remove the ships' crews from the island (Figure 59):

We the Subscribers, Inhabitants of the Island Grand Caimanas do Certify on oath that from the distressed Situation of the Island, in the Article of Provisions, owing to the Hurricane of the 19th Octr. last, Its morally impossible for the Inhabitants to support themselves, and with the Addition of the different Ship Companies Wrecking on the East End of this Island on Saturday Morning last. We the Subscribers think it absolutely Necessary for own preservation, that the diff. Crews belonging to the Wrecks already specified, must be immediately removed from this Island as soon as possible.  

Signatures on the petition include, George Turnbull, George Turnbull for William Bodden, Joseph Dalby, Robert Knowles Clarke, Thomas Thomson, William Gerat Prescott, Hugh Mitchell and James Hoy. The Royal Gazette had, in fact, published a letter in its 21 December 1793 Marine Intelligence section that supports the Caymanian's account of their depressed situation. In a report dated 14 December 1793 from Montego Bay, the Gazette reported:

By a schooner, which arrived from the Grand Caimanas last Tuesday, we have received an account that the severe gale which was experienced here on the 21st of October, was very destructive at that island on the 20th and 21st. The West end of the island was overflowed by the sea, and several houses washed away. At Boatswain's Bay, every house was destroyed. The plantain walks and provision grounds, in general, are desolated, and such was the violence of the tempest, that the cocoa-nut trees were torn out by the roots. The account adds, that the inhabitants are in great distress for provisions, from this calamity, and look up to Jamaica for relief. A schooner, belonging to Mess. Clark and Bodden, of that island, was lost in the gale, and two men drowned, one of whom was Wm. Davis, formerly master of a drogger that belonged to this port.  

It appears that at least three merchant vessels provided the Cayman Islands with relief at this time, but it is unclear whether the vessels were owned by people from Cayman or Jamaica. According to The Royal Gazette, on 25 November 1793 the sloop Sea-Flower, Taylor, arrived in Port Royal from Grand Caimanas and on 11 December the sloop
Figure 59. A Petition from the Principal Inhabitants of Grand Cayman to Captain Lawford (courtesy of the Public Record Office, Kew).
departed Jamaica for Caymanas (Figure 60). The account quoted above also suggests that a schooner arrived in Montego Bay from Grand Caymanas on about 10 December. A week later, on 18 December, the sloop Industry, Wright, sailed from Port Royal for Grand Caymanas. Of note, between 18 December 1793 and 28 February 1794, The Royal Gazette fails to report any further ship traffic between Jamaica and the Cayman Islands.\(^\text{15}\)

In a letter dated 13 February 1794, from George Town, Captain Lawford wrote to the masters of nine merchantmen who answered his request for assistance, and who sailed their vessels to the rendezvous in Hogsty Bay. The circular was addressed to the ships Louisa, Thomas Harrison, Alfred, Briston Bryan, Llandovery, Adams, Nancy, Campbell, Barbados, Moore, and Jane, Gamble; and to the brigs Betsey & Susan, Harvey, Countess of Galloway, Eglin, and Mars, King (Figure 61):

The Inhabitants of this Island have represented to me that, from the distressed situation in the Article of Provisions owing to the Hurricane of 19th Octr. last, it is morally impossible for them to support themselves with the addition of the Different Ships Crews wrecked on the East End of the Island on Saturday Morning, and beg that they may be removed immediately; which on the strictest Investigation I find to be a just Report: I Have therefore to desire that You will receive as many of the above mentioned Seamen on Board the Vessels You respectively command as You can possibly accommodate; and on Your Arrival in England deliver them to the Commanding Officer on the Impress-Service at Any of the Ports or on Board of Any of His Majesty's Ships of War that You may fall in with, sending regular lists & taking Receipts; and transmitting at the same time to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty An Account of the Expenses of Victualling &c. during the Passage.\(^\text{16}\)

In his 20 February letter, John Lawford further related to Commodore Ford, "on Board these Ships I have distributed the Men, at least as many as can possibly be put on Board and as the Masters, though willing to receive them, represented their Difficultys in Point of Provisions, I have recommended them to call off the Havannah and have given them Letters recommending their case to His Excellency the Governor".\(^\text{17}\) The masters of the merchantmen were given copies of a 13 February 1794 letter from Captain Lawford, to be presented to the Governor of Havana.
Figure 60. The Eighteenth-Century Cayman Islands in Relation to Jamaica (drawn by R.L. Craig).
George Sam Grand Cynamo
28th February 1793

Gentlemen,

The inhabitants of the islands have represented to me that, from the disturbed situation in the vicinity of Providence, owing to the appearance of 10 sick ships, it is morally necessary for them to guard themselves with the additional of the necessary ships. Hence, I have ordered the Coast Guard of the island on Wednesday morning, and by to-morrow they may be arrived immediately, which I trust will be a great relief: I have therefore given orders that you will receive as many of the above-mentioned vessels as you can possibly accommodate, and on your arrival at England deliver them to the Commanding Officer of the Imperial, or to any of the Rates or to the Board of Trade of His Majesty's ships of war that you may find in port, sending regular with a copy of the present letter and acknowledging at the same time to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty the arrival of the foregoing in the course of my journey.

I am, Gentlemen,

Your very obedient servant,

[Signature]

Mr. Edward Nunn, Master of the ship "Voyage"
Mr. Andrew Nunn, Master of the ship "Fidelity"
Mr. James Nunn, Master of the ship "Friendship"
Mr. Thomas Nunn, Master of the ship "Hope"
Mr. John Smith, Master of the ship "Success"
Mr. William Jones, Master of the ship "Security"
Mr. James Nunn, Master of the ship "Prosperity"
Mr. John Smith, Master of the ship "Security"

Figure 61. A Letter from Captain Lawford to the Masters of the Merchantmen (courtesy of the Public Record Office, Kew).
requesting his assistance:

It is with infinite Concern I have to inform Your Excellency that on the 8th Instant H.B.M. Ship the Convert conveying the Jamaica Fleet was unfortunately wrecked on the East End of this Island. The Crew of H.M. Ship were fortunately saved but from the Total inability of the inhabitants of the Caymans to furnish them with provisions I am obliged to Embark them immediately on board of the Merchant Ships who are now proceeding on this Voyage to Europe without Convoy.

Under these circumstances induced by the good understanding which subsists between our respective Courts I take the liberty of recommending to the protection of Your Excellency Such Ships of the Convoy as may be under the necessity of revictualing at the Havana. Sensible, that the Humanity of the Spanish Nation and more particularly the Character of Your Excellency leave no room to doubt of Your Excellency's Willingness to afford every Assistance to Your Friends and Allies.¹⁸

The merchant ships in the harbor at George Town took on board passengers and seamen from the wrecked ships, and they intended to call at Havana for additional provisions to victual them. Among these passengers was Lieutenant Brice, former First Lieutenant of His Majesty's Frigate Hermione, who was returning to England for the recovery of his health. Lieutenant Brice had been on board the Convert when she wrecked. Captain Lawford charged him with the responsibility of delivering a dispatch regarding the shipwrecks to the Admiralty.¹⁹

John Lawford's 20 February letter informed Commodore Ford that until he received his commands he would remain on Grand Cayman with all of his officers and about 30 chosen seamen to salvage, when the weather improved, the Convert's stores. This would be accomplished with the assistance of the small craft of the island. Once a vessel could be organized, with the help of the Convert's carpenters, Lawford would send First Lieutenant Bogue to Jamaica with the remainder of the seamen and with news of the loss of the Convert and nine of her convoy.

Captain Lawford referred the Commodore to Lieutenant Bogue for further details regarding the shipwrecks. He sent John Ford copies of the letters that had passed on the occasion in Grand Cayman, as well as his best accounting of the Convert's company. Lawford could not, however,
send a list of the convoy because it had been lost in the shipwreck, along with his other papers.

Captain Lawford explained the current circumstances of those who remained in Grand Cayman for the salvage of the Convert:

We are at at [sic] present huddled and under Tents in the best manner possible opposite the Wreck which is about Two Miles from the Shore, and from our unfavorable situation, very few Articles has been practicable to get on Shore, except two Puncheons of Rum and some few Casks of Provisions, the Bread is totally spoiled and the miserable situation of this Island precludes us from being furnished with anything of the Bread Kind. From the situation of the Convert it is impossible at this time to judge what might be saved, being on a Reef to the Eastward of the Island of Course a Weatherly one, and such a Distance from the Land and Very Shoal water within it; the only thing that I can at present possibly suggest would be, if the service would admit of it, to request that a Ship of War be dispatched with such relief as you may judge (from the Circumstances above related) proper, as I beg leave to say by the time she can possibly come here we shall be enabled to Determine if any thing of consequence is likely to be saved and what Kind of Vessel may be proper to send here to receive it, or, if it appears that nothing material was to be saved, we might return in her to Jamaica; in the meantime you may depend that every exertion on my part and that of my Officers and Men, shall be particularly manifested.  

In concluding his letter to Commodore Ford, Captain Lawford expressed his regrets:

Truly convinced of the Magnitude of this Calamity and Knowing its evil influence on the Commerce of my Country in whose service I have pass’d my Life; my Distress of mind would be insupportable were I not supported by a Consciousness of having done my Duty and the utmost my judgment could dictate, and of having never spared myself in this or any other Instance, in point of exertion and Vigilance when the Honor or Interest of His Majestys service were Concern’d.  

The Schooner Rachel and Elizabeth, Parsons, arrived in Jamaica from Grand Caymanas on Friday 28 February 1794, according to the list of ship arrivals at Port Royal published in The Royal Gazette. It is probable that the vessel actually arrived the previous evening with First Lieutenant Bogue of the Convert aboard. The Marine Intelligence section of the Gazette, dated 1 March 1794, reported:

Thursday night arrived from the Grand Caymanas, Lieutenant Bogue, of his Majesty’s Ship Convert, with the melancholy intelligence of the loss of that frigate, with nine vessels of the fleet under her convoy, on the North-east end of
that island, about three o'clock in the morning of Saturday the 8th ultimo, five days after they left Bluefields.

The names of the merchant vessels lost are the William and Elizabeth, Goodwin; Moorhall, Nicholson; Ludlow, McClure; Britannia, Martin; Richard, Hughes; Nancy, Leary; Eagle, Ainsworth; Sally, Watson; and Fortune, Love.

Captain Martin of the Britannia, and five seamen belonging to the Convert, perished in the confusion; but we have not heard of any other lives being lost.

The remainder of the fleet proceeded on their voyage, on the 13th, and it was supposed would rendezvous at the Havana. The passengers and crews of those that were lost were distributed amongst the fleet. The crew of the Convert are encamped until a vessel can be sent for them.

We have not heard this accident accounted for; but it appears, that by the Convert's reckoning they ought to have been five leagues distant from the island when they struck; and the loss of so many vessels is said to be owing to those who went ashore first not firing any signals of distress.

The greater part of the rum, cotton, and wood will be saved; of the heavy produce in the lower tiers there can be little hope.

The mail, which was on board the Convert, has been saved, and is now at the Coffee-House of Messrs. Wights, where, on application, the letters will be delivered.22

Once news of the shipwrecks reached Jamaica, numerous merchantmen departed Port Royal for the Cayman Islands. The schooner May-Flower, Kidd, and the sloop Marlborough, Ball, sailed on 3 March 1794. The schooner Little Ann, Smith, embarked the following day. On 7 March the sloop Alert, Hay, set sail.23 On 9 March the brig Mary, Nicholson, was Cayman-bound, and on 13 March 1794 the Brig Tamerlane, Gilbert, departed Jamaica for Grand Cayman.24

On 8 March 1794, The Royal Gazette published an extract of a letter sent from Grand Cayman. The writer is not identified, but he was a literate man of some stature who stood by Captain Lawford throughout the shipwreck ordeal. On 13 February 1794 he embarked for Britain in one of the nine merchant ships that gathered at George Town to receive survivors. It appears that the author was aboard the Convert when she wrecked. Nevertheless, he refers to some people as being on his ship who do not appear in the Convert's muster-
table. Thus, there are some problems in interpretation. Perhaps the
writer was Captain Thomson. Captain Thomson of the Royal Artillery and
Colonel Amherst of the 10th Regiment also do not appear in the
Convert's muster-table, but they were reported by The Royal Gazette to
be passengers on the naval escort.\textsuperscript{35} Maybe the author was First
Lieutenant Brice of the Hermione. Captain Lawford entrusted Lieutenant
Brice with the dispatch for the Admiralty explaining the shipwreck
incident.\textsuperscript{36} Although the extracted letter is long, it is quoted in
full, for it recounts in detail the Wreck of the Ten Sail:

Before this can reach you, you will probably have heard of
our misfortune in being shipwrecked, on the reefs at the
east-end of the Grand Caymanas, on the night between the
7th and 8th inst. with nine sail of ships and brigs. Some
error in our reckoning, arising from I know not what cause,
and the set of current running strongly to the northward,
ocasioned this heavy disaster. We struck about half-past
three o'clock in the morning, very dark: It being soon
found that all efforts to get off were ineffectual, the
three masts were cut away by five o'clock, and the ship lay
tolerably easy till day-light, when we had the melancholy
view of nine other vessels in a similar predicament. A
heavy sea was running, and the surf beating violently over
the reef, which was about an hundred yards from us, and two
miles from the shore. The first use made of the boats was
to send off the ladies, women, and children, to some ships
that appeared at a great distance in the offing, but which
could not, from the heavy weather, approach with safety a
lee shore; the invalid soldiers and sailors, with the men
of the 20th regiment, and Colonel Amherst, were, with great
difficulty and danger, sent off in the boats; this employed
the time until any further communication with the ships
became impossible.

It was now time to devise other modes of safety: the day
was fast wearing away, and a gale of wind would have
terminated our disasters: about the middle of the day the
ship fell down very much, and the sea frequently made a
complete breach over her; the sculls [sic] of the lee ports
were on a level with the water, which had a free passage
through every part of her; recourse was therefore had to
rafts, in order to land the men, if possible, on the reef,
on the inside of which several canoes were ready to give
assistance. The sharp coral rocks cut every rope that was
sent ashore, and the reverberation of the water from the
reefs made it highly dangerous to approach it; the stoutest
swimmers found it a most hazardous attempt. About six
o'clock, Captain Lawford, (with whom I had staid, in the
hope of supporting him amid this scene of distress, and
calming the agony of his mind) myself, the purser, the old
French prisoner, and my servant, and about ten sailors, got
into the barge, with an intention to stand out to sea, and
to sail toward the West end of the island, a distance of
five leagues; the master, some petty officers, and about 20
men, preferred staying on board all night, to the risque of getting ashore; all the other men, except those, the few with Captain Lawford, and about 13 that were to accompany us in the pinacle, had been got ashore, or drowned in the attempt. The barge pushed off from the lee side of the ship; but before we could get round the stern, being obstructed by the wreck of the Main and mizen masts floating by her side, a tremendous succession of waves came in so rapidly that the boat’s head could not be got to the sea, and she was filled in a moment.

Our only chance of safety now, was in preventing the boat’s oversetting; three dreadful seas struck us, and a fourth providentially and unexpectedly carried us over the reef, when the people in the canoes seized us, and prevented our being carried back by the reflux.

It were superfluous to attempt enlarging on this circumstance; the mind of every man will suggest to him the horrors of our situation. Individual, personal feelings were absorbed in the great scene of surrounding misery.

Some small part of the vessels cargoes may be saved; about eight men, (so far as we know) including the Master of the Britannia, were drowned; several sick persons have died.

Our situation, on arriving at the miserable hovels of the few inhabitants, was only one degree better than that we had escaped from; no dry clothes, no meat, drink, or bedding were held out to us; what they had not they could not bestow.

Lady Emilia Cooke was saved in an open boat, and taken on board one of the ships without a change of clothes; Mr. Mellifont, from our ship, saved two trunks; poor Mrs. Smith, the builder’s widow, saved only one small box containing about 90l (£90).

On Sunday the sea ran very high, but towards the evening the remainder of the men were brought from the ship, and a raft made, which brought some baggage; on Monday the weather moderated, and several articles were got ashore.

Captain Lawford and his officers have saved some of their things, but are great sufferers. Nearly the whole of my books, letters, and papers, &c. are ruined, as are my clothes; the bedding, and most other articles are totally lost.

On Tuesday morning, Capt. Lawford, another officer, myself, and a guide, set off for the west end of the island, over the most execrable road imaginable; for three miles were hot burning sands, and sharp-pointed coral rocks, that would have foiled the attempts of the most dexterous animal to pass them without injury. About Wednesday noon, we reached the west end (George-Town) commonly called the Hogeties; and I this day embark again for Europe on board the Louisa, where already are Lady Cook, Capt. Drinkwater, and Mr. Burrell of the 62nd. We propose stopping at the Havanna for provisions, having a number of shipwrecked sailors on board, for whom no supply can be obtained here.
evening, are the *Louisa*, *Llandovery*, Alfred, Nancy, Barbados, and Jane; brigs *Betsey* and *Susan*, Mars, and *Countess of Galway* (sic);—Bryan, in the Alfred, to act as Commodore."

The Salvage of His Majesty's Ship *Convert*

Commodore John Ford received news of the wreck of the *Convert* on 13 March 1794 and sent Captain Francis Roberts in the *Success* to Grand Cayman. The Commodore apprised the Secretary of the Admiralty in a letter of 3 April 1794:

I have to request you will inform the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty that on the 13th UIt. on my way from St. Domingo to this Port I received a Letter from Captain Lawford of His Majesty's Ship *Convert* dated Feb'y. 20th, containing an Account of the Loss of that Ship, together with Nine Sail of Merchant Ships under his Convoy on the Island of Grand Cayman on the 8th of that Month. As the detail of this Misfortune is particularly related in Captain Lawford's Letter, a Copy of which is enclosed, I beg leave to refer their Lordships thereto, and to inform them that I immediately dispatched His Majesty's Ship *Success* to that Island, in order to save whatever might be possible from the Wreck, as well as to receive on board such of the Officers and Crew as remained there and conduct them to Jamaica.

The logbooks of Captain Francis Roberts and Master Richard Davy of the *Success* have survived. These sources provide largely parallel descriptions of the frigate's mission to Grand Cayman. On the day that Commodore Ford learned of the shipwreck incident, the *Success* on service in St. Domingue was at anchor in Tiburon Bay. The frigate had been moored there since 8 March 1794, and her crew had been employed replenishing the vessel with water and wood from shore, stowing the after holds and repairing the rigging of the fore and main yards. At 8:00 am the Commodore, aboard the *Europa*, arrived in the offing and at 8:30 am signaled for the *Success* to come within hail. By 11:30 am the frigate had weighed anchor and made sail. The captain's and master's logs remark that Cape Tiburon was NW by W 5 or 6 miles and the Commodore was SW by W 3 or 4 leagues. On 14 March 1794 Captain Roberts' log records, "came on board Mr. Bogue, 1st Lieutenant of His Majestys Ship *Convert* with the account of her being lost on the Grand
Caymains, stood out to join the Commodore" (Figure 62).

The Success sailed westward from Cape Tiburon, sighting first the northeast end of Jamaica and by noon St. Ann's Bay. On 15 March the frigate continued along the north coast of Jamaica, sighting Montego Point and then crossing open seas towards the Cayman Islands. Captain Roberts' and Master Davy's logs for 16 March remark that on their passage they spoke to a brig that had been out 6 days, sailing from Grand Cayman for Jamaica. At 9:00 am they sighted Grand Cayman bearing W by N, and at 10:00 am they hove to and made the signal for a pilot to come out to them. Roberts noted that the Convert was WSW about 2.5 miles, while Davy recorded a distance of 2 miles. By 11:30 am the Convert's pilot came on board and at noon the Success bore away for the Hogsties on the west end of Grand Cayman. On 17 March the frigate came to anchor in George's Bay in 7 fathoms of water and remained there for several days. 21

Captain Lawford, his officers and seamen had been encamped in tents on the beach at the east end of Grand Cayman since 8 February 1794. For almost six weeks they had conducted salvage operations on the Convert. An account of the stores saved from the frigate as well as additional related papers were prepared and later transmitted by John Lawford to Commodore Ford (Figure 63 and 64). 22 The recovered goods were transported back to Jamaica, but relatively few of the Convert's stores and none of her primary guns were retrieved by the Convert's men. Therefore, when Captains Roberts and Lawford prepared to leave Grand Cayman, they first signed agreements with two prominent Caymanians. The Royal Navy officers authorized the two local men to continue the salvage of the Convert, for which they would be compensated. Two documents passed on this occasion. The first was a letter from Captains Roberts and Lawford, addressed to Robert Knowles Clarke and William Bodden Senior (Figure 65):

Whereas we think it for the good of His Majesty's Service that the Officers & Seamen of His Majesty's Ship Convert
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<th>Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Saturday</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sunday</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monday</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tuesday</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wednesday</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thursday</td>
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<tr>
<td>Friday</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saturday</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Figure 62. Excerpt from the Captain's Log of HMS Success Including 14 to 21 March 1794**
(courtesy of the Public Record Office, Kew).
Figure 63. First Page of the Salvage Account of HMS Conestoga (courtesy of the Public Record Office, Kew).
An Account of Stores saved from the Wreck of His Majesty's Ship Convert

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Boatsewms</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sails</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pieces of Canvas</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hammocks Covers</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Compasses</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stream Cable</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hawsers</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Messengers</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Topmast Sheats</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bows</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leather Buckets</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cat Blocks</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coils of Rope</td>
<td>8½</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spare Tackles</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blocks of Sorts</td>
<td>.125</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Boats Grapnels | 2  |
| Fire and Chain  | 1  |
| Tackle Hooks    | 8  |
| Travellers      | 2  |
| Marline Spikes  | 1  |
| Anchor Stream   | 1  |
| Kedge           | 1  |
| Time Glasses    | 6  |
| Lengths of Junk | 37 |
| Boats           | 4  |
| Cars            | 18 |
| Masts           | 6  |
| Sails           | 6  |
| Colours         | 22 |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Carpenters</th>
<th></th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Topmasts</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yards</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bella</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Funnels</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iron Tiller</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caps</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pintles</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adzes</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cross Cut Saw</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maul</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whip Saw</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grindstone</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pitch Pot</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Copper Brace</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bolts</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boiler</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>also sundry Iron Work &amp; loose Copper</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gunners Stores</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a remnant of 5½ inch rope for Breechings Tackles wth Blocks &amp; Hooks</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Round Shot</td>
<td>228</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grape</td>
<td>304</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tincase</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ladies with Staves</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spunges with Staves</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&amp; rammer heads }</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rope Spunges and</td>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rammer heads   }</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wadhooks with d&quot;</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stocks Barrel</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Copper hoops</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lanthorn dark</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Priming Irons</td>
<td>20</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arrows of Lead</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Powder horns</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crows of Iron</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Linch Pairs</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forlocks</td>
<td>22</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blocks dble &amp; Sgle</td>
<td>46</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hooks-pairs</td>
<td>24</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Melting Ladle</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muskets</td>
<td>89</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bayonets</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cartouch Boxes</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swords</td>
<td>39</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scabbards for d&quot;</td>
<td>39</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belts for d&quot;</td>
<td>20</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pistols</td>
<td>41</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pole Axoes</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strong Pikes</td>
<td>27</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vice Standing</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cases of Wood</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Handspikes</td>
<td>18</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gun Carriages</td>
<td>18</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swivels</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Purser's Stores</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Casks of Beef</td>
<td>16</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ullage Cask of Run</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bags of Bread</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

John Lawford
(Copy)

Jn' Ford

*** Source: PRO, ADM 1/245, Admiralty and Secretariat Papers, 'Jamaica 1793 & 94, Admiral John Ford Esqr.', Enclosure in: Commodore John Ford to Philip Stephens, Secretary of the Admiralty, aboard the Europa, Port Royal, Jamaica, 3 April 1794.

This is a transcription of the Salvage Account of HMS Convert.
Whereas we think it for the good of His Majesty's service, that the Officers &\nSeamen of His Majesty's Ship, having lately\narrived on the east coast of His Islands,\nought be removed to Jamaica as early as\npossible, and it being our opinion that\nno moderate weather it might be practicable\nto recover many articles of her stores\nVermont &c. and you being willing to\nundertake, so far as your abilities will\nallow, to save whatever may be found.

We hereby authorize you, and give you\nthe exclusive privilege of going on board\nfor the purpose of getting out the stores\nVermont, as before mentioned, for the use\nof His Majesty's Service, which is expected\nto be landed at George Town, for which\nreasonable wages, as such as\nthat have been customary in similar or\noccasions will be allowed.

Sgd. Clarke Captain of\nMr. Fiddie's vessel at\nGeorge Town Augt. 15th 1794

(Copy)

Fid. Roberts Capt. Messrs\nLawford Capt. Printing.

Figure 65. Letter from Captains Roberts and Lawford to Robert Clarke and William Bodden Senior (courtesy of the Public Record Office, Kew).
lately wrecked on the east end of this Island should be removed to Jamaica as early as possible, and it being our opinion that in moderate weather it might be practicable to recover many Articles of her Stores Provisions &c. and you being willing to undertake so far as your abilities will allow to save whatever may be possible.

We hereby authorize you, and give you the exclusive privilege of going on board for the purpose of getting out the Stores & Provisions as before mentioned for the use of His Majesty's Service, which is requested to be landed at George Town, for which a reasonable Salvage, and such as hath been customary in similar occasions will be allowed.33

William Bodden Senior and Robert Knowles Clarke accepted the terms of the letter and signed the following document of obligation for Captains Roberts and Lawford (Figure 66):

We the undersigned do hereby bind and oblige ourselves in the most solemn manner to use our utmost endeavour to save all the remaining Stores, Provisions, & Guns together with all the Materials of the Wreck of His Majesty's Ship Convert such as Iron work, old Copper, and Copper fastening, and to give a most faithful & just account of the same.34

William Bodden Senior and Robert Knowles Clarke owned some of Cayman's schooners and had probably been assisting Captain Lawford with the recovery operation since the time that the Convert wrecked.35 It is not currently known, however, how much further salvage of the frigate was carried out by Bodden and Clarke.

On 19 March 1794, while the Success was at anchor in the bay at George Town, a schooner and a brig returning from the Convert came to anchor alongside her (Figure 67). Captain Francis Roberts' log records that on 20 and 21 March a sloop and a schooner arrived with part of the Convert's stores, and the crew was employed in getting them on board the Success. Master Richard Davy's log twice notes that on 20 March a sloop arrived with stores from the Convert, and that the crew took the goods on board.36 Davy's log for 21 March comments, "Came alongside a Schooner with the Convert's People and Luggage"; the officers of the Success were clearing them and a party was also transferring part of the same to a brig. Captain Roberts' log remarks that on Saturday, 22 March 1794, the Success took on board part of the Convert's masts and
Duplicate.

We, the undersigned, do hereby bind and oblige ourselves in the most solemn manner to use our utmost endeavour to save all the remaining parts, Provino, Yens together with all the materials of the wreck of the ship "Merce" which ran ashore from the bank, old copper and copper fastening, and to give a most faithful and just account of the same.

Given under our hands at Grand Cayman on this 19th day of March 1794

[Signatures]

Figure 66. Document of Obligation Signed by William Bodden Senior and Robert Knowles Clarke (courtesy of the Public Record Office, Kew).
Figure 67. Excerpt from the Master's Log of HMS Success Including 19 to 23 March 1794 (courtesy of the Public Record Office, Kew).
yards, and by 10:00 am weighed anchor and embarked for Jamaica.
Richard Davy's log specifies that part of the Convert's top masts and
yards were received. By noon the Success was 4 or 5 leagues southeast
of the east point of Grand Cayman.

On 27 March the Success was about 10 or 12 leagues from Jamaica,
and by 31 March the frigate was at anchor at Port Royal alongside the
Europa, Powerful, Iphigenia and Goelan. Captain Roberts' log for
Tuesday, 1 April 1794, remarks that the ship's company was employed
towing the Convert's masts and yards to shore, that 17 invalids were
sent to sick quarters on shore, and that at 8:00 am the signal was made
for a court martial to be held on Captain Lawford, "late Commander of
the Convert".37

The 29 March to 5 April 1794 issue of The Royal Gazette published
the arrivals on 30 and 31 March 1794, of HMS Success, Captain Roberts,
the brig Tamerlane, Gilbert, and the schooner Union, Bryan. These
vessels probably carried most of the stores salvaged from the Convert.
The periodical remarked, "Arrived his Majesty's Ship Success, Capt.
Roberts, from the Grand Caymanas. Capt. Lawford, and the other
Officers of the Convert frigate, came in the Success. The stores
belonging to the Convert frigate are on board the Tamerlane".38

On 4 April 1794, 24 men belonging to the Convert were discharged
from the Success into a new Royal Navy vessel, l'Actif.39 The French
corvette which had been captured by the Iphigenia had arrived in Port
Royal on 29 March. She was commissioned as a sloop of war with a
complement of 60 men.40 When the Success sailed from Kingston Harbor on
11 April, the former master of the Convert, Thomas Popplewell, acted as
the pilot who maneuvered her out to sea from the harbor.41

Commodore Ford appointed the next convoy from Jamaica for 20 May
1794. It was to be escorted by the 74-gun ship Powerful, Captain
William Albany Otway.42 At the end of May, The Royal Gazette reported
that the convoy had sailed under the escort of the Powerful, Hound and
Goelan. The 14 to 21 June 1794 issue of the Royal Gazette included a notice from Falmouth, dated 18 June:

Arrived in this harbour since our last, the schooner Sally and Betsey, from the Caymanas... We are sorry to learn, by the Sally and Betsey, that the ship Thomas, belonging to Mr. Gillies, of Montego-Bay, lost her main-mast in a heavy sea, and was towed into the Caymanas by the Hound sloop of war. She has since got one of the masts belonging to the Convert frigate, but was at the above place when the schooner sailed. The Hound, after towing her in, sailed to rejoin the convoy, who were lying to off the Caymanas three days. Thus, the salvage of the Convert continued.

The Shipwrecked Merchantmen

First Lieutenant Joseph Bradby Bogue arrived in Jamaica on Thursday, 27 February 1794, with news of the wrecks of HMS Convert and nine sail of her convoy (Figure 68). Two days later, on 1 March 1794, the names of the merchantmen were published in the Marine Intelligence section of The Royal Gazette: the William and Elizabeth, Goodwin; Moorhall, Nicholson; Ludlow, McLure; Britannia, Martin; Richard, Hughes; Nancy, Leary; Eagle, Ainsworth; Sally, Watson; and Fortune, Love. Six of these vessels had been recorded in the Gazette's 1 and 8 February 1794 Marine Intelligence list of departures from Port Royal. The weekly periodical had noted that the ship William and Elizabeth, Goodwin, was bound to Bluefields; the ships Britannia, Martin, Ludlow, McLure, and Nancy, Leary, were destined for London; the ship Moorhall, Nicholson, was going to Liverpool; and the brig Fortune, Love, was sailing for Bristol. The Richard, Hughes, Eagle, Ainsworth, and Sally, Watson, were probably not mentioned in the Gazette's list of departures because they had sailed from ports other than Port Royal to join the convoy.

In the late eighteenth century Lloyd's List, published in London, included data on all vessels reported by Lloyd's agents or for which intelligence had been received. Lloyd's List published the names of the nine shipwrecked merchantmen. The periodical first noted, on 18
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SHIP</th>
<th>CAPTAIN</th>
<th>BOUND TO</th>
<th>ARRIVED AT</th>
<th>1794 DATE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>HMS Convert</td>
<td>John Lawford</td>
<td>Bluefields</td>
<td>Wrecked/Grand Cayman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Great Britain</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>William and</td>
<td>Medmer Goodwin</td>
<td>Bluefields</td>
<td>Wrecked/Grand Cayman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Elizabeth (S)</td>
<td></td>
<td>London</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Britannia (S)</td>
<td>Daniel Martin</td>
<td>London</td>
<td>Wrecked/Grand Cayman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Ludlow (S)</td>
<td>David McClure</td>
<td>London</td>
<td>Wrecked/Grand Cayman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Nancy (S)</td>
<td>Leary (RG) Campbell (LL)</td>
<td>London</td>
<td>Wrecked/Grand Cayman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Moorhall (S)</td>
<td>Samuel Nicholson</td>
<td>Liverpool</td>
<td>Wrecked/Grand Cayman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Richard (Bg) (LR)</td>
<td>J. or Thomas Hughes</td>
<td>Belfast</td>
<td>Wrecked/Grand Cayman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Fortune (Bg) (RG)</td>
<td>Love (RG)</td>
<td>Bristol</td>
<td>Wrecked/Grand Cayman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Merryman (LL)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Eagle (S) (of Kingston)</td>
<td>Ainsworth</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Wrecked/Grand Cayman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Sally (Bg) (LL) (of Kingston)</td>
<td>Watson</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Wrecked/Grand Cayman</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**SHIPS THAT WAITED SEVERAL DAYS IN GRAND CAYMAN TO CARRY SURVIVORS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SHIP</th>
<th>CAPTAIN</th>
<th>BOUND TO</th>
<th>ARRIVED AT</th>
<th>1794 DATE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>11 Llandovery (S)</td>
<td>W. Adams</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Dover</td>
<td>10 Apr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 Mars (Bg)</td>
<td>King</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Dover</td>
<td>10 Apr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 Betsey and Susan (Bg)</td>
<td>Harvey</td>
<td>London</td>
<td>Dover</td>
<td>13 Apr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Gravesend</td>
<td>16 Apr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 Jane (S)</td>
<td>Gammell</td>
<td>Bristol</td>
<td>Havana departed 2/26/94</td>
<td>19 Apr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Bristol</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 Louisa (S)</td>
<td>Thomas Harrison</td>
<td>London</td>
<td>Havana departed 2/26/94</td>
<td>19 Apr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Plymouth</td>
<td>13 May</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 Alfred (S)</td>
<td>B. Bryan</td>
<td>London</td>
<td>Havana departed 2/26/94</td>
<td>23 Apr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Penzance</td>
<td>27 Apr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17 Nancy (S)</td>
<td>Robert Campbell</td>
<td>London</td>
<td>Havana departed 2/26/94</td>
<td>23 Apr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Gravesend</td>
<td>27 Apr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 Barbados (S)</td>
<td>Moore</td>
<td>Bluefields</td>
<td>Havana departed 2/26/94</td>
<td>23 Apr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>London</td>
<td>27 Apr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19 Countess of Galloway (Bg)</td>
<td>William Elgin</td>
<td>London</td>
<td>Havana departed 2/26/94</td>
<td>23 Apr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Penzance</td>
<td>27 Apr</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 68. A Reconstructed List of the Convert Convoy.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SHIP</th>
<th>CAPTAIN</th>
<th>BOUND TO</th>
<th>ARRIVED AT</th>
<th>1794 DATE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>20 Alice (S)</td>
<td>Bryan Smith</td>
<td>Liverpool</td>
<td>Havana</td>
<td>10 Apr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>departed 2/26/94</td>
<td>Liverpool</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21 Lion (S)</td>
<td>Finnan (RG)</td>
<td>Bluefields</td>
<td>Havana</td>
<td>23 Apr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Thomas King (RG &amp; LL)</td>
<td>London</td>
<td>departed 2/26/94</td>
<td>Gravesend</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>27 Apr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22 Susannah (Snow)</td>
<td>McIsaac</td>
<td>Bluefields</td>
<td>Left at Havana</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>London</td>
<td>leaky (LL 4/29/94)</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Captured and taken into Charleston (LL 6/13/94)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23 Diana (Snow)</td>
<td>Thompson</td>
<td>Deal</td>
<td></td>
<td>15 Mar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Gravesend</td>
<td></td>
<td>18 Mar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24 Arethusa (S)</td>
<td>Smith (RG)</td>
<td>Bluefields</td>
<td></td>
<td>19 Mar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dodds (RG &amp; LL)</td>
<td>Deal</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25 Grange</td>
<td>Hutchison</td>
<td></td>
<td>Dover</td>
<td>20 Mar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Gravesend</td>
<td>23 Mar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26 Thomas Henry (S)</td>
<td>Kirkpatrick (RG &amp; LL)</td>
<td>Bluefields</td>
<td>Cork</td>
<td>20 Mar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Fitzpatrick (LL) same?</td>
<td></td>
<td>Plymouth</td>
<td>29 Mar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kirkpatrick (LL) same?</td>
<td></td>
<td>Gravesend</td>
<td>25 May</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kirkpatrick (RG &amp; LL)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Gravesend</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27 Royal Charlotte (S)</td>
<td>Souter</td>
<td>Bluefields</td>
<td>Cowes</td>
<td>20 Mar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Portsmouth</td>
<td>27 Mar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Gravesend</td>
<td>2 Apr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28 Catherine (S)</td>
<td>Singleton (RG &amp; LL)</td>
<td>London</td>
<td>Dartmouth</td>
<td>20 Mar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sinclair (LL) same?</td>
<td></td>
<td>Gravesend</td>
<td>6 Apr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29 St. Thomas</td>
<td>Drew</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Bristol</td>
<td>20 Mar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 Gascoigne (S)</td>
<td>Bibbye</td>
<td>Bluefields</td>
<td>Liverpool</td>
<td>20 Mar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31 Betsey (Rg)</td>
<td>Richard Kent</td>
<td>Bluefields</td>
<td>Liverpool</td>
<td>20 Mar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32 Cyclops (S)</td>
<td>Patrick Fairweather</td>
<td>Liverpool</td>
<td>Liverpool</td>
<td>20 Mar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33 Amelia</td>
<td>Aires</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Portsmouth</td>
<td>21 Mar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Gravesend</td>
<td>2 Apr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34 Sally (Sarah (Snow))</td>
<td>Potter (LL) same?</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Falmouth</td>
<td>21 Mar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Potter (RG &amp; LL)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Gravesend</td>
<td>3 Apr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35 Martha (S)</td>
<td>Robert Brown</td>
<td>London</td>
<td>Gravesend</td>
<td>23 May</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Gravesend</td>
<td>24 May</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36 Leviathan</td>
<td>Warden</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Cork</td>
<td>24 Mar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Portsmouth</td>
<td>16 Apr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37 Nereus (S)</td>
<td>McIiver</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Scilly</td>
<td>26 Mar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Gravesend</td>
<td>2 Apr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38 Margaret</td>
<td>McConochy</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Dover</td>
<td>26 Apr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Gravesend</td>
<td>2 Apr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39 Eliza-Ann (S)</td>
<td>Hughes (RG)</td>
<td>Dublin</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>31 Mar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Marshall (LL)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Liverpool</td>
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Figure 68. (Continued)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SHIP</th>
<th>CAPTAIN</th>
<th>BOUND TO</th>
<th>ARRIVED AT</th>
<th>1794 DATE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>40 Hawke</td>
<td>Hill</td>
<td>Liverpool</td>
<td>31 Mar</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41 Prince</td>
<td>Gordon</td>
<td>Ramsgate (on shore)</td>
<td>1 Apr</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Gravesend</td>
<td>13 Apr</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42 Cowley (S)</td>
<td>Richard George</td>
<td>London</td>
<td>Dover</td>
<td>1 Apr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43 Lord Charlemont (S)</td>
<td>Richard Pinder</td>
<td>Bluefields</td>
<td>Liverpool</td>
<td>1 Apr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44 Lord Rodney</td>
<td>Johnson</td>
<td>Liverpool</td>
<td>1 Apr</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45 William</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Liverpool</td>
<td>1 Apr</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46 Norfolk</td>
<td>Jessup</td>
<td>Gravesend</td>
<td>3 Apr</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47 New Lioness</td>
<td>Ritchie</td>
<td>Deal</td>
<td>4 Apr</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48 Nile (Bg)</td>
<td>Bowden</td>
<td>London</td>
<td>Gravesend</td>
<td>6 Apr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49 Panny (S)</td>
<td>Withall</td>
<td>Gravesend</td>
<td>8 Apr</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50 St. Mary's Planter</td>
<td>Dixon</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Dover</td>
<td>9 Apr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51 Friends (Bg)</td>
<td>McDonald</td>
<td>Belfast</td>
<td>10 Apr</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52 Flora (Bg)</td>
<td>Davidson</td>
<td>London</td>
<td>Gravesend</td>
<td>2 May</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53 Elizabeth</td>
<td>Burton</td>
<td>Bantry Bay</td>
<td>-- Apr</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54 Atalanta (Bg)</td>
<td>Forbes</td>
<td>The Downs (from RG)</td>
<td>---</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55 Peggy (S)</td>
<td>Robertson</td>
<td>Bluefields</td>
<td>Captured by a French Frigate, taken into Brest (LL 5/20/94)</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56 Dispatch (Bg)</td>
<td>Pattison (RG)</td>
<td>London</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Walker (LL)</td>
<td>Lancaster</td>
<td>near Isle of Tory (in distress) (LL 4/8/94)</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57 Constant (Bg)</td>
<td>Miles</td>
<td>North Carolina</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58 Molly (Bg)</td>
<td>Willey</td>
<td>Baltimore</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59 Delaware (Sch)</td>
<td>Davis</td>
<td>Charleston</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*** This list of the Convoy convoy is compiled from data found in the 1793 (NLJ) and 1794 (PRO) volumes of The Royal Gazette, and the 1794 volumes of Lloyd's Register and Lloyd's List. All of the arrival information (except that for the Atalanta) is from Lloyd's List. This is a reconstructed list, based on the author's interpretation of available data. While it has been thoughtfully compiled, it should not be taken as definitive. Several vessels not mentioned here also arrived in Britain from Jamaica in late April and May 1794. There are some discrepancies in the data, such as an occasional different captain's name for a specific ship that sailed from Jamaica or that arrived in Britain from Jamaica. There are numerous possible reasons for differences in such data: 1) if the master of a vessel died during the voyage the ship would arrive with a different master; 2) a mistake in names or other information may have occurred on either side of the Atlantic; or 3) perhaps there were, in fact, two ships of the same name, and these were distinguished by the different masters names (a common practice). To aid the reader, sources of the conflicting data are given as: LL (Lloyd's List), LR (Lloyd's Register) or RG (Royal Gazette).

Figure 68. (Continued)
March 1794, "The Convert frigate, from Jamaica to England, with the Sally, ---, of Kingston, and 8 others of the Convoy, were lost on the 8th of February, on the Grand Camanus, two Days after Sailing". 48 Three days later Lloyd's List printed, "The Nancy, Campbell, and the Britannia, Martin, of Glasgow; the Eagle, Ainsworth, of Kingston; the Ludlow, McLure, and William and Elizabeth, Goodwin, all for London; the Richard, ---, for Belfast; the Moorhall, ---, for Liverpool; and a Brig, were lost on the Grand Camanus; with the Convert frigate, and Brig Sally of Kingston". 49 On 28 March 1794, Lloyd's List added, "The Fortune, Merryman, from Jamaica to Bristol, is lost on the Grand Camanus---Crew saved". 50 It is likely that the Fortune was the unnamed brig mentioned in the preceding brief of 21 March 1794.

In addition to news of the wrecks of the Convert and nine merchantmen being published in Jamaica and Britain, a brief account was also printed in America, in the Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser, on 21 March 1794. The information had been reported from Charleston, South Carolina on 25 February 1794:

Captain Manning of the Brig Eagle, who Arrived here Sunday last, in 18 days, from Kingston Jamaica, informing that he sailed in company with the Jamaica homeward-bound fleet, consisting of upwards of 50 sails, under convoy of the "INCONSTANT" of 44 guns, and that on the night of the 8th instant, the INCONSTANT, eight ships, and a brig, struck on the GRAND-COMMANDERS, and soon went to pieces, the cargoes were totally lost and a few men drown'd. A schooner belonging to Norfolk was also wrecked at the same time. 51

According to The Royal Gazette, the brig Eagle, Manning, had departed from Port Royal on 4 February 1794. The Gazette does not, however, list a schooner sailing for Norfolk around this time (although the schooner Delaware, Davis, sailed for Charleston). 52 Perhaps additional research in American archives will clarify whether ten or eleven ships actually wrecked in Grand Cayman on 8 February 1794.

The Royal Gazette and Lloyd's List agree that the following seven merchantmen of the Convert convoy wrecked in Grand Cayman: the William and Elizabeth, Goodwin; Moorhall, Nicholson; Ludlow, McLure; Britannia,
Martin; Richard, Hughes; Eagle, Ainsworth; and Sally, Watson. There is, however, some conflicting data regarding the other two vessels. Both periodicals agree that a ship called Nancy wrecked in Grand Cayman. The Royal Gazette notes that her master’s name was Leary while Lloyd’s List suggests that the master’s name was Campbell. The Gazette had listed both the Nancy, Campbell, and the Nancy, Leary, as having sailed from Port Royal for London. And it is known that a ship called Nancy, with a master named Campbell, was one of nine merchantmen that rendezvoused at George Town after the shipwreck episode to take on board survivors for her voyage to Britain. Therefore, it appears that the ship Nancy, Leary, wrecked. Another discrepancy between the sources concerns the Fortune. The Royal Gazette lists the captain’s name as Love, but Lloyd’s List gives the captain’s name as Merryman. This difference has not been resolved by current research, but both periodicals agree that the Fortune was bound to Bristol.

Another incongruity pertains to the number of shipwrecked vessels that were brigs. Captain Lawford, in his letter of 20 February 1794 to Commodore Ford, wrote that seven ships and two brigs wrecked with the Convert. The Royal Gazette describes the Fortune as a brig, and according to Lloyd’s List the Sally was a brig. The bona fide ship register, Lloyd’s Register, however, suggests that the Richard, Hughes, of Belfast was also a brig. If The Royal Gazette and Lloyd’s List are correct in calling the Fortune and the Sally brigs, then the Wreck of the Ten Sail may have involved six ships and three brigs rather than seven ships and two brigs, as reported by the Convert’s captain. Future archival and archaeological research may resolve this discrepancy.

William and Elizabeth

The present study has revealed specific information about the merchantmen of the Wreck of the Ten Sail. The most detailed data regards the William and Elizabeth, Goodwin. An advertisement dated 6
July 1793, that appears in numerous issues of *The Royal Gazette*, suggests that the ship had been present in Jamaica since the summer of 1793. According to the ad, a wide assortment of goods shipped from Europe in the *William and Elizabeth* and the *Jamaica Planter* from London, and in the *Jaurett* from Bristol, were for sale: cotton and linen fabrics, china, saddlery, harnesses, shoes, boots, ladies hats, telescopes, porter (a dark ale), pipes, sail canvas, copper kettles, garden hoes among other tools, gunpowder, shot, military drums, sheet and pig lead, corn and coffee mills, iron pots and pans, scales and weights, grindstones, iron blocks with brass sheaves, oils and paints, nails, as well as other articles of ironmongery, ship chandlery, and plantation stores. This information about imports suggests that the *William and Elizabeth* was involved in a direct two-way trade between Britain and the West Indies, rather than in the infamous triangular trade via Africa.

Descriptive facts about the *William and Elizabeth* are found in the 1794 volume of *Lloyd's Register of Shipping*. In the late eighteenth century, inclusion of a ship in *Lloyd's Register* did not necessarily mean that the vessel was insured at Lloyd's, but it did signify that a surveyor, retained by Lloyd's, had carried out a seaworthy inspection of the vessel. Primary data were published in the annual Register in nine columns, while updates on the classification of vessels were noted in a tenth column. Column one in *Lloyd's Register* for 1794 reveals that the *William and Elizabeth* was rigged as a ship and was last sheathed in metal in 1788. The second column gives the master's name as Goodwin. According to columns three, four and five, the vessel was 312 tons and was built in the "River" in 1786. Column six shows her owner as D. Shea & Company, while column seven suggests a 17 foot draft when loaded. The eighth column shows the vessel's surveying port as London and the port to which she was destined as Jamaica. The ninth column discloses the *William and Elizabeth*'s
classification as Al in 1791."

Additional information about the William and Elizabeth exists in documents regarding merchantmen registered in London. An index to the register books documents that the William and Elizabeth received registration No. 14 on 19 January 1792. The vessel was 376 tons and her master was Medmer Goodwin. The Register of Shipping, London Foreign Trade 1790-1793, contains the specific details. The William and Elizabeth was owned by Alexander Ecton of Charlotte Street, Bloomsbury, merchant; Samuel Dixon of Walworth in Surrey, broker; and Medmer Goodwin of Stepney Causeway, mariner; subscribing owners with Daniel Shea of Ely Place, Holborn; Richard Shea and Richard Breadhurst of Jamaica, merchants; John Mangles and James Mangles of Wapping, ship chandlers; Joseph Brown of Stepney Causeway, sailmaker; John Thompson of Sun Tavern, Fields, ropemaker; and John Dudman of Deptford in Kent, shipbuilder. The ship's surveying officer was listed as John Jarratt of Sutton & Hassard. The William and Elizabeth was British-built at Deptford in Kent in 1786. The register notes that the ship had three decks and a height between decks of 5 feet and 6 inches. There were three masts. The vessel's extreme length aloft was 114 feet and 8 inches, while the extreme breadth at the broadest part, above the main wales was 29 feet and 6.5 inches. Her tonnage is listed as 375 tons (although the index to this register lists it as 376 tons). The William and Elizabeth was a square-sterned ship with a quarter deck, pierced for 20 guns. The merchantman had a quarter gallery and a figurehead of Mercury. An annotation to this register entry records that the William and Elizabeth was supposed lost.

The William and Elizabeth had two earlier registrations that had been cancelled before the 1792 registration. On 16 February 1791 the ship had been registered, No. 52, in the transcripts (Figure 69). At this time the William and Elizabeth had the same owners and master as in 1792, but the vessel may have had some physical differences. The
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>N°</th>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Ship of Vessel's Name</th>
<th>Of what Place</th>
<th>Master's Name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td>London</td>
<td>Fortitude</td>
<td>London</td>
<td>William Wright</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51</td>
<td>Africa</td>
<td>Africa</td>
<td>D.</td>
<td>John N.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>D.</td>
<td>W.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 69. Excerpt from the Register of Shipping, London Foreign Trade 1790-93, Showing Part of the Transcript [No.52] for the William and Elizabeth (courtesy of the Public Record Office, Kew).
register for 1791 notes that the William and Elizabeth had two decks, rather than the three decks referenced in 1792. Nonetheless, the 5 foot and 6 inch space between decks listed in 1791 is identical to that in the later registration. It is unclear whether this signifies that an error was made in transcribing information from one transcript to the next, or whether an actual modification was made in the structure of the ship. The other primary features were the same as those listed in 1792. In the 1791 registration the William and Elizabeth is described as a frigate-built ship with quarter deck and forecastle.\textsuperscript{44}

The earliest registration for the William and Elizabeth, transcript No. 85, was dated 6 February 1787. The registers suggest that in 1787 the ship's principal dimensions and features were comparable to those recorded in 1791. At the time of the two registrations, however, the vessel had different masters and several different people owned shares. The original registration shows that the William and Elizabeth was built by John Dudman in Deptford and that she was launched on 7 November 1786.\textsuperscript{45}

Moorhall

The Moorhall, Nicholson, arrived in Port Royal from Liverpool on 18 December 1793. The commodities carried from Europe in this ship were listed in an 18 December notice which immediately appeared in The Royal Gazette, and in subsequent issues. Imports included flour, hams, cheese, potatoes and 50 tons of coals in bulk. An advertisement, previously presented in Chapter VI, describes the Moorhall, Nicholson, as a ship of 150 tons; it reveals that the vessel mounted ten double-fortified 4-pounders with small arms and men answerable. The Moorhall was intended to sail for Liverpool on 20 January 1794 with the convoy.\textsuperscript{46}

Lloyd's Register also includes the ship Moore Hall. Although the name is spelled Moore Hall rather than Moorhall, and the master's name is given as S. Martin instead of Samuel Nicholson, archival data suggests that it is the same merchantman that wrecked in Grand Cayman.
Lloyd's Register describes the Moore Hall as a ship-rigged vessel of 149 tons that was last sheathed with metal in 1791. Built in Liverpool in 1791, the ship had a single deck with beams, a 13 foot draft when loaded, and was said to be armed with eight 4-pounders. The ship's surveying port was Liverpool while the destined port was Jamaica. The Moore Hall was owned by Hayhurst, and the vessel's class was rated A by Lloyd's surveyors.67

A register of passes (entitling ships to trade) provides evidence that the Moorehall, Nicholson, in The Royal Gazette is the same ship as the Moore Hall, Martin, listed in Lloyd's Register. The register documents that the Moore Hall received pass No. 4072 on 10 September 1793. She was a British-built, ship-rigged vessel of 149 tons, mounting 10 guns. The Moore Hall's home port was Liverpool, her master was identified as Samuel Nicholson, and the crew comprised 24 British men. At the time the pass was granted the ship was bound for Jamaica.68

Ludlow

No information was found in Lloyd's Register regarding the Ludlow, McLure.69 The primary data, so far discovered, are from The Royal Gazette. An advertisement dated 30 December 1793, and first noted in Chapter VI, suggests that the Ludlow, David McLure, master, was a new vessel on her maiden voyage. Thus, it seems that the merchantman was plantation-built in Jamaica. The ad reveals that the ship planned to sail with the first convoy for London. The Ludlow loaded at Port Morant on the north coast of Jamaica. She sailed to Port Royal, arriving on 19 January 1794, to take on freight and passengers before departing with the Convert convoy.70

Britannia

The Royal Gazette noted the arrival in Port Royal, on 28 November 1793, of the ship Britannia, Martin, from Glasgow. The Britannia had arrived with 16 passengers on board, including, "Mess. Hay, Stupart,
Allardyce, Brown, Thomson, Reid; and ten steerage passengers".71

Imports from Europe in this vessel and in the Martha, Brown, are listed in a 5 December 1793 notice that appeared in the 30 November to 7 December Gazette (and subsequent issues). Merchandise offered for sale included particular madeira wine (by the pipe, hogshead or quarter-cask), puncheons of hams, baskets of cheese, hogsheads of porter, cases of mustard, boxes of soap, puncheons of Mrs. Allan's claret, cases of pickles, boxes of perfumery, osnaburghs (heavy, course cottons in a plain weave), checks and Irish linens. An advertisement also appeared in the referenced issue of the periodical. It publicized that the Britannia, Daniel Martin, master, would take on freight and passengers and would positively sail with the 20 January 1794 convoy for London. As mentioned in Chapter VI, the ship was described as a, "stout fast-sailing vessel, mounting Eight Carriage-Guns and Eight Swivels".72

Lloyd's Register records that the Britannia was a 206 ton, ship-rigged vessel, sheathed with metal. The ship had a draft of 14 feet when loaded. The Britannia was built in Scotland in 1788, owned by McNeil & Company, and her master was D. Martin. The vessel's surveying port was Greenock, Scotland, while her destined port was recorded as New York. The Britannia's rating by Lloyd's was A1.73

Other details about the Britannia are recorded in a register of passes (entitling ships to trade). On 28 January 1793, the merchantman was issued pass No. 3198. The register notes that the Britannia was a British-built ship of 205 tons, of Greenock. Her master was Daniel Martin. Ten British men and three foreign men were employed on board the vessel. At the time the Britannia's pass was issued she was bound for New York.74

Daniel Martin, the master of the Britannia, alone among the masters of the nine shipwrecked merchantmen, perished in the confusion that followed the wrecking of his ship on 8 February 1794 in Grand Cayman. It is possible that additional archival data regarding this
captain and his ship Britannia exists in the Scottish Record Office in Edinburgh.  

Richard

The Royal Gazette recorded the arrival in Port Royal, on 30 November 1793, of the ship Richard, Hughes, from Cork. The vessel had arrived two days before the Royal Navy frigates Success and Magicienne and the remainder of the West Indian convoy from Britain. Passengers who arrived in Jamaica on board the Richard included, "Mr. Higginson, Mr. Fisher, and Mr. Elder".  

Although The Royal Gazette listed the Richard, Hughes, as a ship, Lloyd’s List suggests that the Richard, Hughes, was a brig. According to Lloyd’s List the master of the Richard was J. Hughes. The 176 ton vessel had a single deck with beams, was last sheathed with metal in 1792, and had a draft of 13 feet when loaded. The Richard was built in Hull in 1776, but had received a thorough repair in both 1782 and 1792. Owned by Scott & Company, the brig’s surveying port was Belfast and the destined port was Jamaica. The Richard, which received an E1 rating from Lloyd’s, was noted as a "Constant Trader".  

The Richard is also listed in a register of foreign passes that entitled it to trade. On 7 April 1791, the British-built vessel received pass No. 1735. The register records that the brig was 176 tons and that her master was Thomas Hughes (Lloyd’s Register suggests J. Hughes). The Richard’s home port was Belfast in Ireland, and her crew consisted of 11 British men. When the brig’s pass was issued in 1791 she was bound for Jamaica. Thus, the Richard probably carried on trade regularly with the British West Indian colony.  

Nancy, Eagle, Sally and Fortune

The sources consulted for the four ships and one brig described above were also examined for information about the Nancy, Leary, Eagle, Wilsonworth, Sally, Watson, and the Fortune, Love or Merryman. Numerous
merchantmen were identified with the referenced names, particularly Nancy and Sally, but also Eagle and Fortune. None of these vessels, however, had the correct masters. Thus, none could be positively identified as the ships or brigs that wrecked in Grand Cayman.

*Lloyd's List*, mentioned earlier in this section, remarks that the brig Sally, ---, and Eagle, Ainsworth, were of Kingston. These merchantmen may have been British-built or plantation-built vessels, but current research suggests that both were registered in Jamaica.80 The Royal Gazette and Lloyd's List both note that the brig Fortune was bound to Bristol, although they disagree on the master's name. Finally, The Royal Gazette remarks that the Nancy, Leary, was bound for London. Perhaps knowledge of the ports with which these ships and brigs were associated will enable future research to positively identify them in the records.

Salvage Efforts

Contemporary reports received in Jamaica from the Cayman Islands in 1794 suggest that the nine luckless merchantmen of the Wreck of the Ten Sail were partially salvaged, but also that they were quickly destroyed by natural forces. The Royal Gazette's Marine Intelligence reported the arrival in Port Royal of the sloop Lark, Freeman, on 23 March 1794, and the brig Surprise, Wylie, on 28 March from the Caymanas. The 22 to 29 March 1794 Gazette also remarked, "If we may credit the last accounts from the Caymanas, the prospect of saving much from the vessels wrecked there is very indifferent. The continued high winds and the peculiar situation on which the ships struck, render the approach extremely dangerous".81

The Royal Gazette, for 29 March to 5 April 1794, listed the arrival in Port Royal, on 29 March, of the sloop Marlborough, Ball, from Grand Caymanas. In the same issue a notice of 29 March from Montego Bay reported, "Wednesday evening the sloop Mercury, Babb, returned from the Grand Caymanas, which he left at noon the 21st inst."
Capt. Babb informs, that the vessels unfortunately lost at that island, are almost all beat to pieces; the produce saved amounts to only about 50 hogsheads of sugar, 150 puncheons of rum, 600 bags of piemento, 100 bags of cotton, much damaged, and some tons of wood".62

Although additional reports about the shipwrecks did not appear in The Royal Gazette, in the following months sea traffic continued between Grand Cayman and Jamaica. This can probably be attributed to continued salvage activities associated with the Wreck of the Ten Sail. On 6 April 1794, the sloops Sea-Flower, Russell, and Alert, Hay, arrived in Port Royal from the Caymanas. The schooner Little Ann, Smith, from Caymanas also arrived in Jamaica on 10 April.63 The sloop Sea-Flower, Russell, sailed from Port Royal for the Caymanas on 21 April 1794, and the following day the sloop Industry, Wright, arrived in Port Royal from Grand Caymanas.64 On 2 May 1794, the schooner Friendship, Delisser, arrived in Port Royal from Grand Caymanas.65 The sloop Fly, Dixon, departed Jamaica for the Caymanas on 11 May as did the sloop Industry, Wright, on 14 May.66 On 27 May the sloop Sea-Flower, Russell, arrived back in Port Royal from Caymanas and on 4 June the same sloop embarked again for Grand Caymanas.67 News reported on 18 June, from the Jamaican port of Falmouth, included the arrival in that harbor of the schooner Sally and Betsey from the Caymanas.68 On 24 June 1794, the sloop Fly, Dixon, arrived at Port Royal from Grand Caymanas.69

It appears that salvage activities continued on the shipwrecked merchantmen for months after The Royal Gazette reported that little of the cargoes would be saved. Therefore, it is likely that efforts were also made to recover guns and equipment from the ships and brigs of the Wreck of the Ten Sail.

The Remainder of the Convoy

On 9 February 1794, the day following the shipwreck calamity, Captain Lawford sent a message, via a canoe, to the few merchantmen that waited in the offing at the east end of Grand Cayman. As detailed
earlier in this chapter, he prevailed upon the masters of these vessels to assemble at the Hogsties on the west end of the island. The ships 
Louisa, Harrison, Alfred, Bryan, Llandovery, Adams, Nancy, Campbell, Barbados, Moore, Jane, Gammell, and the brigs Betsey and Susan, Harvey, Countess of Galloway, Elgin, and Mars, King, responded to his request (Figure 68, p. 219).  

Captain Lawford distributed a circular to the masters of these nine merchantmen, on 13 February 1794, to explain the distressed situation of the shipwreck victims. He asked that each ship take on board as many survivors as could possibly be accommodated, and gave the masters copies of a letter addressed to the Governor of Havana requesting his help in point of provisions.

*Lloyd's Register* identifies several of the referenced merchantmen. The Alfred, Bryan, was a 400-ton ship, built in Philadelphia in 1776. The vessel's draft was 16 feet. In 1791 the Alfred underwent a "good repair" in London and was sheathed with metal. The *Louisa*, Harrison, was built in 1784 and sheathed in 1792. The 329-ton ship had a 16 foot draft. The *Llandovery*, Adams, was built on the Thames River in 1777. She was 287 tons with a draft of 15 feet. The *Llandovery* underwent a good repair in 1787 and was sheathed in 1792. London was the surveying port for the ships Alfred, Louisa, and Llandovery. The Jane, Gammell, was a 201-ton ship that was built in Newfoundland in 1783. The vessel received repairs in 1791, was copper sheathed, and had a draft of 14 feet. Liverpool was the Jane's surveying port.

Additional details appear in documents regarding the Llandovery's registry in London on 25 June 1793. The register shows that her master was William Adams. The 289-ton ship, with 3 masts, had 2 decks with a height between them of 5 feet and 9 inches. The vessel's length was 100 feet and breadth 26 feet and 10 inches. The *Llandovery* was a square-sterned ship with a quarter deck and quarter gallery and was pierced for ten guns.
In the register of passes entitling ships to trade, three of the
rescuing merchantmen are listed. A pass granted to the Louisa in
February 1793 describes her as a British-built ship of 323 tons. The
vessel's captain was Thomas Harrison and her home port was London. The
Louisa carried two guns, employed 15 British men and 5 foreign men, and
was bound for Jamaica. The Nancy is also identified by a pass issued
in April 1793 before a voyage to Jamaica. The home port of the
British-built ship was Greenock and her master was Robert Campbell.
The vessel was 103 tons and carried 8 guns. The Nancy's crew comprised
11 British men and 3 foreign men. The brig Countess of Galloway is
also listed in the register of passes, but the pass was granted in June
1794, after her return to Britain. At the time of issue, the brig was
bound to America. The 103-ton, British-built vessel was of Wigton in
Scotland. The master of the Countess of Galloway was William Elgin,
and the brig's crew consisted of 2 British men and 5 foreign men.94

According to The Royal Gazette, the small convoy departed Grand
Cayman on 13 February 1794 with, "Bryan, in the Alfred, to act as
Commodore".95 Although the nine merchantmen intended to put into Havana
for supplies, it appears that one, and perhaps three of the vessels did
not do so. On 29 March 1794, the Marine Intelligence section of The
Royal Gazette reported: "An American vessel is arrived at St. Ann's,
which fell in with, and supplied with some articles of provisions, in
the Gulph Stream, the ship Llandovery, Adams, one of the ships under
the convoy of the Convert, and of the ten that sailed from the Caymanas
for the Havannah, but which were afterwards separated by a violent gale
of wind".96 The Gazette's Marine Intelligence, dated 5 April 1794,
clarifies the earlier report with a 29 March statement from Montego
Bay: "The sloop Sally, Miner, from North-Carolina, which arrived at
Port Antonio, last Tuesday fe'mnight, in lat. 28¼ spoke the ship
Llandovery, Adams, one of the January fleet, short of provisions; Capt.
Miner supplied Capt. Adams with what provisions he could spare".97
Thus, a winter storm dispersed the nine-ship convoy and caused the Llandovery to bypass Havana; it is also probable that two brigs were separated from the others and missed the Spanish port. It is unclear whether these merchantmen rejoined one another, but all three vessels safely reached Britain. Lloyd's List records the arrival in Dover on 10 April 1794 of the ship Llandovery, Adams, and the brig Mars, King. By 13 April the brig Betsey and Susan, Harvey, also reached Dover. The Mars sailed on to the Thames River port of Gravesend, arriving on 13 April, as did the Betsey and Susan which arrived three days later.98

The remaining six merchantmen were successful in making Havana, as was the ship Lion, King. Lloyd's List notes, "Captain Souter, of the Royal Charlotte, arrived at the Cowes from Jamaica, parted the Lion off the Havannah, which Place he intended to put into".99 It is possible that on the day of the shipwrecks in Grand Cayman, survivors were taken on board the Lion, or else the vessel received shipwreck victims that earlier had been put on board the other rescue vessels. As mentioned in Chapter VI, an ad in The Royal Gazette suggests that the Lion was, "A fast-sailing copper-sheathed ship, mounting 18 double-fortified Four Pounders".100 The Gazette's Marine Intelligence, dated 12 April 1794, remarks, "Several ships of the late unfortunate fleet from this island had reached the Havannah, but there being no opportunity of a Spanish convoy at the time, they proceeded on their voyage. It is said that the Governor handsomely offered them the protection of a ship of the line, if they would wait ten days, which they declined".101 No doubt the Spanish Governor of Havana provided the British merchantmen with provisions.

The next report about the merchantmen, that sailed via Havana, appeared in Lloyd's List on 11 April 1794: "The Alice, Smith, arrived at Liverpool, from Jamaica; sailed from the Havannah on the 26th of February, in Company with the Alfred, Bryan; Louisa, Harrison; Barbadoes, Moore; Lion, King; Countess of Galloway, Elgin; and Nancy,
Campbell; for London. Jane, Gammell, for Bristol; and Hero, Galbreath, for Liverpool; and parted with them in Lat. 30.25. Long. 70.52." The Alice, Smith, also called at Havana and may have carried shipwreck survivors, but this vessel did not sail in convoy with the others. As noted in Chapter VI, the Alice was a 220-ton ship, advertised to be a fastsailer mounting six carriage guns.\(^{102}\) It is unclear whether the Hero, Galbreath, was one of the Convert convoy. This vessel was not listed among the late January and early February departures from Jamaica, printed in The Royal Gazette, and was not among arrivals in Britain, through 30 May 1794, recorded in Lloyd's List.

The remaining seven merchantmen reached Great Britain unharmed. The Jane, Gammell, arrived in Bristol and the Louisa, Harrison, appeared in Plymouth on 19 April 1794. These two ships had sailed in convoy with the others after leaving Havana, but they probably sprang out ahead of the small fleet upon nearing home. The Alfred, Bryan, Nancy, Campbell, Barbados, Moore, Countess of Galloway, Elgin, and Lion, King together sailed into Penzance, on the southwest coast of Britain, on 23 April 1794; all voyaged on to the London port of Gravesend, arriving on 27 April 1794.\(^{103}\) The Louisa also eventually sailed into the Thames River and reached Gravesend on 13 May 1794.\(^{104}\)

A reconstructed list of the Convert convoy appears earlier in this chapter (Figure 68, pp. 219-221). It documents the arrivals in Britain, according to Lloyd's List, of the merchantmen that departed Jamaica with the fleet. (The reader is referred to this compilation of data for details about all the convoy vessels, including those that were not discussed above.)

Of particular interest regarding the Convert convoy, several members did not reach Britain. Lloyd's List, on 29 April 1794, printed: "The Susannah, McIsaac, from Jamaica to London, was left at the Havannah leaky".\(^{105}\) The Royal Gazette's departure list called the Susannah a snow, but one wonders if perhaps she was the leaky vessel
that delayed the fleet, described by Captain Lawford as a schooner. Regardless, the luck of this merchantman did not improve. The Royal Gazette's Marine Intelligence, dated 21 June 1794, noted "On the 28th of April arrived at Charleston, the brig Susannah of this port, taken by the Sans Pareille French Privateer. The Susannah was last from the Havanna". Lloyd's List reported, "The Susannah, McIsaac, from Jamaica and Havannah to London, is taken and carried into Charleston". On the other side of the Atlantic, another prize was taken for France. Lloyd's List reported, "The Peggy, Robertson, from Jamaica to London, is taken by a French Frigate, and carried into Brest". The Peggy was an American-built, ship-rigged vessel of 171 tons from Greenock, and her master was William Robertson. The ship was armed with 6 guns and her crew comprised 9 British men and 2 foreign men. When the Peggy received a pass to trade in May 1793, she was bound to Barbados.

The Royal Gazette also noted the arrivals, in Britain, of ships from the Convert convoy. A few dates differ slightly from those reported in Lloyd's List, but not significantly. The 10 May to 17 May 1794 Royal Gazette reported:

The following ships of the dispersed West India fleet are arrived in the Downs: - the Martha, Brown; the Arethusa, Dodds; and the Atalanta, Forbes. The Royal Charlotte, Souter, is also arrived at Cowes. The Arethusa parted with the Amelia in lat.47.30 long.13.20 west, and presently afterwards fell in with four large French ships of war, one of which chased her, but she escaped by steering a different course, in very hazy weather. The next day, she fell in with the Betsey of Providence, an American ship, that had been chased by one of the above men of war, two of which are 44 gun frigates. They had with them two Dutch prizes.

The Gazette's 31 May 1794 Marine Intelligence listed the following arrivals in Britain from Jamaica: "The Jane, Gammell; St. Thomas, Drew; Betsey, Kent; Amelia, Aires; Thomas Henry, Kirkpatrick; Catherine, Singleton; Cowley, George; Prince, Gordon; Norfolk, Jessup; Sarah, Potter; New Lioness, Ritchie. The Prince, Gordon, from this island, is arrived at Ramsgate, and on shore there". The Marine
Intelligence, dated 14 June, noted, "The Leviathan, Warden, from this island, arrived at London the 18th of April, and the Betsey and Susan, Harvey, on the 15th". On 28 June, the Marine Intelligence revealed, "The Leviathan, Warden, from this island, arrived at Gravesend the 21st of April. The Lyon, King; Alfred, Bryan; Barbadoes, Moyre; Nancy, Campbell; and Countess of Galway, Elgin; from this island, are arrived at Penzance".

The Court Martial of Captain John Lawford

In his letter of 3 April 1794 to the Secretary of the Admiralty, John Ford informed Philip Stephens, "His Majesty's Ship Success arriving at Port Royal from the Caymanas on the 30th of March with Captain Lawford, the Officers, & part of the Company of the Convert, I immediately gave Directions for a Court Martial to be assembled in order to try them for the Loss of that Ship, and enclose herewith a Copy of the Sentence of the Court upon that occasion, and of the Orders Captain Lawford was under". According to naval historian Brian Lavery, a court martial was standard for the loss of any naval ship, and all officers and crew were tried. The court martial would be convened by the commander in chief on the station and thus he could not serve on the court. The case would be tried by not less than five, nor more than 13 captains or admirals, the second in command on the station usually presiding. The person on trial was allowed counsel and the court was advised on legal matters by the judge advocate. The court's judgment was arrived at by vote.

The Trial

On 30 March 1794 John Ford, Commodore and Commander in Chief of His Majesty's Ships and Vessels at Jamaica, ordered a court martial to enquire into the conduct of Captain John Lawford, the officers and company of His Majesty's late Ship Convert at the time the frigate and nine ships of her convoy wrecked, on 8 February 1794, on the reefs of
Grand Cayman while proceeding to Great Britain "agreeably to the Order of the said Commander in Chief, and to Try them for the same Accordingly".

The Court Martial was held on board HMS Success on 1 April 1794 (Figure 70). (See Appendix F for a complete transcript of the court martial of Captain John Lawford, the Officers and Company of HMS Convert.) Captain Francis Roberts of the Success, the senior captain on the Jamaica station, presided. Other members of the court included the captains of the four vessels found at anchor in the harbor at Port Royal when the Success arrived from Grand Cayman: Patrick Sinclair of the Iphigenia, William Albany Otway of the Powerful, George Gregory of the Europa, and George H. Stephens of the Goelan. Judge Advocate R. Holmes was present.

Captain Lawford and the officers and company of the Convert who were present in Jamaica were brought into court and Commodore Ford's 30 March 1794 order that the court martial be held was read. Before the trial, the members of the court and the judge advocate took oaths as required by an act of Parliament entitled, "an Act for amending, explaining, and reducing into one Act of Parliament, the Laws relating to the Government of His Majestys Ships, Vessels, and forces by Sea".

At that point, John Lawford's 20 February 1794 letter from Grand Cayman, describing the shipwreck episode to John Ford, was read to the court. (This letter was extensively paraphrased and quoted in the first two sections of the present chapter, and will not be repeated here.) Next, Commodore Ford's 5 January 1794 orders to Captain Lawford to escort the convoy to Britain were read to the court. (Since these orders were quoted in full in Chapter VI (p.156), they also will not be reiterated here.)

After the referenced documents were admitted as evidence, the court asked Captain Lawford if he had charges to make against any of the Convert's officers or crew regarding the loss of the frigate, or
The Court, martial appointed under the authority of the
His Majesty's ship 'Sarissa' in Port Royal Harbour, Jamaica,
on the 5th day of 1st April 1794.

Present

Captain Fox, Robert Commandant of the Majesty's
Ship 'Sarissa', and Acting Captain of the Majesty's ship
and Yacht in Port Royal Harbour, Jamaica, President.

Captains

Capt. Sinclair —— Mr. Myfroy
Capt. Gregory —— Mr. St. Stephens

The Court in pursuance of an order from
His Lordship, Commandant in chief of the Majesty's
Ship 'Sarissa' and Yacht, hereby, and to be employed at sea,
at Jamaica, and desirable, the 5th April, proceeded to
proceed into the conduct of Captain John Lawford
Commander of his Majesty's late ship 'Sarissa'.

Whereof the officers and company of the said
ship as were aboard her at the time she was
sunked, together with some of the crew, and
officers of the said ship, and the Grand
Yardman and the Master of the said ship,
who, on the 8th day of February last, in
proceeding to give Britain according to the terms
of the said Commander in chief, violated them for
the same accordingly: the Court being thoroughly

Figure 70. Excerpt from the Court Martial of Captain John Lawford
(courtesy of the Public Record Office, Kew.)
their later conduct. He had none. Subsequently five of the Convert's officers were brought before the court for questioning.

First admitted and sworn was First Lieutenant Bogue. The court asked that he describe the circumstances regarding the Convert from the time that the convoy departed Jamaica to the time the frigate went ashore in Grand Cayman. He explained that on 6 February 1794, the convoy sailed from the west end of Jamaica. They steered WNW until evening and then furled the Convert's sails so as not to outsail the "bad sailing vessels". When his watch began at 8:00 am on 7 February, the frigate was assisting a leaky schooner (that had made a distress signal) and the convoy was standing by. At noon the convoy again made sail. At 1:00 pm the Convert sailed ahead of the fleet to make the land (Grand Cayman), but at 2:30 pm two guns were fired from behind and Lawford ordered that the hands be turned up and that the frigate stand back into the fleet. The distress signal had been fired by the same leaky schooner that feared that the Convert would leave it. The Convert led the fleet, steering WNW until 5:45 pm at which time her sails were furled and the course altered to the West. This action was to show the convoy the intended course and the sail to carry for the night (a signal was also made). In the next hours the Convert fired some swivels at a few merchantmen that were running ahead of her, but little more happened before 8:00 pm when Lieutenant Bogue was relieved. At 2:30 am, on 8 February 1794, he was awakened and told there was firing ahead. He arrived on deck and saw the sails being hoisted. The helm was ordered "to be put a port, in order to haul to the Northward", when the master called out from forward "a ship ahead almost close to us". The merchant ship on the other tack, "drove athwart hawse and carried away our Jibb Boom". It took ten minutes to get clear of the other vessel. As the Convert was maneuvering to stand to the Northward, the merchantman again fell on board the starboard bow and "paid the Ship off before the Wind". Before they could extricate
themselves, the Convert struck while the master was forward clearing anchors and sounding. The sails were furled and the crew was taking down the top gallant yards and masts when the carpenter reported a leak. In ten minutes the water was up to the orlop deck. The ship had bilged and could not be saved. The boats were hoisted out and all but five people were, with great difficulty, saved.

First Lieutenant Bogue was then questioned by Captain Lawford. His answers reveal that the master took an observation at noon on 7 February with a sextant. The master had acquainted him, as officer of the watch, when the sun was up. The observation was a good one. During the voyage, signals were continuously made for the sternmost ships to make more sail and for the headmost vessels to shorten sail and keep to their stations, but they paid little attention. A 6-pounder was moved from the quarter deck to the forecastle in order to fire shots to make them comply. Bogue believed that all efforts had been made to save the Convert. He could not say if there was any error in the compasses used on board the Convert. When they shortened sail the second time, Jamaica was out of sight, and they reckoned that they were within 18 leagues of the Caymans (by the master's reckoning). On 7 February, during Bogue's watch between 6:00 pm to 8:00 pm, the Convert was steered West, and after that time he did not know her course. He was relieved by Second Lieutenant Earnshaw. Signal guns and signal lights were always kept in readiness in case they were needed in the night. At 8:00 pm, when Bogue was relieved, all but one or two vessels were astern, and those were falling back because guns had been fired at them. The convoy was generally well collected. On 7 February at 8:00 pm when Bogue was relieved the only order he had to deliver to Lieutenant Earnshaw was to steer West.

Second Lieutenant William Earnshaw was admitted and sworn. The court asked him to relate the circumstances of the loss of the Convert from departing Jamaica to the wrecking. He was not on deck when the
convoy left Jamaica. They sailed between 12:00 noon and 1:00 pm on 6 February. They steered W by N 45° N until 11:00 and 12:00 noon on 7 February, at which time the Convert brought to, to wait for the convoy. At 6:00 pm they bore up and steered west. Earnshaw's first watch began at 8:00 pm on 7 February. Captain Lawford, particularly and with great anxiety, delivered orders to the Second Lieutenant at 10:00 pm, to keep ahead of the convoy, to keep the merchantmen in their stations, to keep a commanding view of the fleet and to be particular about the course that was steered. All of this was done. Lawford also told Earnshaw that when he was relieved by the master he should ask him to "prick off the run of the Ship upon the Chart" from the departure in Jamaica, to be certain that it was correct, and to work the back bearings and distance from Jamaica. He delivered these orders to the master. A quarter of an hour before he was relieved, the Second Lieutenant went around the ship and observed that the convoy was well collected. At 12:00 midnight, when he was relieved, the Convert's course was west. During the middle watch, Earnshaw was awakened and told that a ship ahead had fired guns and that the hands were turned up. He went up on deck to find the frigate's topsails set and one of the merchantmen almost on board her. He was on the forecastle and informed the officers on the quarter deck. They unsuccessfully tried to weather the ship. The merchantman, on the other tack, luffed up, and not seeing the Convert (as it was very dark) ran on board the starboard bow. A man on the foreyard called out, "Land and Breakers ahead close on Board us". As the Convert cleared the merchant ship and maneuvered to haul to the northward, she struck.

Captain Lawford then questioned Lieutenant Earnshaw. His replies suggest that all efforts were made, on 8 February 1794, to save the Convert. In general the convoy disregarded signals made to them. When the convoy left Jamaica, there were moderate breezes until the following day at noon when the winds died. On 7 February, later in the
afternoon, the winds picked up again and blew fresh breezes until the ship struck; that evening there were also squalls. According to Barnshaw, it was a hazy and cloudy night and they could see at no great distance. During his watch (8:00 pm to 12:00 pm) on 7 February, before the Convert got on shore, the topsails were furled and the fore topmast staysail was set occasionally to keep the ship in her station. The Second Lieutenant thought that the Convert might have cleared the reefs in hauling to the northward if the merchantman had not fallen on board her. He had heard the master of the merchantman that fired the distress signal say that there were three vessels on shore before his ship struck, and that another brig and ship had passed close to him while standing out to clear the reefs. One of these vessels, the ship, had also struck twice before clearing them.

Third Lieutenant John Allen was admitted and sworn, but he was dismissed when it was learned that he could not speak from his own knowledge about the circumstances of the wreck of the Convert. He had been unable to do his duty because of a wound in his arm.

Master Thomas Popplewell was subsequently called into the court and sworn. The Convert's log book was produced and he testified that it contained a true account of "the Transactions of the Ship". Like the others, he was asked to relate the circumstances of the loss of the Convert. He noted that at meridian, on 6 February, South Negril bore east a distance of about 12 leagues, the latitude observed being 18° 09' North. They steered W by N ¾ N until 8:00 am the next morning when they brought too, to wait for the convoy to collect. At 12:00 noon on 7 February they bore away WNW, the latitude observed being 18° 47' North. He reckoned that Grand Cayman bore NW ½ N about 18 leagues. At 1:00 pm the Convert sailed ahead of the convoy, steering the same course until 3:00 pm, to make land. When they heard a gun fired from astern, they sailed back to the fleet and found that the signal was made by a schooner that had sprung a leak. They tacked and steered WNW
until 5:45 pm and then altered the course to the west. They maintained that course until 12:30 at midnight. The master then changed the course to WNW until 2:30 am, on 8 February, when a gun was heard. A second gun was heard and its flash bore SW from them. Popplewell immediately notified Captain Lawford who instantly came up on deck. Lawford gave orders to steer for the flash. All hands were turned up and the topsails were set when people on the foreyard called out, "Land ahead and Breakers". The Convert was hauled to the northward and a merchant ship on the other tack was near her. The people forward called out "hard a Starboard", but before anything could be done the merchantman fell on board the Convert. Eventually they were able to extricate themselves, the frigate being before the wind and the other vessel's head to the SE. The ships fell on board each other again and before they could disengage themselves they were very near the reef. As the merchantman cleared the frigate, the Convert struck.

The court further questioned Master Thomas Popplewell. His answers reveal that he believed the compasses on board the Convert were good, but he had never taken an amplitude or azimuth to prove them. He had been through the Gulf of Florida several times and he usually steered WNW from the West end of Jamaica to the Caymans. He had always found that course to carry him to the southward of the Caymans, sometimes so far south that he didn't see them. He considered the Caymans to be 52 leagues from the west end of Jamaica. In light winds he had sometimes found a current to set him to the westward when sailing from Jamaica to the Caymans, but in fresh breezes he did not have any reason to think there was any current. He believed that his observations between Jamaica and the Caymans were good and could be depended upon. He had the direction of the course the Convert was to steer, with the approbation of the captain, from the time the frigate left Jamaica until it wrecked.

The court pointed out that, by the log, there was no distance
allowed for the ship on 7 February, from 12:00 noon to 4:00 pm. They questioned this omission. The Convert's master said that the winds were light and the ship made so little progress that the heaving of the log was omitted as inconsequential. In working the ship's way, he had not allowed for any distance to be run for those four hours on the course set in the log book, W by N ¼ N. When he worked the bearings to Grand Cayman (NW ¾ N, 18 leagues), at noon on 7 February, he had not allowed anything for a current because he knew of none. He found his reckoning by observation and account to agree. He had the watch when the Convert went ashore. The weather on that night, during his watch, had been "dark, Cloudy, and blowing Fresh". The Convert's course had been changed from west to WNW at midnight, on 8 February, because Popplewell considered that they were far enough to the southward and westward, and also clear of the Caymans. Northerly winds were prevailing and he deemed it advisable to haul to the northward in order to make Cape Corrientes on the western tip of Cuba. He pricked off upon the chart, the run of the ship and the bearings and distance of the Caymans, at midnight before advising that the course be altered to the northward. He did not work the back bearings of South Negril. At midnight when the master advised that the course be altered to the northward, he believed that the Caymans bore NNE 12 leagues. Captain Lawford was present when Popplewell pricked the ship off upon the chart. At noon, on 7 February, Master's Mate Hutchins and Midshipmen Campbell and Sherwin observed with him. He allowed a variation of half a point to the east in correcting his courses. Thomas Popplewell attributed his being so far out of his reckoning, the cause of the shipwrecks, to a strong northerly current. The masters of vessels that sailed to Cayman from Jamaica to salvage the cargoes pointed out that they had also been set considerably to the northward of their reckoning by currents. He had, however, no suspicion that there was any current when the convoy sailed from Jamaica to Cayman. When he first saw the
breakers they were on the Convert's starboard bow and the ship's head was to the SW. The master proposed to Captain Lawford, at midnight on 8 February, that the course be altered to the northward. When he relieved Lieutenant Barnshaw, Barnshaw told him that Captain Lawford wanted him to take his draught to him, in his cabin, to prickle off the situation of the ship. Popplewell did this. At noon, on 7 February, the master took his observation with a sextant that he had used for three or four years. Finally, Thomas Popplewell told the court that he had gone through the Gulf of Florida several times in the merchants' service, not the King's service. He had been master of a brig of about 200 tons and had made the voyage about 12 times.

The Convert's master was further questioned by Captain Lawford. His replies suggest that all the merchantmen that they spoke to after the wrecking, that sailed to Cayman from Jamaica, were driven to the north of their reckoning. One had even made Little Cayman instead of Grand Cayman. HMS Success had also been to the north of her reckoning. Popplewell believed that if the ships of the convoy had kept to their stations, with nothing between the Convert and the breakers, that they would have had enough time to warn the merchantmen to haul off. No ships went ashore after the Convert signaled for the convoy to disperse and provide for their own safety, except one which had previously been run on board of. That ship ran aground after daylight to save the lives of the people. He also believed that the Convert would have cleared the reefs if she had not been run on board of, and that all efforts were made to save the frigate and warn the convoy to save themselves. He observed the latitude almost every day while they were on shore in the Caymans. He reckoned the latitude where the Convert went ashore to be 19° 26' North.

Master's Mate James Hutchins was admitted to the court and sworn. When the Convert's log book was produced, he testified that he believed it was the true log of the ship. He answered questions put forward by
the court. He observed the latitude at noon on 7 February, on board the Convert, as 18° 47' North. It was a good observation with a reliable instrument. He watched with Second Lieutenant Earnshaw. He did not know the reason for the omission, in the ship's log, of distance allowed between 12:00 noon and 4:00 pm on 7 February. At that time he was employed berthing the crew and numbering the hammocks.

The court subsequently examined Lieutenant Bogue about the ship's log. He said that he came up on deck as officer of the watch at 12:00 noon, on 6 February, when the convoy departed Jamaica. When asked about the fact that no distance was allowed the ship from 12:00 noon to 4:00 pm on 7 February, that it was omitted, he remarked that he was convinced it was marked on the log board. He believed that it must have been left out in copying. Mr. Campbell, the mate of the watch, marked the log board, but Bogue did not know what was marked or if the log was hove in the referenced four hours. Lieutenant Bogue had been berthing and quartering the crew and he did not know the rate the ship was going, but believed that the log board was marked because he saw it at the end of the watch.

Lieutenant Bogue was further questioned by Captain Lawford. His answers reveal that he believed the Convert would have cleared the breakers if the merchant ship had not run on board her a second time. He felt that every exertion was employed to save the Convert and to ensure the safety of the merchantmen. He also believed that if the ships of the convoy had kept to their stations, with nothing between the Convert and the breakers, that they might have been warned in time to haul off. Lawford asked Bogue if he remembered seeing him on deck on 8 February after the alarm was sounded. Lieutenant Bogue replied that Captain Lawford was on deck before him.

Midshipman Colin Campbell was admitted and sworn. He was examined by the court. He remembered the Convert's departure from Jamaica on 6 February. He was the mate of the watch from 12:00 noon to
4:00 pm on 7 February. He did not know how it happened that no distance was allowed the ship in the log book during the watch. He could not say whether the log was hove, but he was confident that the log board was marked during the watch. He did not know what distance was marked on the log board during those four hours.

Richard Davy, master of the Success, was admitted and sworn. He was examined by the court. He stated that the latitude of the place where the Convert went ashore was 19° 25' or 19° 26' North. Next, he was questioned by Captain Lawford. His replies reveal that in his passage from Jamaica to the Caymans, in the Success, he found there to be a considerable northerly current. It had set the Success nine to ten leagues to the northward of his reckoning.

On 1 April 1794, the court heard testimonies from Captain John Lawford, First Lieutenant Bradby Bogue, Second Lieutenant William Barnshaw, Master Thomas Popplewell, Master's Mate James Hutchins, Midshipman Colin Campbell all of the Convert, and Master Richard Davy of the Success. After the examination concluded, Captains Francis Roberts, Patrick Sinclair, William Otway, George Gregory and George Stephens deliberated. The court's opinion was that, "the Misfortune was occasioned by a strong Current setting the Ships very considerably to the Northward of their Reckoning, and doth therefore adjudge that the said Captain John Lawford Commander of His Majesty's late Ship the Convert, the Officers and Company of the said Ship, be acquitted, and they are hereby acquitted accordingly".117

Oceanographic Data and the Courts Findings

Modern oceanographic research supports the conclusions drawn by the court in the court martial of Captain John Lawford, the officers and company of HMS Convert. Information regarding the currents and oceanography of the Caribbean suggests that the Equatorial Current is the region's prime mover. Entering the Caribbean Sea from the south, through the Lesser Antilles, it flows predominantly westward, then
exits through the Yucatan Channel where it joins the Gulf Stream (Figure 5, p.20). Oceanographic investigations, including studies based on satellite-tracked drifting buoy data, suggest that west of Jamaica the Equatorial Current has a distinct northward component with very active eddying in the Cayman Islands area (Figure 71).11

Summary

The Convert convoy departed Jamaica for Europe on Thursday, 6 February 1794. The fleet was twice delayed by a leaky merchant vessel that prevented the Convert from making Grand Cayman before sunset the following day. At midnight on Friday, when Master Thomas Popplewell recommended that the course be shifted more to the northward, Captain Lawford gave the corresponding order. By their reckoning the fleet was clearly westward, and seven leagues to the southward of Grand Cayman. But a few hours later six or seven merchantmen, those that sailed ahead of the naval escort after 12:00 am, wrecked on the windward reefs of Grand Cayman. One fired a warning shot. At Lawford's command the Convert gave the signal for the convoy to disperse, but two times was fallen on board of by a merchant ship. By the time the Convert cleared the other vessel, she was too near the breakers to escape them. The frigate struck and bilged. The dawn revealed nine merchantmen and the Royal Navy frigate, hopelessly aground. Captain Lawford maintained that the calamity would not have happened if all the convoy had kept to their stations.

Facing high winds and rough seas on Saturday, 8 February 1794, Lawford tirelessly worked to secure the safety of the Convert's passengers and crew. The weather prevented other ships in the fleet from rendering effective assistance, so all the wrecked ships provided for themselves. At least eight people perished, including Daniel Martin, the master of the Britannia. Inhabitants of Grand Cayman helped rescue survivors, but they also implored Lawford to remove them quickly from the island. Aware that hundreds of shipwreck victims
Fig. 2. Composite plot of buoy trajectories collected in the Caribbean Sea and Gulf of Mexico from October 1975 through June 1976.

Figure 71. Satellite-Tracking Drifting Buoy Data. West of Jamaica the Current Has a Distinct Northward Component with Active Eddying in the Cayman Islands Area (Fig. 2, Robert L. Molinari, et al., 'Surface Currents in the Caribbean Sea as Deduced from Lagrangian Observations', Journal of Geophysical Research, 86 (1981), No. C7, 6537-6542, copyright by the American Geophysical Union).
could not subsist for long on Grand Cayman, Lawford arranged for most of them to be taken on board other ships of the fleet for the passage to Europe. Nine vessels rendezvoused at George Town to receive survivors and then sailed in convoy from Grand Cayman. Most called at Havana for additional provisions.

First Lieutenant Bogue of the Convert carried news of the shipwrecks to Jamaica and then on to Commodore Ford in St. Domingue. The Commodore immediately dispatched Captain Roberts in the Success to Grand Cayman. Meanwhile, Captain Lawford, his officers and about 30 chosen seamen camped on the beach opposite the wreck sites and, with assistance of the island's small craft, salvaged stores from the Convert. Before the Success departed Grand Cayman, Captains Roberts and Lawford signed agreements with William Bodden Senior and Robert Knowles Clarke to continue the salvage of the frigate. The Convert's officers, remaining crew and salvaged stores were transported back to Jamaica in the Success and one or two smaller vessels.

Attempts were also made to salvage the shipwrecked merchantmen: William and Elizabeth, Goodwin, Moorhall, Nicholson, Ludlow, McLure, Britannia, Martin, Richard, Hughes, Nancy, Leary, Eagle, Ainsworth, Sally, Watson, and Fortune, Love or Merryman. A large percentage of the cargoes, however, were lost. Most of the other vessels of the dispersed Convert convoy reached Britain unharmed, although one was captured by a French privateer and another was taken prize by a French Navy frigate.

On 1 April 1794, a court martial was held on board the Success; Captain Lawford, the officers and crew of the Convert were tried for the loss of His Majesty's Ship. All were honorably acquitted and the misfortune was attributed to a strong current taking the convoy far to the north of their reckoning.
Footnotes for Chapter VII.


2. PRO, ADM 7/782, Registers of Convoys 1793-7, A List of Ships and Vessels brought under Convoy of HMS Hector, George Montague Comdr., from Jamaica to England between 22 July and 4 October 1793.


4. PRO, ADM 1/5331, Courts Martial, February to December 1794, April 1 - Captain John Lawford, the Officers and Company of the Convert, for the loss of her, John Ford, Commodore and Commander in Chief of His Majesty's Ships and Vessels at Jamaica, to John Lawford, Captain of HMS Convert, aboard the Europa, off Port au Prince, 5 January 1794. A copy of Ford's 5 January 1794 instructions to John Lawford are also included as an Enclosure in: PRO, ADM 1/245, Admiralty and Secretariat Papers, 'Jamaica 1793 & 94, Admiral John Ford Esqr.'; John Ford to Philip Stephens, Secretary of the Admiralty, aboard the Europa, Port Royal Harbour, Jamaica, 3 April 1794. The latter copy of Ford's instructions are, however, misdated 5 February 1794.

5. PRO, ADM 1/5331, John Lawford's Court Martial, John Lawford to John Ford, Island of Grand Cayman, 20 February 1794. This letter is extensively paraphrased and quoted in the following several pages. It does not include modern standard punctuation and sentences are often separated by semicolons or colons rather than periods. When a quotation is used from this letter, the original punctuation is retained, except at the end of the quote, where a period is used if it is structurally the end of a sentence. A copy of Lawford's 20 February 1794 letter to John Ford is also included as an Enclosure in: PRO, ADM 1/245, John Ford to Philip Stephens, 3 April 1794. The two transcriptions vary slightly in punctuation, spelling, and an occasional word, but their overall content is the same.

6. Ibid. See Appendix A for the historical and geographical background of the Cayman Islands.

7. Ibid.

8. Ibid.

9. Ibid.

10. Ibid.

11. PRO, CO 700/West Indies 23, Maps and Plans in PRO II: America and the West Indies, Catalog No. 2972, West Indies (1773-1775) 1790. The referenced map, which appears as Figure 58, is the first printed version of George Gauld's map of Grand Cayman. There are three hand drawn versions of the map, dated 1773, that are located in the Ministry of Defense, Hydrography Department, Somerset (hereafter MDHD): q43 Ag 1, Admiralty Chart of Grand Cayman with Notations by George Gauld, 1773; Ag 1 196 fo 2; and U 10 AG1.

13. Ibid., The Inhabitants of Grand Cayman to John Lawford, George Town, Grand Cayman, 12 February 1794.

14. NLJ, The Royal Gazette, XV (1793), From Saturday 14 December to Saturday 21 December, No. 51, 23. The dates vary by a couple of days in the two accounts of the Grand Cayman Hurricane, but it was surely the same storm.

15. NLJ, The Royal Gazette, XV (1793); PRO, CO 141/1, Government Gazettes, The Royal Gazette, XVI (1794). The referenced gazette was checked for the dates 26 October 1793 through 1 March 1794, inclusive.

16. PRO, ADM 1/2059, John Lawford to the Masters of the Merchantmen, George Town, Grand Cayman, 13 February 1794.

17. PRO, ADM 1/5331, John Lawford's Court Martial, John Lawford to John Ford, 20 February 1794. Havana is spelled several ways in various documents; when these sources are quoted, the spelling is as it appears in the original.

18. PRO, ADM 1/2059, John Lawford to the Governor of Havana, George Town, Grand Cayman, 13 February 1794. There are two copies of this letter in the referenced class of documents, which vary slightly. The most complete version is quoted.

19. John Lawford's 13 February 1794 letter to the Admiralty is among the Public Record Office documents in the class ADM 1/2059. This letter contains much of the same information that Lawford includes in his 20 February 1794 letter to Commodore Ford. In regards to the convoy, however, Lawford informed the Admiralty that there were 58 square-rigged ships for Europe and three schooners for America. In his 20 February letter to Ford he wrote that there were 55 square-rigged vessels for Europe and 3 schooners for America.

20. PRO, ADM 1/5331, John Lawford's Court Martial, John Lawford to John Ford, 20 February 1794.

21. Ibid.

22. PRO, CO 141/1, XVI (1794), From Saturday 22 February to Saturday 1 March, No. 9, 22-23.

23. Ibid., From Saturday 1 March to Saturday 8 March, No. 10, 22.

24. Ibid., From Saturday 8 March to Saturday 15 March, No. 11, 22.

25. Ibid., From Saturday 25 January to Saturday 1 February, No. 5, 22.

26. PRO, ADM 1/2059, John Lawford to Philip Stephens, George Town, Grand Cayman, 13 February 1794.

27. PRO, CO 141/1, XVI (1794), No. 10, 23.

28. PRO, ADM 1/245, John Ford to Philip Stephens, 3 April 1794.

29. PRO, ADM 51/1158, Captain's Log of HMS Success, Francis Roberts, 13 February 1794 to 31st August 1794; PRO, ADM 52/3427, Master's Log of HMS Success, Richard Davy, 19 February 1794 to 20 July 1794.
30. The days recorded in the referenced logs run from noon to noon. Thus 14 March began shortly after the *Success* made sail for the *Europa*.

31. PRO, ADM 51/1158, Captain's Log of *HMS Success*; PRO ADM 52/3427, Master's Log of *HMS Success*.

32. PRO, ADM 1/245, An Account of the Stores saved from the Wreck of His Majesty's Ship Convert, Enclosure in: John Ford to Philip Stephens, 3 April 1794.

33. Ibid., Francis Roberts, Captain of *HMS Success*, and John Lawford to Robert Clarke and William Bodden Senior, 19 March 1794, Enclosure in: John Ford to Philip Stephens, 3 April 1794.

34. Ibid., Obligation signed by William Bodden Senior and Robert Knowles Clarke to save the stores of the *Convert*, 19 March 1794, Enclosure in: John Ford to Philip Stephens, 3 April 1794.

35. NLJ, *The Royal Gazette*, XV (1793), No.51, 23.

36. There may have been only one sloop which Davy noted twice in his log.

37. PRO, ADM 51/1158, Captain's Log of *HMS Success*; PRO ADM 52/3427, Master's Log of *HMS Success*.

38. PRO, CO 141/1, XVI (1794), From Saturday 29 March to Saturday 5 April, No. 14, 22-23.

39. PRO, ADM 51/1158, Captain's Log of *HMS Success*; PRO ADM 52/3427, Master's Log of *HMS Success*.

40. PRO, ADM 1/245, John Ford to Philip Stephens, 3 April 1794.

41. PRO, ADM 51/1158, Captain's Log of *HMS Success*; PRO ADM 52/3427, Master's Log of *HMS Success*.

42. PRO, ADM 1/245, John Ford to Philip Stephens, 3 April 1794.

43. PRO, CO 141/1, XVI (1794), From Saturday 31 May to Saturday 7 June, No. 23, 22.

44. Ibid., From Saturday 14 June to Saturday 21 June, No. 25, 23.

45. Ibid., No. 9, 22-23.

46. Ibid., No. 5, 22; Ibid., No. 6, 22.

47. 11 March 1992 letter from Barbara Jones, Information Officer at Lloyd's Register of Shipping, London, to the author.


50. Ibid., No. 2598, 28 March 1794.
51. Hornbake Library, University of Maryland, Microfilm AN41.16.M3-Reel 5, Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser, 21 March 1794.

52. PRO, CO 141/1, XVI (1794), No. 5, 22; Ibid. No. 6, 22.

53. Lloyd's List does not actually give the masters' names for the Richard, Moorhall and Sally. It is therefore assumed that the masters' names specified in The Royal Gazette are correct.

54. PRO, CO 141/1, XVI (1794), No. 6, 22.

55. PRO, ADM 1/2059, John Lawford to the Masters of the Merchantmen, 13 February 1794.


57. NLJ, The Royal Gazette, XV (1793), Saturday 26 October to Saturday 2 November, No. 44, 7.

58. 27 December 1991 and 11 March 1992 letters from Barbara Jones of Lloyd's Register, to the author.

59. Lloyd's Register, 1794, William and Elizabeth, Goodwin.

60. PRO, BT 111/1, Indexes to Transcripts, Ships Registered in London 1786-1854, Index 1786-1802, A-Z, London. The tonnage of the William and Elizabeth is recorded to be greater in the London Register than documented in Lloyd's List. Nonetheless it is apparent that the data is for the same ship.


62. The William and Elizabeth may have had only two decks as explained later in the text.

63. PRO, BT 107/9, 1792-No. 14, William and Elizabeth.

64. Ibid., 1791-No. 52, William and Elizabeth.

65. PRO, BT 107/8, Transcripts and Transactions: Series I, Register of Shipping, London Foreign Trade 1787-9, 1787-No. 85, William and Elizabeth.

66. NLJ, The Royal Gazette, XV (1793), No.51, 22-23. The name of the ship is spelled in two ways in the Gazette: Moorehall and Moorhall.

67. Lloyd's Register, 1794, Moore Hall, S. Martin.

68. PRO, ADM 7/112, Register of Passes 1792-5; Ibid., ADM 7/113, Register of Passes 1792-5, Index, No. 4072, Moore Hall, Nicholson. Such a pass was held on board as evidence to British cruisers that the vessel was engaged in legitimate trade.
69. The name of the Ludlow's master is spelled in several different ways in The Royal Gazette and Lloyd's List: McLewer, McClure, and McLure.

70. PRO, CO 141/1, XVI (1794), Saturday 18 January to Saturday 25 January, No. 4, 1, 22.

71. NLJ, The Royal Gazette, XV (1793), Saturday 23 November to Saturday 30 November, No. 48, 22-23.

72. Ibid., Saturday 30 November to Saturday 7 December, No. 49, 17-19.

73. Lloyd's Register, 1794, Britannia, Martin.

74. PRO, ADM 7/112 & 113, No. 3198, Britannia, Martin.

75. The author was unable to personally conduct research at the Scottish Record Office, but corresponded with Alan Borthwick of that archive. Although Alan Borthwick conducted basic research he was unable to find specific data about any of the ships involved in the wreck of the Ten Sail. Nonetheless he provided information regarding possible avenues for future research at the Scottish Record Office.

76. NLJ, The Royal Gazette, XV (1793), No. 49, 22-23.

77. None of the other merchant vessels with the name Richard, that appear in Lloyd's Register, are recorded as voyaging between Belfast and Jamaica. Only one Richard was listed with a captain by the name of Hughes, and that is the brig discussed in the text. Also, the brig Richard, Hughes, disappears from the annual volumes of Lloyd's Register after 1794.

78. Lloyd's Register, 1794, Richard, Hughes.

79. PRO, ADM 7/141, Register of Foreign Passes 1784-94; Ibid., ADM 7/142, Register of Foreign Passes 1784-94, Index, No. 1735, Richard, Hughes.

80. The Public Record Office in England has some miscellaneous shipping return documents for Jamaica (Kingston, St. Lucea, Montego Bay, Savannah-la-Mar) as follows: CO 142/21, 22, 23, Jamaica Miscellaneous, Shipping Returns, 1783-1807. None of these, however, includes information around the date of the Wreck of the Ten Sail. Documentary evidence of ships registered in Kingston during this time also has not been found by the author in consulting British and Jamaican archives.

81. PRO, CO 141/1, XVI (1794), From Saturday 22 March to Saturday 29 March, No. 13, 22.

82. Ibid., No. 14, 23.

83. Ibid., From Saturday 5 April to Saturday 12 April, No. 15, 22. In The Royal Gazette the sloop Sea-Flower is sometimes listed as Seaflower and the master, Russell, is sometimes listed as Russel.

84. Ibid., From Saturday 19 April to Saturday 26 April, No. 17, 22.

85. Ibid., From Saturday 3 May to Saturday 10 May, No. 19, 22.
86. Ibid., From Saturday 10 May to Saturday 17 May, No. 20, 22.

87. Ibid., From Saturday 24 May to Saturday 31 May, No. 22, 22; Ibid., No. 23, 22.

88. Ibid., No. 25, 23.

89. Ibid., From Saturday 21 June to Saturday 28 June, No. 26, 22.

90. The spelling of the names of the merchantmen and their masters is inconsistent in the various documents examined. The most consistent spelling of each ship or person is presented in the text, while direct quotes retain the spelling as it appears in the individual document.

91. Lloyd's Register, 1794, Alfred, Bryan; Ibid., Louisa, Harrison; Ibid., Llandovery, Adams; Ibid., Jane, Gammel.

92. The tonnage differs slightly from that given in Lloyd's Register, a common occurrence.

93. PRO, BT 111/1 & BT 107/9, 1793-No. 129, Llandovery, Adams.

94. PRO, ADM 7/112 & 113, No. 3542, Louisa, Harrison; Ibid., No. 3460, Nancy, Campbell; Ibid., No. 5443, Countess of Galloway, Elgin.

95. PRO, CO 141/1, XVI (1794), No. 10, 23.

96. Ibid., No. 13, 22. Captain Lawford gave directions to nine merchantmen, but it is possible that a tenth ship joined the small convoy after their departure from Grand Cayman.

97. Ibid., No. 14, 23.

98. Lloyd's List, No. 2602, 11 April 1794; Ibid., No. 2603, 15 April 1794; Ibid., No. 2604, 18 April 1794.

99. Ibid., No. 2597, 25 March 1794.

100. NLJ, The Royal Gazette, XV (1793), No. 50, 1.

101. PRO, CO 141/1, XV (1794), No. 15, 23.

102. NLJ, The Royal Gazette, XV (1793), No. 50, 1.

103. Lloyd's List, No. 2605, 22 April 1794; Ibid., No. 2606, 25 April 1794; Ibid., No. 2607, 29 April 1794.

104. Ibid., No. 2612, 16 May 1794.

105. Ibid., No. 2607, 29 April 1794.

106. PRO, CO 141/1, XVI (1794), No. 25, 22.

107. Lloyd's List, No. 2620, 13 June 1794.

108. Ibid., No. 2613, 20 May 1794.
109. PRO, ADM 7/112 & 113, No. 3686, Peggy, Robertson.

110. PRO, CO 141/1, XVI (1794), No. 20, 22. Lloyd's List does not report the arrival in Britain of the Atalanta, Forbes, within the time frame of the other Convert convoy arrivals.

111. Ibid., No. 22, 23.

112. Ibid., From Saturday 7 June to Saturday 14 June, No. 24, 22.

113. Ibid., No. 26, 22.

114. PRO, ADM 1/245, John Ford to Philip Stephens, 3 April 1794.


116. PRO, ADM 1/5331, John Lawford's Court Martial.

117. Ibid.

CHAPTER VIII

ORAL HISTORY AND FOLKLORE

In researching Caymanian narratives on the Wreck of the Ten Sail, the author first sought solid facts to aid archival and archaeological investigations. It was soon discovered that Caymanian folklore arising from the event is also of significant cultural value. The Wreck of the Ten Sail, in all of its colorful versions, lives as the foremost of Cayman's many wrecking tales. In historic times the low-lying islands, on the track of the Leeward Passage, were a frequent snare for ships. Living in relative isolation, Caymanians naturally enjoyed the benefits of salvage, or compensation for recovery of cargoes, from the wrecks that happened their way. In times of hardship, these wrecked vessels were important to survival. While shipwreck victims lamented the Caymanian occupation of bartering cargoes, they always praised the islanders' humanity in saving the lives of the people on such occasions. Notably, later wrecks are sometimes attributed to this famous ten-ship episode.

A detailed study of the folklore surrounding the Wreck of the Ten Sail, and Caymanian shipwrecks and wrecking in general, is an important avenue of research. The subject, however, is beyond the scope of the present investigation which provides the background to remembrances and surviving tales about the shipwreck event. Nonetheless, it is useful to point out that the most popular narratives of the Wreck of the Ten Sail combine dramatic elements of tragedy and loss with opportunity, heroism and reward. The calamitous shipwreck event, the rescue of survivors and the benefits bestowed upon Caymanians for their timely assistance exemplify proper and acceptable wrecking proceedings. Of course wrecking no longer contributes to the basic survival of island residents in Cayman's modern affluent society, but folk tales of the Wreck of the Ten Sail continue to highlight this essential Caymanian
occupation which was practiced for at least two hundred years.

Written Accounts

In his Notes on the History of the Cayman Islands, published in 1910, Commissioner George Hirst recorded what may be the first written account of the Wreck of the Ten Sail, from the Caymanian point of view. He noted that a sad story could be told by cannon on the reef of Gun Bay at East End. Hirst quoted the story in the words of R. Tullah Coe, who learned it from his grandfather. The latter witnessed the wrecking, or at least lived on Grand Cayman when it occurred, and rendered assistance to the shipwreck victims. Over a century after the Wreck of the Ten Sail, Coe related to Commissioner Hirst:

In the month of November, in the eighties of the eighteenth century a fleet of laden Jamaica merchantmen under convoy of His Majesty's ship 'Cordelia' struck on the East End of this island at nine o'clock in the evening. Earlier in the evening the Commodore told the sailing master, Popplewell, if he did not alter his course he would be ashore on the East End of Grand Cayman before daylight. Popplewell replied that his course would take him twenty miles to the North of Cayman. When the 'Cordelia' struck she fired for the fleet to keep off, and the other captains mistaking this signal for an order to close in did so, with the result that one after another they all struck before they found out their mistake. In the morning they found the other ships were off South West Point. The Commodore sent for them and put on board what was saved which was only one ship's cargo out of the ten which went ashore. No lives were lost with the exception of one captain and his wife, who instead of standing by his vessel took to a raft. The other vessels proceeded to England with the crews and what had been saved. A heavy North-east wind was blowing, and the Cayman canoes being, at that time, very small dare not venture out to the reef; but the Caymanians performed many heroic acts in saving life. It is said that for these acts a Bill was passed in the British Parliament not to impress Caymanians in the time of war. This wreck is known locally as the "wreck of the ten sail".

...Popplewell was removed from the Navy List and became captain of a Jamaica vessel trading with Cayman. My father sold many a canoe load of turtle to him afterwards. He told my father that if he was tried in Heaven, Earth or Hell his conscience was clear as he made sure the course he was steering that eventful night would have taken him twenty miles North and East of the East-end of Grand Cayman.

In addition to documenting Coe's narrative, Commissioner Hirst also wrote that it had been suggested to him that the presence of cannon
lying on the Gun Bay reef indicated that an old fort once stood there. He regarded this concept as impractical and improbable, however, and noted that R. Tulloh Coe's story, "tells us clearly how those guns got there, for it was exactly on this spot the 'wreck of the ten sail' took place".²

By the early twentieth century, the names of HMS Convert and nine merchantmen of her convoy had been forgotten in the oral tradition of the Cayman Islands. The ships had collectively been renamed for their fateful ends, the Wreck of the Ten Sail. The Royal Navy escort was identified as the Cordelia, another of His Majesty's ships that perhaps had visited Grand Cayman in the intervening period. It is important that the name most accurately remembered from the historical shipwrecks is that of Popplewell, the sailing master. This man probably did have further ties trading with the island of Grand Cayman, as Coe related to Hirst, for such contact would explain why he is prominently featured in the Caymanian story.

It matters little that the name of the naval escort, the date of the episode and other details are not exactly accurate in Coe's version of the Wreck of the Ten Sail. It is, in fact, remarkable that more than 115 years after the historical event occurred, its description retains so many factual elements and other, only slightly adjusted, details. Coe's narrative reveals that in the late eighteenth century, nine laden merchantmen from Jamaica and their escort, one of His Majesty's Ships, wrecked on Grand Cayman's East End in the dark. The commander of the naval escort discussed the course of the vessel with the sailing master in relation to the island of Grand Cayman. Through some misjudgment regarding the course recommended by the sailing master, the calamitous wrecking occurred. An interesting twist to the tale is that the Royal Navy vessel struck the reef ahead of the nine merchantmen instead of vice versa; these vessels misunderstood her warning signal for the fleet to keep off, for a signal to close in.
Thus, the merchantmen also wrecked. Other ships in the convoy waited in the offing and at the naval commander's request took aboard ships' crews for the passage to England. Little of the merchant vessels' cargoes was saved, and few lives were lost. The captain of a wrecked merchant ship, and perhaps his wife, perished; in proper seafaring fashion, the tale blames the merchant captain's death upon his not standing by his ship. There was a strong northeast wind blowing which made rescue efforts difficult, but Caymanians heroically assisted in saving the shipwreck victims. Hirst found no documented evidence to corroborate Coe's point about exemption of Caymanians from impressment in time of war. It is possible, nonetheless, that the captains of Royal Navy vessels on the Jamaica station recognized the benefit of leaving mariners on sparsely settled Grand Cayman, rather than pressing them into His Majesty's ships. These Caymanian seamen provided timely assistance and relief when British ships or vessels called for water and provisions, or when they wrecked there. Finally, Commissioner Hirst's reference to cannons on the Gun Bay reef and the tales and theories about them provide clues for archaeological research.

In 1970, sixty years after George Hirst's Notes on the History of the Cayman Islands was published, the Cayman Islands Government published A History of the Cayman Islands by Neville Williams. This brief book is based largely on Hirst, but also includes some original research. Regarding the Wreck of the Ten Sail, however, Williams summarizes Hirst's account as related by R. Tulloh Coe, writing that the event occurred in November 1788. He points out that some versions make the lead ship HMS Cordelia, a British man-of-war, but he remarks that there was no HMS Cordelia in commission for another twenty years. Williams also highlights additional stories that sprang up around the shipwreck incident. He notes that one tale suggests a British prince was on board the warship. Williams writes that Prince William Henry, Duke of Clarence (future King William IV, 'The Sailor King') served in
the Royal Navy and in 1788 commandeered a frigate on the Jamaica station, but that his ship was in port when the wreck (supposedly) occurred. Related to this legend, are two versions of reward bestowed upon Caymanians. Both maintain that George III, the prince's father, was so impressed with the courage of the East Enders in saving lives that he made special concessions to the people of Cayman. In one story the King decreed that Caymanians would be free from conscription in time of war, and in another account the British Parliament passed a bill to forever free Caymanians from taxation. Williams found no historical documents to substantiate these legends.3

Thus, Neville Williams' description of stories associated with the Wreck of the Ten Sail adds to Hirst's documentation the romantic idea that a British prince was aboard the British warship and that George III rewarded Caymanians for their courage in saving lives by exempting them from taxation. The concept of Caymanians being granted freedom from conscription in time of war, however, seems to be a modernization of the earlier narrative, related by Coe to Hirst, that Caymanians were exempted from impressment in wartime.

Since 1970, Neville Williams' book has been widely circulated in the Cayman Islands, especially in the schools. The history that it relates is the history that is generally accepted in Cayman as fact; this includes the description of the Wreck of the Ten Sail. With the advent of modern tourism in the islands, the story of the shipwreck episode also frequently appears in popular books and tourist magazines. These accounts are based primarily on the narrative written first by Hirst and then rewritten and embellished with additional Caymanian stories by Williams.

Oral Accounts

George Hirst and Neville Williams could not have written their descriptions of the Wreck of the Ten Sail if the story had not been passed along by oral tradition in the Cayman Islands. Fortunately
there are still elder Caymanians, "old heads", who remember tales related to them by their parents and grandparents. The narratives represent folklore passed along in families and communities. While some versions are closer to historical fact than others, they cannot be judged as right or wrong by such criteria. Each tale has its own unique social merit and the right to be told. Furthermore, Wreck of the Ten Sail folklore provided valuable clues for archival and archaeological research.

The author interviewed several elder Caymanians under the auspices of the Cayman Islands Memory Bank. The program seeks to gather and preserve historical information by means of tape recorded interviews; the data so gathered is made available for research and educational purposes and may be published. Informants were first asked to relate a description of the Wreck of the Ten Sail. Afterwards they were queried further with a series of questions: when did you first hear of the Wreck of the Ten Sail; who told you about the shipwreck episode and from whom did that person learn the story; do you have ancestors who saw the shipwrecks or who talked to survivors; do you have ancestors or know anyone whose ancestors were on board when the ships wrecked; when did the Wreck of the Ten Sail occur; exactly where were the wrecks located and how did they appear; what were the names of the ships; what kinds of ships were they; what cargoes did they carry; did the salvaged goods stay at East End or were they taken away; do you know the names of any people who were on board the shipwrecks, or the names of people who lived at East End at that time; how many people died, what were their names and where are they buried; are any homes at East End built from the timbers; do you know when and which East End channels have been dredged or widened; do you know if people have recovered artifacts from the East End reef in recent times; do you know of other wrecks at East End; do you know of other people who might have information about the Wreck of the Ten Sail?
In her home overlooking the East End reef at Gun Bay, Mrs. Phoebe Watler Spence was interviewed by the author on 14 November 1990. Miss Phoebe, as she is known on the island, was born in 1907. She figures that from the time she was four she could remember tales of shipwrecks related to her by her father, William James Watler (the first policeman of the eastern district). Miss Phoebe looked out to sea and began the story that she said is told about the ‘natives’. She related that in the eighteenth century there was a lack of communication with the outside world and there were no lights to direct ships at East End. The natives were often short of groceries, cloth and building materials for houses. Thus, as soon as a ship’s light was spotted on the horizon the natives would go out and walk the beach with lanterns, or ride a donkey with a lantern, to lure ships in the wrong direction. As the vessel sailed toward the light (believing it to be another ship) it would “get on” the reef. The East Enders would go out in the morning in their boats and gather what they could get off the ships such as foodstuff, clothes and lumber. In fact, many houses at East End were built at this time from the lumber they got off these shipwrecks. It was not until 1908 that there was a light at East End. It was a ship’s mast upon which a lantern was hoisted each night by Miss Phoebe’s father.

The East Ender related the narrative of the Wreck of the Ten Sail that she remembered from childhood:

There were ten ships loaded with cannons and guns and they started from Port Royal, Jamaica. And they were steering in a westerly direction and going on, it seemed like they were going on to some part of South America. And they struck the reef up here on the eastern end of the island. And, well when the first ship, the leading ship in the convoy got in trouble, got on the reef, they fired flash lights and fired cannon. So the other ships that was following thought that this was a pirate attack, so they all sail in the same direction. But they saw that the leading ship was trying to warn them not to follow. But they followed in the same direction because they thought it was a pirate attack. And they all lodged on the reef, one right after the other. So in the morning, when the people wake up, they saw all of these wrecks lined up on the reef. So they went out in their boats and rescued them. So they
approximately the 1950s (Figure 3, p.5). Miss Phoebe also reported that the East End lagoon is shallower now than it was in earlier times. In the first part of the twentieth century, when East End was an official port of clearance, ships (probably schooners) would enter the lagoon through the Eastern Channel.

When asked if she had anything more to share regarding the Wreck of the Ten Sail, Miss Phoebe produced a poem that she had written. She read "The Wrecks of Cayman" to the author:

Grand Cayman, one of the smallest
And most beautiful of the Caribbean,
It's surrounded by coral reef
Which has brought sailors, soldiers and pirates much grief.

Cayman was hardly on the map,
There were no lights warning sailors of that.
We have tales of pirates, on sea,
But there were stories of pirates to be,
Walking the beach with lanterns in hand,
Changing the ship course at their command.

They were not looking for silver or gold
They just wanted food, cloth and lumber to store.
For these ships were loaded with cargo,
Rice, sugar, corn meal, beans and tobacco.

And so it was that the ship steered in the wrong direction,
So when the ship struck reef,
This roused a question?

I'm sure I saw a light
But now it has gone from my sight.
Said the Captain to the old man at the wheel,
"You must have been asleep, I feel".
"What school have you been to, I'd like to hear",
"S'a I've been to dam fool school aw fear,
But au got cut and leave you there".

By this time the natives were coming aboard,
Taking every thing they could never afford,
Food, clothing, lumber and such,
"Oh", said the Captain, "don't take too much"
"Why don't you try to save us first".

And so we have ships on the coral reef,
The most popular to my belief,
Was the wreck of the Ten Sails.

This did not happen by burning shore lights,
The leading ship struck reef, fired cannon and flashed light.
Trying to warn the others of their plight.

The others in the convoy, fearing pirates attack,
Were bold, brave sailors and would not turn back.
They were trained in any case to do their best,
So they came in aid of the rest.
As birds of a feather, all in one nest.

No food for the natives, only cannons and guns,
But they came to their rescue,
In cat boats and canoes.

How many sailors were there,
I cannot say,
But they were lodged in thatch huts along the bay.

Only one life was lost of all
This is a great story to recall,
And has been on our mind
That our Cayman sailors are some of the greatest
That sail the brine.

And the good they have done
Comes down to all people as one.
The King said "For this from tax you're all free".
Then all Caymanians went on a spree.

For years these ships remain on the reef high and dry,
This always draw the attention of the passers-by.

And what an attraction for the visitors who come
For all the wrecks they have heard of
Was sunk in the Main. 4

On 4 January 1991 Mr. Marshall Watler, also an East End resident,
was interviewed about the Wreck of the Ten Sail. He was in failing
health and almost deaf at the time. Marshall Watler was born in 1905
and died in 1991. When asked about the shipwreck episode he assured me
that he was not so old, but he could tell me something about it. His
narrative is a little confusing, but it is interesting:

The 'Ten Sail' leave, I don't know where it was, I think it
was from England, where it was supposed to have been, and
come down here because the pirates were down here... in
search of the pirate ships... come down here, ten of them,
got enough to sink all the pirate ships they could find.
And these pirate ships were big wooden ships, flat bottom,
and they couldn't, they couldn't run and tack and keep em
off... So, when they known that they was on the reef, to
the southeast here, they couldn't tack her, see. So that
of course put them right up on the reef. And when she got
on the reef she fired a cannon and they said, well they
(alerted?) the other nine... they run ashore and they fire
much cannon, let them know they was in distress, and stay
on a shore. So run from time right now til the last one
was up to ten. And then they named them the Ten Sail
because they was sailing boats. There wasn't no... battle
ships. These was sailing boats, big heavy sailing boats.
Ten of them on shore.
When questioned further, Marshall Watler said:

Half of them was French...they was running you see all along, some of em was old pirates. Spanish ships too, you know. Wasn’t all of one type ship, but all different ships because they was searching for gold. Some of them found gold and sink the other ships and all that.

Marshall Watler went on to say that his old ancestors were Irish and that the Irish were great pirates. Once again, pirates are included in an East Ender’s story of the Wreck of the Ten Sail. The mention of French ships is curious, but may be related to the fact that Marshall Watler was an informant when archaeological projects were underway at East End in the 1980s. By that time archaeologists were aware that French cannons were present on one shipwreck site. When questioned further, Marshall Watler related that some of the shipwreck victims left the island while others stayed. He also knew of the presence of about 12 "pirate's cannons" that lay side by side at Sand Key, just north of East Channel. He pointed out that Earl Smith, an expatriate East End resident, had two cannons in his front yard, one English and one French gun. He also related that he had found Spanish olive jars in the East Channel area, that he told other people about them, and that some of those people also found such jars. After additional questions about other shipwrecks and his life as a sailor, the interview with Marshall Watler ended.

Mr. Edison Jackson of Bodden Town was also interviewed on 4 January 1991. He was born in 1910. Edison Jackson was knowledgeable about shipwrecks, especially those in the Bodden Town area, and he named and described several. He knew less about the Wreck of the Ten Sail which he described as "all just an old story", but he acknowledged that the wrecks had occurred. He had heard the "old people" speak of it. They told him that the first ship went aground and fired a warning shot. The others thought that she was in battle or in distress and instead of keeping off, piled in on her. They were naval ships and all the people on board were saved. He hadn’t been told that any of the
shipwreck victims stayed on Grand Cayman, but he felt that naturally they did. Edison Jackson also reported that cannons are located in the sea at Gun Bay. He pointed out that much has been removed from the wrecks at East End and that some people found ceramic jars (Spanish olive jars).\textsuperscript{11}

Mrs. Mary Antoinette Wood Levy of Bodden Town, born in 1888 and the eldest person living in the Cayman Islands, was interviewed on 24 January 1991. Miss Nettie, as she is locally known, pointed out that the Wreck of the Ten Sail occurred on the northeast end of Grand Cayman. She related that ten merchant ships ran ashore, one after the other. She had never seen the wrecks, but she had known people from the north side of the island who had seen them. Remembering the stories they told her she related:

Well, it seems like the ships leave port to go south, but they missed the trail and come north. And that brought them to come to Grand Cayman on the east, coming round on the east from up here going right round they got ashore, one after the other, ten of them... All the people survived. Some run off and hide away in north side bushes... some of their ancestors is alive now.

Miss Nettie had some difficulty remembering, but said that among the names of people who were descended from survivors of the Wreck of the Ten Sail were Solomon, Whittaker, Old Bob Farkey Bodden from the north side who could make turtle nets, Old Bald Head Bodden whose daughter married in George Town, and Craddock Ebanks.\textsuperscript{12} She pointed out that the Whittakers were the firemen on board who did the coal work. When asked about salvage of the vessels, Miss Nettie said that although some of the sailors stayed in Grand Cayman the ships got off the reef. This was her grandfather Loudin Wood's story to her. She had never heard the specific names of the ships, only that they were called the Ten Sail. The "old folks" did not tell her the type of merchandise that the ships carried. She said that out on the Gun Bay reef at a place called "Old Rob" is a piece of old ship from the Wreck of the Ten Sail. Her reference seems to be to an area on the south side of the East End
Channel. Archaeology reveals that there are three or four mid- to late nineteenth-century wrecks in the area which would account for her observing ship wreckage there as a child. She said that there were no people living at East End when the Wreck of the Ten Sail occurred. During the interview Miss Nettie worried that she was wandering a bit and pointed out that she was 102 and relating stories from her childhood.  

Mr. Weddy Connolly of Old Man Bay, North Side was interviewed on 10 December 1990. Although he had many tales regarding his seafaring life, he had little to relate about the Wreck of the Ten Sail.  

The stories presented by these Caymanians have elements that tie them to the historically accurate account of the Wreck of the Ten Sail, but all relate other incongruous details. Nonetheless, the narratives provide a sample of the types of stories and tales remembered by elder Caymanians in the 1990s. Furthermore, new research questions have emerged from the interviews regarding locations of shipwreck sites, repeated salvage of wrecks (contemporary, World War II, and more recent), types of artifacts recovered (cannons, ceramic jars, dishes, bottles, bricks, ship parts and lumber) and the possibility that survivors of the Wreck of the Ten Sail deserted and/or took up residence in Grand Cayman.

Of significant value, additional narratives regarding the Wreck of the Ten Sail were collected in 1982-83 by Anita Ebanks of the Cayman Islands National Museum. Copies of these tape recorded interviews with elder Caymanians (mostly East Enders) are now held by the Cayman Islands National Archive in the Memory Bank. They have a decade’s time advantage over current recordings. Most of the individuals are now deceased and others were younger when first interviewed. Following are the narratives related in answer to questions posed by Anita Ebanks in her interview sessions, and quoted or paraphrased by the present author.
Mr. Barrett Welcome heard tales of the Wreck of the Ten Sails from his father and elder sister. He related that his grandfather was the operator of the whole situation, the coxswain of the first ship that struck the reef. He pointed out that in those days the captain of a ship was called the coxswain. The name of the ship was the "Leader" and it was wrecked and lost with nine more. His great grandfather, James Leslie Welcome, whose father was Irish and mother was African, was the captain and navigating officer of the Leader of the Ten Sails. He willfully put them ashore on Grand Cayman. There were 52 ships and Captain Joseph Martin, the commander of the whole fleet, planned to put all of them on shore, but only ten wrecked. The ships were bound to Alabama from Africa. There were two brothers, one was captain and the other was on the deck, and they decided to put the ships ashore. The ten ships were landed along the beach from Old Isaacs Point down to the "head of the ironshore down there". The people from the wrecks went down to Bodden Town, Northward and Lower Valley to settle because there was no settlement in East End. Years later his grandfather walked the beach up to Colliers and settled there. At that time he told old man Martin that he was going to settle on the northeast point of the island, but that if he needed him he could call. Only one sailor was killed off the ship and he was probably buried somewhere in East End. A lot of the people went down into the Pedro Bush and stayed there. Some of the white people, some of the seamen, left on the other ships. Captain Martin and 20 or 25 men from his ship, the Leader, stayed here. Barrett Welcome's grandfather was never a slave. He was a shipwright and a captain. The first ship struck the reef at 3:00 o'clock in the morning and started firing cannons. One ship was in trouble and the rest of them piled in on him to help him get out of trouble. That is how he trapped the ten of them. He willfully did the job. He planned to get 52 ships on the reef, but the wind dropped out on him and slowed him down. The first ship hit the reef at 10:00 that night and he hit
at 3:00 in the morning but by 6:00 in the morning the others could see
what was happening and they hauled off. The passengers practically had
to save themselves. They saved most of their stuff, but since East End
was not settled most of it went down the other way. His grandfather
went up to Colliers to start a settlement and came back in a few weeks
time to get the others. About 20 or 25 people went with him to
Colliers. The Leader was a square rigged barkentine and carried no
less than 20 to 40 men as crew. Barrett Welcome's grandfather was the
navigating officer. Martin could not navigate and his original
navigator got killed, so he picked him up in the Canary Islands. He
was 22 when he got on the ship.

Mrs. Ethelien Jackson was 100 years old when her interview took
place. She related that she used to hear about the Wreck of the Ten
Sail, but that she couldn't remember much about it. She remembered
plenty of wrecks striking at East End (in her lifetime). When the
people saw a wreck on the reef they would call out, "Wreck Ashore!"
They would all go see the ship and then the men would get ready and go
on the wreck while the women made breakfast and carried it to their
husbands or sons. The men would go out in canoes. Regarding the Wreck
of the Ten Sail, she had heard that a man from the wrecks was buried at
East End, but she was not old enough to remember. She didn't see the
wrecks. Her parents had talked about it, but she couldn't remember
anything about it.

Mr. William Allen McLaughlin was born in 1895 and was 88 when his
interview took place. His grandfather told him that the Wreck of the
Ten Sail happened in the time when ships had to be convoyed, warships
and cargo ships. He related:

They were coming down as always here in sight of Gorling
Bluff, the highest point in the island just there where the
lighthouse is. The Convoy is coming and one ship got
ashore and she fired off a cannon. And then instead of
taking it that they were in distress and firing...the whole
fleet took it that they had been attacked by pirates or
something of the kind and so they closed in...and didn't
find out how it was in error until ten was ashore.
When the wrecking occurred the weather was not too bad, but a
northeaster was blowing heavy. The people from East End who were there
on the island saved the people. William McLaughlin could not recall
the names of the ships or how many were in the convoy, but he
remembered seeing remains of the warship when he was a boy. When he
was ten he went to school at Gun Bay and at low tide he could see
cannons in the bay, the beach. During World War II a number of these
cannons were taken from Gun Bay to George Town to be sent off for the
war effort. He didn't know if any of the shipwreck victims stayed on
the island or whether the ships were salvaged at the time. When asked
about whether there were tricky currents in the area he remarked that,
"after a south wind, heavy south wind, and then coming onto a north
wind, the current is always very strong. It pulls a boat as they
coming down, they come in sight. It pulls them right up towards the
point of the reef".

Mr. William Warren Conolly was one of the youngest people
interviewed by Anita Ebanks, having been born in 1920. He learned the
story of the Wreck of the Ten Sail from his grandmother, Adelyn McCoy,
who was born in 1857. He pointed out that she had a very good memory
and an ability to relate things very correctly. She had witnessed a
number of shipwrecks on the reef during her lifetime, but the narrative
of the Wreck of the Ten Sail was told to her. He related her story:

There was a convoy of ships traveling and apparently they
had made an agreement that there was always a leader in
this convoy. And if danger was approaching, that means if
they were being attacked by a pirate ship or anything, then
they would fire a gun and alert the other ships. Well, apparenately what happened, the first ship ran on the reef
and a gun was fired. The others mistook that as being some
danger from a pirate vessel or vessels, attack from pirate
vessels, and they closed in. And eventually all ten of
them went on the reef. This is what she told me.

Warren Conolly did not recall his grandmother mentioning anything about
lives being lost. He pointed out that although he had heard some
people tell a story about a prince or duke being on board, that there
was nothing in her story like that. He had not heard about people
saving things off the wrecks, but he imagined that they did because "ship wrecking" was customary in those days. He did not know the names of the ships. He related that along the beaches and reefs of Gun Bay there are numerous cannons, but that many other ships also wrecked there. Therefore, he couldn't be certain whether they came from this squadron of ships or from other single ships that hit the reef. It was difficult to determine how the cannons, lined up within the beach, got to shore from the reef which is about a mile distant. He speculated that perhaps the whole side of a ship, in a hurricane, had floated in and settled. He hadn't seen the cannons when he was a child because they were buried in the sand and not exposed. He remembered, however, that in 1940, during World War II, three or four of the cannons were recovered and sent to England for scrap metal. He was one of several young men, under the direction of Donald McLean, who dug them up, pried them out and maneuvered them from the beach with the help of Inspector Watler's truck.

The description of the Wreck of the Ten Sail that Mrs. Phoebe Watler Spence related to Anita Ebanks in 1982 was essentially the same narrative, with a few minor variations, that she gave to the author in 1990. In the earlier narrative, however, she described the convoy as merchant ships rather than war ships. Additional details recorded in 1982 suggest that among the items salvaged from the shipwrecks were many iron items such as furnaces, cannons and cooking pots, as well as materials to build houses. In 1982 she also related that some of the shipwreck victims settled in Bodden Town or other districts, but not in East End. She also stated that when the wrecks occurred the weather must have been good.

Mrs. [Katy Rochelle Wood?] was 80 when she was interviewed. She said that she did not remember very much about the Wreck of the Ten Sail, but that the Ridgefield (a Liberty ship that ran aground in 1962) was "riding on the Ten Sail anchor". She explained that when the Ten
Sail struck she dropped an anchor. Later the Ridgefield struck on the Ten Sail anchor. People were living at East End when the Wreck of the Ten Sail occurred. She knew that there was a sailor buried in the graveyard, but was not certain whether he was from the Ten Sail. There was a marker on the grave with no writing on it, and when it fell down she picked it up. She remarked that her father always said that it was the sailor's head post. The grave is located at the north end of the Gun Bay cemetery.

Mrs. Nina Watler Conolly, the sister of Mrs. Phoebe Watler Spence, was born in 1903. She related the following:

Well, I hear my father saying, when the days of piracy, so the ships were going in convoy, ten ships going and ten more taking care of what were going in case pirate attack came. So when they strike the reef, when a pirate had attacked them, they would shoot a lot of gun to let them know to hurry get to them. But when they got ashore on this point of reef out here they shoot a lot of gun and the other ships that was taking care of them, coming behind, they speed up. But they had shoot the gun because they had got ashore on the reef, to know they had need help. And when the ten come behind all ten of them got ashore, along with what was that they had strike. So there was a lot of gun all along this bay. The whole Gun Bay was nothing but guns along the shore. And all of there now you can go and get guns.

She agreed that perhaps Gun Bay got its name from all the cannons located there. She did not think anyone lost his life in the Wreck of the Ten Sail. She believed that Caymanian men from shore helped rescue some of the shipwreck victims in big canoes. Miss Nina did not know the names of any of the ships. She was unsure whether items had been saved from the vessels, but figured that they had. Her father had a gun that she said was only sold some years ago. It was located on the beach, and was said to be from the Ten Sail. She remarked that an American (Earl Smith) took two or three guns from the Ten Sail. She hadn't heard that any of the shipwreck victims from the episode stayed on the island, but supposed that they had because a number of foreigners who came ashore from various shipwrecks never left the island. She said that when a cesspool was dug in 1979, that some bones
were found. She believed they were bones of a dead sailor from the shipwrecks.

Mrs. Mary Antoinette Wood Levy was 94 when interviewed by Anita Ebanks in 1982. Her narrative was similar to that given to the author in 1991, but was more detailed. In 1982 she related:

The Ten Sail left Jamaica, coming to the West Indies of Cayman, the West Indies Islands. And one got ashore and when she got ashore she made a report and the other nine that was behind thought that she was reporting for some, she had something happening on board her, but she were ashore. That shore that she was on is between Roger Wreck and where old Mr. Fuller live, the elbow of the Island of Grand Cayman, the elbow. She got ashore Rogers Wreck. She came right round then where Mr. Fuller live, that bordering on to this part of North Side. And there the Ten Sail first ship got ashore on the elbow of the island, Rogers Wreck. And by giving report that she was ashore, the next one came to her for aid and she got ashore, and the next seven came to her and she got ashore, til all ten got ashore, leaving now in this island some of the crew of the first one that got ashore. They went to find out what had happened. And they find out that the ship was ashore on the reef. Well, they didn't went back to the ship. They went back then to the shore of North Side. When they got to the shore they wouldn't go back after the ship got off. It's a Miller, he's from the Ten Sail. It's an Ebanks, he's from the Ten Sail. It's a Whittaker, he's from this Ten Sail crew that came ashore here in North Side that didn't went back boat, on the boat to go away when they got off. You understanding me now? Now their generation is here now. It is one girl that is married to one fellow in George Town, to Miss Gladys Ebanks. Fellow got a mole on his face here. That is one of the Ten Sail only daughter...grandfather told us the stories off and on till we had learnt it almost by heart.

When questioned further, Miss Nettie suggested that the weather was stormy when the wrecks occurred. She also gave the names of some of the ships as the Dean, Romanoff, Skudland, El Rica, and Florence. She said that the people from the wrecks who stayed on Grand Cayman went to North Side; in addition to the previously mentioned names she added Bodden and Chisholm. She noted that the Bodden daughter married in this island. Miss Nettie said that some of the wrecks that were ashore left some cloth, a bolt of satin that the people from the North Side saved. Her grandfather received a couple of yards of that satin, or velvet, because he was one of those that boarded the ships when they came ashore. No one was harmed in the shipwrecks as the people from
East End and North Side went out and saved them in canoes. She noted that a piece of one of the wrecks is still there off Rogers Wreck. There were no slaves, women or children on the Wreck of the Ten Sail, but a prince was aboard the first ship that struck, the Dean. Miss Nettie concluded that Caymanians got their freedom from being pressed for any wars because they had done their duty in saving the Ten Sail crew. It is apparent that Mary Antoinette Wood Levy, and/or her grandfather were good storytellers. Their narrative seems to weave many Cayman shipwrecks as well as imagination into the Wreck of the Ten Sail.

Retired school teacher Mrs. Doris Wood was 76 when her interview took place. She said that according to the older folks, the Wreck of the Ten Sail took place in 1791. At the time there were no people living at East End. The Conollys from the United States who disagreed with their flag, Bill Eden and William Watler were, however, resident on the island. She understood that when the event took place, the first ship struck off Corkers Reef at the lower end of the bay. It was during the pirate age and King Edward III wanted to free the seas of piracy. He had gathered a convoy of 25 or 30 ships to go out.

There were no lights at that time on the island and one of the ships came ashore at Corkers Reef. Miss Doris related:

She gave a distress signal. She blew a trumpet that she was having trouble and they thought it said come on these pirate ships. And they all ten made for her, and they keep coming from different angles. They keep getting ashore, they kept getting ashore until they all got ashore between Corkers Reef and Gun Bay. By morning there were ten of the ships ashore. Well there's not...living at East End at that time. They had to I suppose make known to people, people begin to see, come and see vessels ashore...People come up from Boddon town...and slavery was going on must be to a little extent slavery is on. Slavery is on, the slave boys and slave ships, slave people they came then to their rescue. And I understand that it was, it was a duke among them. I didn't hear of any prince. I hear it was a duke...Everyone was saved...They took time and not a soul never got killed. And for that reason King George made a subscription, an inscription that nobody from Cayman would ever be forced to go to war. On a cause of the kindness that these people that took 'em, different ones in their homes and lodged them till some of them could go back to
England. Now that is really fact...some could get back to England and some decided to stay here. The man that was the flagship that struck on Corkers reef, and the name his ship was Captain William Martin. And that was the flagship that were leading all the other ships. She struck on Corkers reef...East End, but nobody wasn’t living there at that time...Corkers Reef is on the map. And that’s where the first one struck and they keep striking further up until they got in Gun Bay, ten of these ships. As I understand it six of them got off, six stayed here. Four got off.

In answer to further questions, Miss Doris suggested that the weather was choppy when the wrecking occurred and that people in canoes helped those from the wrecks. She said that the names of two of the ships were the Caradosa, Captain William Martin’s vessel, and the Gwendolyn Warren. She pointed out that the event had happened a long time before she was born and before her grandma was born; the story is what Miss Doris’ grandma learned from her grandmother. According to the story, the people from Savannah knew about the wrecks because the Ten Sail people went to Newlands and built a house. When questioned about the names of people from the ships, Miss Doris suggested that one of the sailors from the Ten Sail took up with Sarah McCoy from Bodden Town and that she lived with him and had a child by him. He and other sailors went back to England to collect their money and then returned to Cayman because they liked it so much. In the meantime Sarah McCoy took up with another man and when the sailor returned she wouldn’t have anything to do with him. Miss Doris sang a song that she said was sung about Jimmy Little Fool from the Ten Sail:

Kick him out, kick him out the door.
Kick Jimmy Little Fool, kick him out the door.

She’s my darling Sarah McCoy,
Tell her I say I come again.
You see my darling Sarah McCoy,
You can tell her I say I come again.

Kick him out, kick him out the door.
She, she kick him out, kick him out the door.
Kick him out, kick him out the door.

Miss Doris emphasized that the song was made about the Ten Sail people and that they "were here!" She further related that Captain William
Martin and the Masons were from the Ten Sail. Captain Martin's wife was called Maybee and his granddaughter Betsey married Lee Christian.

Summary

Today, the event known by oral tradition as the Wreck of the Ten Sail, in the Cayman Islands, lives in the Island's folklore. This suggests that the historical episode attained a significant local value in Caymanian society. It persists in narratives passed along for two centuries that were etched into the minds of children, who became the elders, and older Caymanians still tell a variety of stories. Recording of the tales revealed that they are frequently inconsistent with the historical and archaeological record. Historical accuracy, however, is not characteristic of folklore. All of the narratives add insight into the lasting effect of the shipwreck episode on the local population, and thereby enhance our understanding of the Caymanian people and their culture.
Footnotes for Chapter VIII.

1. Commissioner George Hirst could not trace any authority for this statement.

2. George S.S. Hirst, Notes on the History of the Cayman Islands (Kingston, 1910) 115-116. Chapter IX will address the archaeological presence of cannons on the Gun Bay reef.


4. The author deposited the original tapes from the tape-recorded interviews in the Cayman Islands National Archive (hereafter CINA) which administers the Cayman Islands Memory Bank.

5. CINA, Memory Bank Tape, Narrator Phoebe Watler Spence, interviewed by Margaret E. Leshikar, 14 November 1990.

6. Other individuals also speak of salvaging cannons from East End for the war effort, during World War II.

7. The typed version of Mrs. Phoebe Watler Spence's poem is quoted here. When she read it to the author, as recorded on the 14 November 1990 tape held by the Memory Bank, she occasionally changed a word or a phrase.

8. CINA, Memory Bank Tape, Phoebe Watler Spence, 14 November 1990.

9. These Spanish olive jars are of the late style, which coincides with the period when the Wreck of the Ten Sail occurred. Such jars were not carried exclusively by the Spanish, but were also used by people of other nationalities.


11. CINA, Memory Bank Tape, Narrator Edison Jackson, interviewed by Margaret E. Leshikar, 4 January 1991.

12. Genealogical research may reveal whether any Wreck of the Ten Sail survivors stayed on Grand Cayman. It is recorded that survivors from other shipwrecks occasionally remained in the Cayman Islands.


14. CINA, Memory Bank Tape, Narrator Weddy Connolly, interviewed by Margaret E. Leshikar and Jeanne Masters, 10 December 1990.

15. CINA, Memory Bank Tapes, Subject: Wreck of the Ten Sail, Narrators: broadband Welcome, Ethellen Jackson, William Allen McLaughlin, William Warren Connolly, Phoebe Watler Spence, Nina Watler Connolly, [Katy etc.] Wood, Mary Antoinette Wood Levy, Doris Wood, interviewed by Betty Ebanks, 1982-83. These interviews are referenced collectively as they are archived together in the Memory Bank. The tapes are one or two generations away from the original and were, in some cases, difficult to understand.
16. The information given by the narrators is sometimes repetitive or contradictory. Nonetheless, it is generally paraphrased as it was spoken in order to maintain the narrator's original thought.

17. In Barrett Welcome's narrative he uses the term "grandfather" and "great grandfather" interchangeably.

18. Barrett Welcome did not say why James Leslie Welcome willfully put the ships ashore on Grand Cayman. Nonetheless, this is not the only tale told about such actions. There is a popular narrative about a ship called the Geneva Catheline that wrecked on the north side, at the east end, of Grand Cayman in about 1929. It is said that the ship was loaded with lumber from Mobile, Alabama, and that her Caymanian captain purposely put her ashore. Subsequently the Geneva Catheline was salvaged and many houses in East End and North Side were built from the lumber that she carried. No doubt, the captain was popular on the island because of his actions.

19. There are two known locations, offshore, where cannons that are positioned side by side are buried in sand at East End. English cannons have been recovered from a site adjacent to shore at Gun Bay and French cannons have been recovered from a sandbar, just inside the reef, north of East Channel.

20. The name of this narrator is derived from the name spoken on a poor-quality tape, as understood by the author. The interviewer could not precisely recall the narrator's name. Mrs. Phoebe Walter Spence suggests that the person may have been Lydia Rachel Rankine, for she does not recall anyone by the name of Katy Rochelle Wood from East End. Mrs. Watler Spence noted that Lydia Rachel Rankine's daughter said that her mother would play tricks on people by giving them different names.

21. The wreck of the Ridgefield is located on the south side of East Channel at East End. It is, in fact, located near several nineteenth-century wrecks, and atop at least one nineteenth-century wreck. It is unclear whether earlier vessels might also be in that exact location.

22. Rogers Wreck Point is on the northeast point of Grand Cayman, while Mr. Fuller's home was located just east of Old Man Bay, on the north side of the island.

23. The names of these vessels are not the same as the actual ships that were part of the Wreck of the Ten Sail. Perhaps these are the names of other vessels that subsequently went ashore in Grand Cayman, some of which managed to get off the reef. The spelling of the names of these ships is derived phonetically from the author listening to the oral narratives.

24. Mrs. Doris Wood's maiden name was Wood. Although she married, she later divorced and took back her maiden name.

25. Corkers Reef is at the south end of the East End reef.

26. It is interesting that none of the oral history accounts relate the hardships faced by Caymanians following the hurricane of October 1793, and the islanders' request that the survivors from the Wreck of the Ten Sail leave the island. It is possible that stories of hurricanes in more recent history, such as the tragic hurricane that occurred in 1932 with great loss of life, superseded narratives regarding similar hardships faced by earlier generations.
CHAPTER IX

ARCHAEOLOGY

From the sixteenth century to modern times, the low-lying Cayman Islands have been the fateful snare for hundreds of ships of various nationalities. The islands' reefs have claimed the Dutch West Indiaman Dolphijn, the Spanish brigantine San Miguel, the pirate ship Morning Star, merchantmen of British, Spanish, French, American and Canadian origin, Caymanian schooners, a twentieth-century Liberty ship and other vessels. But the most famous shipwreck disaster in Cayman's history remains the Wreck of the Ten Sail.

Earlier chapters have provided a historical and geographical context for HMS Convert and nine of her merchant convoy, and the events surrounding the wrecking have been described in detail. Folklore has linked the 200-year-old episode with the present. And yet there is more. The seas hold vestiges of the ten British ships that, on 8 February 1794, ventured too near the windward reefs of Grand Cayman.

The ships of the Wreck of the Ten Sail were heavily salvaged, first by their captains and crews, and then by Caymanians. The remains were affected by exposure to the sea, but eventually reached a state of equilibrium, disturbed on occasion by violent weather. During recent times, however, the shipwrecks have suffered the impact of additional human intervention.

Over the past thirty years, snorkelers and scuba divers have recovered many items from the shipwrecks of Cayman, including those located on the eastern reefs of Grand Cayman. Many of these collectors are curiosity seekers who have been fascinated by an object, or who have wanted a cannon or an anchor for display in front of a home, a hotel or a business. Most of these people have been unaware that they are contributing to the destruction of important and finite historical information and material culture. They have not yet learned that when
artifacts are unscientically removed from their archaeological contexts, these items lose their ability to tell the story of Cayman's past. Without proper treatment the usual fate of marine artifacts, particularly iron objects, is rapid deterioration and eventual loss.

In an attempt to effectively regulate the recovery of objects from the islands' historical shipwrecks, the Government of the Cayman Islands revised its Abandoned Wreck Law (No. 5 of 1966) in 1977. This Law states that rights to abandoned wrecks that have remained on the seabed of the islands' territorial waters for at least fifty years are vested in the British Crown.\(^1\) There are provisions that allow the Governor to enter into agreements with individuals or organizations to prospect for and salvage such wrecks, but licenses to conduct such activities have not been granted since the law was enacted. Violators of the Abandoned Wreck Law may be fined up to C.I.$2000 and/or imprisoned for up to two years; unlawfully held artifacts from abandoned wrecks may be seized.\(^2\) Today, the Cayman Islands Government is once again reviewing the existing laws to assess their adequacy, and may recommend revisions.

Although the Abandoned Wreck Law is in place, actual enforcement has been lax. The law was established largely in response to the Government's receipt of applications from treasure hunters to prospect for and salvage wrecks in Caymanian waters. Since licenses have not been granted to these salvage groups, the law has succeeded in disallowing the large scale, indiscriminate excavation of historical shipwreck sites. But the small scale removal of objects, one at a time, has gone unchecked until recently. In 1991, however, when underwater archaeological work for the current investigation began, Marine Parks officers (in charge of environmental concerns) began to assist the Cayman Islands National Museum in reminding people that it is unlawful to collect artifacts from shipwreck sites. The museum is currently making efforts to educate the public by demonstrating that
underwater archaeology and conservation of marine artifacts from shipwrecks is vital if Caymanians wish to preserve the tangible remains of their maritime heritage for future generations to study and enjoy. In addition, intact wrecks on the seabed can enhance diving tourism.

**Archaeology Before 1990**

At the request of the Cayman Islands Government, the Institute of Nautical Archaeology (INA), a non-profit, scientific and educational organization based at and affiliated with Texas A&M University, conducted a professional underwater archaeological survey of Little Cayman, Cayman Brac and Grand Cayman during the summers of 1979 and 1980. In the mid-1980s Indiana University's Department of Physical Education, Scuba Research and Development Group (SRD) was granted permission by the Cayman Islands Government to conduct non-invasive fieldwork on shipwreck sites that were possibly affiliated with the *Wreck of the Ten Sail*. The following is a discussion of underwater archaeology in the Cayman Islands before 1990.

**The 1979-80 Institute of Nautical Archaeology Surveys**

In 1978 the Cayman Islands Government began inquiries regarding the possibility of having a scientific archaeological survey conducted to locate and evaluate the shipwreck resources of the Cayman Islands. Acting on favorable recommendations, their representatives approached the Institute of Nautical Archaeology. Although INA had not previously sponsored fieldwork in the Caribbean, the Institute agreed to assist the Cayman Islands. During 1979-80 two phases of underwater fieldwork were carried out by experienced archaeologists under the direction of Roger C. Smith, a research associate with INA. Smith relates that INA chose to initiate the *Cayman Islands Project* for two reasons: a survey was obviously needed and it was believed that the work might demonstrate to other West Indian nations that, "scientific scrutiny, rather than the hunt for treasure, can bring aspects of national
heritage to light". The resulting field investigations were the first scientific surveys for historical shipwrecks to be conducted in the Cayman Islands.

The INA team used remote sensing devices including a magnetometer, visual survey methods and information related by local informants to locate sites. Likely shipwreck areas, particularly Cayman's fringing reefs, were targeted for the search. Remote sensing procedures were emphasized in 1979 during the survey of Little Cayman. In 1980, however, during the surveys around Grand Cayman and Cayman Brac, more importance was placed on visual search techniques. Visual survey proved to be extremely effective in the clear waters of Cayman, especially in shallow reef zones that are inaccessible to boats. Smith describes the methodology used during the Cayman Islands Project:

After a site was discovered, its precise location was surveyed from existing benchmarks and plotted on a master chart of the areas covered by the investigation. Careful examination of each site was undertaken to determine the extent of the wreckage and to record major features such as cannon, anchors, ship's structure and fittings. Limited testing by selective excavation or surface sampling was conducted to obtain diagnostic artifacts useful in determining a general date and cultural affiliation for each site. These items often included pottery sherds, clay smoking pipe fragments, glass bottle sherds, or remains of the ship's equipment and crew's possessions. The majority of these materials were returned to the areas from which they had been recovered after being examined, measured, typed and photographed. Some, however, were retained for further analysis or public display because of their historical significance.

During 1979-80, INA archaeologists recorded 55 archaeological sites on Grand Cayman, 17 sites on Little Cayman and 5 sites on Cayman Brac. Most of these sites were associated with shipwrecks, but several were terrestrial sites. Today, a master map and documentary files, containing information about these 77 sites, form the core of the National Shipwreck Inventory which is archived and being enlarged by the Cayman Islands National Museum.

Most of the artifacts that were recovered during the Cayman Islands Project were later buried in labeled bags at their sites of
origin. Although a law had been passed in 1979 providing for the establishment of the Cayman Islands National Museum, the public repository was not yet in existence to curate them. Nonetheless, artifacts that were not returned to the sea after the conclusion of the INA survey were stored as part of the National Museum's collections. Roger Smith personally retains the Cayman Islands Project photographs and the drawings of artifacts recovered during the fieldwork. It is expected, however, that since a proper public repository is now in existence, Smith will turn this original data over to the Cayman Islands National Museum to complete the 1979-80 Cayman Islands Project site files in the National Shipwreck Inventory.

Although the Cayman Islands Project was a reconnaissance to locate and record shipwrecks situated around all three of the Cayman Islands, about a month was spent exclusively surveying the reefs of Grand Cayman's East End (Figure 72). Smith pointed out that 24 shipwreck-related sites were located on this six-mile stretch of windward reef, and called the area "a virtual graveyard of unfortunate vessels". Artifacts observed on these sites varied from ceramics and glass to cannons and anchors, and suggested that the sites ranged in date from the late eighteenth century until the mid-1960s. While in-depth study of the shipwrecks was not among the goals of the Cayman Islands Project, the INA crew concluded that several sites were likely to represent remains of the Convert and the wrecked merchantmen of her convoy.

One site, designated GC 017, was characterized by buried cannons thought to be from the frigate Convert. It was known that at least two guns had been removed earlier from this general area for display on land, but the project identified and plotted the locations of five others. One of these five had been removed from the site and dropped half a mile away, across the East End Sound towards shore. The transported cannon, recognized by its dimensions and inscriptions as a
Figure 72. The East End Reefs of Grand Cayman Showing General Shipwreck Zones Containing Archaeological Sites Investigated in 1980 and/or 1991. Specific Locational Data Are Held by the CINM (drawn by R.L. Craig).
piece of French ordnance, bore markings on the base ring and trunnions that would eventually be used to identify it precisely: on the end of the left trunnion were the letters "BA" (the right trunnion remained concreted); on the base ring was inscribed "A o 1781" and "N 45 o P3347".13

Site GC 017, among other possible Wreck of the Ten Sail sites will be discussed in detail under "Current Underwater Archaeology". Thus, the 1980 INA survey data will be included in that section of this dissertation.

The Indiana University Scuba Research and Development Group Surveys

Indiana University's Department of Physical Education, Scuba Research and Development Group (SRD), headed by Charles Beeker, approached the Cayman Islands Government in the mid-1980s and secured permission to investigate possible Wreck of the Ten Sail sites. The SRD group was allowed to locate and document sites through remote sensing, mapping, photography and video recording, but was not permitted to excavate or collect artifacts. SRD received small grants for the survey from the Cayman Islands Government, the Professional Association of Diving Instructors (PADI) and from Indiana University. The SRD surveys were undertaken as field school projects which took place in three sessions, each lasting a few weeks. During each session, site documentation was carried out by 15 to 20 sport diver participants from Indiana University who were being taught the fundamentals of underwater archaeology by an experienced nautical archaeologist retained by SRD.14 While the 1980 INA survey located and professionally recorded a greater number of sites at East End than SRD, the latter group succeeded in finding several new sites. Most of their documentation, however, involved three shipwreck-related sites located in the vicinity of East End Channel, one shipwreck site in East End Sound and a beach site, all previously recorded by the INA team.15 Three of these, GC 001, GC 002 and GC 021, are post eighteenth-century
sites and thus clearly not representative of the Convert or her convoy; the remaining two sites, GC 017 and GC 041, have late eighteenth-century components and are almost certainly associated with the Wreck of the Ten Sail. Descriptions of the SRD documentation of these important sites will be included under "Current Underwater Archaeology" when the sites are addressed in detail.

In addition to organizing the SRD fieldwork, Charles Beeker wrote letters to individuals and archival repositories in Britain and France to seek information about the Convert and also regarding artifacts he discovered on a nineteenth-century site. Of particular importance was his correspondence with French naval scholar Jean Boudriot who, in a letter of 7 April 1986, identified a specific cannon described by Beeker. It had recently been salvaged from the site designated by the INA project as GC 017. Boudriot explained to Beeker that from his description, the Convert, ex-Inconstante, was armed with 12-pounder cannons (long pattern guns) that conformed to the official French Regulations of 1779. He suggested that Beeker's referenced weight for the gun, 2200 kilograms, was not accurate, pointing out that 1650 kilograms was more likely to be correct (he speculated that concretions on the cannon might account for the difference). Boudriot interpreted the inscriptions that Beeker had observed on the gun: "RA" indicated the name of the master of the forge, Baynaud; "FN" identified the forge where the gun was cast, Forge-Neuve, an ironworks near Angoulême in Charente, France (Figure 6, p 35); "1781" was the year the gun was cast; and "N²25" indicated the cast number (chronological, beginning over each year). Boudriot told Beeker that the inscription "P33" indicated the weight of the gun in livres, but suggested that the last two numbers were missing; according to the manufacturing standards the weight theoretically should have been "P3350". Boudriot further explained that two fleurs-de-lys represented the trade-mark of Forge-Neuve. He wrote that Baynaud owned another forge, located in Ruelle,
which was distinguished from the first by three fleurs-de-lys, always printed on the base ring.\textsuperscript{18} Jean Boudriot's identification of the cannon from site GC 017 suggests that it is a piece of the original French ordnance placed on board l'\textit{Inconstante}, which was lost when the frigate wrecked.

\textbf{A Quest for Cannons}

Before the underwater archaeology phase of the current study was initiated, some background investigation was deemed appropriate. It was known that numerous cannons had been salvaged from shipwreck sites located in the waters of Grand Cayman, particularly from East End. Therefore, beginning in December 1990, a search for cannons presently displayed on land was conducted. The plan was to discover the locales from which each cannon had been recovered, and to determine if any might be associated with the \textit{Wreck of the Ten Sail}. By late 1991 about 30 cannons had been photo documented and measured, and had their salvage history detailed, by the author and volunteers Jeanne Masters and Arthur and Helene Schindler. Nine guns were discovered to be almost identical in their measurements and overall appearance. Among them were Baynaud's Forge-Neuve, 1781 long pattern 12-pounder, cast "NF45" (recorded by INA in 1980), and cast "NF25" (described and precisely identified by the SRD project in 1986). All had been salvaged from site GC 017 located in the sound at East End.\textsuperscript{20}

These French 12-pounders were cast according to the Regulations of 1778-9. They were long pattern guns, specified in the Regulations to be 2.413 meters in length, from the face of the muzzle to the back of the base ring, but due to casting variances in guns cast before circa 1786, lengths often varied up to 2 or 3 cm from the standard; the bore diameter was to be 120.7 mm (Figures 18, p.59 and 20, p.61).\textsuperscript{21}

Three of the cannons, designated OR 18, OR 26 and OR 27, were raised in the 1970s by one individual. He related that the iron guns were cured in fresh water for a year, after which they were scrubbed
with a wire-brush. In the 1980s they were displayed in front of a business called the "Sea Aquarium", but today are located in the front yards of private residences. Although the original inscriptions have exfoliated with layers of rust corrosion from the surfaces of these guns, some details were noted by the salvager. He related that OR 18, which is currently displayed in his front yard, exhibited the inscription "A 1781 NFOR1333"; he did not record trunnion marks (Figure 73). It is apparent that "A 1781", the date of casting, is correct, but the "NFOR1333" is probably a misreading of the cannon's combined cast number and weight. It is not known what the "A" signifies, but "A" was also recorded on the cast "N45" cannon (perhaps it is related to the year and cast number, or maybe it refers to Angoulême, the location of Forge-Neuve). When OR 18 was recorded, in December 1990, the gun was considered to be in fair condition. It was freshly painted silver, with black bands; a black cannon ball sealed the bore.

A second gun, designated OR 26, was marked "A 1781 N6 P3308"; this suggests that the cannon was the sixth long pattern, 12-pounder cannon that was cast at an unidentified French forge in 1781. The weight, 3308 livres, may be slightly in error, or the gun may be a little lighter than the standard 3350 livres. In January 1991, OR 26 was in fair condition. Although it had been painted black, little paint was remaining. The cannon was spauling chunks of iron corrosion products.

According to the salvager, some of the markings on OR 27 came off in chipping the encrustation from the gun. Nonetheless, in November 1991, when the cannon was recorded, traces of numbers and letters could be discerned. The number "17" on the base ring probably represents part of the date and the letters "FR", which were legible on the right trunnion, suggest that the cannon was cast at Forge-Neuve. In November 1991, OR 27 was not painted, but the surface was in fair condition. It is assumed that a rust inhibitor, such as a product containing
Figure 73. Cannon OR 18 (photograph by M.E. Leshikar).
phosphoric acid, must have been repeatedly applied to the surface in the past. Although this cannon is said to have been recovered in the 1970s, it is mounted on a concrete carriage with the date 2-11-82 carved into it. The carriage is the same one that the cannon was mounted on at the "Sea Aquarium". Therefore, the date may be associated with that venture.

At least four of the remaining six guns were lifted in the 1980s. Earl Smith removed OR 05 from the sea (Figure 74). He had received approval from the Cayman Islands Government to salvage two cannons from East End, in a letter of 28 June 1979, although it is not known if a license for the work was prepared. The letter stipulated that the guns remain the property of Government and "that the restoration of the cannons be carried out with acceptable conservation techniques". Smith built a concrete vat around OR 05 and filled it with rain water. He constructed a windmill-type device to keep the water circulating and left the gun in the fresh water from 1982 to 1985. Subsequently, he mounted the cannon in his front yard and painted it with a thick black automobile lacquer. OR 05 is the cannon that the 1980 INA crew found transported halfway across the sound at East End. The INA team had noted its markings: "BA" on the left trunnion; "A"°1781" and "N°45° P3347" on the base ring. By December 1990, when the artifact was recorded for the present survey, the lettering had disappeared with rust corrosion products. Nonetheless, Earl and Pat Smith noted that the letters "FN" had been apparent on the right trunnion at the time of salvage. They had kept two pieces of encrustation, one from a trunnion and the other from the base ring, that revealed the imprint "BA" and "81 [graphic fleurs-de-lys] N".

The author noted three fleurs-de-lys when she examined the base-ring encrustation, but this is not consistent with the marking described by Jean Boudriot to Charles Beeker in 1986, for a Forge-Neuve cannon (two fleurs-de-lys). Thus, it was assumed that the encrustation
impression had been misinterpreted. Nonetheless, the author posed a question regarding this inconsistency to Jean Boudriot and David H. Roberts. In a 19 April 1992 letter from David Roberts, on behalf of Jean Boudriot, he reaffirmed that the Ruelle guns had three fleurs-de-lys, and further noted that they were distinguished from the Forge-Neuve guns ("FN") by the mark "RV"; both carried the "BA". In a subsequent letter of 9 May 1992, however, Boudriot and Roberts wrote, "According to the registers for receiving guns at Rochefort Archives, there would be three fleurs-de-lys on the base ring".\textsuperscript{23}

Earl and Pat Smith's information filled in some gaps regarding OR 05, and thus we know that the French cannon was cast in 1781, that its cast number was 45, that it weighed 3347 livres, and that it was forged at Baynaud's Forge-Neuve, near Angoulême in Charente. If the author was correct in noting three fleurs-de-lys on the encrustation mold, OR 05 exhibited a mark signifying that it was intended for Rochefort.\textsuperscript{24} The information supports the theory that OR 05 was part of the original ordnance used aboard the Rochefort frigate, Inconstant. In 1990 OR 05 was noted to be in fair, bordering on poor, condition.

In November 1991, OR 28 was documented in the yard of a private residence. It had recently been moved there. The salvage history and details of how it came to be in its present location were not clear. The current keeper of the cannon thought that it was one of three guns previously displayed at the "Sea Aquarium". Since three other cannons have been reported by the original salvager to be the "Sea Aquarium" cannons, the numbers do not add up. No inscriptions were discernable on the trunnions or base ring. While the cannon had not been painted, it was in fair, bordering on poor, condition.

Three guns, OR 09, OR 10 and OR 11, are currently in public ownership. OR 09 and OR 10 are displayed at a newly fabricated "fort" at the entrance to Bodden Town. The cannons were raised in the early 1980s to be displayed in Bodden Town during a local festival called
"Pirates Week". Pat Smith of Gun Bay, who made written notes at the time the guns were salvaged, pointed out that at least one of these cannons had the letters "BA" and "FN" on the trunnions. She also noted that it had the inscription "1781 N13 P3". Although the information is not complete, it suggests that 1781 was the year of casting, that the cast number was 13, and that the gun was made at Baynaud's Forge-Neuve. In December 1990, when the cannons were recorded, none of the previously mentioned markings were observed. OR 09 and OR 10 were sparsely coated with a tar-like substance and both were in poor condition.

OR 11 was recently donated to the Cayman Islands National Trust by a local individual. Most of the cannon's markings have disappeared with rust corrosion, but a faint "N--3" is faintly distinguishable. The gun is currently undergoing electrolytic treatment. When OR 11 was recorded in December 1990 it was in fair condition.

Another cannon, OR 22, was recently offered to the National Trust, but will likely be acquired and conserved by the National Museum. When it was recorded in January 1991, it was in a concrete vat and was partially immersed in fresh water. Although the iron surface was cracking, the numbers and letters "1781 N 25 P3" were evident on the base ring; parts of the gun are still encrusted (Figure 75). OR 22 is the cannon that Jean Boudriot identified in 1986 for Charles Beecher of SRD. In 1991 the gun was in good, bordering on fair, condition.

In 1993 OR 30, a cannon identical to the previously recorded nine guns, was located at a local marina. It was said to have been raised in the 1980s. The cannon retains its coralline encrustation and seems to be in good condition, as it was immersed again in the sea at the secondary location. The National Museum is making efforts to acquire custody of this cannon and conserve it through electrolytic treatment.

Today, site GC 017 from which these ten French cannons were salvaged is being more carefully monitored and protected by the Cayman
Figure 75. Cannon OR 22 Showing "N25" on the Base Ring (photograph by M.E. Leshikar).
Islands Government. Recent documentary work there will be discussed under "Current Underwater Archaeology".

Other guns encountered during the survey of cannons presently located on land differed in style from the ten French guns. Cannon OR 06 was noted to have been recovered from the sea adjacent to the beach at Gun Bay, East End. The dimensions of this iron gun, including an overall measurement of 2.56 m (about 8'5") from the face of the muzzle to the rear of the base ring, suggest that it is an eighteenth-century 9-pounder of British manufacture. Unfortunately it is in poor condition. Two other cannons, however, are still buried in the sand adjacent to the area where OR 06 once lay.

Other guns, located on land, were vaguely reported to have come from East End. None of these pieces of ordnance are similar to the French guns from GC 017, but several had similar dimensions to OR 06. These also may be eighteenth-century British cannons, but because they are largely in poor condition, and because their exact provenience is not known, they will not be discussed here. Nonetheless, their provenience should be further investigated and their dimensions should be compared and analyzed at a future date.

OR 21, a late eighteenth- or early nineteenth-century carronade with trunnions was also recorded at an East End residence. In January 1991, when it was examined, it exhibited corrosion indicative of sea exposure. But efforts to research its origin have been unsuccessful.

Current Underwater Archaeology

Between July and November 1991, the author, as project director, assisted by a crew of avocational archaeology volunteers, conducted an underwater search for the wrecks of HMS Convert and her convoy. The undertaking was accomplished under the auspices of the Cayman Islands National Museum, which obtained permission to carry out the fieldwork from the Cayman Islands Government. Since all of the volunteers were island residents who could meet each day for surveying or cataloging,
the usual housing and provisioning logistics associated with similar projects were eliminated. The full-time volunteers were retired professionals Jeanne Masters, a nurse; Helene Schindler, an office administrator; and Arthur Schindler, a chemical engineer. Also contributing were part-time surveyor/photographer volunteers, Mike Guderian, a Cayman Islands Marine Parks officer; and Dennis Denton, manager of a deep-diving submersible operation. Special assistance was also provided by Keith Neale, Patrick Rogers and Cebert McLaughlin, all dive instructors at Morritt’s Tortuga Club, particularly when a large boat was needed for rougher sea conditions or particular survey areas. Short-term helpers included Debra Barnes-Táboza, Michael Hislop and Bill Tennent of the National Museum, and Bruce Craig, Michael Grundy, Theresa Grundy and Don Scott.

The Wreck of the Ten Sail Project was supported in part by a Texas A&M University, College of Liberal Arts Dissertation Award, granted to the author in 1990, and by the Cayman Islands National Museum. Among the National Museum’s many important contributions were a VHF radio, marine survey equipment, an underwater metal detector, archaeological field equipment and supplies, boat fuel, film and processing, drafting tools and expendables, conservation supplies and office supplies. A portable induction dredge was acquired for the archaeological testing phase, now scheduled for 1994. Maps and aerial photographs were made available to the National Museum through the Cayman Islands Government Lands and Survey Department.

The underwater fieldwork would not have been possible without the help of other organizations and individuals, and the generous loan of principal marine equipment. Morritt’s Tortuga Club provided dockage for the principal survey vessel, an inflatable boat, loaned for the duration by Atlantis Research Submersibles. Nikonos cameras, lenses, and strobes as well as occasional fiberglass boats were courtesy of the Cayman Islands Natural Resources Unit and Dennis Denton. Volunteers
supplied their own snorkeling and diving gear, while compressed air was freely given by local diving companies. Jeanne Masters provided an additional camera and a rock saw to cut ballast samples. Arthur and Helene Schindler loaned their home, complete with fresh water supplies, to serve as an artifact processing center, for no wet-site conservation facilities were yet available at the National Museum. The yacht *Platinum*, anchored in the harbor at George Town with a helicopter on board, donated flying time so the author could view and photograph shipwreck sites from the air (the flight was bartered for a submarine dive courtesy of Atlantis Research Submersibles).

Background Information

Archaeological recording of shipwreck sites that were possibly associated with the Wreck of the Ten Sail began in the 1980s. The Institute of Nautical Archaeology’s Cayman Islands Project and Indiana University’s Scuba Research and Development group surveys, however, did not center exclusively on locating and studying shipwrecks from this one eighteenth-century episode. Nonetheless, initial documentation of East End’s shipwreck sites, particularly assessments carried out by the 1980 INA team, provided an excellent foundation and starting point for the present Wreck of the Ten Sail Project. Current investigations simply focus on the 1794 episode and endeavor to evaluate the archaeological potential of possible Convert convoy sites, for historical data have underscored their significance. Findings from the earlier surveys will be reviewed at the beginnings of the discussions presented on each site, in the following pages of this report.

At the outset of the underwater archaeological fieldwork in July 1991, a review of the data regarding the wrecks of the Convert and her convoy was considered to be practical. Oral history had traditionally placed the shipwrecks on Grand Cayman’s East End and previous archival research had confirmed the location. New information discovered in Britain’s Public Record Office in February 1991, however, had further
defined the search area. The Royal Gazette of 22 February to 1 March 1794 stated that HMS Convert, the William and Elizabeth, the Britannia, the Ludlow, the Nancy, the Moorhall, the Richard, the Fortune, the Eagle, and the Sally wrecked together on the northeast end of Grand Cayman. Significantly, during the 1980 Cayman Islands Project our crew had located eighteenth-century materials largely in this geographical zone.

Specific information, useful in formulating archaeological methodology, was also known about the Convert and the wrecked merchantmen. All the vessels had been salvaged by their owners or by their owners representatives soon after wrecking, and probably all were subsequently salvaged, in the eighteenth century, by Caymanians. Since the ships had been lost on the windward reefs of Grand Cayman, they were vulnerable to the periodic violence of nature over the course of two hundred years, including hurricanes. And especially during the last thirty years, snorkelers and scuba divers have removed numerous artifacts, whether ceramic jars, copper nails or cannons, from the eastern reefs of Grand Cayman.

Significant details are known about the Convert, ex-Inconstante, which was classed in the Royal Navy as a fifth-rate frigate of 36 guns. Of particular importance, when l’Inconstante was captured from the French, an inventory was made of items belonging to the frigate that were retained by the British Admiralty. The Admiralty acquired the sails, rigging, ordnance and stores, along with the hull, for His Majesty’s Service. At the time the frigate was armed with twenty-six 12-pounder cannons and six 6-pounders. The carpenter’s stores included 80 tons of pig iron ballast in 1600 pigs (see Appendix B). Since the Convert sailed for Europe two months after her capture, it is logical to assume that few changes were made in the frigate’s ordnance and stores before her journey. The vessel would have undergone a major refit in Great Britain rather than in Jamaica. Thus, the post-capture
inventory of l'Inconstante can be compared with the salvage account of the Convert, prepared by Royal Navy officers after the frigate wrecked, and hypotheses can be made about artifacts that might remain on the archaeological site, keeping in mind that substantial further salvage was carried out by Caymanians.

The salvage account of the Convert reveals that some of the gunner's stores, including four swivels and 18 gun carriages were recovered by the Royal Navy (Figure 64, p.212). It seems, however, that the 12- and 6-pounder cannons, along with much of the round and double-headed shot were not immediately saved. Also, the stream anchor and kedge were recovered, but not the bower or sheet anchors. None of the pig iron ballast is mentioned in the salvage account. Thus, it appears that when Captains Francis Roberts and John Lawford left Grand Cayman in HMS Success, the primary and secondary ordnance, sundry ordnance stores, the largest anchors and substantial quantities of pig iron ballast, among many other items, had not been retrieved from the Convert.

The officers believed, however, that in moderate weather further salvage would be possible. Therefore, they gave William Bodden Senior and Robert Knowles Clarke, two prominent Caymanians who owned some of the Island's schooners, the exclusive right to, "undertake so far as your abilities will allow to save whatever may be possible". The recovered goods were to be landed at George Town and the Caymanians were to be compensated for their work. Bodden and Clarke agreed "to save all the remaining Stores, Provisions, & Guns together with all the Materials of the Wreck of His Majesty's Ship Convert such as Iron work, old Copper, and Copper fastening, and to give a most faithful & Just account of the same". As mentioned in an earlier chapter, Bodden and Clarke had probably been involved in helping Captain Lawford salvage the Convert before the officer departed Grand Cayman. Undoubtedly, they continued the recovery efforts. And recent archaeology suggests
that they were successful in their endeavor. Nonetheless, substantial material evidence, believed to belong to the Convert, remains on the seabed of East End Sound.

The Survey

The 1991 underwater archaeological fieldwork on the Wreck of the Ten Sail was designed to achieve fundamental goals. The strategy was to locate or relocate late-eighteenth century shipwreck sites that might be associated with the Convert and the merchantmen; to document major features such as cannons, anchors, ships' fittings and ballast, while determining the physical extent of the sites; to assess the remains and make recommendations regarding further investigation and future management of the resources; and to recover, conserve and analyze samples of artifacts encountered during the survey.

Concerning the relocation of sites, at the onset it was known that those previously recorded by the 1980 INA team might be altered, to some extent, by storm activity. Hurricane Allen had passed near Grand Cayman on 6 August 1980, subsequent to the survey work at East End.29 Years later, in September 1988, Hurricane Gilbert passed directly over Grand Cayman, undoubtedly affecting the seabed.

In addition to considering recent changes, efforts were made to determine if any human modifications had affected the seabed, reefs or channels of East End over the past 200 years. Various Cayman Islands Government departments that were approached did not have specific information regarding historical alterations to the referenced areas. Thus, a different approach was taken. The author inspected the first printed British Admiralty chart of Grand Cayman, dated 1790, which was based on a survey conducted by George Gauld in 1773 (Figure 58, p.197). Gauld documented that the eastern end of the island was surrounded by a "Large Reef of Rocks". Although present day South Channel is denoted on his map as "Channel of 7 f.", there is no indication of a cut in the region of East End Channel which, today, is the largest channel.30
While the information does not prove the absence of a channel, it suggests that if such a cut existed, it was not of great size or was infrequently used. An 1882 Admiralty chart of Grand Cayman, however, shows Colliers Channel, East Channel and South Channel; the water depth in East Channel is noted to vary from 1 to 1½ fathoms. Of importance, The Caymanian, in its first issue dated 2 March 1908, published a notice regarding the reef in the vicinity of East End Channel. The periodical recorded: "Mr. White of Cayman Brac is engaged in blowing a passage through the reef here. This, when completed will enable the vessels of large size to enter and leave the harbour and thus enhance the shipping possibility of this outport of Grand Cayman". In the 1950s, according to Mrs. Phoebe Watler Spence, both East End Channel and South Channel were dredged or widened. She also recalls that the lagoon was deeper in earlier times, suggesting that sediments have built up in the East End Sound. The documented fact that East End Channel has been substantially altered during the last two centuries is of particular relevance to the current investigation.

Modern studies provide additional data regarding the physical nature of the offshore zone at East End. Grand Cayman experiences minimal tidal fluctuations with a maximum range of 60 cm and an average range of 30 cm. But geologist Brian Jones points out that "at the mouths of small bays, sounds or channels through the reefs, strong tidal currents can result due to funneling". This is certainly the case for the three East End channels. The water entering the sound, over and through the reef, especially at high tide or during rough weather, subsequently must exit. When large amounts of seawater are forced into the sound, exiting channel currents become strong.

During recent underwater archaeological surveys in calm weather, common East End Sound currents were observed. While working inside the lagoon between East End Channel and Colliers Channel, the survey team detected opposite flow patterns towards the two cuts in the reef.
About midway between Colliers Channel and East End Channel the seas seem to flow towards shore. But from the mid-reef area towards the north, there is a gentle northward flow towards Colliers Channel; to the south, there is a southward current, much of which exits the sound through East End Channel. Current velocity increases in the channels.

The winds that affect East End are typically the trade winds from the east. During the summer months they blow from the southeast or east, whereas in the winter months the winds are generally from the northeast. Winter cold fronts can bring strong northeast or northwest winds. The Cayman Islands are also subject to the intensity of occasional hurricanes which tend to occur in the summer or fall.

At East End the fringing reef, composed of living corals, dead reefs and coarse coral-boulder ramparts, stretches from headland to headland to create the lagoon locally called East Sound or East End Sound. The boulder ramparts have accumulated primarily through wind and wave action during hurricanes which severely affect the eastern shore of Grand Cayman.35 Parts of the reef are generally above sea level, while some areas are periodically exposed during low tides. Much of the reef, however, remains submerged. Brian Jones points out that behind the reef crest, formed of coral fragments broken from the forereef, is a relatively barren lagoon floor zone of "poorly sorted sheet gravels and sands that are composed of fragments of corals, sea-urchins, conch shells, sponges etc." He notes that towards land the grain size of the sediment decreases and there are scattered corals, followed by patch reefs which are surrounded by sand deposits and turtle grass (Thalassia).36 Seaward, beyond the reef, Jones relates that, "the seafloor slopes gradually to about 30 m and then plunges to the ocean depths".37 Shipwreck debris exists in clusters along the reef and seabed in all of these zones.

The 1991 survey for ships of the Wreck of the Ten Sail was conducted intermittently between July and November (continuously
between August and October), because the sea conditions at East End are
generally the calmest during summer and fall. The region of intensive
reconnaissance began on the south side of East End Channel and extended
northward for three miles to Colliers Channel, for archival documents
and previous archaeological surveys suggest that the wrecks are located
on the northeastern reefs of Grand Cayman (Figure 72, 289). It was
known that the remains of the Convert and nine merchantmen of her
convoy might be scattered on the forereef, strewn upon or buried within
the reef-proper, or located inside the East End Sound. Thus, a
methodology was developed to cover all of these areas.

Many ships have wrecked over the centuries at East End and in
some cases the remains of different vessels overlap one another. Thus,
shipwrecks must be carefully assessed to determine if they represent
eighteenth-century vessels lost during the Wreck of the Ten Sail. The
current investigation relied heavily upon visual search techniques
assisted by the use of underwater metal detectors for site location and
to further define site features and boundaries. A magnetometer would
be useful, however, for future work in sandy regions of East End Sound
and in deeper offshore areas.

Our methodology began with a visual survey of the entire inside
of the reef in parallel lines, with crew members spaced about 20 meters
apart, to a distance of approximately 140 meters from the reef. We
worked our way from East End Channel, northwards, to Colliers Channel.
In this zone, water depths ranged from 0 meters to seldom more than 4
meters. Once the survey boat was anchored, a person using a metal
detector swam parallel to, and almost on top of the reef; heavy iron
objects, sometimes well disguised, might be found upon or near the
coral boulder ramparts. Other team members swam in parallel lines
about 20 meters shoreward of each other. Another sweep, inshore of the
first, was made to return to our anchored boat. In practice, when the
crew found a site or a group of sites they would closely investigate
the remains, and then would proceed with the general survey. While some sites were assessed within a few hours others took days, and one site, GC 012, involved almost a month of documentation.

All surveyors looked for vestiges of shipwrecks such as anchors, ballast, ordnance, ships' fittings, copper sheathing, ceramics and glass. When such artifacts were observed, the crew gathered and a visual shore range was determined and recorded. The geographical coordinates of most of the sites, those that were previously discovered during the 1980 INA survey and sighted from benchmarks on land, are recorded in the CINM National Shipwreck Inventory files. Next, the team conducted a careful reconnaissance of the area, from on top of the barrier reef towards shore.

The highest concentrations of artifacts often followed the East End Sound currents, suggesting common breakup patterns for shipwrecks. From the midreef southward, towards East End Channel, remains were frequently distributed in a southwesterly direction along the bottom of the lagoon. From the midreef northward, towards Colliers Channel, shipwreck materials usually extended northwestward along the seabed. At times, shipwreck-related artifacts were observed more than 300 meters shoreward of the reef. If it was determined that a particular site comprised post-eighteenth-century materials, further recording was not carried out. On the other hand, possible eighteenth-century sites were more thoroughly investigated. Samples of artifacts were collected from most sites. These were subsequently treated to remove calcareous deposits and salts, stabilized, cataloged, drawn and photographed.

The clues to individual sites varied. Some were first detected far shoreward of the reef, while others were more conspicuous near the natural barrier or right up on top of it. Few shipwreck sites were discovered later on the outside of the reef that did not also have components within the East End Sound.

Once the inner reef had been inspected, the forereef was also
visually surveyed, in parallel lines, by swimmers and by towing divers behind a boat on special diving "tow boards". We worked from the shallow reef zone out towards the deep ocean drop-off. In depths up to about 15 meters our methods were practical, but in deeper water visual survey by snorkelers was less effective. It is considered likely, however, that most vessels that ran aground at East End broke up in shallow water and were scattered across the reef into the lagoon. Prevailing wind and ocean currents contribute towards this phenomenon. Nonetheless, future magnetometer work in the forereef zone should be conducted before considering that the area has been completely surveyed, for storms may have redeposited shipwreck remains in deeper water. It is also possible that other ships, not targeted for the current investigation, might have struck the reef and later foundered in deeper water.

Another excellent method for locating shipwreck features on the outer reef is to follow trails of artifacts from inside the lagoon, right over the coral boulder ridge to the outside. Although coarse coral rubble sometimes conceals artifacts on the reef crest, and close inspection can be prevented in submerged areas where swimmers must navigate in waves breaking over fire coral, related shipwreck features were frequently found on both sides of the reef. Sea conditions, however, were often too dangerous to allow the survey team to traverse the coral barrier. Thus, when occasional calm days occurred, the crew walked, swam or belly-surfed back and forth over the reef adjacent to sites where shipwreck remains had earlier been detected on the lagoon side.

In addition to crossing the reef whenever possible to search for related shipwreck components, the crew also worked on the seaward side from an anchored boat when a particular site, or particular sections of the forereef, required careful investigation using scuba. Considering the usual rough sea conditions on the forereef of East End, even in the
calm months, it is important to point out that during a handful of days each year the sea becomes as calm as a millpond. In 1991 during those few tranquil October days, the crew could clearly see archaeological features on the fore reef before getting into the water.

During the 1991 field survey phase of the Wreck of the Ten Sail Project, all sites previously recorded by the INA crew and the SRD group, from about one-quarter of a mile south of East End Channel to Colliers Channel, were relocated and reassessed. Also explored and documented by the field crew were previously undiscovered features of known sites, as well as several new sites.40

Over 30 shipwreck-related sites were examined during the course of the 1991 investigation. Near-contiguous GC 012 and GC 017 are believed to comprise remnants of the Royal Navy frigate Convert. Other eighteenth-century sites are likely to be vestiges of the merchantmen. And many sites are clearly nineteenth and twentieth-century shipwrecks.

Remains that may be associated with HMS Convert, the William and Elizabeth, the Britannia, the Ludlow, the Nancy, the Moorhall, the Richard, the Fortune, the Eagle, and the Sally will be described in the following pages. Post-eighteenth-century sites will also be briefly mentioned to provide an overview of all types of shipwrecks in the survey area.

The French Cannon Site, GC 017

The fact that cannons lie buried within a shallow sand bank, sometimes called Sand Cay, on the inside of the eastern reef of Grand Cayman is no secret, nor has it been for some time. After recounting R. Tulloh Coe's story of the Wreck of the Ten Sail, Commissioner George Hirst, in his 1910 Notes on the History of the Cayman Islands, addressed the presence of cannons on the Gun Bay reef. He discounted rumors that a fort once stood there, emphasizing that Coe's story clearly showed that "it was exactly on this spot the 'wreck of the ten sail' took place".41 The ten cannons salvaged from the area, now
located on land, attest to the fact that the French Cannon Site is still well known today. Although stories persist about a fort on the reef, archaeological research favors Hirst's assumptions.

In 1980, Mr. Marshall Watler of Gun Bay informed members of the 1980 Cayman Islands Project of cannons located northwest of the East End Channel. The INA crew noted that the guns were within a turtle grass-covered sand flat in about 8 feet of water. They designated the site GC 017, searched the area visually and with metal detectors, and documented their findings. There was a disturbed area from which one cannon [OR 05] had recently been salvaged. The gun was later found buoyed at a new location halfway across the East End Sound. The team noted that there were at least four additional buried cannons which were spread in a southeasterly to northwesterly direction. The cascabel of one of the four pieces of ordnance was visible in the excavation trench of the one that had been salvaged. The INA crew assessed that magnetic anomalies near two of the guns, unlikely to be cannons, might be ammunition. Since the remaining four cannons were easy to locate adjacent to the recent salvage pit, it is probable that they were among those subsequently retrieved in the 1980s.

The transported cannon was recognized to be an eighteenth-century French gun which the INA crew suggested might be from the Convert, ex-Inconstante. Encrusted over its touch hole was a lead cover, a device commonly used on loaded ordnance at sea to keep the powder dry in preparation for firing.

Pointing out the probable relationship of GC 017 to the Wreck of the Ten Sail, the Cayman Islands Project suggested that no permits for salvage of the remaining guns should be issued. It was recommended that the site not be further disturbed except by professional archaeologists and until conservation facilities and personnel were available on the island.  

In the mid-1980s Indiana University's SRD group investigated GC
017. The field school crew explored the area visually and with metal detectors. They plotted the positions of at least six guns, mapped general magnetic areas, and noted the probable former positions of salvaged cannons, evident by disturbed sand patches in the field of turtle grass. The SRD group, assuming that the cannons had been salvaged from the Royal Navy frigate and then deposited upon the sandbar, identified GC 017 as the "Cannon transport site for the wreck Convert". They suggested that the area exhibited no additional artifacts, but recommended that further salvage of cannons should not be allowed.43

When the archaeology phase of the current Wreck of the Ten Sail Project began, it was known that East End's Sand Cay had previously been mined for cannons destined for ornamental display on land. In fact, by late 1991 nine of the ten salvaged 12-pounders from site GC 017 had been discovered on land. But the Convert carried 26 such guns as well as six 6-pounders that were not recovered by the Royal Navy in 1794. Thus, it was hoped that other cannons and additional parts of the shipwreck might remain in situ.

On 15 April 1991, before the summer field season began, the author and Dennis Denton had the opportunity to take aerial photographs of the French Cannon Site and the surrounding area from a helicopter. The undertaking provided useful documentation of the environment and an understanding of the appearance of GC 017 and adjacent shipwreck sites from the air.

A metal detector survey of GC 017 was conducted several days later. This preliminary reconnaissance revealed at least eight large magnetic targets on the site. Seven were considered to be possible cannons and one was a large L-shaped feature. Most of these artifacts were buried in turtle grass, sand and coral rubble, but two cannons were exposed. Fortunately both guns retained protective coralline encrustations. Hand-fanning around the base of one of these cannons,
the author observed poorly preserved bits of wood. It was unclear whether these fragments could be remnants of a gun carriage or even part of a ship's deck. Nonetheless, the presence of wood beneath a cannon and features other than cannons on the site suggest that Sand Cay may be the location where part of the Convert came to rest after washing over the reef. Even in the twentieth century, large portions of ships that previously wrecked on the forereef have been carried over the reef and into the lagoon by severe storms. The French Cannon Site was considered to be a prime site for test excavations.

Also in April 1991, the Cayman Islands National Museum sought permission from the Cayman Islands Government to conduct test excavations during the proposed underwater archaeology phase of the Wreck of the Ten Sail Project. Permission was granted for a survey and for collection of surface artifacts, but conditioned consent to carry out excavations was received after the 1991 field season was over. Thus, no test excavations were conducted at GC 017 or other shipwreck sites during the 1991 archaeological survey.

Although the project plans had included placing several trenches across GC 017 to determine whether parts of the hull or deck of a ship survive within Sand Cay, the work was limited to a detailed visual and metal detector survey of the site which took place in October 1991. Using incised-numbered pvc stakes and nylon line, the crew established a 20 x 30 meter grid, in water depths of about .5 to 3 meters, over the concentration of magnetic features located within the turtle grass-covered sandbar (Figure 76).

A visual survey revealed little artifactual material on the surface other than a few miscellaneous nineteenth-century floor tiles and ceramic sherds from known East End Channel wrecks, thought to have been deposited in the area by storm activity. Also noted were a few pieces of slag ballast and bits of shingle or pebble ballast, both of which also occur on nearby sites. Cannons No. 10 and 11 remained
Figure 76. The French Cannon Site, GC 017 (drawn by M.E. Leshikar).
uncovered as they had been observed in April 1991, while the top of cannon No. 2 had recently been exposed by an unknown entity.

Following the visual inspection, a controlled metal detector survey was carried out, grid by grid, until the entire area was surveyed for magnetic features. Subsequently the dimensions and orientations of major anomalies, thought to be cannons, were defined as precisely as possible and plotted on the map. Minimal ground-truthing was carried out on shallow targets, but deep targets could not be defined without excavation. Thus seven features (Nos. 2, 3, 4, 6, 9, 10 and 11) were recognized as probable 12-pounder cannons and one L-shaped iron encrustation (No. 14) as a possible ships' member. Six targets (Nos. 1, 5, 7, 8, 12 and 13) remained unidentified, but based on their magnetic signatures and positions within the group most are probably cannons. Although five features (Nos. 1, 7, 8, 12 and 13) seem to be shorter than the others, it is not known if their magnetic readings indicate smaller cannons such as a 6-pounders; 12-pounders buried off the horizontal plane; or other iron objects. At least nine small magnetic anomalies were also detected by the survey crew on the French Cannon Site.

After the magnetic targets of GC 017 were recorded, the nylon line delineating the grids was removed. The numbered pvc stakes were left in place for future work at the site, being driven into the seabed with about 10 centimeters remaining exposed. Cannon No. 2, which the team had found partially exposed, was reburied.44

In discussing GC 017 with Charles Beeker of SRD, and comparing the current map with his findings, it seems that nine previously salvaged cannons were removed as follows: four from southeast of cannon No. 11; three from between Nos. 10 and 11; and two from the vicinity of Nos. 5 and 6. The provenience of the tenth salvaged cannon, now on land, is not known.

Beeker points out that at one time he observed the cannons that
were located between Nos. 10 and 11 in situ after the surrounding
sediment had been excavated, and that they were stacked on old wooden
boards or planks. He believes that they were positioned this way when
they were salvaged from the Convert in the 1790s. 45

Beeker's salvage hypothesis may be correct, as the French Cannon
Site is adjacent to East End Channel, which today is relatively deep
and wide. But the author questions whether East End Channel was
sufficiently deep and wide in the eighteenth century to accommodate
vessels capable of transporting numerous cannons, most weighing over
3000 pounds each, from offshore into the lagoon. And since Captains
Lawford and Roberts requested that William Bodden Senior and Robert
Knowles Clarke bring salvaged guns and stores to George Town, it is
unlikely that so many guns would have ended up on a submerged sand bar
in East End Sound instead. In fact, if the guns were recovered from
the wreck by island schooners it would probably have been far easier
and more practical to carry them to the west side of Grand Cayman. If,
on the other hand, the Caymanians salvaged the cannons from the Convert
for use on Grand Cayman, there would have been no reason to leave them
in the sea. Finally, if the Convert's gun deck and associated ordnance
were carried over the reef into the shallow sound, this may actually
explain why the heavy cannons were not recovered and transported to
George Town in the eighteenth century. Future archaeological
excavations at GC 017 should reveal whether it is a salvage site or the
location where part of the Convert came to rest.

The French Cannon Site is one of the Cayman Islands' most
important underwater sites. It should be protected from vandalism, and
scientific archaeological investigations should be planned and carried
out to further define its historical significance. The site should be
evaluated in its entirety, but it must also be recognized that the
large collection of contemporaneous French cannons, lost in a single
episode, are in themselves a unique and important resource.
The Probable Frigate Spillage Site, GC 012

GC 012 was first recorded during the Cayman Islands Project and was assessed as a possible Wreck of the Ten Sail site. The 1980 INA team called it the "Pebble Ballast Wreck". They noted that the site was located parallel to the reef immediately north of East End Channel and extended northward over a distance of about one-third of a mile. During the 1991 project the area was surveyed in more detail and it was determined that this zone encompasses several shipwreck sites, two of which are characterized by pebble ballast. The pebble ballast on the two sites, however, is distinctly different. The area also includes another site with slag ballast. The 1991 project redefined GC 012 as the northernmost shipwreck, clearly a late eighteenth-century site.

GC 012, as defined in 1991, is located several hundred meters to the northeast of the French Cannon Site and may represent a spillage trail towards it. Crushed and buckled pieces of copper sheathing in the reef and across the site suggest that parts of the hull of a copper-clad ship ground across the reef in this area. The Probable Frigate Spillage Site includes surface artifacts ranging from ships' fittings, ballast and ammunition to ceramics and glass. It extends from the reef towards the west-southwest, over an area exceeding 100 x 160 meters. Directly between the southwest extremity of GC 012 and GC 017 there are deep sand deposits covered by thick beds of turtle grass which may conceal artifacts, but none were observed on the surface between the sites.

Visual and metal detector surveys of the forereef adjacent to GC 012 were also conducted by swimmers and scuba divers to depths of about 50 feet. Although the team hoped to find anchors and tons of pig iron ballast, none was discovered on the seaward side of the reef. In fact, there is a surprising absence of shipwreck features on the forereef. Since the reef is a high energy zone composed of dead coral rubble which builds and shifts, it is possible that parts of the wreckage are
buried within the reef. It is also possible that much of the ship was carried into the East End Sound where it was subsequently scattered, salvaged or buried.

The seabed that encompasses GC 012 is characterized by somewhat barren, mixed sand and coral rubble areas adjacent to the coral boulder reef. Moving shoreward, there are isolated coral heads and patch reefs surrounded by finer sand and coral rubble. In spite of the presence of large quantities of artifacts on the surface of the site, the materials are somewhat difficult to detect by the untrained eye. Encrusted iron objects, lying on the surface or protruding from the sand and rubble, appear very similar to chunks of eroded and broken coral. Ceramics, glass, bricks and pebble ballast are also frequently encrusted with coral. The natural disguise protects the site, to some degree, from vandalism.

In 1991 it was determined that although the surface artifacts of the Probable Frigate Spillage Site are widely dispersed and large shipwreck features such as anchors appear to be absent, the site is nonetheless very important. In fact, the range of surface artifacts discovered at GC 012 exceeds the variety found on all the other East End sites that were surveyed. Many of these late eighteenth-century artifacts support the hypothesis that GC 012 represents part of the Royal Navy frigate Convert. Over one month was devoted to documenting the site and processing the artifact collection.

The size of the study area was based on the surface distribution of related artifacts. At first this was defined as 80 x 100 meters. During the survey, however, the boundaries were extended to encompass over 100 x 160 meters of seafloor where documentation and a controlled surface collection were carried out (Figure 77). After primary and secondary datums were established, the site was divided into units, delineated by incised-numbered pvc stakes and nylon line. The units were arbitrarily given alphabetical designations (since some of the
Figure 77. Key to Grids for the Probable Frigate Spillage Site, GC 012 (drawn and compiled by M.E. Leshikar and R.L. Craig).
units are dissimilar in size they were not given alphabetical/numerical
designations such as A-1, A-2, etc.). Most of the units were 20 x 20
meters, two were 20 x 30 meters (CC and DD), and those that encompassed
part of the reef were 20 x 45 meters (JJ, V, X, Z, BB and EE). Units
II and LL were designated in order to include a few artifacts found
beyond the primary grid.

The zones surrounding the established grid were also surveyed:
to the north, no artifacts were observed; to the east and northeast, no
significant material was observed on the reef crest or seaward, except
a copper drift bolt embedded in the forereef; to the west, turtle grass
beds may conceal a buried, shoreward scatter of artifacts; to the
south, shipwreck debris from nineteenth and twentieth century wrecks
obscures the diminishing scatter of eighteenth-century GC 012
artifacts; to the southwest, across more than 200 meters of turtle
grass, lies GC 017 which may or may not be directly related to GC 012.

Each unit within the established GC 012 grid was systematically
surveyed in parallel lines, both visually and with metal detectors.
During low tide, water depths in this zone ranged from almost 0 meters
on the reef to 1.4 meters on the western boundary. Surface artifacts
were documented by two methods. First, since the site is much affected
by storm activity and light artifacts such as glass and ceramic sherds,
and small pebble ballast are widely dispersed, the provenience of these
items is recorded simply by unit. During the 1991 survey, all observed
surface ceramics, all diagnostic glass sherds, and samples of pebble
ballast were collected. They are listed in the artifact inventory
under the headings for each unit entitled "Artifacts Collected". (See
Appendix G for a complete listing of the artifacts that were collected
from GC 012 and those that were plotted on the master map of the site.)

The exact provenience of bricks, copper, lead and iron artifacts,
as well as some broken molds of iron artifacts was recorded (with a few
exceptions) on the master map of GC 012 surface artifacts (Figure 78).
Figure 78. Distribution of Artifacts Plotted on the Master Map of the Probable Frigate Spillage Site, GC 012 (drawn and compiled by M.E. Leshikar, Jeanne Masters and R.L. Craig).
These master map artifacts, totalling almost 550 objects, were numbered consecutively for the whole site. (The original GC 012 master map at the CINM includes the numerical designation of each artifact, but due to the scale these numbers are omitted in Figure 78.) Master map artifacts are identified by unit in Appendix G.

All copper items and bricks, as well as most lead artifacts were collected. Iron artifacts, which are often heavily encrusted and much less stable than copper and lead objects, were not collected, with the exception of a few samples of recognizable items such as cannon balls and bar shot. Since the provenience of these artifacts is recorded, however, they can be recovered in the future when adequate conservation facilities are in place on Grand Cayman.

All objects that were collected from site GC 012 were cataloged. The artifacts from each unit were identified by lot number and given consecutive inventory numbers within that lot (although the system of decimal numbering of classes of artifacts varies). Whether or not an artifact also retains a master map number, it is identified by this unique artifact inventory number. All cataloged artifacts are listed under "Artifacts Collected" in Appendix G. The objects that are plotted on the master map are cross-referenced to their master map numbers.

In addition to being cataloged, artifacts collected from GC 012 were treated to remove calcareous deposits and salts, stabilized for storage and sketched. Inventory numbers were either tagged to the artifact, written on a zip lock bag containing the object, or applied to the surface of the item. Many artifacts were photographed with black and white film on a scaled background.

The artifacts of the Probable Frigate Spillage Site are awaiting a more detailed analysis, but a preliminary assessment suggests that they date to the late eighteenth-century and tell part of the story of the Wreck of the Ten Sail. Among ship-related artifacts observed on
the site are ships' fittings, copper and lead sheathing, copper and iron fasteners and items associated with the standing and running rigging (Figures 79). There are several iron chain plates, eyebolts, hooks and rope thimbles. There is a remnant of a lignum vitae sheave with a brass coak, part of a ships' block that perhaps would have been used for the ship's rigging or for handling the guns (Figure 80). The sheave coak is similar to a common style used in the Royal Navy in the late eighteenth century. There are whole and broken bricks, perhaps from brick ovens, and tiles. There are only three identifiable pieces of pig iron ballast in the northeastern grids, but they conform to a size commonly used on French warships. There is abundant shingle ballast spread across the whole site which helps define its boundaries.

There are artifacts that tell the story of shipboard life such as possible tools and objects associated with victualling like ceramics and glass. Although no whole bottles were discovered, dark green glass bottle fragments, such as artifacts No. 800.7.1 and 1700.9.1, conform to late eighteenth-century British styles (Figure 81). Also collected from the site were sherds of various types of ceramics from a few bits of Chinese porcelain to fragments of British creamware, pearlware, basaltes, stoneware, and glazed and unglazed earthenware (Figure 82). Two unidentified metal-alloy spoons were collected (Figure 83).

Evidence of an armed ship is revealed through a swivel gun yoke and gunner's stores including about 38 whole or partial pieces of bar shot, at least 35 identifiable cannon balls and lead shot. Although many remain encrusted in the sea, most of the cannon balls on the Probable Frigate Spillage Site appear to be the right calibre to be fired from the 12-pounder cannons located nearby on the French Cannon Site. Jean Boudriot and David Roberts relate the following average shot diameters: 11.7 cm for a 12-pounder; 10.2 cm for an 8-pounder; and 9.3 cm for a 6-pounder. Artifact No. 2400.4.1 is an 11.4 centimeter diameter cannon ball from GC 012 (Figure 84).
Figure 80. Remnant of Lignum Vitae Sheave with Brass Coak [2100.4.1] from Site GC 012 (drawn by Helene Schindler).
Figure 81. Dark Green Glass Bottle Neck with Lip and String Rim Finishes that are Typical of the Late Eighteenth Century (left 80.77.1 and right 1700.9.1) from Site CC 012 (drawn by M.B. Teshikat).
Figure 82. Pearlware Rim Sherds with Blue Molded-Plume Borders [top 800.1.1 and bottom 1300.5.2] from Site GC 012 (drawn by M.E. Leshikar).
Figure 83. Unidentified Metal-Alloy Spoon, Lightly Encrusted with Coralline Growth [3500.1.1] from Site GC 012 (drawn by M.E. Leshikar).
Figure 84. A 12-Pounder Iron Cannon Ball [2400.4.1] from Site GC 012 (drawn by M.E. Leshikar).
GC 012 is an unusual shipwreck site, and a fragile one. While many artifacts have been disguised and protected by coralline growth, the site has also been repeatedly "excavated" by nature. In this location, it is probable that sediment shifts and periodically buries or reveals artifacts on the seabed. The site's exposure enables a wide variety of artifacts to be easily identified. At the same time, it is apparent that their presence on the surface leaves them endangered during stormy weather and makes them accessible to curiosity-seekers.

The Probable Frigate Spillage Site, like the French Cannon Site, is believed to include the remains of HMS Convert. It is, however, a more vulnerable site which should be stringently protected from vandalism. When the Cayman Islands National Museum completes its wet-site conservation laboratory, collection and conservation of some of the iron objects that are exposed on the surface of GC 012 should begin. Further archaeological investigations including excavations in selected areas, such as Unit U, should also be planned and carried out.

The Probable Salvage Campsite, GC 041, and Other Terrestrial Sites

Site GC 041, first recorded in 1980, is a terrestrial site which is located on the beach opposite GC 012 and GC 017. After Hurricane Allen the INA team noticed large quantities of ceramic sherds and some ships' fittings eroding from the beach in this area. The ceramics were similar to those found at GC 012 and the site was thought to be related to the Wreck of the Ten Sail. During the summer of 1991, permission was secured from two land owners to conduct a controlled surface collection of ceramics and glass. The collection was carried out in 10 meter corridors between the road and the sea, over about 90 meters of beachfront. Few metal objects were observed, but these heavy objects often remain buried while ceramic and glass sherds are thrown to the surface by crabs. Late eighteenth-century British wine bottle and ceramic fragments, including abundant creamwares and pearlwares in edge
decorated, transfer printed, handpainted and annular ware designs were abundant on the site. Since East End was relatively unpopulated in the late eighteenth century, there can be little doubt that this area was used as a campsite by Captain Lawford and his men, and possibly the crews of the merchantmen, while they were salvaging the ships of the Wreck of the Ten Sail. It is probable that these people also discarded damaged goods in the area. In addition to eighteenth-century artifacts, however, there was a considerable variety of material dating throughout the nineteenth century and into the twentieth century.

In the sea adjacent to GC 041 is a fresh water spring which may have contributed to use of the site as a salvage campsite for ships of the Wreck of the Ten Sail and numerous other ships that have wrecked on the East End reef over the centuries. Besides ship-related activities, the current owner of the north parcel of land containing GC 041 pointed out that his grandfather had a wattle and daub home in the area.55

To the south of GC 041, near the base of Gun Bluff, is a smaller concentration of ceramic material that dates between the eighteenth and the twentieth century. The site has been designated GCL 016.56 In this location a piece of pig iron ballast is set vertically into the ground as a boundary marker. The iron pig is said by its current owner to have been found in the vicinity. Charles Beeker also reported to the author several buried cannons nearby and, with the help of a metal detector, it was determined that these guns remain buried in the sea adjacent to the beach. GCL 016 is probably related to the Wreck of the Ten Sail and is likely to have been associated with other shipwreck salvage activities that have occurred over the centuries.

Additional terrestrial sites were noted along the beach at East End in 1991 and 1993. These sites have been given the following designations: GCL 010, GCL 011, GCL 012, GCL 013, GCL 014 and GCL 015.57 Sites GCL 013 and GCL 014 are characterized by dark green glass fragments and pieces of slate; they may relate to a shipwreck site, GC
003, located on the reef nearby and which will be discussed below. All of the other sites include glass and ceramic fragments dating to the late eighteenth century or nineteenth century, but also include minimal twentieth century material. All of these sites may be related to salvage activities associated with the Wreck of the Ten Sail and later shipwrecks, but GCL 015 also appears to have been a homestead. 58

GC 026, GC 072, GC 073 and GC 074.

The merchantmen of the Wreck of the Ten Sail ranged in tonnage from about 150 to 376 tons. They carried perishable cargos and their guns and hardware were probably largely salvaged by their crews. Therefore, it is not surprising that the sites of the merchant wrecks are not extensive. Most are characterized by ballast, iron and copper fasteners, minimal amounts of glass and ceramics, and occasionally an anchor. Sparse remains can make it difficult to date a site.

GC 026 was recorded by the 1980 INA team. They wrote that the site was located within the East End Sound and that its features included lightly scattered iron objects and late eighteenth- or early nineteenth century ceramic sherds such as shell-edged pearlware and annular ware, but no ballast. Tilefish burrows utilizing the ceramics were observed on the site. When GC 026 was assessed in 1991 in the northern zone of our survey area, late eighteenth-century shell-edged pearlware and annular ware were observed up to 80 meters west of the reef in depths of about 1.5 meters. Also noted were small quantities of dark green glass, a copper fastener and a few iron fasteners. There was homogeneous, 10- to 25-centimeter-diameter ballast which has been identified as high copper-content slag by Michael Savarese, Charles Vitaliano, Clifford Ambers and Rebecca Robinson of the Department of Geological Sciences at Indiana University, using transmitted light microscopy, scanning electron microscopy, x-ray diffraction, and electron microprobe analysis. 59 The presence of this slag on the shipwreck site suggests a probable Industrial Revolution solution to
ballasting the vessel. The slag ballast extends in a 20 meter wide
corridor from the sandy lagoon floor across the top of the dry reef
(40m wide), and small amounts are concreted to the seabed of the
fore reef. A few encrusted iron ships' fittings were also observed
farther seaward. It is possible that other features are buried in the
sand and rubble of the lagoon. GC 026 is believed to hold remains of a
stock of the Ten Sail merchantman.

Site GC 073 was recorded by the 1991 survey team about 70 meters
north of GC 026. It includes a sparse scatter of small round and flat
ballast and dark green glass fragments, including a push-up
base. Since the ballast is distinctly different from the former
site GC 073 seems to be the remains of another vessel. It is directly
north from a late nineteenth- or early twentieth century,
iron-hull ship, GC 008, but may not be related to it. The
observed at GC 073 in 1991 were too sparse to provide
identification of the site.

Located in the northern survey zone are sites GC 072 and GC
074 identified during the 1991 survey. GC 072 is an
assemblage consisting of a few copper and iron fasteners and
dark green glass, all within about 70 meters of the reef. It
were found on the forereef adjacent to this site. The
position of the site suggests it is the location where a small
vessel came to rest.

South of GC 072, and possibly associated with
the latter site, is GC 073. It is characterized by sparse, dark green glass
found from the reef, and small quantities of ballast
found shoreward. A single poorly fired red brick
was found on the site, while two large stoneware jars
were found more than halfway to shore.

These finds suggest the location of a shipwreck, but
the small quantity of widely scattered material is not sufficient to identify the site as the primary remains of a wrecked merchantman. Of interest, the stone ballast on GC 74 appears to be identical to that found on GC 075 (discussed below) which is located about 400 meters to the south.40

GC 003, GC 006, GC 025, GC 044, GC 75 and GC 076

The INA survey team documented GC 003 as a site on the lagoon side of the reef characterized by late eighteenth- or early nineteenth century green glass fragments, large quantities of slate ballast and ships' hardware, including a chainplate and iron fasteners. In 1980 no shipwreck debris was observed on the adjacent forereef. Located in the central survey zone, GC 003 was again surveyed in 1991. Inside the reef our team noted large chunks (30 cm diameter) of angular slate as well as smaller slabs and fragments. This ballast was extensive upon the reef and parallel to it, and trailed to a sparse scatter up to 300 meters west. Small amounts of dark green glass and iron fasteners were encountered with the spillage of slate. On the forereef additional shipwreck materials were recorded up to 50 meters seaward. There were large quantities of shattered slate as well as iron ships' fittings, copper fasteners and remnants of wood embedded in the seafloor. Although diagnostic glass and ceramics were not found, the site is considered to be a good candidate for the Wreck of the Ten Sail.

About 100 to 130 meters south of GC 003 is GC 006, another site recorded during the 1980 Cayman Islands Project. In fair weather it can be detected from a boat because it includes a windlass assembly upon the reef that protrudes above sea level, even at high tide. The survey team noted a 60 to 70 meter scatter of ballast parallel to the inner reef which spread westward over 100 meters of seafloor. Also documented in the lagoon were numerous fasteners and an iron cannon. Features on the forereef included two wooden stocked anchors, two iron stocked anchors (without stocks), a pile of anchor chain, a larger iron
windlass assembly, hawse pipes and chainplates. Also observed were

The site was assessed to be an armed wooden sailing ship, probably
dating to the first half of the nineteenth century. But the INA team
noted that it might also be related to the Wreck of the Ten Sail.

The 1991 team noted the same principal features at GC 006 as the
earlier group. They also documented that within the reef there are
numerous magnetic targets including a couple of concentrations of
cannon balls and expanding shot. The cannon is encrusted, but appears
to be a British 9-pounder. It is located about 40 meters north of the
exposed windlass. Although Charles Beerke related that the gun had
once been moved a short distance from its original location, his team
found and returned it to the correct area; and there are cannon balls
nearby. There seem to be at least two principal types of stone ballast
on the site (10-30 cm diameter), one angular and the other more round.
There are ships' fittings, copper sheathing and fasteners, lead and
some green glass. The current project suggests that the anchors and
some of the ships' fittings on GC 006 are likely to date to the first
half of the nineteenth century. Nonetheless, there is a possibility
that the site may actually encompass the remains of two shipwrecks, and
one may be a Wreck of the Ten Sail merchantman.

Approximately halfway between GC 003 and GC 006, on the seaward
side of the reef, there is a wooden stocked, long shank anchor embedded
in the reef that may belong to either site. It was found in 1991 and
has been designated GC 076. If the anchor belongs to GC 006 then there
are certainly two ships in that location, for it is of an earlier style
than the other four anchors. The 3.5 meter (ca. 11.5') long anchor has
one fluke embedded in the seafloor and the other is broken. The shank
faces NE towards the reef.

Recorded in 1991, GC 075 is situated almost 200 meters north of
GC 003. It is characterized by large concentrations of stone ballast
(10-30 cm diameter) which are concreted upon the reef and scattered shoreward. Piles of ballast and scattered ballast were seen on the forereef along with fragments of copper sheathing, tacks and fasteners. A few ships' fittings and fragments of glass were observed. Although no diagnostic ceramics and glass were found, GC 075 could be a Wreck of the Ten Sail merchantman.

When GC 044 was recorded in 1980 on the forereef, it was said to include an isolated wooden stocked anchor, at least one iron object on the reef, and sparse, scattered "river rock" ballast. No artifacts were observed on the inside of the adjacent reef. The anchor was assessed as a common style used on medium-draft merchantmen of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. One fluke was embedded in the seafloor and the shank pointed shoreward as though it had been cast to hold a vessel off the reef. Since few features were recorded on the site, it was suggested that the ship that lost the anchor may have been extensively salvaged, pulled off the reef or dispersed by storms.

When GC 044 was explored in 1991, it was found to be more extensive than previously thought. It includes substantial quantities of fist-sized slag ballast, identical in composition to that found at GC 026.61 Along the top of the reef there is almost a solid pile of this ballast that extends north and south for 45 meters. It trails in short westerly fingers towards shore for about 30 meters and then thins out considerably, but sparse ships' fittings, copper sheathing and fasteners were observed up to 150 meters from the reef. A few green glass and earthenware olive jar sherds were collected. The 3.2 meter long (10.5') anchor, with shank pointing to the southwest, was examined in the breaking waves on the forereef. About 33 meters northeast of the anchor, a pile of encrusted pig iron ballast (ca. 15 x 15 x 48 cm) was discovered. It consists of between 20 and 30 pigs scattered in a northerly direction. Approximately 6.5 meters east of the pig iron is what appears to be a 50 meter long scour pit containing additional
fist-sized slag ballast as well as copper drift bolt fragments and nails. There are iron features including ships' fittings dispersed throughout the site.

Site GC 044 was initially considered to be a possibility for the frigate Convert because of the presence of pig iron ballast. The pigs, however, were found to be of dimensions not standard for ballast used on eighteenth-century French warships, and the size of the anchor was more appropriate for a merchantman. Furthermore, little ceramic and glass material, and no ordnance, was apparent on the site. GC 044 is likely to be the site of a Wreck of the Ten Sail merchantman.

Site GC 025 was recorded by the INA team in 1980 as an isolated deposit of shipwreck material from an unknown source, located in East End Sound. It was described as a light concentration of ballast over 30 square meters of seafloor which did not extend towards the reef. Also observed on the site were iron fasteners and late eighteenth- or early nineteenth-century green glass sherds. It was suggested that the site might be a portion of a larger wrecksite located elsewhere. In 1991, small cobbles of flint pebble ballast, small amounts of dark green glass (including bottle lips) and ceramic sherds (including a green transfer print pearlware mug sherd) were observed on GC 025. Small clusters of pebbles were seen upon the reef, inside the reef and dispersed lightly towards shore. Small fragments of copper sheathing were noted. The largest concentration of material was located about 150 to 175 meters from the reef in a 50 meter wide zone. On the forereef, a few pieces of iron were observed embedded in the seafloor. The glass and ceramic fragments located on this shipwreck site suggest that it dates to the early nineteenth century. Thus, GC 025 is unlikely to be associated with the Wreck of the Ten Sail.

GC 009, GC 022, GC 070, GC 071 and GC 077

Site GC 009 is located around two large coral formations in the middle of the inside passage through East End Channel, where there is
generally a strong outflowing current. In 1980 an intact late style Spanish olive jar, numerous olive jar fragments, a brick and small quantities of green glass were observed on the site. These materials probably date to the late eighteenth century. Marshall Watler told the survey team that at least six or eight intact olive jars had previously been recovered from the site. The INA team noted that the ceramics appeared to have no associated provenience. In 1991 little of the olive jar material was observed around the coral formations, but much may be buried in the sandy seabed.

Site GC 022, recorded in 1980 as "East End Channel Debris", encompasses GC 009 and includes most of East End Channel. The INA team suggested that it contained assorted material from several shipwrecks which had probably been thrown into the lagoon during storms and carried out again through the channel. Among artifacts observed on the site were green glass fragments, ceramic sherds, copper sheathing, copper and iron fasteners, olive jar sherds, tiles, bricks and several iron ships' structural components. Significant amounts of ballast were not apparent on the site, but may be buried. Most of the shipwreck debris was assessed to correspond to the late eighteenth century. In 1991 similar materials were observed in East End Channel, and the survey team discovered one of the bags of artifacts that the INA team had buried at the conclusion of the 1980 field season. Although the plastic bag had deteriorated, the artifacts, duct tape and labeled tag had survived two hurricanes in a protected pocket of the seabed.

Considering that a passage was blown through the reef here in 1908 and that the channel has been modified in more recent times, as mentioned earlier in this chapter, it would not be surprising that a merchantman from the Wreck of the Ten Sail had actually wrecked in this area.

There is a long shank anchor, typical of the late eighteenth century, located in the forereef area of East End Channel in 30 feet of water. It was recorded in 1991 as GC 077, but had previously been
shown to the author by Charles Beeker. The anchor might be associated with GC 009, GC 022, or an undiscovered shipwreck in the vicinity, and may be associated with the Wreck of the Ten Sail. The encrusted anchor is about 3.73 meters long (over 12'). In considering whether this anchor might relate to HMS Convert, it was determined that it is too small to be the frigate's best bower (13'9" long) or sheet (13'6" long) anchors, and probably too small to be the small bower (slightly smaller than the best bower and sheet anchors). The stream and kedge anchors, as mentioned earlier, were salvaged in 1794.

Site GC 070 is the designation given in 1991 to the southern pebble ballast concentration in the INA team’s former GC 012 located about 150 meters west of the reef in East End Sound. The distinctive large flint pebble ballast is associated with creamwares and pearlwares in edge decorated, handpainted, transfer printed, and annular ware designs, stonewares, and dark green and brown bottle glass (diagnostic sherds of glass were not found in 1991). These may be late eighteenth-century artifacts, but the style of application of the blue band on shell-edged pearlware sherds and a red transfer print fragment suggest that an early nineteenth century date is more likely. Mid- to late nineteenth- and twentieth-century ships have wrecked on the forereef and scattered across the reef in this vicinity; thus it is difficult to determine if earlier shipwreck material extends towards the reef. Nonetheless, it is possible, that another Wreck of the Ten Sail merchant ship was lost in this area and that GC 070 represents her remains.

Site GC 071, recorded in 1991, is also located within the former INA team’s GC 012, slightly southeast of GC 070. It is characterized by angular chunks of slag ballast (10-30 cm diameter) that extend parallel to the reef for about 50 meters and scatter towards the west-southwest. Although some slag is visible upon the reef, it is not apparent on the forereef, which is heavily concreted in this area.
Within the southern zone of the slag ballast spillage is a pocket of small pebble ballast, similar to that observed on site GC 012; it is associated with green glass fragments and pearlwares in shell-edged, handpainted and annular ware patterns. The pebble ballast concentration appears to be from another site, overlapped by the slag ballast. Some copper sheathing was noted on the site. GC 071 is located just north of the remains of a late nineteenth- or early twentieth-century, rivetted iron hull shipwreck (GC 018). It is located southwest of the wreckage of a late nineteenth-century, composite built sailing vessel, GC 016, and may relate to it. It may, however, represent yet another shipwreck in the area. No clearly diagnostic materials were apparent on the site.\(^6\)

Post-Eighteenth-Century Sites

All of the sites included in this section were recorded during the 1980 phase of the Cayman Islands Project. Most were originally reported to project director Roger Smith by Gun Bay resident, Marshall Watler. Data included in the site files prepared by the INA team are mentioned first, followed by assessments made in 1991 during the current investigations.\(^6\)

Site GC 001, located in the mid-lagoon at East End, includes the gunwale of a relatively large sailing vessel. It is partially buried, but wooden strakes and toptimbers, iron members and chainplates with remnants of wooden deadeyes protrude above the turtle grass covered seabed over a distance of 25 meters. The 1980 INA project suggested that the site might be related to GC 012, located near the reef. As mentioned earlier, however, the INA team's GC 012 extends about one-third of a mile and encompasses several shipwreck sites. GC 001 is not associated with the present more closely defined GC 012. The 1991 project concluded that GC 001 probably contains the remains of a nineteenth-century sailing vessel. While the site is not from the Wreck of the Ten Sail, the survival of the articulated gunwale of a
ship, in the soft sediments of East End Sound, suggests that large parts of other vessels may also exist in buried contexts.

Both the 1980 INA investigation and the 1991 survey suggest that GC 002 includes the remains of a late nineteenth-century composite-built wooden sailing ship. Scattered across the seabed on the south side of East End Channel, and concreted in place, are barrels of cement, numerous red tiles from Marseille, France, a windlass assembly, iron ships' members and fittings, and copper sheathing. There is minimal ballast and no anchors were noted.

Assessments by INA and the current project agree that GC 007 represents the remnants of a late nineteenth-century composite-built wooden sailing ship, scattered from the forereef into East End Sound. The site is characterized by a Trotman anchor, two other iron-stocked anchors, anchor chain, a windlass assembly, iron ships' members and fittings, and copper sheathing. Chunks of fist-sized slag ballast were observed on the site in 1991.

The 1980 project concluded that GC 008, located near Colliers, probably wrecked in the twentieth-century. The site consists of sections of a metal-hulled ship made up of plates of iron or steel rivetted together, but appears to lack hardware associated with either sailing rigging or engine apparatus. The 1991 project considers that the vessel may date to either the end of the nineteenth century or the twentieth century.

In 1980, the INA team recorded several sites that date to the twentieth century, in the current survey zone. Site GC 013, also near Colliers, includes substantial remains of a large iron-hulled sailing ship, including anchors. Fragments of the ship have been carried up onto the reef. Some residents of Gun Bay informed our crew that the site was that of the Glynnis which wrecked at the turn of the century, while other people mentioned the names Marabelle and Metusala. The crews of both the 1980 and 1991 surveys did not find associated
artifacts on the inside of the reef. However, in 1991 there were some buried magnetic anomalies noted in a shallow shoal in that vicinity.

Information obtained by the Cayman Islands Project suggests that the Rimandi Mibaju, site GC 014, was an ore freighter, carrying a cargo of bauxite, that wrecked north of East End Channel in 1964. Parts of the superstructure of this modern steel ship were above water in 1980, before Hurricane Allen passed near Grand Cayman. During that storm the ship was pounded by high seas which caused her to collapse below sea level. Much of the vessel is strewn upon the seafloor of the forereef, but some parts of the ship span the reef into the sound. In 1991 a local individual was allowed to salvage the ship’s brass propeller.

The Ridgefield, site GC 015, wrecked on the south side of East End Channel in about 1962. The large steel Liberty ship is said to have been built in 1943-44 with the original name of James A. Butts and to have seen action during World War II. During Hurricane Allen (1980) the forward deck of the wreck collapsed, and in Hurricane Gilbert (1988) parts of the ship were carried over the reef into East End Sound. The Ridgefield rests upon an earlier wreck, GC 020. In 1991 its brass propeller was observed embedded halfway into the ballast pile of the earlier vessel. In 1991 three segments of the ship were still visible above sea level: the bow and bits of the superstructure outside the reef, and a large part of the midsection within the lagoon.

According to the 1980 survey, site GC 016 appears to be the wreck of a post-1850s, composite-built wooden sailing ship. It is located on the forereef, adjacent to, and partially beneath, the Rimandi Mibaju. Principal features include four large anchors, the windlass assembly, a section of an iron mast and numerous iron ships’ members and fittings. The 1991 crew agreed that GC 016 dates to the nineteenth century.

In 1980 Marshall Watler identified GC 018 as the Lilly. The site comprises the bow of a late nineteenth- or early twentieth-century sailing vessel with a rivetted iron hull and wooden decks. Mr. Watler
told the INA crew that the wreckage had washed over the reef. The Lilly, still visible above sea level, is embedded in a turtle grass-covered sandbar within the lagoon on the north side of East End Channel. The 1980 team suggested that GC 018 might be related to GC 019 and/or GC 021, sites situated on the forereef on opposite sides of East End Channel. The 1991 project concludes that the site is associated with GC 019. Parts of riveted iron hull, matching those observed on GC 018, were discovered northeast of GC 018 on the reef and within the sound, opposite GC 019.

Site GC 019 consists of a single iron-stocked anchor which is located northeast of the Lilly, in 2 meters of water, on the seaward side of the barrier reef. The anchor is embedded in, and concreted to, the coral boulder ramparts.

Site GC 020 extends from beneath the stern of the Ridgefield on the forereef, over the reef, and into East End Sound. It consists of the remains of a post-1850s composite-built wooden sailing vessel with at least three iron-stocked anchors (two of them being Trotman anchors). In 1980 the survey team noted copper sheathing, a windlass assembly, iron ships' fittings and quarried ballast stones on the site. By 1991 the Ridgefield's ca. 5 meter-diameter brass propeller was embedded halfway into the earlier ship's ballast, now identified as fist-sized chunks of slag.

In 1980 the INA crew documented GC 021, an iron hull sailing vessel of the late nineteenth or early twentieth century which is located on the outer reef south of East End Channel. The site contains three iron-stocked anchors, sections of the iron hull and masts, hawse pipes, mooring bits, a capstan, a windlass assembly and other wreckage. By 1991 the site remained relatively unchanged.

Site GC 034, the solid lead keel of a modern sailing yacht was recorded in 1980 near Colliers Channel. It was said to have belonged to a vessel named Wander IX that ran aground, but was pulled off again,
in 1963. This keel was salvaged in 1991 by local individuals for its metal value.

Summary

In the 1980s, the Institute of Nautical Archaeology based at and affiliated with Texas A&M University, and Indiana University's Department of Physical Education, Scuba Research and Development Group investigated shipwreck sites associated with the Wreck of the Ten Sail. The professional archaeological fieldwork carried out by INA during the 1980 phase of the Cayman Islands Project laid the foundation for the current, more detailed study which has been conducted during the past three years under the auspices of the Cayman Islands National Museum.

Thirty underwater sites and eight terrestrial sites have been located within a defined survey zone at East End. The French Cannon Site, GC 017, and the Probable Frigate Spillage Site, GC 012, appear to represent the remains of the Royal Navy Frigate Convert. Both sites have been disturbed by salvage activity and the forces of nature, but they still hold tangible record about the Convert, ex-Inconstante, and the people who sailed her, information that is available through no other source. The Probable Salvage Campsite, GC 041, contains large amounts of eighteenth-century material which suggests it was the principal salvage campsite used by Captain Lawford and his men, and possibly the crews of the merchantmen. Site GCL 016 and perhaps additional terrestrial sites also feature components that suggest they were salvage campsites related to the Convert convoy.

The merchantmen of the Wreck of the Ten Sail are difficult to precisely identify, but hypotheses can be made. GC 026 is believed to represent the remains of one of the merchant vessels, while GC 072 and GC 073 are too sparse to classify. GC 074 may be the partial remains of a merchantman, and might be affiliated with GC 075, a probable Wreck of the Ten Sail merchantman. Sites GC 003 and GC 044 are excellent candidates for two of the merchant vessels. It is possible that GC 006
contains two wreck sites, and that one may be a Wreck of the Ten Sail merchantman. The long shank anchor, designated GC 076, is likely to be affiliated with either GC 003 or GC 006. Sites GC 009, GC 022 and GC 077 all located in the vicinity of East End Channel could be the dispersed remains of one of the merchantmen. Site GC 070 is a remote possibility for a Wreck of the Ten Sail merchantman, but may instead date to the early nineteenth century. Site GC 071 overlaps a deposit of eighteenth-century artifacts from an unknown source, but diagnostic materials were not clearly associated with the slag ballast that represents the site. While GC 071 might be affiliated with a late nineteenth-century wreck it could be earlier; slag ballast has been found on both eighteenth- and nineteenth-century sites. GC 025 is probably an early nineteenth-century wreck. Sites GC 001, GC 002, GC 007, GC 008, GC 013, GC 014, GC 015, GC 016, GC 018, GC 019, GC 020 and GC 021 are undoubtedly nineteenth- and twentieth-century sites. GC 034, a twentieth-century lead keel, no longer exists on the seabed.
Footnotes for Chapter IX.

1. On 1 January 1990 the territorial waters of the Cayman Islands were extended to 12 nautical miles.

2. 'Abandoned Wreck Law' (Revised), Supplement No. 1 published with Gazette No. 10 of 1977, Government of the Cayman Islands. The value of the Cayman dollar is fixed with the U.S. dollar; a C.I. dollar is worth about U.S.$1.20 (A U.S. dollar is worth between C.I.$.80 to .84, depending on the vehicle of exchange).


4. CINM, Indiana University Scuba Research and Development Group communications and reports; Personal communication with Charles Beeker, formerly head of the SRD group, and currently Director of the Office of Underwater Science and Educational Resources in the School of Health, Physical Education and Recreation at Indiana University.

5. The present author was a member of the 1980 INA crew.


7. Ibid., ix.

8. CINM, National Shipwreck Inventory files. Specific locational data regarding National Shipwreck Inventory sites is confidentially held by the Cayman Islands National Museum.

9. A Museum Officer was appointed in the mid-1980s and the Cayman Islands National Museum officially opened to the public in November 1990.

10. Roger Smith is no longer a research associate of the Institute of Nautical Archaeology. He holds the position of Florida State Underwater Archaeologist.


12. Sites recorded during the Cayman Islands Project were given certain designations. Each archaeological site had a prefix: for Little Cayman it was LC, for Cayman Brac it was CE, and for Grand Cayman it was GC. Following the prefix, sites were numbered consecutively according to the chronology in which they were recorded. This classification and numbering system has been retained for the National Shipwreck Inventory in the CINM.

13. CINM, National Shipwreck Inventory, GC 017 site file. In 1990 the transported cannon, now located on land, was given the designation OR 05; the significance of this identification number is explained in the section "A Quest for Cannons".

14. CINM, SRD communications and reports; Personal communication with Charles Beeker.

15. Ibid.
16. CINM, National Shipwreck Inventory files. The SRD group identified
these five sites by different designations, but the present CINM
National Shipwreck Inventory numbers (retained from INA numbers) are
referenced.

17. In 1990 this cannon was given the designation OR 22; the
significance of this identification number is explained in the section
"A Quest for Cannons".

18. The author does not know if Charles Beeker was told how much the
cannon weighed, whether he weighed it himself, or whether he estimated
its weight.

19. Letter of 7 April 1986 from Jean Boudriot to Charles Beeker (copy
given to the author by Charles Beeker). In a letter of 9 May 1992,
from Jean Boudriot and David H. Roberts to the present author, they
wrote, "The Regulations of 1767 ordered that the base ring should be
engraved with the year of casting, the weight, and the cast number
(starting anew each year). With the adoption in 1786 of a new system
of guns, put into production in the second half of 1788, new casting
marks were adopted in 1789".

20. CINM, Grand Cayman Cannon Survey files. The referenced files,
archived in the National Museum, contain the photographs, measurements,
history-of-salvage details, and present locations and current
 guardianship data of these cannons. Each gun was identified by the
prefix OR, for ordnance, and then it was numbered according to the
chronology in which it was recorded. Unless otherwise footnoted, all
the data in the section of this dissertation entitled, "A Quest for
Cannons", are included in the referenced files.

21. Personal communication with Jean Boudriot and David H. Roberts in
their letters to the author of 19 April and 9 May 1992.

22. CINM, Grand Cayman Cannon Survey files, letter of 28 June 1979 from
the Cayman Islands Government to Stephen E. Smith (copy provided to the
CINM by Pat Smith).

In the 9 May letter Boudriot and Roberts provided further information
about the two forges owned by Baynaud. They wrote:
In 1762 Louis Baynaud took over the forge at Ruelle which
had been set up in 1751 with letters patent in the name of
the Marquis de Montalembert; his poor management forced him
to hand over to Baynaud, and when the latter died in
October 1774 the forge closed down. It started up again in
the second half of 1777, under the management of Baynaud's
son Mathieu, assisted by a relative Loulaigue who was an
experienced forgermaster. In 1783 a major contract was
signed with Ruelle and Forge-Neuve, for six years' supply
of guns. Baynaud was responsible for Ruelle and Loulaigue
for Forge-Neuve. Guns cast at Ruelle should have the
letters RV on the face of the right trunnion, and BA on the
left. Those cast at Forge-Neuve [after 1783] would have FN
on the right trunnion and DL on the left.

24. Earl and Pat Smith are currently in the United States. Thus, the
author has not had the opportunity to re-examine the encrustation mold.

26. CINM, Grand Cayman Cannon Survey files.

27. PRO, CO 141/1, The Royal Gazette XVI (1794), From Saturday 22 February to Saturday 1 March, No. 9, 23.

28. PRO, ADM 1/245, Admiralty and Secretariat Papers, 'Jamaica 1793 & 94 Admiral John Ford Esqr.': John Ford, Commodore and Commander in Chief of His Majesty's Ships and Vessels at Jamaica, to Philip Stephens, Secretary of the Admiralty, 3 April 1794, and Enclosures: Francis Roberts, Captain of HMS Success, and John Lawford to Robert Clarke and William Bodden Senior, 19 March 1794; Obligation signed by William Bodden Senior and Robert Knowles Clarke to save the stores of the Convert, 19 March 1794.

29. Hours before the winds of Hurricane Allen reached Grand Cayman, the INA team had seen the waters of the East End lagoon turn to mud and, near Gun Bluff, move southward like a river. They had watched the decks of the liberty ship Ridgefield (aground since 1962) buckle under violent seas on the East End reefs. From shore, they had also witnessed the visible remains of the bauxite ore freighter Rimandi Mibaju (aground since 1964) disappear below the surf.

30. PRO, CO 700/West Indies 23, Maps and Plans in PRO II: America and the West Indies, Catalog No. 2972, West Indies (1773-1775) 1790.

31. CINA, Admiralty Chart of Grand Cayman (London, published under the Superintendence of Captain Sir Frederick J. Evans, 30 December 1882).

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33. CINM, Memory Bank Tape, Narrator Phoebe Watler Spence, interviewed by Margaret E. Leshikar, 14 November 1990.


35. Ibid., 8, 14, 60.

36. Ibid., 60, 63-64.

37. Ibid., 5.

38. In 1991 the southeast reefs were not investigated.

39. The CINM has plans to acquire a hand-held GPS unit in order to record geographical coordinates for all new sites discovered.

40. Site data are archived in the National Shipwreck Inventory files in the CINM. Wreck of the Ten Sail Project field notes, maps and artifact collections are also held by the National Museum.


42. CINM, National Shipwreck Inventory, GC 017 site file.
43. CINM, SRD communications and reports; Personal communication with Charles Beeker.

44. CINM, National Shipwreck Inventory files and Wreck of the Ten Sail Project field notes and maps.

45. CINM, SRD communications and reports; Personal communication with Charles Beeker.

46. CINM, National Shipwreck Inventory, GC 012 site file.

47. Henceforth the designation GC 012 is used to describe the site as redefined in 1991.

48. The grids were established with the use of a compass and fiberglass tapes. They exhibit a small margin of error which is considered acceptable due to the dispersed nature of the site.

49. J. Philip Dering of the Texas A&M University Palynology Laboratory identified a sample of wood from this sheave [2100.4.1] as lignum vitae.


51. Boudriot and Roberts, letters to author, 19 April and 9 May 1992. They suggest that in the eighteenth century, iron ballast pigs weighing about 50 or 100 pounds were commonly used. These pigs would be about 4 inches square in section, 1 foot long for the 50-pound pig and 2 feet long for the 100-pound pig. On site GC 012 the ballast pigs seem to be of the 100 pound variety.


54. CINM, National Shipwreck Inventory files and Wreck of the Ten Sail Project field notes and maps.

55. Ibid.

56. Terrestrial Sites located on Grand Cayman now receive designations beginning with the prefix GCL. Shipwreck sites continue with the GC prefix which was originated by the 1979-80 Institute of Nautical Archaeology project.

57. All of the referenced East End terrestrial sites except GC 041, GCL 014 and GCL 016 were recorded in March 1993. George Sparling, Duncan McCleod, Arthur and Helene Schindler, and the author combined survey efforts with William Keegan, Anne Stokes and Reed Toomey of the Florida Museum of Natural History during their survey for prehistoric sites. The corridor of land between the road and the sea was intensively
searched from Gun Bluff to Colliers. Although no prehistoric sites were identified, Keegan, Stokes and Toomey are acknowledged for their assistance in locating historic sites.

58. CINM, Terrestrial Site Inventory files.

59. The author wishes to acknowledge Michael Savarese, Charles Vitaliano, Clifford Ambers and Rebecca Robinson, the Department of Geological Sciences, and the Underwater Science and Educational Resources Office for their analysis of the ballast from sites GC 026, GC 044 and GC 017. Also to be acknowledged are two NSF-funded research grants which purchased and maintain the SEM facility at Indiana University: (1) NSF grant #PCM8212660 awarded to Indiana University's Biology Department for the purchase of the SEM; and (2) NSF grant #EAR8617504 awarded to Dr. Robert Wintech from the Department of Geological Sciences for the purchase of the back scatter electron detector. The electron microprobe facility in the Department of Geological Sciences at Indiana University was purchased with funds provided by NSF Grant #EAR9103509 and from the Keck Foundation.

60. CINM, National Shipwreck Inventory files and Wreck of the Ten Sail Project field notes and maps.

61. The slag from sites GC 026, GC 044 and GC 017 was identified by Michael Savarese, Charles Vitaliano, Clifford Ambers and Rebecca Robinson of the Department of Geological Sciences at Indiana University.


63. CINM, National Shipwreck Inventory files and Wreck of the Ten Sail Project field notes and maps.

64. Boudriot and Roberts, letters to author, 19 April and 9 May 1992. These anchor measurements conform to standard sizes used on French 12-pounder frigates, but unknown factors could have resulted in variations from the norm.

65. CINM, National Shipwreck Inventory files and Wreck of the Ten Sail Project field notes and maps.

66. Ibid.
CHAPTER X

CONCLUSION

Archival research on the Wreck of the Ten Sail has focused on the construction, service life and wrecking of a frigate between 1789 and 1794. This brief span of time was an extraordinary period in the history of the Caribbean, Europe and the world. In the archives of Great Britain, France and Jamaica eighteenth-century documents were found that tell the story of this warship and provide a window into the social history of the era from both French and British perspectives. It is rare to have such a rich record.

In March 1789, King Louis XVI of France gave instructions to name a new 12-pounder frigate l'Inconstante; two months later the ship was under construction in the Royal Dockyard of Rochefort. L'Inconstante was built by the shipwright St. Penneveurt according to a draught by Jean Denis Chevillard, who created his plan in the era when eighteenth-century French naval design had reached its pinnacle. Although more than one hundred 12-pounder frigates were built in France between 1748 and 1798, only eight were according to the same design as l'Inconstante.

The French Revolution erupted in Paris in July 1789 while l'Inconstante was under construction at Rochefort. After minor delays the frigate was launched on 9 September 1790 and by December was being sheathed in copper. In the following year the vessel was fitted out for service. L'Inconstante's command was given to Alexandre Joseph Riouffe, Capitaine de Vaisseau, whose orders were to serve in the troubled French colony of St. Domingue.

After an aborted attempt to sail to the West Indies in January 1792, l'Inconstante again embarked on 12 April 1792. Eight days later France declared war on Austria, beginning the French Revolutionary Wars. While Captain Riouffe was stationed in the Caribbean the French
monarchy was abolished, the first French Republic was established and Louis XVI was executed by guillotine. Social, political and military upheavals also gripped St. Domingue.

When news reached Jamaica on 29 March 1793 that France had declared war on Britain on 1 February, Commodore John Ford dispatched the Jamaica squadron on patrolling missions around St. Domingue. The following September British forces landed on St. Domingue and took possession of Jérémie and the harbor and fortress at Le Môle St. Nicolas. On 25 November 1793, while l'Inconstante was returning to Port-au-Prince from a convoy mission to Petit Trou, His Majesty's Ships Penelope, Captain B.S. Rowley, and Iphigenia, Captain Patrick Sinclair, captured the French frigate. Captain Riouffe was among the French officers and seamen who died of wounds received in the short engagement.

The French prize was sailed to Jamaica where the hull, sails, rigging, ordnance and stores were acquired for the Royal Navy. The case was adjudicated in the High Court of Vice Admiralty and the net proceeds of the prize money were distributed among l'Inconstante's captors. As there was already an Inconstant in His Majesty's Service, Commodore Ford renamed the frigate Convert. Her command was given to Captain John Lawford. The Convert's first mission was to escort a homeward-bound merchant fleet to Britain.

After acquiring a crew of officers and seamen by assignment, recruitment and impressment, the Convert collected her merchant convoy. The fleet sailed from Jamaica on 6 February 1794, but was delayed by a leaky merchantman which prevented the Convert's officers from sighting Grand Cayman before sunset on 7 February. At midnight when Master Thomas Popplewell reckoned that the fleet was clear of Grand Cayman he secured Captain Lawford's permission and shifted the convoy's course more to the northward. The voyage ended in the early morning hours of 8 February 1794 when a disastrous chain of events resulted in the loss
of the Convert and nine sail of her merchant convoy on the windward reefs of Grand Cayman.

Captain Lawford endeavored to save the Convert's passengers and crew, and with the help of the island's inhabitants few lives were lost. Captain Daniel Martin of the wrecked merchant ship Britannia was one of eight people who drowned. The Caymanians were suffering hardships from a recent hurricane and could not support the shipwreck victims on Grand Cayman. Thus, Lawford sent most of the people off to Europe in other ships of the convoy. He sent a report of the wrecking to the Admiralty and dispatched First Lieutenant Bradby Bogue to Jamaica to inform Commodore Ford. The Convert's officers and 30 seamen camped on the East End beach and salvaged goods from the Convert.

Commodore Ford was patrolling the waters of St. Domingue when he received news of the shipwreck disaster. He immediately dispatched the Success, Captain Francis Roberts, to Grand Cayman. Before the Success departed Grand Cayman at the end of March with the Convert's officers, remaining crew and salvaged stores, Captains Roberts and Lawford signed agreements with Caymanians William Bodden Senior and Robert Knowles Clarke to continue the salvage of the Convert.

The shipwrecked merchantmen were also salvaged, but a large percentage of the perishable cargoes were lost. Most of the remainder of the dispersed Convert convoy safely reached Britain, but one was taken prize by a French privateer and another by a French Navy frigate.

In a court martial held aboard the Success on 1 April 1794, Captain Lawford, the officers and crew of the Convert were tried for the loss of His Majesty's Ship. All were honorably acquitted by the court and the misfortune was attributed to a strong current taking the convoy to the north of their reckoning.

The narrative of l'Inconstante's career and loss, as revealed through archival sources, has laid a solid foundation towards understanding the ships and people of the Wreck of the Ten Sail. It
is, however, not complete. There are additional records in the archives of Britain, France and Jamaica that will enable future researchers to further investigate particular ships, individuals and events.

Research into Caymanian oral history and folklore on the Wreck of the Ten Sail has added a dimension to the current investigation that is often overlooked in historical studies and archaeological projects. The inquiry has provided a background to remembrances and surviving tales of the shipwrecks in the Cayman Islands. Connecting the past with the present, the colorful folklore suggests that the Wreck of the Ten Sail was regarded as a significant event in the Cayman Islands, has attained a significant local value in Caymanian society and lives as the foremost of Cayman's many wrecking tales. It matters not that the stories are inconsistent with the historical and archaeological record. The current study has identified the potential for a thorough analysis of Caymanian shipwreck and wrecking folklore, including of course the Wreck of the Ten Sail.

Archaeological investigations have shown that in addition to a rich archival record and delightful folklore, archaeological remains of the Wreck of the Ten Sail also exist. Within an established survey zone, 30 underwater sites and eight terrestrial sites dating between the late eighteenth century and the twentieth century were identified.

The French Cannon Site, GC 017, and the Probable Frigate Spillage Site, GC 012, appear to represent the remains of His Majesty's Ship Convert, while the Probable Salvage Campsite, GC 041, holds related artifacts. All of these sites have been impacted by salvage activities and violent storms, but they still contain tangible evidence of the Convert, ex-Inconstante, and thereby can convey information about late eighteenth-century shipboard life and the naval warships of France and Britain. Although historical studies of the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars are abundant, few vessels from this time period have
been archaeologically studied.

Many sites were identified that may be related to the merchant ships and brigs of the *Wreck of the Ten Sail*. These have the potential of providing a physical record of Britain's merchant navy in the late eighteenth century.

The East End reefs of Grand Cayman are a significant historical shipwreck zone. There, *Wreck of the Ten Sail* sites have been located, documented and assessed. All of these archaeological sites should be afforded protection by the Government of the Cayman Islands and plans for further scientific investigation should be made through the Cayman Islands National Museum. Recovery, conservation and analysis of artifacts, now and in the future, will result in a collection of artifacts and a body of information that can be used in interpretive displays in the National Museum for the education and enjoyment of the public. They tell a story of Cayman, the Caribbean, Europe and the world in the late eighteenth century.
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APPENDIX A

THE HISTORICAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL BACKGROUND OF THE CAYMAN ISLANDS

Situated in the Western Caribbean Sea, the Cayman Islands are comprised of three small islands located amid the Greater Antilles (Cuba, Jamaica, Hispaniola and Puerto Rico) along the path of the Leeward Passage (Figure 2, p.3). Although they are more isolated geographically than most West Indian islands, their positions within the important sailing route ensured that, from the earliest days of New World exploration and discovery, seafarers had knowledge of them. Grand Cayman, the largest and westernmost island, is about 300 km south of Cuba and 280 km north-northwest of Jamaica. It is about 35 km long and 6 km to 14 km wide and reaches a maximum elevation of approximately 20 m above sea level.\(^1\) Cayman Brac is 19.5 km long, 3.2 km wide and rises from sea level at the southwest tip to about 43 m above sea level at the northeastern end. Little Cayman is the smallest and least elevated of the Caymans with a length of 16 km, a width of 3 km and a maximum height of 10 m above sea level.\(^2\)

Although a thorough and detailed narrative of the Caymanian experience has yet to be written, several writers have contributed valuable works that introduce or explore various facets of the history of the Cayman Islands.\(^3\) The reader is referred to these sources for a more in-depth view than is appropriate in the present study.\(^4\)

Following is a brief chronology of the history of the Caymans with emphasis on the late eighteenth century near the time of the Wreck of the Ten Sail.

The Fifteenth through Eighteenth Centuries

The Cayman Islands enter the annals of recorded history on the 10th of May in 1503 when Columbus, on sighting Cayman Brac and Little Cayman with innumerable turtles swimming about them, called the islands Las Tortugas.\(^5\) Although Columbus did not make landfall in the Caymans,
it is clear that knowledge of their presence spread from the early sixteenth century on, for subsequent to his sighting the islands, they begin to appear in approximately correct geographical positions, although under several different names, on maps drawn by European cartographers.  

Like most of the West Indian islands within the bounds of Spain's monopolistic claims, the Cayman Islands were not permanently settled in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. However, it is recorded that Spaniards used the islands as navigational landmarks and to some extent as provisioning grounds where turtle meat could be obtained to supply their ships. It was the Dutch, French, and English seafarers, the challengers to Spain's empire, who fully recognized the exceptional value of Cayman's turtle fisheries and from the sixteenth century forward regularly exploited the islands' resources in order to replenish their ships' stores.  

English navigator Francis Drake landed on Grand Cayman while en route from Cartagena to Cuba during his West Indian voyage of 1585-1586. The island was recorded as being uninhabited, and although Drake and his followers could find no water, they captured turtles and other marine and land animals for provisions. They also noted that Grand Cayman had desert and wilderness, and that it was full of woods which they set on fire when they departed. Not only Englishmen, but also many Dutch and French seafarers wrote of their sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century visits to the Cayman Islands.  

It is likely that English settlements were established in the Cayman Islands soon after Cromwell's army occupied Jamaica in 1655. Less than a century and a quarter after that date, while completing the first hydrographic survey of Grand Cayman in 1773, George Gauld noted that Grand Cayman "was originally settled by one of Oliver Cromwell's soldiers, named Bodden, who had been at the taking of Jamaica", and that his grandson Isaac Bodden, over 70 years of age in 1773,
remembered when only five families lived on the island.  Twenty-nine years later, while taking a census of Grand Cayman in 1802, Edward Corbet heard two versions of how the island was originally settled; while some people told him that the first occupants were pirates, others testified that a person by the name of Bodden from Cromwell's disbanded army in Jamaica was the original settler. 10 About thirty years after Corbet's visit, Nathaniel Glover attested to the fact that the original settlers were two soldiers from the Cromwellian army whose names were Walter and Bowden, and that they first came to Cayman in about 1658 to catch turtles. 11

It is clear that during the early days of the Restoration Period in England the Cayman Islands were considered to be English territories; Thomas Windsor, the newly appointed Governor of Jamaica, received instructions in 1662 from the English government to take charge of the Cayman Islands among other small islands near or adjacent to Jamaica. Windsor also was encouraged to give land grants to individuals and to raise forts on these islands, but neither step appears to have been taken in the seventeenth century in the Cayman Islands. 12 Although the English secured a permanent foothold in the Caymans, an obscure Spanish document suggests that the French also had a settlement on one of the islands in the mid-seventeenth century. 13

Certainly, by the late 1660s the English had founded a village or semi-permanent turtling station on Little Cayman, but this settlement of approximately 20 houses was sacked and destroyed in 1669 or 1670 by Manuel Rivero Pardal, who held a reprisal commission from the Spanish Crown for revenge on English interests, particularly on the English privateer Captain Henry Morgan who had recently attacked the Spanish Porto Bello in Panama. 14 By the Treaty of Madrid, ratified in 1670, Spain and England finally agreed to revoke all reprisals worldwide; Spain also agreed to recognize England's right to the colonies that she presently occupied in the West Indies, including Jamaica and the
associated territories which encompassed the Cayman Islands.\textsuperscript{15} It is likely that the Caymans lost some of their occupants in 1671. Thomas Lynch, Governor of Jamaica, and members of the Council offered amnesty to all people who had previously lived in Jamaica and who feared punishment for past irregular actions, but who now lived in Cayman and other more distant places.\textsuperscript{16} The Governor and Council possibly considered the Cayman Islands too remote for protection, and were probably encouraging a more intensive occupation of Jamaica in order to establish a stronger English presence on the island and thereby secure a permanent base in the Greater Antilles. To what degree the amnesty issue affected the population of the Cayman Islands is not known. However, with the destruction of the turtle fishing village on Little Cayman, and the proclamation of amnesty in 1671, permanent settlements were not reestablished there or on Cayman Brac until the 1830s.\textsuperscript{17} It has been suggested that inhabitants of the two smaller islands probably migrated to Grand Cayman because its greater size offered increased protection from invasion and outside interference, and better asylum for fugitives, army deserters and others who needed it.\textsuperscript{18}

Throughout the remainder of the seventeenth century and the beginning of the eighteenth, all three of the Cayman Islands continued to be frequented as seasonal fishing grounds and for provisioning passing ships. Although they were used primarily by the English from Jamaica, it is known that the French were given permission by the English government in 1686 to fish for turtle in the Caymans; a complaint about this issue was put forth in 1738 by the British inhabitants of Jamaica and the merchants who traded there.\textsuperscript{19} Documents show that the Cayman Islands also were used to some extent by pirates; tradition further suggests that in the first half of the eighteenth century they served as a rendezvous for buccaneers, if not as an actual base for their operations.\textsuperscript{20}
The population of Grand Cayman probably increased with the arrival of immigrants from Jamaica who brought slaves, and by seamen who had been shipwrecked on the island and decided to take up residence there.\textsuperscript{21} Though some settlers, such as the previously mentioned soldiers from Cromwell's army, are likely to have made their homes on the large island in the seventeenth century, the earliest recorded land grants issued in Jamaica include one dated 1734, followed by several which are dated 1741-2.\textsuperscript{22} Perhaps some of the grants were for settlers on Grand Cayman, but other grants may have been merely speculative investments by Jamaican residents. In the second half of the eighteenth century numerous other people, including many of British descent, took up residence on Grand Cayman; their names are still evident in Cayman's twentieth-century population.\textsuperscript{23} In 1773, George Gauld recorded that there were 39 families on Grand Cayman consisting of at least 200 white people and more than 200 Negroes and mulattoes. He affirmed that the island was subordinate to Jamaica and that increases in the population often could be attributed to shipwrecked mariners who chose to remain there, and to people who sought asylum from debt in Jamaica; both married into the local population and became settlers.\textsuperscript{24} In addition to a small number of slaves imported from Jamaica to Cayman throughout the eighteenth century, it is said that when the Nelly, an African slave ship bound for Jamaica, was wrecked in Cayman in 1781, some of the slaves were sold on the island to pay salvage expenses.\textsuperscript{25}

As the population grew, new villages were established, including those shown on the British Admiralty chart of the island produced from the survey conducted by George Gauld. There are several hand drawn versions of the map dated 1773.\textsuperscript{26} The first printed version, however, was published in 1790 (Figure 58, p.197).\textsuperscript{27} The last depicts Old Isaacs on the east end, Bodden Town on the south side, the Hogsties on the western shore, and Arnold's on the north side of Grand Cayman; these
early settlements survive today as East End, Bodden Town, George Town
and North Side/Old Man Bay. By the end of the eighteenth century,
Grand Cayman's population had increased to almost one thousand
residents.

Throughout the 1700s, the Cayman Islands had seaborne commercial
ties and loose political connections with the parent colony of Jamaica,
for Jamaican merchants are known to have capitalized on the Caymanian
resources of hardwoods and turtles.28 In 1773 it was recorded that half
a dozen sloops and schooners from Grand Cayman were involved in
turtling and trading with Jamaica, and that the chief exports were
cotton and turtles.29 Although surviving documentation of eighteenth-
century seaborne trade between Jamaica and Grand Cayman is scarce,
existing records suggest that there was regular intercourse between the
two islands in the last quarter of the eighteenth century. By the
close of the century ten or more vessels per year were involved in the
trade, several documented as being owned by Caymanians.30 It is even
recorded that at least one 60 ton vessel, the Two Friends, and perhaps
another vessel were built in Cayman in the year 1793.31 Although the
people of Grand Cayman lived relatively insular lives, they received
news and commodities from the outside world through their commercial
contacts with Britain's leading West Indian colony, through
opportunistic trading with merchantmen sailing past the islands on
Leeward Passage voyages from Jamaica to Britain, and also by occasional
visits from British warships that called at the island for water and
provisions while patrolling the Western Caribbean.32

Little is known about how the Cayman Islands were affected by the
European wars that extended to the Caribbean in the first three
quarters of the eighteenth century, but it can be assumed that the
circumstances and dangers that affected Jamaica had parallel affects on
Cayman. The taking of prize ships between opponents was common in West
Indian waters in the last quarter of the century, during the American
War of Independence. British ships and colonies faced threats from American privateers as well as French, Spanish and Dutch warships and armed merchantmen. Several British territories were seized and numerous British ships were taken or destroyed. However, some prize ships were also captured by the British, and these vessels supplemented Britain's Navy and merchant fleet as well as the merchant and fishing fleets of island dependencies like Jamaica and her territories.\textsuperscript{33}

The Cayman Islands were not primary targets for invasion in the American War of Independence, but nonetheless they were relatively accessible victims for the Spanish in Cuba. The Spaniards launched an attack on Grand Cayman that caused much damage, but they did not attempt to secure and occupy the island.\textsuperscript{34} Two decades later, in 1802, Caymanians reported to Edward Corbet that while the local population had not suffered invasion during the most recent war (the French Revolutionary Wars), their small fort at George Town had been attacked and destroyed during the previous war, which was surely the American War of Independence.\textsuperscript{35}

Edward Corbet's Description of Grand Cayman\textsuperscript{36}

When the Wreck of the Ten Sail occurred on the windward coast of Grand Cayman on 8 February 1794, Grand Cayman had only about 933 inhabitants, for this is the number of people recorded as living there when the first official census was taken by Edward Corbet only eight years later (at the close of the French Revolutionary Wars, but before the outbreak of the Napoleonic Wars in 1803). In his 21 June 1802 report, Corbet wrote that resident on Grand Cayman were 309 whites, 73 free people of color, six free Negroes and 545 slaves.

Corbet had been sent to the Cayman Islands by Governor Nugent of Jamaica to assess the condition of the islands, their inhabitants and their defenses.\textsuperscript{37} Since Cayman had not been attacked during the French Revolutionary Wars of the previous ten years, his report is likely to reflect the state of Grand Cayman when HMS Convert and nine ships of
her merchant convoy wrecked there in 1794. Therefore, it is relevant to include a brief synopsis of portions of his report to provide the reader with a window into Grand Cayman's past at about the time of the Wreck of the Ten Sail.

When Edward Corbet visited the Cayman Islands in the summer of 1802, he recorded that of the three islands only Grand Cayman was inhabited, and that land there was held by possession rather than by grant. There were eleven settlements on the island: East End, Frank Sound, Bodden Town, Little Pedro, Spotts, Prospect, South West Sound, George Town, West Bay, Boatswains Bay and North Side. Corbet listed the inhabitants, distinguishing between whites, people of color, free Negroes and slaves, and recorded where they resided. He also noted that most of the (white) settlers were connected by marriage and that most had actually been born in Cayman.

The largest settlements were at Bodden Town, which was well protected by a reef through which only canoes and other small vessels could pass, and George Town, which was located at the western end of Grand Cayman adjacent to a large bay called Sandy Bay. Corbet emphasized that the island's coasts were relatively inaccessible except at Sandy Bay and the channels of the North Sound. The North Sound could be navigated by small vessels drawing less than nine feet of water, whereas the George Town harbor could accommodate much larger ships. The harbor at George Town was described as secure from all but a westward wind and praised for its value as a good anchorage for ships of any draught; in fact, it was the only harbor in the island where large ships could safely anchor. Corbet pointed out that passing ships could obtain very good water and reasonably priced provisions at George Town.

Corbet wrote that on Grand Cayman there was a militia whose officers were chosen by the inhabitants, never having received any commissions through the British government system. Nonetheless, other
documents show that William Bodden Senior received a commission from the Government in Jamaica to serve as Captain in Cayman's militia. Perhaps 80 people on the island could be mustered to bear arms. There were two small forts, one at George Town with three 4- or 6-pounder cannons, and one on the south side of the island at Prospect, several miles west of Bodden Town, with four guns.

In terms of legal matters, the inhabitants referred to the laws of Jamaica as well as they knew or understood them, but generally when new measures were to be adopted, they were first submitted to the island inhabitants as a whole for their consideration. Three of five Magistrates who were under a commission from Lord Balcarras, a former Governor of Jamaica, dated January 1798, continued to act in that capacity, the Chief Magistrate being William Bodden Senior. Two others who had received commissions had since died and the posts had not been reappointed.

Corbet wrote that the island had eight or nine seagoing vessels of 20 to 50 tons which were used to fish turtle around Grand Cayman and especially off the coast of Cuba, but also around Little Cayman and Cayman Brac in the summer season. The turtles were brought back to Grand Cayman where they were kept in the sea in "crawls", later to be sold by island residents to passing ships sailing on the path of the Leeward Passage to Europe or America.

Corbet learned that about a third of the island could be cultivated and that cotton, coffee, plantains, yams, sugarcane, corn and other ground provisions were grown. Coconut trees were also raised in profusion, especially around the coast. Residents estimated that they currently produced about 30 tons of cotton per year which was sent to Jamaican ports in exchange for needed supplies. Most of this commerce was carried on with Montego Bay, the closest Jamaican port. In addition to turtles, Cayman's live stock consisted primarily of pigs and poultry, as well as a few head of cattle.
And so, when Edward Corbet visited Grand Cayman in 1802 he found a small, relatively self-sufficient population who made a living by fishing for turtle, cultivating produce, and trading in these commodities. Although the Caymanians ventured to sea in their own craft to fish and to carry on commerce with Jamaica, a large part of their business was conducted from their own shores with passing seafarers because of the island's favorable location along the Leeward Passage. In terms of British government interest in the Cayman Islands, Corbet wrote:

To the detail which I have now the honor of submitting to your Excellency, I take the liberty to add, that altho' these islands from their limited extent and also soil, cannot become a very valuable appendage of the Government they are to a certain degree a useful one -- Lying in the track of vessels going from hence to Europe by the Leeward passage in the event of shipwreck upon them which is not infrequent, the Settlers have afforded great relief to the Sufferers, and have been instrumental in saving many lives which otherwise would have been lost --

In time of war Sandy Bay has been found extremely convenient to such of His Majesty's ships of war as have been cruising to leeward, being there able to procure, if they happen to require it, when returning a supply of water and of certain species of Provisions upon reasonable terms.

Thus, Corbet did not regard the Cayman Islands to be essential to Britain's West Indian interests, but because of their geographical locations and the helpful inhabitants, he considered them of value.

Conclusion

The Cayman Islands are perhaps, geographically, the most isolated islands in the Caribbean. Nonetheless, they were known by European nations from the time of Columbus, and were exploited for food resources by their seafaring explorers and entrepreneurs thereafter. After 1655, when the English permanently settled Jamaica, similar attempts at colonization (usually via Jamaica) were made in the Caymans. The resident population increased throughout the eighteenth century, and by 1802 almost 1,000 people lived on the largest island, Grand Cayman.
The Cayman Islands are located near Jamaica, Hispaniola and Cuba, the most important West Indian Islands occupied by Britain, France and Spain in the eighteenth century; they were territories of British Jamaica. The late eighteenth century era was a time of revolution and warfare within and among European nations and their dependencies, and these conflicts extended to the West Indies. Colonies were lost and gained, ships were seized from the enemy or were captured by them, and even shipwrecks affected the competitors. These years of crises ultimately resulted in great changes in Europe and the West Indies. The successive European wars that extended to the Caribbean are also likely to have facilitated the growth of the Cayman Islands by stimulating communication and commerce between Britain and her colonies; by this time even the smallest British territories were not isolated from the wider world community.
Footnotes for Appendix A.


3. A more comprehensive knowledge of Cayman Island history should be available in the future because, within the last decade, several organizations and government departments have been created to gather, preserve and interpret a wide variety of information. Among these organizations are the National Trust for the Cayman Islands, the Cayman Islands National Museum and the Cayman Islands National Archive.


9. MDHD, q43 Ag 1, Admiralty Chart of Grand Cayman with Notations by George Gauld, 1773.


12. Hirst, Notes, 17-18; Smith, thesis, 38, 129 (Smith references and transcribes an excerpt from the following: PRO, CO 308/1, Instructions for Thomas Windsor, Lord Windsor, Governor of our Island of Jamaica, in the West Indies, 21 March 1662).


14. Williams, History, 8-10; Smith, thesis, 39-43, 130-131 (Smith references, transcribes and reproduces facsimiles of several documents relating to the attack on Little Cayman. Some of these documents bear the date 1669, while others bear the date 1670. Thus, there is some question as to the exact date of the attack on Little Cayman).

15. Williams, History, 10-11.
16. Hirst, Notes, 20, 24. Hirst includes a quote from the Minutes of the Council of Jamaica dated 12 August 1671 which contains the proclamation of amnesty.

17. Ibid., 250.

18. Ibid., 28.

19. Williams, History, 21; Smith, thesis, 53, 135 (Smith references and transcribes an excerpt from the following: PRO, CO 137/48, Memorial of John Sharpe on behalf of the inhabitants of Jamaica and the merchants trading there, to the Duke of Newcastle, 13 November 1738).

20. Hirst, Notes, 33; Williams, History, 12-16.


22. Ibid., 37-65; Williams, History, 17-19.

23. Hirst, Notes, 67-108. Hirst lists many of these family names that have survived into the twentieth century.

24. MDHD, q43 Ag 1.


26. MDHD, q43 Ag 1; Ibid., Ag 1 196 fo 2; Ibid., U 10 AG 1.

27. PRO, CO 700/West Indies 23, Maps and Plans in PRO II: America and the West Indies, Catalog No. 2972, West Indies (1773-1775) 1790.


29. MDHD, q43 Ag 1.

30. PRO, CO 142/22, Jamaica Miscellaneous, Shipping Returns, 1784-1807; Ibid., CO 142/23, Jamaica Miscellaneous, Shipping Returns, 1795-8.

31. PRO, CO 142/23, fo 66.

32. Hirst, Notes, 140.

33. Williams, History, 26-27.

34. Ibid., 26.

35. NLJ, MS.72, Nugent Papers, Corbet's Report, fo 3-4.

36. Ibid., fo 1-20.


38. JA, 1B/5/3/18, fo 128, 131, Council of Jamaica Minutes 1771-1784, 25 February 1777. In the minutes reference is made to a request by William Bodden Senior for a renewal of his commission as Captain in the militia of the Cayman Islands. William Bodden Senior was still acting in this capacity in 1802 when Edward Corbet visited the island.
APPENDIX B

INVENTORY AND APPRAISAL OF THE SAILS, RIGGING, ORDNANCE AND
STORES FROM L'INCONSTANTE THAT WERE ACQUIRED FOR HIS MAJESTY'S SERVICE

Pursuant to an Order from John Ford Esq',
Commodore and Commander in Chief & & &
date the 30th November 1793, and to us
directed ~

We whose Names are hereunto subscribed have been on board the
Frigate L'Inconstant and there have taken a strict and Careful Survey
of such of her Sails, Rigging and Stores, as are fit for His Majesty's
Service and find them to be as herein set forth with our Appraisement
Annexed (Viz')

**Boatswain Stores**

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<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3½</td>
<td>20 fath.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6 Coils (108 fath. Each)</td>
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<tr>
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Serviceable
## Sails

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<td>1/3 Worn</td>
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<tr>
<td>D</td>
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<td>1/2 D</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
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<td>&quot; D</td>
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<tr>
<td>Standing Rigging Complete</td>
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</table>

## Carpenters Stores

- Handscrew: 1 NF
- Iron Ballast 1600 Pigs: 80 Tons
- Goose Neck with Bolts: 1 NF
- Hinges Scuttle: 2 3/4
- Chain Pump Wheels: 2 NF

(serviceable)

All which Sails, Rigging and Stores, We find to be as against each Article express't, and we think the Boatswain's Stores to be worth the sum of One Thousand Seven Hundred and Seventy three Pounds Five Shillings and Seven Pence, and the Carpenters Five Hundred, and Thirty Eight Pounds, Seven Shillings and Six Pence Sterling. Total Two Thousand, three Hundred, and Eleven Pounds Thirteen Shillings and One Penny Sterling Exchange at £ 40 Æ¼CENT Equal to Three Thousand, two Hundred and Thirty Six Pounds Six Shillings and Three Pence Currency -

And we do declare that we have made and taken this Survey and Appraisement with such Care and Equity that (if required) We are ready to make Oath to the Impartiality of our Proceedings.

In Witness whereof We have hereunto set our Hands at His Majesty's Yard at Port Royal this 20th day of December 1793 -
Will* Smith .......... Naval Storekeeper  
Sam* Sherwin .......... Master of the Alligator  
Rob* Farris .......... Master of the Musquito  

(A Copy)  
Jn* Ford  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Inventory and Estimation of Sundry Ordnance and Ordnance Stores taken on board the French Frigate L'Inconstant</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Iron Ordnance</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 Pdra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>at £16 p£ Ton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ship Carriages with</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 Pdra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Round Shot</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 Pdra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Grape Shot</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 Pdra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Language Shot</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Dubleheaded Shot</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Parchment Cartridges</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 Pdra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Cases of Wood</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 Pdra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ladles &amp; Wadhooks</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 Pdra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Spunges</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 Pdra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Carried Over</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Item</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corned Powder (whole Barrels 29 @ £7 half d. - 9 -)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parchment Cartridges (360 lb Weight filled with Powder) 6&quot; 25 1/4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Copy)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Match - 84 lb - @ 1/4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Powderhorns 25 Np - @ 1/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Priming Irons 35&quot; -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aprons of Lead, large 21 Np @ 1/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wood handspikes - 25&quot; @ 1/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crows of Iron 4 1/4 f. - 31 - @ 7/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tackles Complete 32 Np @ 5/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hand Grenades 60 Np @ 1/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bright Muskets 85 Np @ 15/- 63.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bayonets 15 - @ 2/6 1.17. 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pole Axes - 38 - @ 2/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strong Pikes - 29 - @ 2/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sterling £</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Equal in Jamaica Currency to

Office of Ordnance
Jamaica 21 Dec. 1793

Nichl Lechmere
H: A: Genet
(Copy) Jno Ford

Source:

PRO, ADM 1/245
Admiralty and Secretariat Papers
'Jamaica 1793 & 94
Admiral John Ford Esqr.'
Enclosure in:
Commodore John Ford to Philip Stephens, Secretary of the Admiralty aboard the Europa, off Jérémie, 5 February 1794
APPENDIX C

HIGH COURT OF VICE ADMIRALTY DOCUMENTS

CONCERNING THE CONDEMNATION OF L’INCONSTANTE

MONITION:

JAMAICA, Is. GEORGE the Third, by the Grace of God, of GREAT-BRITAIN, FRANCE, and IRELAND, King, and of JAMAICA Lord, Defender of the Faith, &c. To HUGH HOLSON, Esquire, Marshal of our Court of Vice-Admiralty of our said Island of Jamaica, or to any of his lawful Deputies, Greetings. Whereas our trusty and well-beloved the Honourable SAMUEL WHITEHORNE, Esquire, Judge Surrogate and Commissary of our said Court, doth order and decree to call and cite before him, on a certain day and time, and after the form and manner herein after prescribed, all manner of persons whatsoever, (except the subjects and vassals of France, or others inhabiting within the countries, territories, or dominions of France) That have, or pretend to have, any just claim, right, title or interest of, in, or to a certain Armed Ship or vessel of War called - La Inconstant - whereof one Jean Riouffe - late was or pretended to be master, her tackle, apparel, and furniture, and the goods, wares, merchandise, Slaves, Specie and effects on board her, taken and seized by Bartholomew Samuel Rowley Esquire Commander of our Ship of War Penelope and Patrick Sinclair Esquire Commander of our Ship of War Iphigenia their Several and respective Officers, Marines and Mariners - which said Armed Ship or vessel is now riding at anchor in the harbour of Kingston in the Island aforesaid, and within the jurisdiction of this Court.

We Therefore will, require, and strictly command You, or any of Ye, that by affixing of this Monition at some public place, at our towns of St. Jago de la Vega, Kingston, and Port-Royal, at the time of public concourse of merchants, You warn and monits all and every person and persons whatsoever, (except such person or persons who are excepted and precluded as aforesaid) that have, or pretend to have, any just claim, right, title, or interest of, in, or to the said Armed Ship or vessel, called - La Inconstant - whereof the said Jean Riouffe - late was or pretended to be master, her tackle, apparel, and furniture, and the goods, wares, merchandise, Slaves, Specie and effects on board her, taken and seized as aforesaid, That they be and appear before our said Judge, within our town of St. Jago de la Vega, on Tuesday next, being the tenth - day of December inst. between the hours of Eight and Twelve in the forenoon of the same day, then and there to shew some just, reasonable, and lawful cause (if any they can) why the said Armed Ship or vessel, her apparel, and furniture, and the goods, Wares, Merchandize, Slaves, Specie and Effects taken and seized as aforesaid, should not be forfeited and confiscated to the use of the said Bartholomew Samuel Rowley and Patrick Sinclair Commanders as aforesaid their Several and respective officers, seamen, marines, and Mariners for and by reason that the said Armed Ship or vessel, her tackle, apparel, and furniture, and the goods, wares, merchandise, Slaves, Specie and effects aforesaid, did, at the time of the capture and seizure aforesaid, belong to and were the property of some or one of the subjects of France, or persons inhabiting the territories or countries of France, between whom and us, it is public and notorious, that there was and still is hostility and war.

AND We further require and command You, that You intimate, or cause to
be intimated, as we do intimate by these presents to all persons in general (except such persons who are excepted and precluded as aforesaid) That if they do not appear at the time and place aforesaid, and, when there, shew some just, reasonable, and lawful cause to the contrary, the said Judge of our said Court will proceed and pronounce the said Armed Ship or vessel, her tackle, apparel, and furniture, and the goods, wares, merchandize, Slaves, Specie and effects aforesaid, taken and seized as aforesaid, to be rightfully and lawfully seized, and to be a just and lawful prize to the use of the said Bartholomew Samuel Rowley and Patrick Sinclair Commanders as aforesaid their Several and respective - officers, seamen, marines, and Mariners as goods forfeited and confiscated to them for the reasons aforesaid. And if the persons hereby monited do not appear at the time and place aforesaid, their absence will be deemed and accounted as consumacy. And what you have done in the premises you shall certify to us or to our said Judge of our said Court, with these presents. Dated at St. Jago de la Vega, in our said Court, and under the seal of the same, this fifth day of December in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and ninety three and of our reign the thirty fourth.


In the Court of Vice Admiralty

The Advocate General at the Relation of Bartholomew Samuel Rowley Esquire Commander of His Majesty's Ship of War Penelope Patrick Sinclair Esquire Commander of His Majesty's Ship of War Iphigenia their Several and Respective Officers, Marines and Mariners -

against -

A Certain Armed Ship or Vessel called La Inconstant her Guns Tackle furniture Ammunition and Apparel and all and Singular the Goods Wares Merchandize Slaves Specie and effects on board her -

Be it Remembered that on the fifth - day of December in the Year of our Lord One Thousand Seven Hundred and Ninety three Came George Crawford Ricketts Esquire His Majesty's Advocate General for the said Island who for and on behalf of our Sovereign Lord the King in this behalf prosecuted against a certain Armed Ship or Vessel called La Inconstant whereof one Jean Riouffe late was or pretended to be Master her Guns Tackle furniture Ammunition and Apparel and all and Singular the Goods Wares Merchandize Slaves Specie and effects on board her taken and Seized as French Property and goods and lawful Prize on the High Seas and within the Jurisdiction of this Court by the said Bartholomew Samuel Rowley Esquire Commander of His Majesty's Ship of War Penelope, Patrick Sinclair Esquire Commander of His Majesty's Ship of War Iphigenia their Several and Respective Officers, Marines and Mariners. In pursuance of His Majesty's Royal Proclamation bearing Date on or about the Eleventh day of February One Thousand Seven Hundred and Ninety three which recites That whereas diverse injurious proceedings have lately been had in France in derogation of the Honor of His Majesty's Crown and of the Just Rights of His Subjects, and also That
Whereas several unjust seizures have been there made of the ships and goods of His Majesty's Subjects contrary to the law of Nations and to the faith of Treaties and also that whereas the said acts of Unprovoked Hostility have been followed by an open declaration of War against His Majesty and His Ally the Republic of the United Provinces his said Majesty being therefore determined to take such measures as were necessary for vindicating the honor of his Crown and for procuring Reparation and satisfaction for his injured Subjects was pleased by and with the advice of his Privy Council to order and it was thereby ordered that general reprisals should be granted against the ships, goods, and Subjects of France so that as well his Majesty's ships and ships as also all other ships and vessels that should be commissioned by Letters of Marque or general reprisals or otherwise by his Majesty's Commissioners for executing the Office of Lord High Admiral of Great Britain should and might lawfully Seize all ships, vessels, and goods belonging to France or to any persons being Subjects of France or inhabiting within any of the Territories of France and bring the same to judgment in any of the Courts of Admiralty within any of his Majesty's Dominions and the said George Crawford Ricketts Advocate General as aforesaid for and on behalf of our Sovereign Lord the King doth article allege aver propound and say that the said Ship or Vessel called La Inconstant her Guns Tackle furniture Ammunition and Apparel and all and singular the goods, wares, merchantize slaves, specie and effects on board her on or about the Twenty-fifth day of November in the said year of our Lord One Thousand Seven Hundred and Ninety three were taken and Seized as French property and good and lawful prize on the high seas and within the Jurisdiction of this Court by the said Bartholomew Samuel Rowley, Patrick Sinclair their several and respective officers, marines and mariners. And the said George Crawford Ricketts Advocate General as aforesaid on the behalf aforesaid doth further article allege aver propound and say that the said Ship or Vessel called La Inconstant, her Guns Tackle furniture Ammunition and Apparel and all and singular the goods, wares, merchantize slaves, specie and effects on board her did at the time of such taking as aforesaid belong unto the State or Government of France between whom and our said Sovereign Lord the King it is Public and Notorious there then was and now is hostility and war subsisting -

Whereupon and upon all and singular the premises the said George Crawford Ricketts Advocate General as aforesaid humbly prays that the said Ship or Vessel called - La Inconstant her Guns Tackle furniture Ammunition and Apparel and all and singular the goods, wares, merchantize slaves, specie and effects on board her taken and Seized as aforesaid may be adjudged to be lawful prize and may be confiscated and condemned to the use of our said Sovereign Lord the King and that the same may be sold and the price and prices of all and every part and part thereof may be applied and distributed to and among the captors according to His Majesty's Royal Proclamation and that this Libel may be received -

G. C. Ricketts

C[a] William Alder, Proctor

Source:

Jamaica Archives
High Court of Vice Admiralty, Ships' Papers
'La Inconstant to HMS Penelope,
Taken 25th November 1793, Condemned'
APPENDIX D

A BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF JOHN LAWFORD

During the present investigation of the Wreck of the Ten Sail, biographical information about Captain John Lawford of HMS Convert came to light. The data primarily identify the Royal Navy officer's career, while his personal life remains largely a mystery. John Lawford was born in 1756, but the exact date and place of his birth, as well as information about his childhood, were not disclosed by current research. He married in 1803 when he was about 47 years of age. It is not known, however, if he had any children. John Lawford died on 22 December 1842 at the age of 86.¹

Details about John Lawford's advancement in the Royal Navy are available in sources located at the Public Record Office and the National Maritime Museum in England. John Lawford, at the age of 21, became a Lieutenant in the Royal Navy on 23 December 1777. Ten Years later, on 1 December 1787 he achieved the rank of Commander. John Lawford was promoted to Post Captain on 1 December 1793. He became Rear Admiral of the Blue on 1 August 1811, Rear Admiral of the White on 4 December 1813 and Rear Admiral of the Red on 4 June 1814. He was promoted to Vice Admiral of the Blue on 12 August 1819 and Vice Admiral of the White on 19 July 1821. John Lawford achieved the rank of Admiral of the Blue on 22 July 1830, Admiral of the White on 10 January 1837 and Admiral of the Red on 23 November 1841. He was awarded the title of Knight Commander of the Bath in 1838.²

According to Pitcairn-Jones, John Lawford was commissioned into the following twelve Royal Navy ships and vessels over the course of his naval career.³ In 1778, he became Second Lieutenant on the Active and in 1780 held the same post on the Namur (90). He served as First Lieutenant on the Crown (64) in 1784, and on the Leander (50) in 1787. In 1790 he was Commander of the sloop Hound (16) and in 1794 became
Captain of the frigate Convert (36). John Lawford was Captain of the Agincourt (64) in 1797, and of the Romney (50) in 1798. He became Captain of the Polyphemus (64) in 1800, of the Invincible in about 1801, and of the Audacious (74) in 1805. In 1806 he took his last command as Captain of the Impetueux (74). He served aboard this 74-gun ship until 1 August 1811 when, at the age of about 55, he was promoted to the rank of Rear Admiral.

When John Marshall published his Royal Naval Biography in 1823 he included a biography for John Lawford, Vice Admiral of the White. At the time the book was published Lawford was about 67 years of age and he resided at Shoarne, near Rochester, Kent. Marshall wrote:

At the period of the Spanish armament, in 1790, this officer commanded the Hound sloop, stationed in the Channel. During the two succeeding years we find him in the same vessel at Jamaica. He was made post, Dec. 1st, 1793, into the Convert of 36 guns, which vessel was lost on the Grand Caymanas, in the West Indies, on the 8th March, in the following year.

Captain Lawford's next appointment was to the Agincourt, 64; from her he removed, about the spring of 1798, to the Romney of 50 guns. In the summer of the same year, being entrusted with the command of a small squadron, he fell in with a Swedish frigate having under her convoy a number of vessels, bound to different ports in the Mediterranean, laden with naval stores. Upon doubts which Captain Lawford entertained respecting the line of conduct he should pursue on so delicate an occasion, he immediately sent an express to the Admiralty, whilst with his squadron, he kept the convoy in view. On the return of his messenger with instructions for the detention of the merchant vessels, our officer desired Sir Charles Lindsay and Captain Raper to communicate them in the civillest terms to the Swedish Commodore; who shewed his instructions to repel force by force, if any attempt were made to board the vessels under his charge, and declared that he would protect them to the last. The crew of the Swedish frigate were immediately at quarters, matches lighted, and every preparation made for an obstinate resistance. In the night, possession was taken of most of the vessels; the commander of the convoy making many movements, which were narrowly watched by the Romney, keeping close under his lee, lower-deck guns run out, and every man at his station. In the morning an armed boat sent by the Swedish frigate, took out by force the British officer who had been left on board one of the vessels; at the same time the Commodore sent an officer of his own to Captain Lawford, to complain that he had taken advantage of the night to get possession of his charge, which was unobserved by him, or he would assuredly have defended them to the last. Upon further conference, and representation of the impracticability of resistance to
such a superior force, he as length agreed to go into Margate Roads, and returned the British officer who had been detained on board his frigate.

Some months after, judgement was passed in the High Court of Admiralty, that all the merchantmen, with their several cargoes, should be condemned (being laden with naval and military stores, bound to France); but that the private adventures of the masters should be restored. The prizes were calculated to be worth 600,000L. The judge, Sir W. Scott, now Lord Stowell, asserted upon this occasion:

1st, That the right of visiting and searching merchantmen upon the high seas, whatever be the ships, cargoes, or destination, is an incontestable right of the lawfully commissioned cruisers of a belligerent nation.

2nd, That the authority of the sovereign of the neutral country being interposed in any manner of mere force, cannot legally vary the rights of a lawfully commissioned belligerent cruiser; and

3rd, That the penalty for the contravention of this right is the confiscation of the property so withheld from visitation and search.

In the autumn of 1799, the Romney formed part of the expedition sent against the Helder, and was with Vice-Admiral Mitchell, at the surrender of the Dutch squadron commanded by Rear-Admiral Storey. Captain Lawford subsequently removed into the Polyphemus of 64 guns, which ship was attached to Lord Nelson's division at the attack upon the Danish line of defence before Copenhagen, April 2, 1801, and sustained a loss of 5 men killed, and 24 wounded.

On the 7th Dec. 1804, our officer being on a cruize off Cape St. Mary, fell in with and captured the Santa Gertruyda, a Spanish frigate of 36 guns, from Peru and Mexico, bound to Corunna, with a cargo consisting of cocoa, coffee, hides, platina, drugs, cochineal, cotton, and several rich private ventures, together with 1,215,000 dollars in specie (The Lively frigate, Captain G.E. Hamond, was in sight at the time of the above capture). This valuable prize parted company in a violent gale of wind on the 16th, and on Christmas day carried away her mainmast, and had her rudder choked. Fortunately she was fallen in with by the Harriet armed ship, which took her in tow, and after beating about the Channel for several days, brought her safe to Plymouth on the 10th Jan. 1805.

In the ensuing summer, Captain Lawford was appointed to the Audacious of 74 guns; and from her removed, towards the close of the year, into the Impetueux, another third rate, in which ship he continued on Channel service until the 1st Aug. 1811. He was then advanced to the rank of Rear-Admiral.

Our officer has never, we believe, hoisted his flag. His commission as Vice-Admiral bears date Aug. 12, 1819.

Residence. - Shoarne, near Rochester, Kent.

Biographical details about John Lawford also appear in an obituary notice that was published in the April 1843 issue of The
Gentleman's Magazine. Omitting a lengthy paraphrase which is clearly based on the previously quoted biography by John Marshall, the article is presented because it includes additional information:

ADM. SIR JOHN LAWFORD, K.C.B.

Dec. 22. At his residence, Grove-road, St. John's-wood, aged 86, Admiral Sir John Lawford, K.C.B.

This much respected old officer had been a commissioned officer in the navy for sixty-five years, and served as First Lieutenant of the Nimrod, 98 guns, in the battle of the 12th April, 1782, that ship being Lord Rodney's second astern on that day...He became a Vice-Admiral in 1819, and Admiral in 1837. He was nominated a Knight Commander of the Bath in 1838.

Sir John Lawford married, in 1803, a daughter of the Rev. Mr. Holder, Rector of Barson, Suffolk.

An important point in John Lawford's obituary seems to be slightly incorrect. The obituary suggests that he served as First Lieutenant of the Nimrod, which ship was Lord Rodney's second astern in the battle of 12 April 1782 (Battle of the Saints). Yet, Pitcairn-Jones lists Lawford as Second Lieutenant of the Namur from 1780, with his next commission as First Lieutenant of the Crown in 1784. The discrepancy in data seems to be resolved when one notes that the Namur, Fenshaw, a 90-gun ship with a crew of 750 men, along with the Duke (90), Gardner, and Canada (74), Cornwallis, flanked Admiral Sir George Rodney's Formidable (90) as the four ships broke through the enemy's line in the Battle of the Saints. There were no ships-of-the-line by the name of Nimrod with the Admiral on that fateful day. Thus, it is likely that John Lawford was aboard the Namur on 12 April 1782 for the Battle of the Saints.

Attempts were also made to find genealogical data about John Lawford. Letters were sent to the Kent Archives in Maidstone, to the Kent Family History Society, and to about 14 Lawford families whose names appear in current telephone directories in the Medway and North West Kent area. Although various individuals attempted to locate data, little substantive information emerged. Living descendants of John
Lawford were not identified, although a reply from L.S. Lawford suggested that Admiral Sir John Lawford, K.C.B., had been granted armorial bearings.

Correspondence with P.L. Dickinson at The College of Arms in London, revealed that indeed armorial bearings were granted to Captain John Lawford in 1803, who, at the time, was residing at Portsmouth, Hampshire:

ARMS Quartered Gules and Ermine on a bend cotised wavy Argent an anchor erect Sable between two estoiles Azure
CREST On a wreath of the colours A demi lion Ermine holding between his paws a naval coronet Gold in the mouth a branch of olive proper
MOTTO IN UTRUMQUE PARATUS

The College of Arms did not have a pedigree of John Lawford's family entered in their records. Thus, no official biographical information about the Royal Navy officer is registered there. P.L. Dickinson noted, however, that John Lawford impaled the Arms of a Holden family with those of his own. This is the usual way of representing a marriage heraldically: the shield would be divided vertically down the center and the Arms of the husband would be placed on the left-hand side and those of the wife's family on the right.11

It seems that John Lawford lived a long and interesting life. His active naval career spanned the American War of Independence, the French Revolutionary Wars and most of the Napoleonic Wars. In his lifetime, he also witnessed sweeping changes in his country and the world as a result of the Industrial Revolution. Undoubtedly additional information exists about this fascinating man, but it is beyond the scope of the present investigation to conduct more detailed research. Nonetheless, a study of the life of Admiral Sir John Lawford is a worthwhile avenue for future research.
Footnotes for Appendix D.


3. There are some discrepancies between the listings in Pitcairn-Jones and other naval biographical sources regarding the ships upon which John Lawford served. For example, John Marshall's biography and an obituary notice (detailed later in Appendix D) suggest that Lawford removed from the Polyphemus into the Audacious, and do not mention him serving on the Invincible.

4. John Lawford was actually made Post Captain on 1 December 1793 into the Convert.


6. HMS Convert was actually lost on 8 February 1794.


## APPENDIX E

**EXTRACT OF DATA FROM THE MUSTER TABLE OF HMS CONVERT**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Entry</th>
<th>Whence and Year</th>
<th>Whether Appearance or non.</th>
<th>MENS NAMES</th>
<th>Qualities</th>
<th>D. of Discharge</th>
<th>D.D.</th>
<th>R.</th>
<th>Year</th>
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<td>1</td>
<td>12/1/93 Hound</td>
<td>Captain</td>
<td>John Lawford</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1/7/94</td>
<td>DD</td>
<td>8th</td>
<td>1874</td>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
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<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
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<td>-</td>
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<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
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<td>John Silver Sword</td>
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<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
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*This table includes information extracted from the Muster-Table of HMS Convert. The original document contains the following columns: 'Bounty Paid', 'N', 'Entry', 'Year', 'Appearance', 'Whence and Whether Pres or not', 'Place and Country where Born', 'Age at Time of Entry in this Ship', 'N' and Letter of Tickets', 'MENS NAMES', 'Qualities', D. D.D. or R.' (Discharged, Discharged Dead or Run), 'Time of Discharge', 'Whither for or What Reason' and additional columns concerning clothes and beds supplied by the Navy, wages, etc. Most of the information that appears in the original Muster-Table is included in the extracted table (a few columns have been combined), with the exception of the location of discharge, and the costs for clothing and beds. Several columns were blank in the original. Many of the abbreviations that appear in the original have been spelled in full for the reader; abbreviations that remain are generally as they appear in the original. The transcription of names reflects the author's best attempt to decipher the original handwriting. This dissertation adheres to American spelling; to maintain consistency, dates are also presented in the American style.*
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(Original Muster-Table signed by Captain John Lawford, Purser John Scott, Master Thomas Popplewell and Boatswain Roger Kirby)
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(Original Muster-Table signed by Captain John Lawford, Purser John Scott, Master Thomas Popplewell and Boatswain Roger Kirby)
LIST OF A PRISONER AND EIGHT INVALIDS BELONGING TO THE 1st REGIMENT OF ROYALS & 62nd REGIMENT OF FOOT & ROYAL ARTILLERY, VICTUALLED AT 2/3rd ALLOWANCE OF ALL SPECIES OF PROVISIONS P/ORDER OF CAPTAIN LAWFORD

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- 1 1/26/94 from Packet sent by SSJ Jeung
   Jervis from Barbados for England

- 2 1/28/94 Pt. Royal 1st Regt. Royals James Campbell Private
   Invalided

- 3 " " Michael D
- 4 " " John Hall
- 5 " " John Rae
- 6 " " Peter Reams
- 7 " " John Long
- 8 " 62nd Regiment William Hussey Sergeant
- 9 " Royal James Webburn Private
   Artillery

(Original Muster-Table signed by Captain John Lawford, Purser John Scott, Master Thomas Poplewell and Boatswain Roger Kirby)

Source:

PRO, ADM 36/11476
Ships' Muster Books
Muster-Table of HMS Convert, 1793-4
APPENDIX F

THE COURT MARTIAL OF CAPTAIN JOHN LAWFORD, THE OFFICERS
AND COMPANY OF H.M.S. CONVERT, FOR THE LOSS OF HER

Duplicate

At a Court Martial assembled & held onboard His Majesty's Ship
Success in Port Royal Harbor Jamaica, upon the 1st day of April 1794.

Present

Captain Fra^ Roberts Commander of His Majesty's Ship Success, and
Senior Captain of His Majesty's Ships and Vessels in Port Royal Harbour
Jamaica, President.

Captains

Pat^ Sinclair
Geo. Gregory
Will^ Alby Otway
Geo. H^ Stephens

The Court in pursuance of an order from John Ford Esq^ Commander
in Chief of His Majesty's Ships and Vessels employed, and to be
employed, at, and about Jamaica, & dated the 30th "ultimo", proceeded to
enquire into the Conduct of Captain John Lawford, Commander of His
Majesty's Late Ship the Convert and such of the Officers and Company of
the said Ship as were onboard her at the time she was wrecked; together
with nine Sail of Merchant Ships on the Reefs off the East end of the
Grand Cayman on the Morning of the 8th of February last, in proceeding
to Great Britain agreeably to the Orders of the said Commander in
Chief, & to try them for the same accordingly: The Court having
thoroughly examined into the several Circumstances attending the same,
and having maturely and deliberately considered the whole, is of
opinion that the Misfortune was occasioned by a strong Current setting
the Ships very considerably to the Northward of their Reckoning, and
dothing therefore adjudge that the said Captain John Lawford Commander of
His Majesty's late Ship the Convert, the Officers and Company of the
said Ship, be acquitted, and they are hereby acquitted accordingly.

Fra^ Roberts
Pat^ Sinclair
W^ Alby Otway
Geo. Gregory
Geo. H^ Stephens
R. Holmes of^ Judge
Advocate)

(A Copy)

Jn^ Ford
Minutes of a Court Martial assembled and held on Board His Majesty's Ship Success in Port Royal Harbour Jamaica on the 1st of April 1794.

Present
Captain Francis Roberts Commander of His Majesty's Ship Success and Senior Captain of His Majesty's Ships and Vessels in Port Royal Harbour, President.

Captains
Patrick Sinclair
George Gregory
William Albany Otway
George H. Stephens

Captain John Lawford Commander, with such of the Officers & Company of His Majesty's late Ship the Convert, as were at Jamaica, were brought into Court, and the Evidence & Audience admitted.

Read the Order of John Ford Esq' Commodore and Commander in Chief of His Majesty's Ships & Vessels employed at and about Jamaica & dated the 30th past, directed to the President to enquire into the Conduct of Captain John Lawford Commander of His Majesty's late Ship the Convert, and such of the Officers and Company as were on Board her at the time she was wrecked, together with Nine Sail of Merchant Men, on the Reefs to the Eastward of the Grand Cayman, on the 8th of February last, as she was proceeding to Great Britain, agreeably to the Order of the said Commander in Chief, and to Try them for the same Accordingly.

Then the Members of the Court and Judge advocate, in open Court, and before they proceeded to Trial, respectively took the Oaths as directed by Act of Parliament made and passed in the 22nd Year of His late Majesty, Entitled "an Act for amending, explaining, and reducing into one Act of Parliament, the Laws relating to the Government of His Majesty's Ships, Vessels, and forces by Sea".

A Letter from Captain John Lawford to John Ford Esq' Commodore and Commander in Chief & was then read as follows.

Island of Grand Cayman
20th February 1794

Sir

It is with extreme concern that I have to report to you that His Majesty's Ship Convert was unfortunately Wreck'd, together with Nine Sail of Merchantmen under my Convoy, on the Reefs of the East end of the Grand Cayman on the morning of 8th Instant; but it is some Alleviation of this misfortune to be enabled to add, that from the most Strenuous exertions on our part, and the timely assistance rendered by the Few Inhabitants (by all the means in their power) few Lives were lost.

I had the honor to write you from Bluefields Bay on the 3rd Instant informing you of my intention of Sailing with the Ships that had rendezvous'd there, on that Day, but light Westerly winds and Calms prevailing rendered it impossible for the Heavy Merchant Ships to clear the Bay before the morning of the 5th, when I got under way at Day light, with about Thirty Two Sail and brought too off Long Bay in the Afternoon to give the necessary Instructions & Signals to the Ships that had joined me from the Northside, I lay too that night with the Ships head to the Northward, and the next morning bore away, having Fifty Five Sail of square rigged Vessels Bound to Europe, and three Schooners to Different Ports in America. On Friday noon the 7th Instant
the Master, with three Assistants, with two Sextants and two Quadrants, found by Observation the Latitude to be 18°, 47' North and from the Course Steer'd, and the Distance run from the West end of Jamaica, we considered that the East end of the Island of Grand Cayman, bore N.W. 3/4 N. 18 Leagues Distants, the Convoy had been lying too for several hours to give Assistance to a Schooner in Distress, and after getting the Observation (the goodness of which there could be no doubt) we bore away and Steer'd W.N.W; at 1 PM I made Sail ahead of the Convoy in order to make the Land before Dark, but a Gun being fired astern about 3 oClock I conceived it my Duty, (knowing that several of the Ships were in bad Condition) to stand back into the Fleet to give all the Assistance in my power; I accordingly Wore Ship, and found that the Signal of Distress was made by the same Schooner that had delayed me in the morning, this Circumstance having prevented me from prosecuting my original intention of making the Land before Dark, I steer'd West from Six to twelve oClock, making a run of nine or Ten Leagues, which by our Reckoning carried us to the Westward of the Grand Cayman, and Seven Leagues to the Southward: at 12 oClock the Master, who then became officer of the Watch upon Deck, representing to me that from the Prevailing of the Northerly Winds, it might be necessary to haul more to the Northward to ensure the making Cape Corientes, and deeming ourselves perfectly Clear of the Grand Caymans, I directed him to steer W.N.W., the Convoy being at this time well Collected and not one Ship ahead; the Convert had at this time (as well as during the greater part of the time) her Sails all furl'd and Yards braced aback, owing to her very great Superiority in point of Sailing; about 3 oClock the Master came down and inform'd me that one of the Ships to Leeward had fired two Guns, on which conceiving it to be a Signal of Distress, I directed him to make Sail and run down to her, on my getting on Deck instantly after this, I found that the Guns had been fired by a Ship ahead, and that several ships of the Convoy had run ahead since 12 oClock. I had not been on Deck a Minute before some of the Men on the TopSail Yard called out, "Breakers ahead Close to us", I immediately (as the Breakers appeared in every direction and I could not tell from the Darkness of the Night to what extent they might run,) deemed it most expedient to make the Signal for the Convoy to disperse and do the best for their own Safety that their own Judgement could suggest, and as the TopSails were now sheeted home, the Convert would have certainly cleared the Breakers, if a Ship ahead had not unfortunately fallen on Board us, and before it was possible to extricate ourselves we got so near the Reefs, that all hopes of Clearing them vanished and she in a few moments struck, and very soon after Bilged; Had the Ships of the Convoy kept their stations and attended to Signals, which I am sorry to say was not the Case generally with the far greater part, this misfortune could not have happened, for however the Current might have set us to the Northward of our Course; or from whatever Cause any error might have arisen in the reckoning, had the Ship I commanded been the leader without any intervening Object being between her and the Breakers, they must have been observed in time enough to have warned the Ships astern of their Danger, and the worst that could possibly have happened which I do not Conceive could be the Case, would have been the loss of the Convert; I have since learned that the Ship that fired the Guns was on Shore before she fired, and that Five or Six others were on Shore before her. The dawning of the Day presented a most Melancholy scene, seven Ships and two Brigs on the same Reef with the Convert, a very heavy sea running and the Wind blowing directly on the Shore; from the bad appearance of the Weather the Merchant Ships would not venture near enough to us to give any effectual assistance, and the Ships on Shore could not assist each other; I immediately ordered out the Boats to provide as far as possible for the safety of the Ships Company, the Masts were Cut away, and by unremitting exertions until Night, the whole of the Ships Company (excepting about
Twenty who, has [sic] the Weather seemed to moderate, preferred staying on Board to the risque of getting on Shore were put on Board two or three Vessels that appeared at a great Distance in the offing, or were put on the reef by means of rafts, &c taken up by Canoes; On Sunday morning I prevailed on a Canoe to go to the few remaining Ships in the Offing with a Letter to the Commanders of them to desire them either to Anchor at the Hogsties or lay off and on there to receive the men saved from the Different Ships, whom I found from the strictest Investigation, and on the Affidavits of the Principal Inhabitants, it would be impossible to subsist for any time on this little Island, which suffered most severely from a Hurricane in October last. The greater part had bore away to the Westward before they could receive this intimation, and only Nine of the remainder thought proper to pay any regard to it; on Board these Ships I have distributed the Men, at least as many as can possibly be put on Board and as the Masters, though willing to receive them, represented their Difficultys [sic] in Point of Provisions, I have recommended them to call off the Havannah and given them Letters recommending their case to His Excellency the Governor. I have dispatched an Officer (Lieutenant Brice) and the First of His Majesty's Ship Hermione, (who was on his way to Brest for the recovery of his Medal) with Dispatches to the Admiralty of this unfortunate circumstance, and propose to remain myself with all my Officers, and about sixty chosen Men, to save so many of the Ships stores &c, as may be possible when the Weather moderates, with the assistance of the small Craft of this Island until I receive your Commands; the remainder of the Seamen I shall send to Jamaica with Lieutenant Bogue my first Lieutenant, by the first vessel I have been able to get ready with the Assistance of our own Carpenters; to him I beg leave to refer you for a more perfect detail of the Circumstances of the Loss of His Majesty's Ship and the Ships of the Convoy, together with every other occurrence which has happened. The pecuiliar and Embarrass'd situation in which I am now, having lost almost everything and without the Smallest convenience, will I trust plead for any inaccuracy's that may occur in this Letter and which I hope will claim your indulgence. Inclosed I have the honor to transmit Copies of the Letters that have pass'd on this occasion, with the best account of the Ships Company that I can at present collect and should have sent a list of the Convoy, had not that with my other Papers been lost. We are at at [sic] present huddled and under Tents in the best manner possible opposite the Wreck which is about Two Miles from the Shore, and from our unfavorable situation, very few Articles has been practicable to get on Shore, except two Puncheons of Rum and some few Casks of Provisions. The Bread is totally spoiled and the miserable situation of this Island precludes us from being furnished with anything of the Bread Kind. From the situation of the Convoy it is impossible at this time to judge what might be saved, being on a Reef, to the Eastward of the Island of Course a Weatherly one, and such a Distance from the Land and Very Shoal water within it; the only thing that I can at present possibly suggest would be, if the service would admit, of it, to request that a Ship of War be dispatched with such relief as you may judge (from the Circumstances above related) proper, as I beg leave to say by the time she can possibly come here we shall be enabled to Determine if any thing of consequence is likely to be saved and what Kind of Vessel may be proper to send here to receive it, or, if it appears that nothing material was to be saved, we might return in her to Jamaica; in the meantime you may depend that every exertion on my part and that of my Officers and Men, shall be particularly manifested: truly convinced of the Magnitude of this Calamity and Knowing its evil influence on the Commerce of my Country in whose service I have pass'd my Life; my Distress of mind would be insupportable were I not supported by a Consciousness of having done my Duty and the utmost my judgment could dictate, and of having never
spared myself in this or any other Instance, in point of exertion and
Vigilance when the Honor or Interest of His Majesty's service were
Concern'd; I have the honor to be with great respect

Sir,
Your most humble servant
(signed) John Lawford

Commodore Ford
&c. &c.

The order from Commodore Ford to Captain John Lawford to proceed
to Great Britain was also read as follows

By John Ford Esq' Commodore and
Commander in Chief &c. &c.

Whereas the Principal Merchants and Planters of Jamaica have
applied to me by means of Governor Williamson for a Convoy to be
appointed to Sail with the Homeward Bound Trade about the Middle of
this Month.

You are therefore hereby required and Directed to be at
Bluefields Bay on that Island, with His Majesty's Ship under your
Command, by the 18th Instant, taking such Merchant Ships as may be
ready to Sail from the Port of Kingston with you, & having received
under your protection such Ships as may be assembled at Bluefields, to
put to sea with them and His Majesty's Ship under your Command on the
20th Instant, proceeding (through the Gulf of Florida) off Cape Clear in
Ireland, if the Wind and Weather will admit thereof, but if the
Contrary, or if you should receive Intelligence that a Superior force of
the Enemy is Cruising in the Vicinity thereof, you are then left at
Discretion to act according to the exigency of the Moment for His
Majesty's Service and the Protection of the Convoy.

Upon making the Land you are to give directions when you shall
judge expeditient, for the Masters of such Vessels as may be bound up St.
Georges Channel, to repair without loss of time to the Ports to which
they are respectively destined; and proceed with His Majesty's Ship
under your Command and such part of the Convoy as may be bound so far
to the Eastward, to the Downs, giving the Secretary of the Admiralty an
Account of your arrival & proceedings, and in your way thither
permitting the Masters of the Ships and Vessels bound to any of the
Western Ports, to repair thither, as you arrive off them respectively.

You are to be very attentive to the Ships and Vessels under your
Care, Keeping them together by every means in Your power, and giving
their Masters such orders and Directions as you judge will be most
conducive to that end; and on no account or pretense whatever to leave
them, but to accommodate your Progress to that of the worst Sailing
Ship among them; and in case (not withstanding these precautions) any
of them shall part Company with you, or disobey your Commands, you are
to transmit to the Admiralty a list of their Names; with the
Circumstances attending such separation or Disobedience.

Given under my Hand on Board His Majesty's
Ship Europa at Anchor off Port au Prince
5th January 1794

John Ford

To
John Lawford Esq'
Captain of His Maje's
Ship Convert

By Command of the Commodore
R. Holmes (a Copy)
(signed) J. Ford
Court to
Captain Lawford)

Have you any Charge to make against any of the Officers or
Men of His Majesty's late Ship the Convert for the loss of
her, or for their conduct or behavior since that period

Ans': None

Lieutenant B. Bogue First Lieutenant of His Majesty's Ship
Convert called in and Sworn.

Court

Relate to the Court what you know of the Circumstances
respecting the loss of His Majesty's Ship Convert from the
time of taking your Departure from Jamaica, till the Ship
got on Shore upon the Reefs, off the East-end of the Grand
Cayman.

Ans':

After collecting the Convoy on the 6th of February we took
our departure from the West end of Jamaica and Steered
W.N.W. with a light wind all the forenoon, running down
under an easy Sail until the Evening, when we furl'd
everything not to run to far ahead of the bad sailing
vessels. On the morning of the 7th, I relieved the Deck at
8 o'Clock and found the ship lying too with the Jolly Boat
lowered down and on Board of a Schooner which I understood
had made the Signal of Distress, the Convoy lying too at
the same time; About ¾ past 11 AM after baling the schooner
the Jolly Boat returned, and at 12 o'Clock at noon we made
the Signal for the Convoy to make Sail, and made sail
ourselves in the Convert; at one in the afternoon the
Top sails and Fore sail were set, to endeavour to make the
Land; about ¾ past 2 in the afternoon being a long way
ahead of the Convoy, we heard two Guns fired by some of
them, and not seeing from whence they came Captain Lawford
ordered the hands to be turned up, and me to wear the Ship
and stand into the Fleet, which was done: on entering it,
on enquiring of several Ships whence the firing came, we
were inform'd it was the same Schooner that had delayed us
in the morning; after passing her we tack'd and stood
within hail of her, and they inform'd us they were afraid
we were going to run away from them, which made them fire
the Guns. We then led the Fleet steering W.N.W. until a ¼
of an hour before Six in the Afternoon, when the sails were
furl'd and the Course altered to West, to show the Convoy
what Course it was intended to Steer and what Sail to carry
during the Night, and the signal for that purpose was made
at the same time; nothing material happened till 8 o'Clock
the same Night, except firing some Swivels at some Vessels
that were running ahead of us. At about ¾ past 2 o'Clock
on the morning of the 8th, I was awake and informed there
was firing ahead. I heard the hands turned up. I
immediately went upon Deck and found the Top sails were
loose and sheeting home, which was done and they were
hoisted as quick as possible & the helm ordered to be put a
port, in order to haul to the Northward, but as we were
bracing up, the Master from forward called out "a ship
ahead almost close to us", when the Topsails were braced a
Back, but the Ship being on the other Tack drove athwart
hawse and carried away our Jibb Boom, in about ten minutes
however we got clear, and bracing the yards up again to
stand to the Northward she fell on Board of us a second
time upon the starboard Bow which paid the Ship off before
the Wind, and a short time after, before we could extricate
ourselves the Ship Struck; the Master at this time being
forward clearing the Anchors and Sounding. On her striking,
the Sails were immediately clewed up and furled, Top
Gallant Yards got down, and the People were getting the Top
Gallant Masts down, when the Carpenter reported the Ship
was making water, and in ten minutes after, it was up to
the orlop Deck, the Boats were hoisted out but the Ship had
by that time bilged, and it was found impossible to save
the Ship, and the Lives of the People were preserved with
much difficulty except about five who were lost.

Examined by Captain Lawford.

Quest*: Do you recollect who took the Observation at Noon on the 7th
of February.

Ans*: I saw the Master taking the Observation with a Sextant, but
I do not know whether any other person took an observation
or not.

Quest*: Did the Master acquaint you, as Officer of the Watch, when
the sun was up.

Ans*: He did.

Quest*: Did you hear him say whether the Observation was a good one
and to be depended on.

Ans*: Yes.

Quest*: Were not Signals continually flying for the Stern most
Ships of the Convoy to make more Sail and the Headmost
Ships to shorten and Keep in their stations.

Ans*: Yes, at the same time they paid very little attention to
them.

Quest*: Was it not frequently necessary to fire Shot to compel them
to come in.

Ans*: It was, and a six pounder was removed from the Quarter Deck
to the Forecastle for that purpose.

Quest*: After your coming upon Deck on the Morning of the 8th of
February when all hands were called, do you not believe
that every exertion was used to save the Convert.

Ans*: I do.

Court: Have you any reason to believe there was any error in the
Compasses on Board the Convert.

Ans*: I cannot say whether there was or not.

Court: Did you see any part of the Island of Jamaica at the time
you shortened Sail to speak the Schooner the Second time.

Ans*: No, supposing ourselves within 18 Leagues of the Caymans.
What Course was the Convert steer'd on the Night of the 7th of February previous to your getting on Shore.

In my Watch from Six, to Eight that night, she was steer'd West, after that time I do not Know what Course was Steer'd.

Who relieved you.

M' Earnshaw the 2nd Lieutenant.

Were Orders given for Signal Guns and Signal lights to be ready in Case they should be wanted in the Night.

They were always kept in readiness.

You have said you went off the Deck at 8 o'Clock on the Night of the 7th of February; in what situation was the Convoy when you were relieved.

They were all astern except one or two, which were then falling astern from the Guns which had been fired at them, and in general well Collected.

You have said the Caymans were suppos'd to be about 18 Leagues distant when you spoke the Schooner, on the Day previous to the Converts getting on Shore: was it by your own reckoning.

No. It was by the Masters reckoning.

What orders had you to deliver to the Officer who relieved you on the 7th of February at 8 o'Clock at Night.

No other than to steer West, as they were generally given after that time.

(Withdraw)

M' William Earnshaw 2nd Lieutenant called in and sworn.

Relate to the Court what you Know of the Circumstances respecting the loss of His Majestys Ship Convert, from the time of taking your Departure from Jamaica untill the Ship got on Shore upon the Reefs off the East end of the Grand Caymans.

I was not upon Deck at the time of taking the departure from Jamaica; We made Sail on the 6th of February between 12 & one o'Clock at noon, together with the Convoy steering W. b N. 4 N. till between 11 & 12 o'Clock at noon of the 7th when the Convert brought too for the Convoy to come up; at 6 o'Clock on the evening of the 7th we bore up and Steer'd West. at 8 o'Clock that Night I went upon Deck it being my first-watch. Captain Lawford delivered his orders to me about 10 o'Clock very particularly and with great Anxiety, to keep ahead of the Convoy, to see them kept in compact order on each Quarter of the Convert, and not to suffer any of the Ships by any means to go ahead, and to keep in such a situation as to have a Commanding View of the Convoy, to be very careful to keep a strict look out and to be
particular as to the Course steer'd, which was strictly done, Capt'n Lawford likewise directed me to tell the Master when he relieved me, to prick off the run of the Ship upon the Chart from the time of taking her departure from Jamaica, and to take particular pains to see that it was right, and to work the Back bearings and Distance from Jamaica: which orders I delivered to the Master Verbatim upon his relieving me: about a ¼ of an hour before I was relieved I went round the Ship and look'd particularly, but could see none of the Convoy ahead, they were then on each Quarter in Compact order agreeably to the directions I had received: at 12 o'Clock I was relieved by the Master and went to Bed, the Ship still Steering West: Some time in the Middle watch but I do not know the hour, I was told that a Ship ahead fired Guns & that the hands were turn'd up, upon which I immediately went upon Deck and found the Ship with her Topsails set and one of the Convoy nearly on board of us, I was on the Forecastle and gave notice of it to the Officers on the Quarter Deck; at first we tried to Weather the Ship, but found it impracticable and she being on the other tack luffed up, apparently not seeing us, as the morning was Very Dark, and run on board the Convert upon the Starboard bow; a Man then called out from the Foreyard, "Land and Breakers ahead close on Board us", just as we cleared the Ship that was on Board us and in the Act of Hauling to the Northward, the Convert Struck.

Examined by Captain Lawford

Questn: On your coming upon Deck on the Morning of the 8th of February last, do you not believe that every exertion was used in order to save the Convert.

Ans$: Yes.

Questn: Did not the Convoy in general very much disregard the signals that were made to them.

Ans$: Some of them appeared to me to be very inattentive.

Court: What sort of Weather was it during the run from Jamaica to the time that the Ship Struck and particularly on the Night that the accident happened.

Ans$: When we bore up after taking our departure, there was moderate Breezes till the next day at Noon when the wind rather died away: in the afternoon of the 7th it freshened up and from that time till the Ship struck it blew fresh Breezes which towards the Night were attended with Squalls.

Questn: Was it a dark Night or Moon light.

Ans$: It was hazy and a Cloudy night.

Court: Could you see any Distance.

Ans$: At no great Distance.

Court: What Sail had you set on the Night previous to the Ship getting on Shore when it was your first watch.
The Topsails were handed when I went upon Deck, and continued so during my Watch, the Fore Topmast Staysail was set occasionally to keep the ship in her station.

Examined by Captain Lawford.

Do you not believe that if the Merchant Ship had not fallen on Board the Convert, she would have Cleared the Reefs in hauling to the Northward.

I think she might.

Did you understand from the Masters of the Merchant Ships which were wreck'd, that Five or Six Sail were on Shore before the Guns were fired.

I heard the Captain who gave the Alarm say that he discovered Three of them on Shore before he struck, and that a Brig and Ship had passed close to him standing out to Clear the Reefs; the Captain of which Ship informed me that he had struck twice in Clearing the Reefs.

(Witdraw)

Mr John Allen 3rd Lieutenant of the Convert called in and Sworn.

Relate to the Court what you know of the Circumstances relating to the loss of His Majestys Ship Convert, and the Convoy under her charge, from the time of taking your departure from Jamaica, to the time she struck on the Reefs off the East end of the Grand Caymans on the 8th of February last.

I was unable to do Duty from a Wound in my Arm, and cannot speak positively from my own knowledge of any of the Circumstances attending it.

(Witdraw)

Mr Thomas Popplewell Master called in & Sworn:

(Log Book produced.)

Do you deliver this Log Book as containing a true account of the Transactions of the Ship.

Yes.

Relate to the Court what you know of the Circumstances relating to the loss of His Majestys Ship Convert, and the Convoy under her protection, from the time of taking your departure from Jamaica to the time the Ship Struck on the Reefs off the East end of the Grand Caymans on the 8th of February last.

At Meridian on the 6th of February, South Negril on the West End of Jamaica bore East, Distant about 12 Leagues, the Latitude Observed was 18°, 09' North, the Course steer'd
from that time was W.B.N. \( \frac{3}{4} \) till the next morning at 8 o'Clock, a number of the Convoy being then astern, we brought up with the Ships Head to the Northward, and at 12 o'Clock at noon on the 7th, we bore away W.N.W. the observedLatitude being 18°, 47' N. the Island of Grand Cayman by myreckoning bearing N.W. \( \frac{1}{4} \) N. 18 Leagues Distant; at oneo'Clock PM of the 8th, we made Sail ahead in order to makethe Land steering the same Course till 3 o'Clock, but uponthe report of a Gun we wore and stood back to the Convoy;after enquiring of two or three Ships from whence the Gunshad been fired, we found it to have been a Schooner which we spoke, which informed us she had sprung a leak; we thentack'd & steer'd W.N.W. till a \( \frac{1}{4} \) before 6 o'Clock PM ofthesame Day, and then bore up West, and run till near \( \frac{3}{4} \) past12 at Midnight. I then haul'd up W.N.W. till 1/2 past 2o'Clock on the Morning of the 8th when a gun was heard, andpresently afterwards another, the Flash of which bore SWfrom us, I immediately (having then the watch upon Deck)acquainted Captain Lawford of it, upon which he instantlycame upon Deck, and enquiring where the Flash had been seen and how it bore, gave orders to Steer for it, at the same time turned the Hands up loosed the Topsails and set them;in the Act of doing which the people on the Foreyard calledout "Land ahead and Breakers", the Convert was immediatelyhaul'd to the Northward at which time a ship upon the otherTack was close on Board of us, which some of the peopleforward seeing called out "hard a Starboard", but beforethe Helm was up, or the Ship could answer it, the otherShip fell on board the Convert, after some time we disengagedourselves, and the Convert being so much before theWind, the other Ships head to the SE. and her sails not all full, we fell on board each other again and before wecould clear ourselves we were close to the Reef, just as theShip Clear'd us, the Convert took the Ground.

\[
\text{Court} \quad \text{Were the Compasses on Board the Convert good: did you ever take an Amplitude or an Azimuth to prove them.}
\]
\[
\text{Ans}^{*} : \quad \text{I had no reason to suppose they were bad, I had never an opportunity to take an Amplitude or Azimuth.}
\]
\[
\text{Court} \quad \text{Have you ever been through the Gulf of Florida.}
\]
\[
\text{Ans}^{*} : \quad \text{Yes, Several times.}
\]
\[
\text{Court} \quad \text{What Course or Courses did you usually steer from the West end of Jamaica to the Caymans.}
\]
\[
\text{Ans}^{*} : \quad \text{W.N.W.}
\]
\[
\text{Court} \quad \text{Did you always find that Course to carry you to the Southward of the Caymans.}
\]
\[
\text{Ans}^{*} : \quad \text{Yes, sometimes so far, that I never saw them.}
\]
\[
\text{Court} \quad \text{What Distance do you consider the Caymans to be from the West end of Jamaica.}
\]
\[
\text{Ans}^{*} : \quad \text{Fifty two Leagues.}
\]
\[
\text{Court} \quad \text{Did you ever experience any Current in your way to the Caymans between those Islands and Jamaica.}
\]
In light winds I have sometimes found it set to the Westward, but in fresh Breezes I had never any reason to suppose there was any Current.

Had you reason to suppose, that the Observations you took between Jamaica and the Caymans when you were in the Convert were good, and that you could depend on them.

Yes.

Had you the Direction of the Course the Ship was to Steer from the time you took your departure from South Negril till the Convert Struck.

Yes, with the Approbation of the Captain.

It appearing by the Log of the 7th of February that no distance is allowed the Ship from the Hour of 12 at Noon to 4 o’Clock PM what is the reason of that omission, or do you know the occasion of it.

It was light Winds and the Ship had so little way through the Water that the heaving of the log was omitted as being thought of no Consequence.

In working the Ships way or pricking her off on the Chart, did you allow any Distance to be run for those four hours omitted to be marked; on the Course you have set of in the Log Book, which is W. b N. 1/2 N.

No I did not.

You have said in your former evidence that the Grand Cayman bore N. W. 1/2 N. Distance 18 Leagues at Noon on the 7th of February: when you work’d the Bearings did you allow any thing for a Current.

No, I knew of none.

Did you find your reckoning by observation and by Account to agree.

Yes.

Had you the Watch when the Ship went on Shore.

Yes.

What sort of Weather was it during that Night, from sun set untill the Ship went on Shore.

during the time of my watch it was dark, Cloudy, and blowing Fresh.

It appears by the Log of Saturday the 8th of February that the Convert was steer’d West from 5 o’Clock PM to 12 at Midnight and then steer’d W.N.W: What was the cause of the Alteration of the Course to the Northward.

Considering the Ship to be far enough to the Southward and Westward, and to be clear of the Caymans, the Northerly Winds prevailing at that time of the Year: I thought it
Advisable to haul to the Northward to ensure the making of Cape Corrientes.

Court
Did you work the Bearings and distance of the Caymans at Midnight, before you advis'd the Course to be altered to the Northward.

Ans:
No, I pricked it off upon the Chart.

Court
Did you work the back bearings of South Negril from which you took your departure.

Ans:
No.

Court
What Distance did you suppose yourself from the Caymans at Midnight, and how did you suppose they bore when you advis'd the Course to be altered to the Northward.

Ans:
By the Draught I suppos'd they bore N.N.E. 12 Leagues Distant.

Court
Who was present when you pricked the Ship off upon the Chart as you have before Described.

Ans:
Captain Lawford.

Court
Who observed with you on the Noon of the 7th of February.

Ans:
Mr. Hutchins Masters Mate, Mr. Campbell and Mr. Sherwin Midshipmen.

Court
What Variation did you allow in correcting your Courses.

Ans:
Half a point to the East.

Court
To what cause do you attribute your being so much out of your reckoning, which was the reason of the Convert and part of the Convoy getting on Shore.

Ans:
I have since understood from the different Masters of Vessels who have gone down to the Caymans from Jamaica for the purpose of carrying away the wreck of the Cargoes, that they had been considerably set to the Northward by Currents; the particulars of which are well known to the Officers of the Convert.

Court
Did you suspect any Current during your run from Jamaica to the Caymans.

Ans:
No.

Court
When the Breakers were first seen from the Convert do you know how they bore.

Ans:
No.

Court
Were they ahead or on the Bow.

Ans:
on the Starboard bow.

Court
How was the Ships Head.
Did Captain Lawford send for you at 12 o'Clock at Midnight on the 8th of February, when the Course appears to have been altered to the Northward; or did you propose it to Captain Lawford to Alter the Course.

When I relieved Mr. Earnshaw the 2nd Lieutenant at 12 o'Clock, he told me Captain Lawford wish'd me to take my Draught to him in his Cabin to prick off the situation of the Ship: as he understood I wished to alter the Course at 12 o'Clock, which I did.

With what Instrument did you take the observation on the Noon of the 7th of February.

with a Sextant.

Have you ever had an opportunity of proving its correctness, by comparing it with other Instruments.

I have used it for three or four years.

In the former part of your evidence you have said you have gone through the Gulf of Florida several times: was it in the Kings, or the Merchants Service, and what Charge or Command had you.

In the Merchants Service as Master of a Brig of about 200 Tons Burthen in the Jamaica Trade: I think I have been about Twelve times through the Gulf of Florida.

Examined by Captain Lawford.

By the reports of the Vessels we spoke off the Caymans, were we not inform'd that they had been driven very considerably to the Northward of the Course Steer'd from Jamaica.

I believe by all of them that we spoke; one in particular made the little Cayman instead of the Grand Cayman which they expected to make: His Majestys Ship Success I understand was to the Northward of what was expected.

Do you suppose if the Ships of the Convoy had been astern in their stations, and no Object between the Convert & the Breakers that we should have seen them time enough to have given them sufficient Warning to have hauled off.

I think full time enough for them to have clear'd the Danger, as I believe no Ships went on Shore after we gave the Alarm and made the Signals for the Ships to disperse and provide for their own safety except one, which had been before run on board of and she run on shore to save the lives of the people after Daylight.

After the Breakers were seen, and the circumstances under which the Ship was do you believe that the Convert would have clear'd the Reef if the Ship had not run on board of us: and do you believe after the discovery of the Danger that every exertion was used in order to save her, as well
as the Ships of the Convoy.

**Ans**: I believe the Convert would have cleared the Reef even under her Staysails, if she had not been run on board of by the Merchant Ship; and that every exertion was us'd to save the Ship and to give the Convoy warning to save themselves: many Guns were fired and Signals made.

**Court**: Did you observe the Latitude while on Shore at the Caymans.

**Ans**: Yes, every Day that I was able to walk out.

**Court**: What did you reckon the Latitude of the Place were [sic] the Ship went on Shore, to be.

**Ans**: 19° 26' N

(Withdraw)

Mr James Hutchins Masters Mate called in and Sworn.

Log Book of the Convert produced.

**Court**: Do you believe that to be the true Log of the Convert.

**Ans**: Yes.

**Court**: Did you observe the Latitude at Noon on Board the Convert, on the 7th of February last.

**Ans**: Yes.

**Court**: What was your Latitude.

**Ans**: 18°, 47' N

**Court**: Was it a good observation, and made with an instrument you could Depend on.

**Ans**: Yes.

**Court**: What Officer did you watch with.

**Ans**: Lieutenant Earnshaw 2nd Lieutenant.

**Court**: It appearing by the Log of the 7th of February, that no Distance is allowed the Ship from the hour of 12 at Noon to 4 o'Clock PM; what is the reason of that omission, or do you know the occasion of it.

**Ans**: I do not know the reason of the omission.

**Court**: Did you work a Days work on that day.

**Ans**: No, I was employed Birthing [sic] the People and Numbering the Hammocks.

(Withdraw)
Lieutenant Bogue.

Court: Did you come upon Deck at 12 o'Clock at Noon, on the 6th of February as Officer of the Watch, when you took your Departure from Jamaica.

Ans²: Yes.

Court: It appears by the Log of the 7th of February that no distance is allowed to the Ship from the hour of 12 of the preceding Noon to 4 o'Clock PM: what is the reason of that omission, or do you know the occasion of it.

Ans²: I am Convinced it was mark'd on the Log Board and must have been left out in Copying.

Court: Who Mark'd the Log Board.

Ans²: Mr Campbell the Mate of the Watch.

Court: Do you recollect what was marked or do you know Whether the Log was hose during those four hours.

Ans²: I do not.

Court: Was there any report made to you as officer of the Watch, of the Distance the Ship run during the Watch.

Ans²: I was birthing and Quartering the Ships Company, and I do not recollect the rate of the Ships going, but I am convinced the Log Board was mark'd as I saw it at the end of the Watch.

Examined by Captain Lawford.

Questⁿ: After the Breakers were seen, and the Circumstances the Ship was at that time under, do you believe that the Convert would have cleared the Reefs, if the Ship had not run on board her; and do you believe after the Discovery of the Danger that every exertion was used to save her as well as the Ships of the Convoy.

Ans²: I think she would have cleared the Breakers if the Ship had not run on board her, even after clearing her the first time if she had not run on board her the second; and every possible exertion was used in order to save the Convert and provide for the safety of the Merchant Ships.

Questⁿ: Do you suppose if the Ships of the Convoy had been astern in their stations and no Object between the Convert & the Breakers, that we should have seen them time enough to have given the Ships sufficient warning to have hailed off.

Ans²: I think we might.

Questⁿ: Do you remember upon your coming upon Deck on the Morning of the 8th of February, after the alarm had been given, seeing me there.
**Ansf:** I do, you was upon Deck before I was.

(Withdraw)

Mr Colin Campbell Midshipman called in & Sworn.

**Court**

Do you recollect the Convert taking her departure from South Negril on the West end of Jamaica the 6th of February last.

**Ansf:** I think I do.

**Court**

Was you mate of the Watch from 12 o'Clock to 4 PM on the following Day.

**Ansf:** Yes.

**Court**

Do you know how it happens that no Distance appeared to be allowed to the Ship in the Log Book during that Watch.

**Ansf:** I do not.

**Court**

Do you know whether you marked any Distance on the Log Board, during that watch, or whether the Log was hove.

**Ansf:** I cannot say whether the Log was hove, but I am confident the Log Board was marked.

**Court**

What Distance was marked on the Log Board during those four hours.

**Ansf:** I cannot say.

(Withdraw)

Mr Richard Davy Master of His Majestys Ship Success called in and sworn.

**Court**

Can you ascertain the Lattitude of the Place where the Convert got on shore.

**Ansf:** I have had a good Observation upon the spot where the Convert was wreck'd, and found it to be about 19°, 25', or 19°, 26' North.

Examined by Captain Lawford.

**Questn:** Do you remember in your passage in the Success from Jamaica to the Caymans, whether you found a Northerly Current.

**Ansf:** We did, a Considerable one.

**Questn:** How far Did it set you to the Northward of your reckoning.

**Ansf:** I suppose about 9 or 10 Leagues.

(Withdraw)
Here the Examination closed: the Court was cleared and the Members having maturely weigh'd & Considered every Circumstance attending the loss before mentioned; were of opinion, that it was occasioned by a Strong Current setting the Ship very considerably to the Northward of the reckoning; & therefore adjudged that the said Captain John Lawford Commander of His Majesty's late Ship the Convert, and such of the Officers and Company as were on Board her at the time she was wreck'd together with Nine Sail of Merchantmen, on the Reefs to the Eastward of the Grand Cayman on the Morning of the 8th of February last should be acquitted. The Court was opened Audience admitted, and sentence passed accordingly.

R. Holmes Off. Judge Advocate

Source:
PRO, ADM 1/5331
Courts Martial
February to December 1794
April 1 - Captain John Lawford, the Officers and Company of the Convert, for the loss of her
APPENDIX G

ARTIFACT INVENTORY FOR THE PROBABLE FRIGATE SPILLAGE SITE, GC 012

Surface artifacts were documented by two methods for GC 012. The site is much affected by storm activity and light artifacts such as glass and ceramic sherds, and small pebble ballast are widely dispersed. The provenience of these items is recorded simply by unit (Figure 77, p.320). During the 1991 survey, all observed surface ceramics, all diagnostic glass sherds, and samples of pebble ballast were collected. They are listed in the artifact inventory, consecutive by unit lot number, under the heading "Artifacts Collected".

The exact provenience of bricks, copper, lead and iron artifacts, as well as some broken molds of iron artifacts was recorded (with a few exceptions) on a master map of GC 012 surface artifacts (Figure 78, p.322). These master map artifacts, totalling almost 550 objects, were numbered consecutively for the whole site. All copper items and bricks, as well as most lead artifacts were collected. Iron artifacts, which are often heavily encrusted and much less stable than copper and lead objects, were not collected, with the exception of a few samples of recognizable items such as cannon balls and bar shot. Since the provenience of these artifacts is recorded, however, they can be recovered when adequate conservation facilities are in place on Grand Cayman.

All objects that were collected from site GC 012 were cataloged. The artifacts from each unit were identified by lot number and given consecutive inventory numbers within that lot (although the system of decimal numbering of classes of artifacts varies). Whether or not an artifact also retains a master map number, it is identified by this unique artifact inventory number. All cataloged artifacts are listed under "Artifacts Collected"; those objects that are plotted on the master map are cross-referenced to their master map numbers.

*** Although basic measurements of some artifacts are included in this inventory list, no attempt has been made to provide detailed data.

Surface Collection, No Provenience (Lot 100)

Artifacts Collected:
1.1 Dark green glass, case gin bottle base sherd
2.1 " " " bottle base (9cm diameter)
2.2 " " " bottle base sherd
2.3 " " " " " " " " "
2.4 " " " " " " " "
2.5 " " " " " " " "
2.6 " " " " " " " "
2.7 " " " " " " " "
3.1 " " " bottle body fragment (blue hue)
4.1 Copper sheathing fragment (20cm x 8cm)
4.2 Copper sheathing fragment (7cm x 4cm)
5.1 Stoneware jar rim sherd
5.2 Stoneware body sherd
6.1 Dark green glass, bottle body sherd
7.1 Chinese porcelain bowl, base sherd with blue design
8.1 Plain creamware or pearlware sherd, flat
9.1 Red earthenware tile sherd (3cm thick)
10.1 Brick, fire-blackened (18cm long [broken] x 18cm x 6cm thick)
10.2 Brick fragment, fire blackened (7cm thick)
11.1 Pebble ballast
11.2 " " "
11.3 " " "
11.4 " " "
11.5 " " "
11.6 " " "
11.7 " " "
11.8 " " "
11.9 " " "
11.10 " " "
11.11 " " "
11.12 " " "
12.1 Dark green glass, bottle neck with lip
13.1 Soft paste porcelain sherd with blue Chinese design
14.1 Copper ring with holes (modern?) (5.5cm exterior diameter)
15.1 Dark green glass sherd (blue hue)
15.2 " " " " "
15.3 " " " " "
16.1 Copper object with wood remaining
17.1 Red earthenware tile sherd (broken in three pieces)
18.1 Dark green glass, case gin bottle neck
19.1 Copper fastener (21cm long; head 2cm x 2cm)
20.1 Copper nail (3.5cm long)
21.1 Bar shot encrustation
22.1 Bar shot encrustation (?)
23.1 Copper drift bolt fragment (33cm long [broken]; 2-3.5cm diameter)
  (Found on the forereef adjacent to GC 017).

Unit A (Lot 200)

Artifacts Collected:
1.1 Dark green glass, bottle neck sherd with lip
1.2 " " " case gin bottle sherd
1.3 " " " bottle neck with shoulder sherd
2.1 Earthenware tile sherd (3cm thick)
3.1 Dark green glass, bottle base sherd (8.5cm diameter)

Artifacts Plotted on Master Map (Not Collected):
1. Encrusted iron fastener (25cm)

Unit B (Lot 300)

Artifacts Collected:
1.1 Dark green glass, bottle base (8.5cm diameter)
1.2 " " " " body sherd
1.3 " " " " " "
1.4 " " " " " "
1.5 " " " " " "
1.6 " " " " " "
1.7 " " " " base sherd (9.5cm diameter)

Artifacts Plotted on Master Map (Not Collected):
2. Encrusted iron fastener (20cm)
3. " " " " (50cm)
4. " " " " (L-shaped, 75cm)
5. " " " " (50cm)

Unit I (Lot 400)

Artifacts Collected:
1.1 Dark green glass, bottle base (10.25cm diameter)
1.2 " " " body sherd
1.3 " " " case gin bottle sherd
1.4 " " " bottle base sherd
2.1 Earthenware ceramic sherd, buff colored
3.1 Modern glazed ceramic, rim sherd
4.1 Earthenware tile or ladrillo (whole) (23.5cm x 12.5cm x 3.5cm thick)

Artifacts Plotted on Master Map (Not Collected):
6. Two encrusted iron fasteners (25cm; 50cm)
7. Encrusted iron fastener (50cm)
8. " " " (20cm)

Unit M (Lot 500)

Artifacts Collected:
1.1 Dark green glass, bottle body sherd
2.1 Copper fastener (24cm long; head 2cm x 2cm), [Master Map #22]
2.2 Copper fastener fragment (8cm long [broken]; head 2cm x 2cm)
2.3 Copper sheathing tack (2.5cm long)
4.1 Copper button back (?) (3.2cm diameter)
3.1 Lead sheathing patch (?) [Master Map #11]
3.2 Lead sheathing patch, with copper tack in situ (22cm x 7cm)
4.1 Dark green glass, bottle body sherd
2.4 " " " bottle rim
4.4 " " " bottle body sherd
5.1 Brick, fire blackened (22.5cm x 11cm x 7cm thick) [Master Map #24]
6.1 Dark green glass, bottle body sherd
7.1 Dark green glass, bottle base sherd

Artifacts Plotted on Master Map (Not Collected):
9. Encrusted iron fastener (40cm)
10. " " " (25cm)
12. Encrusted iron conglomerate (triangular, sides 76cm x 45cm x 60cm)
13. Encrusted iron fastener (50cm)
14. " " " (30cm)
15. " " " (50cm)

Unit Q (Lot 600)

Artifacts Collected:
1.1 Iron bar shot concretion (30.5cm) [Master Map #23]
2.1 Copper fastener point (8cm) [Master Map #445]

Artifacts Plotted on Master Map (Not Collected):
16. Encrusted iron fastener (40cm)
17. " " " (45cm)
18. " " " (55cm)
19. Encrusted iron object, L-shaped, one side flat/rectangular (60cm); other side round cross-section (45cm)
20. Lead patch (15cm)
21. Encrusted iron fastener (30cm)
23. Bar shot encrustation
90. Lead sheathing patch
91. Encrusted iron fastener (?) (31cm)
92. Encrusted iron object (heavier than fastener?) (50cm)
93. Two objects: iron fastener (42cm); iron conglomerate (40cm)
94. Encrusted iron fastener
95. Several objects: encrusted cannonball (15cm); melted lead; other buried anomalies
96. Encrusted iron object, L-shaped (29cm x 29cm, 11cm thick)
97. Lead patch (10cm x 13cm)
98. Two encrusted iron objects: bar shot (30cm); fastener (25cm)
99. Bar shot encrustation (30cm)
101. Bar shot encrustation
102. " "
103. Bar shot conglomerate, and cannon balls (?)
104. Unidentified buried anomalies
105. Conglomerate of cannon balls and fasteners
106. Cannon ball encrustation
107. Small round shot encrustation
108. Cannon ball encrustation
109. Cannon ball encrustation

Unit B (Lot 700)

Artifacts Collected:
1.1 Red earthenware tile sherd
1.2 " " " "
1.3 " " " "
2.1 Earthenware ceramic sherd, red with dark brown interior glaze
3.1 Earthenware ceramic sherd, buff colored
4.1 Brick fragments
4.2 " " " "
4.3 " " " "
5.1 Dark green glass, bottle base sherd (8.5cm diameter)
5.2 " " " " bottle base sherd (8.5cm diameter)
5.3 " " " " " "
5.4 " " " " " "
5.5 " " " bottle body sherd
5.6 " " " "
5.7 " " " "
5.8 " " " "
5.9 " " " "
5.10 " " " "
5.11 " " " "
5.12 " " " "
5.13 " " " "
5.14 " " " "
5.15 " " " "
5.16 " " " "
5.17 " " " "
5.18 " " " "
5.19 " " " "
5.20 " " " "
5.21 " " " "
6.1 Clear glass sherd
7.1 Dark green glass, case gin bottle neck sherd with lip
8.1 Dark green glass, bottle body sherd
8.2 " " bottle base sherd
9.1 Copper fragment
10.1 Stoneware bottle lip sherd
11.1 Stoneware body sherd, with part handle (12cm)
12.1 Ceramic rim sherd
13.1 Dark green glass, bottle neck with lip
14.1 Stoneware ceramic sherd
15.1 Earthenware ceramic sherd with brown glaze
16.1 Dark green glass, bottle lip sherd

Artifacts Plotted on Master Map (Not Collected):
525. Encrusted iron fastener
526. Eroded fastener mold (1cm x 12cm)
539. Encrusted iron fastener (23cm)

Unit F (Lot 800)

Artifacts Collected:
1.1 Pearlware rim sherd, blue molded-plume border
2.1 Plain creamware rim sherd
2.2 " " " body sherd
3.1 Stoneware jug, part base sherd
3.2 Coarse red earthenware ceramic, body sherd
4.1 Brick fragment, fire-blackened (7cm thick)
4.2 Poorly fired red brick fragment (5cm thick)
5.1 Dark green glass, bottle body sherd (blue hue)
6.1 " " " bottle base sherd (9cm diameter)
6.2 " " " " " (8.5cm diameter)
6.3 " " " " " (9cm diameter)
6.4 " " " " sherd
6.5 " " " bottle body sherd
6.6 " " " " "
6.7 " " " " "
6.8 " " " " "
6.9 " " " " "
6.10 " " " " "
6.11 " " " " "
6.12 " " " " "
6.13 " " " " "
6.14 " " " " "
6.15 " " " " "
7.1 " " " neck sherd with lip
8.1 Stoneware jar, base sherd
9.1 Stoneware body sherd
10.1 Red earthenware tile fragment (3cm thick)
10.2 " " " (2cm thick)
11.1 Stoneware body sherd
12.1 Porcelain rim sherd with blue design
13.1 Plain creamware body sherd
14.1 Dark green glass, bottle base sherd
15.1 " " " bottle body sherd

Artifacts Plotted on Master Map (Not Collected):
28. Two encrusted iron fasteners (50cm; 20cm)
29. Encrusted iron fastener (50cm)

Unit J (Lot 900)

Artifacts Collected:
1.1 Dark green glass, bottle body sherd
2.1 " " " " "
2.2 " " " " "
2.3 " " " " "
2.4 " " " " "
2.5 " " " " "
2.6 " " " " "
2.7 " " " " "
2.8 " " " " "
2.9 " " " " "
2.10 " " " " "
2.11 " " " " "
2.12 " " " lip sherd
3.1 Brick fragment (5cm thick)
4.1 Red earthenware tile fragment (3cm thick)
5.1 Dark green glass, bottle base sherd
Artifacts Plotted on Master Map (Not Collected):
30. Encrusted iron fastener (30cm)
31. Conglomerate of two objects (36cm): one fastener; one flat object
32. Crushed lead strap (?) (60cm x 8cm)
33. Conglomerate (25cm)
34. Brick

Unit N (Lot 1000)

Artifacts Collected:
1.1 Copper fastener (26cm long; head 2cm x 2cm) [Master Map #27]
1.2 Copper fastener point (12.5cm long)
2.1 Ballast stone
3.1 Dark green glass, bottle body sherd
3.2 " " " " " "
3.3 " " " " " "
3.4 " " " " " "
3.5 " " " " " "
3.6 " " " " lip sherd
4.1 " " " base sherd
5.1 Copper fastener (15cm long; head 2cm x 2cm) [Master Map #223]

Artifacts Plotted on Master Map (Not Collected):
35. Encrusted iron fastener, broken (45cm)
36. Two encrusted iron objects: unidentified object (72cm); fastener (30cm)
37. Conglomerate of fasteners (45cm)
38. Encrusted iron fastener (27cm)
39. Bar shot encrustation (30cm)
40. Adze-shaped encrustation (35cm x 16cm)
41. Cannon ball conglomerate (20cm)
42. Ring bolt encrustation (55cm); with ring (30cm diameter)
43. Encrusted iron fastener (30cm)
44. Lead conglomerate with pebbles embedded in it (20cm)
45. Two bar shot encrustations (25cm; 30cm)
46. Encrusted iron object, L-shaped and hinged at the intersection (20cm x 30cm; both sides 16cm wide)
71. Encrusted iron strap (?) (22cm x 7 cm)

Unit R (Lot 1100)

Artifacts Collected:
1.1 Half of a bar shot encrustation (probable mold) [Master Map #25]
2.1 Rigging encrustation mold [Master Map #26]
3.1 Chunks of melted lead (17cm x 13cm) [Master Map #162 (b)]
4.1 Half of a brick (6cm thick) [Master Map #163]
5.1 Red earthenware ceramic body sherd, dark brown glaze
6.1 Dark green glass, case gin bottle body sherd
6.2 " " " " " "
7.1 Pebble ballast
7.2 " " "
7.3 " " "
7.4 " " "
7.5 " " "
8.1 Earthenware ceramic sherd, blue glaze
9.1 Broken piece of pig iron ballast (22cm long [broken] x 10.5cm x 10.5cm) [Master Map #52]

Artifacts Plotted on Master Map (Not Collected):
47. Half of an encrusted bar shot (?)
48. Melted lead conglomerate (40cm x 30cm; 10-15cm thick)
49. Encrusted iron fastener (25cm)
50. Bar shot encrustation (30cm; end diameter 20cm)
51. Cannon ball conglomerate (?)
52. Half of a bar shot encrustation (end diameter 18cm)
161. Encrusted iron object (35cm x 10cm)
162. Two chunks of melted lead [(b) was collected, see above]
   (a) 13cm x 10cm
164. Bar shot encrustation
165. Half of a bar shot encrustation

Unit C (Lot 1200)

Artifacts Collected:
1.1 Copper sheathing fragment (19cm x 5cm) [Master Map #55]
2.1 Dark green glass, bottle base sherd (9cm diameter)
2.2
2.3
2.4
2.5
2.6
2.7
2.8
2.9
2.10
2.11
2.12
2.13
2.14
2.15
2.16
2.17
2.18
2.19
2.20
2.21
2.22
2.23
2.24
2.25
2.26
2.27
3.1
3.2
4.1 Flat clear glass sherd
5.1 Plain creamware or pearlware plate base sherd
6.1 Glazed earthenware ceramic sherd, worn
7.1 Red earthenware ceramic body sherd, dark brown glaze
8.1 Coarse red earthenware jar, rim sherd
9.1 Pebble ballast
9.2
9.3
9.4
9.5
9.6
9.7
9.8
9.9
10.1 Red earthenware tile fragment (2cm thick)
10.2
11.1 Dark green glass, bottle base sherd (10cm diameter)
11.2
11.3
11.4 neck with lip sherd
11.5 " " " case gin bottle lip sherd
11.6 " " " bottle body sherd
12.1 Stoneware jar sherd
12.2 " " " " "
13.1 Pearlware bowl base sherd, underglaze blue with Chinese design
13.2 Pearlware plate base sherd, " " " " "
13.3 Glazed earthenware ceramic sherd, worn
14.1 Red earthenware tile fragment (2cm thick)
15.1 Copper sheathing (15cm x 6cm) [Master Map #508]
16.1 Copper fastener (22cm long; head 2cm x 2cm) [Master Map #529]
17.1 Dark green glass, bottle lip
17.2 " " " lip sherd
17.3 " " " " "
17.4 " " " " "
18.1 Flat clear glass sherd
19.1 Stoneware jar, body sherd
19.2 Stoneware body sherd
19.3 " " " " "
19.4 " " " " "
19.5 Unglazed red earthenware ceramic, body sherd
20.1 Red earthenware ceramic jar, rim sherd with dark brown glaze
21.1 Glazed earthenware ceramic body sherd, worn
21.2 " " " " "
21.2 Dark green glass, bottle base sherd

Artifacts Plotted on Master Map (Not Collected):
56. Encrusted iron fastener mold (13cm x 14cm)
89. Earthenware tile fragment
509. Broken square fastener mold (12cm x 1cm)
510. Broken round fastener with head, mold (6cm)
511. Hollow round fastener mold (12cm)
512. Encrusted iron fastener, L-shaped (28cm)
513. " " " (28cm)
514. Encrusted iron fastener, broken (10cm)
515. " " " " " (15cm)
516. Unidentified mold with holes (7cm x 5cm)
517. Unidentified flat mold, eroded (12cm x 12cm)
518. Unidentified mold with three holes (8cm x 3cm)
519. Encrusted iron fastener mold, broken (14cm)
520. Unidentified encrustation (19cm x 5cm)
521. Unidentified flat mold, eroded (12cm x 7cm)
522. Encrusted iron fastener (18cm)
523. Encrusted iron fastener with head, broken (12cm)
524. Encrusted iron fastener (25cm)
527. Unidentified mold, badly eroded (12cm)
528. Encrusted iron fastener mold, broken and eroded (23cm)
530. Encrusted iron fastener, broken mold (11cm)
531. Two encrusted iron fasteners (25cm; 15cm)
532. Unidentified flat object mold, badly eroded (9cm x 7cm)
533. Encrusted iron fastener (23cm)
534. Encrusted iron object (37cm)
535. Encrusted iron fastener mold, square cross-section (15cm)
536. " " " " mold, broken (22cm)
537. " " " " mold (11cm)
538. Unidentified mold with holes, eroded (10cm x 7cm)
540. Encrusted iron fastener tip, broken (10cm)
541. Encrusted iron fastener (29cm)
542. Unidentified mold, hollow (10cm)
543. Copper sheathing fragment, crushed (10cm)
544. Encrusted iron fastener mold, badly eroded (7cm)
545. Encrusted iron fastener mold, square cross-section (12cm)

* Also noted 9 red tile fragments (provenience not recorded)
Unit G (Lot 1300)

Artifacts Collected:

1.1 Iron object encrustation mold, associated with rigging (?) (20cm x 15cm) [Master Map #59]

2.1 Dark green glass, bottle base sherd
2.2 " " " " " " "
2.3 " " " " " " "
2.4 " " " " " " "
2.5 " " " " " " "
2.6 " " " " " " "
2.7 " " " " " " "
2.8 " " " bottle body sherd
2.9 " " " " " " "
2.10 " " " " " " "
2.11 " " " " " " "
2.12 " " " " " " "
2.13 " " " " " " "
2.14 " " " " " " "
2.15 " " " " " " "
2.16 " " " " " " "
2.17 " " " " " " "
2.18 " " " " " " "
2.19 " " " " " " "
2.20 " " " case gin bottle sherd
2.21 " " " " " " "
2.22 " " " bottle lip sherd
2.23 " " " bottle body sherd

3.1 Stoneware body sherd
3.2 Stoneware body sherd
4.1 Red earthenware jar ceramic sherd, dark brown glaze
5.1 Plain creamware body sherd
5.2 Pearlware rim sherd, blue molded-plume border
6.1 Red earthenware tile fragment (2cm thick)
6.2 Red earthenware tile fragment (2cm thick)
6.3 Red earthenware tile fragment (2cm thick)
7.1 Copper sheathing fragment
8.1 Pebble ballast
8.2 " " " " "
8.3 " " " " "
8.4 " " " " "
8.5 " " " " "
8.6 " " " " "
8.7 " " " " "
8.8 " " " " "
9.1 Dark green glass, bottle neck with lip sherd
10.1 Glazed earthenware ceramic sherd, worn
11.1 Stoneware body sherd
12.1 Dark green glass, bottle base sherd
13.1 Light green glass sherd
14.1 Stoneware jar, base sherd
15.1 Stoneware body sherd
16.1 Red earthenware tile fragment (2cm thick)
17.1 Probable modern brass grommet (exterior diameter 3cm)
18.1 Dark green glass, bottle lip sherd

Artifacts Plotted on Master Map (Not Collected):
57. Encrusted iron fastener, broken (13cm)
58. " " " fastener, L-shaped (55cm)
Unit K (Lot 1400)

Artifacts Collected:
1.1 Iron object encrustation mold, associated with rigging (?) (12cm) [Master Map #62 (b)]
2.1 Copper fastener (20cm long; head 2cm x 2cm) [Master Map #64]
3.1 Stoneware body sherd
4.1 Dark green glass, bottle lip sherd
4.2 " " " " bottle base sherd
4.3 " " " " " " " "
4.4 " " " " " " " "
4.5 " " " " " " " "
4.6 " " " " bottle body sherd
4.7 " " " " " " " "
4.8 " " " " " " " "
4.9 " " " " " " " "
4.10 " " " " " " " "
4.11 " " " " " " " "
4.12 " " " " " " " "
4.13 " " " " bottle base sherd
4.14 " " " " bottle base (11cm diameter)

Artifacts Plotted on Master Map (Not Collected):
60. Conglomerate of shot (?) (12cm x 15cm)
61. Encrusted iron fastener (55cm)
62. Two iron object encrustations: [(b) collected, see above]
   (a) fastener mold, broken (12cm)
63. Heavy linear iron encrustation (85cm long x 13 cm diameter)

Unit O (Lot 1500)

Artifacts Collected:
1.1 Copper fastener (13cm long [broken]; head 2.25cm x 2.25cm) [Master Map #67]
1.2 Copper fastener (20cm long; head 2cm x 2cm) [Master Map #66]
2.1 Lead sheathing (20cm) [Master Map #72]
3.1 Dark green glass, bottle body sherd
3.2 " " " " " " " "
3.3 " " " " bottle base (10cm diameter)
4.1 Brick (22.5cm x 9.5cm x 6.5cm) [Master Map #65]

Artifacts Plotted on Master Map (Not Collected):
68. Encrusted iron fastener, L-shaped (57cm)
69. Encrusted iron fastener, square cross-section (45cm)
70. Dark green glass, bottle base with kick-up, embedded in coral head
73. Bar shot conglomerate (30cm)

Unit S (Lot 1600)

Artifacts Collected:
1.1 Conglomerate of small shot (?) [Master Map #75]
2.1 Dark green glass, bottle lip sherd
2.2 " " " " bottle base sherd
2.3 " " " " " " " "
3.1 Copper fastener (21cm long; head 2cm x 2cm) [Master Map #54]
4.1 Pebble ballast
4.2 " " " "
4.3 " " " "
4.4 " " " "
5.1 Light green glass sherd
6.1 Copper fragment (1cm x 5cm) [Master Map #184]
7.1 Copper sheathing (10cm x 3cm) [Master Map #191]
8.1 Lead, flat (8cm x 5cm) [Master Map #185]  
9.1 Lead, melted (20.5cm x 6.5cm) [Master Map #187]  
9.2 Lead, melted (23.5cm x 8cm) [Master Map #188]  
9.3 Lead, melted (19.5cm x 4.5cm) [Master Map #189]  
10.1 Dark green glass, case gin bottle body sherd  
10.2 " " " " " "  
11.1 Lead musket ball [Master Map #506]  
12.1 Copper sheathing fragment [Master Map #507]  

Artifacts Plotted on Master Map (Not Collected):  
74. Iron fastener conglomerate (48cm)  
186. Encrusted iron eye bolt (30cm long x 20cm)  
190. Encrusted iron fastener (40cm)  

Unit D (Lot 1700)  

Artifacts Collected:  
1.1 Red earthenware tile fragment  
1.2 " " " " " "  
2.1 Pebble ballast  
2.2 " " " " " "  
2.3 " " " " " "  
2.4 " " " " " "  
2.5 " " " " " "  
2.6 " " " " " "  
3.1 Stoneware body sherd  
3.2 Stoneware base sherd  
4.1 Pearlware plate rim sherd, blue transfer print  
5.1 Pearlware small bowl base, underglaze blue with Chinese design  
6.1 Plain pearlware, small jar rim sherd  
7.1 Light green glass, bottle base sherd  
7.2 " " " " bottle body sherd  
7.3 " " " " " "  
7.4 " " " " " "  
7.5 " " " case gin bottle body sherd  
7.6 " " " bottle body sherd  
8.1 " " " case gin bottle sherd  
9.1 Dark green glass, bottle neck and lip  
9.2 " " " bottle base sherd  
9.3 " " " " body sherd  
9.4 " " " " " "  
9.5 " " " " " "  
9.6 " " " " " "  
9.7 " " " " " "  
10.1 " " " " " "  
11.1 Encrusted iron object (blade?), hollow mold [Master Map #77]  
12.1 Dark green glass, bottle body sherd  
12.2 " " " bottle base sherd  
12.3 " " " bottle base (9.5cm diameter)  
13.1 " " " bottle base sherd  

Artifacts Plotted on Master Map (Not Collected):  
78. Encrusted iron fastener, broken (18cm)  
79. Head of encrusted iron fastener, broken mold (12cm)  
88. Encrusted iron fastener, broken (45cm)  

Unit H (Lot 1800)  

Artifacts Collected:  
1.1 Dark green glass, bottle base sherd  
1.2 " " " " " "
1.3 Dark green glass, case gin bottle base sherd
1.4 " " bottle body sherd
1.5 " " bottle body sherd
1.6 " " bottle body sherd
1.7 " " bottle body sherd
1.8 " " bottle body sherd
2.1 Light green glass, bottle body sherd
2.2 " " " " " "
2.3 " " " " " "
3.1 Dark green glass, bottle body sherd
3.2 " " bottle body sherd
4.1 Thin rose-colored glass sherd
5.1 Flat clear glass sherd
6.1 Stoneware body sherd
7.1 Red earthenware tile fragment
8.1 Pebble ballast
8.2 " " " "
8.3 " " " "
8.4 " " " "
8.5 " " " "
8.6 " " " "

Artifacts Plotted on Master Map (Not Collected):
80. Encrusted iron fastener, broken (10cm)
81. Encrusted iron fastener (50cm)

Unit L (Lot 1900)

Artifacts Collected:
1.1 Stoneware body sherd
1.2 " " " "
2.1 Pebble ballast fragment
2.2 Pebble ballast
3.1 Dark green glass, bottle base sherd (9.5cm)
3.2 " " bottle base sherd
3.3 " " " " " "
3.4. " " " " " "
3.5 " " " " " "
3.6 " " bottle base sherd
3.7 " " " " " "
3.8 " " " " " "
3.9 " " " " " "
4.1 Black basaltic ceramic sherd
5.1 Light green glass, bottle base sherd
5.2 " " bottle base sherd
5.3 " " " " " "
5.4 " " " " " "
5.5 " " " " " "
5.6 " " " " " "
5.7 " " " " " "
5.8 " " " " " "
5.9 " " " " " "
5.10 Dark green glass, bottle body sherd
5.11 Light green glass, bottle body sherd
6.1 Lead, flat (11cm x 6cm) [Master Map #82]
7.1 Copper fastener (22cm long; head 2cm x 2cm) [Master Map #83]
7.2 Copper sheathing [Master Map #85]

Artifacts Plotted on Master Map (Not Collected):
84. Encrusted iron fastener (24 cm)
100. Iron object with turn mechanism (60cm x 10cm)
Unit P (Lot 2000)

Artifacts Collected:
1.1 Stoneware body sherd
1.2 " " " "
2.1 Pebble ballast
2.2 " " " "
3.1 Dark green glass, bottle body sherd
3.2 " " " " " "
3.3 " " " " " "
3.4 " " " " " "
3.5 " " " bottle base sherd
3.6 " " " " " 
3.7 " " " " " "
3.8 " " " " " "
3.9 " " " bottle lip sherd
4.1 Light green glass sherd
5.1 Copper drift bolt fragment (11cm long [broken]; 2-3.5cm diameter)
   [Master Map #76]
6.1 Pebble ballast
6.2 " " "
6.3 " " "
6.4 " " "
7.1 Dark green glass, bottle base sherd
7.2 " " " bottle body sherd
8.1 Copper fastener fragment (10.5cm long [broken]; head 2cm x 2cm)
   [Master Map #291]
9.1 Brick (6cm thick) [Master Map #290]

Artifacts Plotted on Master Map (Not Collected):
270. Encrusted iron fastener (21cm)
272. Conglomerate of shot (?)
277. Encrusted iron fastener (30cm)
278. Encrusted iron object (22cm x 23cm)
280. Encrusted iron fastener (20cm)
281. Conglomerate of shot (?) (7cm x 4cm)
284. Buried anomaly
285. Conglomerate with copper sheathing embedded (23cm x 18cm x 10cm)
286. Iron encrustation (20cm x 8cm)
292. Encrusted iron fastener (31cm)
436. Encrusted iron fastener (8cm)
437. Unidentified iron encrustation (32cm)
438. Encrusted iron fastener mold, hollow (30cm)
439. Unidentified iron object mold (13cm x 6cm)
440. Small copper fragment
441. Encrusted iron object (40cm x 7cm)
442. Encrusted iron fastener, broken (30cm)
443. Encrusted iron object, square cross-section (20cm x 11cm)
444. Encrusted iron eye (10cm)
447. Encrusted iron fastener (20cm)
448. Encrusted iron object mold, hollow (15cm)

Unit T (Lot 2100)

Artifacts Collected:
1.1 Pebble ballast
2.1 Dark green glass, bottle body sherd
2.2 " " " " " "
2.3 " " " " " "
3.1 Copper bolt with wood [Master Map #87]
4.1 Part of lignum vitae sheave with brass bushing [Master Map #212 (b)]
5.1 Copper sheathing fragment [Master Map #212 (c)]
6.1 Dark green glass, bottle body sherd
6.2 " " " " " "
7.1 Pebble ballast
8.1 Dark green glass, bottle base
8.2 " " bottle body sherd
9.1 Pebble ballast
9.2 " " " "
9.3 " " " "
9.4 " " " "
9.5 " " " "
9.6 " " " "
9.7 " " " 
10.1 Copper fastener (21cm long; 2cm x 2cm) [Master Map #273]
11.1 Brass spike (8cm long; head 1.25cm x 1.25cm) [Master Map #282]
12.1 Copper fastener point (8cm long) [Master Map #446]
13.1 Poorly fired brick (20cm x 9.5cm x 4cm) [Master Map #435]
14.1 Coarse red earthenware ceramic, cone-shaped base sherd
(possible sugar mold sherd ?)

Artifacts Plotted on Master Map (Not Collected):
86. Encrusted iron fastener (40cm)
212. Three metal objects: [(b) & (c) collected, see above]
   (a) encrusted iron fastener (10cm)
269. Iron fastener mold, broken (10cm x 3cm)
271. Encrusted iron fastener (42cm)
274. Encrusted iron fastener (32cm)
275. Encrusted iron fastener, broken (6cm x 2cm)
276. Conglomerate of shot (?) (7cm x 5cm)
279. Unidentified conglomerate (3cm x 5cm)
283. Conglomerate of shot (?)
289. Encrusted iron fastener (16cm)
386. Encrusted iron fastener, square cross-section (45cm)
387. Encrusted iron object, square (5cm x 5cm)
429. Lead fragment (12cm x 5cm)
430. Copper fragment (3cm x 3cm)
431. Encrusted flat iron object (21cm x 8cm)
432. Encrusted iron fastener (25cm)
433. Encrusted iron object (9cm x 4cm x 3cm)
434. Copper fragment (4cm x 2cm)

Unit U (Lot 2200)

Artifacts Collected:
1.1 Copper fragment, elliptical shape [Master Map #180]
2.1 Lead musket ball (1.6cm diameter) [Master Map #450 (b)]

Artifacts Plotted on Master Map (Not Collected):
110. Bar shot encrustation
111. Cannon ball encrustation
112. Unidentified buried magnetic anomaly
113. Cannon ball encrustation
114. Bar shot encrustation
115. Bar shot encrustation
116. Bar shot encrustation
117. Encrusted iron fastener (50cm)
118. Several objects:
   (a) Bar shot
   (b) Conglomerate (40cm)
   (c) Conglomerate (30cm)
   (d) Iron fastener (20cm)
   (e) Iron fastener (30cm)
119. Cannon ball encrustation
120. Encrusted iron fastener (?) (70cm)
121. Unidentified conglomerate, L-shaped (34 x 24cm)
122. Two encrusted iron objects:
   (a) fastener (47cm)
   (b) bar shot (?)
123. Large encrusted iron object (1.86m x 40cm x 11cm thick with notched spaces 20cm apart)
124. Cannon ball encrustation
125. Unidentified conglomerate, T-shaped (37cm x 35cm)
126. Cannon ball encrustation (?)
127. Cannon ball encrustation (20cm)
128. At least three objects encrusted into the side of a coral head:
   (a) chain plate (ring diameter: 30cm exterior/20cm interior; 1.2m long)
   (b) bar shot
   (c) unidentified anomalies
129. Cannon ball encrustation
130. Bar shot encrustation
131. Conglomerate of one piece of pig iron ballast and several cannon balls (?)
132. Cannon ball encrustation and buried anomaly
133. Unidentified conglomerate (48cm x 35cm)
134. Bar shot encrustation
135. Unidentified conglomerate (40 x 40cm)
136. Conglomerate with possible bar shot and cannon ball (35cm long)
137. Cannon ball encrustation
138. Conglomerate of two cannon balls (?)
139. Unidentified buried anomaly
140. " " " "
141. Two objects:
   (a) unidentified conglomerate (40cm x 30cm)
   (b) half of a bar shot encrustation
142. Cannon ball encrustation
143. Bar shot encrustation
144. Bar shot encrustation
145. Bar shot conglomerate (33cm)
146. Conglomerate of several bar shot (32cm x 35cm)
147. Unidentified buried anomaly
148. Cannon ball encrustation
149. Two objects:
   (a) cannon ball encrustation
   (b) unidentified buried anomaly
150. Cannon ball encrustation
151. Two objects:
   (a) half of a bar shot encrustation
   (b) bar shot encrustation
149. Copper sheathing fragment (1cm x 2cm)
150. Two lead objects: [(B) collected, see above]
   (a) unidentified clump (12cm x 6cm)
151. Three unidentified fragments of lead (10cm x 3cm; 5cm x 3cm; 8cm x 6cm)
152. Square clump of lead (2cm x 2cm)
153. Lead (8cm x 2cm)
154. Lead (7cm x 2cm)
155. Lead patch

Unit V (Lot 2300)

Artifacts Collected:
1.1 Square piece of lead (4cm x 4cm) [Master Map #206]
2.1 Pebble ballast
3.1 Crushed copper sheathing [Master Map #153]
4.1 Copper object with hole [Master Map #462]
5.1 Copper fastener (22cm long; head 2cm x 2cm) [Master Map #465]
6.1 Lead musket ball (1.65cm diameter) [Master Map #457]
7.1 Copper sheathing, crushed and folded (9cm x 6cm) [Master Map #458]
7.2 Copper sheathing, crushed and folded (10cm x 12cm) [Master Map #460 (a)]
7.3 Copper sheathing with hole (11cm x 2cm) [Master Map #460 (b)]
7.4 Copper sheathing, crushed and folded (19cm x 9cm) [Master Map #471]

Artifacts Plotted on Master Map (Not Collected):
182. Encrusted iron object embedded in reef
207. Unidentified conglomerate
456. Lead, crushed (2cm x 2cm)
459. Unidentified encrustation (11cm)
461. Copper sheathing fragment (3cm x 2cm)
463. Encrusted iron fastener (21cm)
464. Lead fragment, crushed (12cm x 5cm)
466. Lead chunk (5cm x 2cm)
467. Thin iron fastener (?) embedded in seafloor (20cm long)
472. Clump of lead (4cm x 3cm)

Unit W (Lot 2400)

Artifacts Collected:
1.1 Clump of melted lead with black basaltes ceramic sherds embedded in it [Master Map #171 (a)]
1.2 Clump of lead (5cm) [Master Map #171 (b)]
2.1 Copper drift bolt with wood [Master Map #154]
3.1 Copper fastener (22cm long; 2cm x 2cm) [Master Map #155]
4.1 Cannon ball (encrustation removed, 11.4cm diameter) [Master Map #152 (b)]

Artifacts Plotted on Master Map (Not Collected):
152. Two encrusted iron objects: [(b) collected, see above]
      (a) pig iron ballast
166. Bar shot encrustation
167. Cannon ball encrustation
168. Encrusted iron fastener, broken (8cm)
169. Lead, flat (23cm x 4cm)
170. Lead, flat (12cm x 5cm)
172. Five encrusted iron objects:
      (a) half of a bar shot
      (b) bar shot
      (c) cannon ball
      (d) bar shot
      (e) half of a bar shot

Unit X (Lot 2500)

Artifacts Collected:
1.1 Copper sheathing, crushed and compacted (12cm x 8cm) [Master Map #173]
2.1 Lead, round fragment [Master Map #174]
3.1 Lead, small fragment [Master Map #175]
4.1 Lead, oval fragment [Master Map #176]
5.1 Lead, folded band [Master Map #177]
6.1 Lead patch, twisted and crushed [Master Map #178]
7.1 Lead patch with hole [Master Map #179]
8.1 Lead fragment [Master Map #205]
9.1 Copper sheathing (24cm x 13cm) [Master Map #201]
10.1 Lead fragment, round with square hole [Master Map #475]

Artifacts Plotted on Master Map (Not Collected):
181. Encrusted iron object embedded in reef
183. Unidentified Anomaly in loose coral (copper visible)
198. Encrusted iron hook (20cm x 13cm x 4cm diameter)
199. Iron conglomerate with pebbles
200. Three objects buried in reef:
   (a) small iron or lead bar (45cm x 7cm x 8cm)
   (b) small iron or lead bar (45cm x 7cm x 8cm)
   (c) clump of lead with pebbles embedded
473. Flat lead fragment (5cm x 4cm)
474. Thick flat lead fragment with hole (21cm x 4cm)
476. Lead (4cm x 7cm)
477. Conglomerate with pebbles
478. Lead clump (9cm x 4cm)

Unit Y (Lot 2600)

Artifacts Collected:
1.1 Copper sheathing (10cm x 6cm) [Master Map #192]
2.1 Copper ring with three holes (4.5cm exterior diameter; 2cm interior diameter) [Master Map #193]
3.1 Dark green glass, bottle body sherd
3.2 " " " " " "
3.3 " " " " " "
4.1 Dark green glass sherd (blue hue)
4.2 " " " " " "
5.1 Pebble ballast
5.2 " " " "
5.3 " " " "
5.4 " " " "
5.5 " " " "
5.6 " " " "

Artifacts Plotted on Master Map (Not Collected):
194. Encrusted iron fastener (30cm)
195. Encrusted iron object (70cm x 30cm)
196. Encrusted iron fastener, L-shaped (40cm)
197. " " " (30cm)

Unit Z (Lot 2700)

Artifacts Collected:
1.1 Lead
2.1 Dark green glass, bottle body sherd
3.1 Lead musket ball, spent [Master Map #482 (a)]
4.1 Copper fastener fragment (3cm long; head 2cm x 2cm) [Master Map #503]
5.1 Copper ring with three holes (4.5cm exterior diameter; 2cm interior diameter) [Master Map #479]
6.1 Copper sheathing fragment (3cm x 2cm) [Master Map #483]
7.1 Copper fastener (15cm [broken]; head 2cm x 2cm) [Master Map #492]
8.1 Round piece of lead, flat on one side (1cm) [Master Map #498]
8.2 Round piece of lead, flat on one side (1cm) [Master Map #502]

Artifacts Plotted on Master Map (Not Collected):
202. Encrusted iron hook (30cm x 15cm)
203. Unidentified conglomerate
204. Lead fragment
480. Lead fragment (4cm)
481. Two scraps of lead (3cm x 1cm; 2cm x 3cm)
482. Three lead objects: [(a) collected, see above]
   (b) lead fragment
   (c) lead fragment
484. Three objects: encrusted iron fastener (25cm); two unidentified iron conglomerates
486. Copper sheathing fragment (5cm x 1.5cm)
487. Copper sheathing fragment (3cm x 1cm)
488. Lead (4cm x 2cm)
489. Copper sheathing fragment (2cm x 4cm)
490. Two items:
   (a) lead scrap (3cm x 2cm)
   (b) copper sheathing fragment (4cm x 3cm)
491. Unidentified conglomerate (5cm x 7cm)
493. Copper sheathing fragment (5cm)
494. Six fragments of lead
495. Lead fragment
496. "
497. Small unidentified magnetic anomaly in coral
498. Lead scrap (7cm x 5cm)
500. Unidentified iron object mold, hollow (16cm)
501. Lead fragment (3cm x 2cm)
504. Copper sheathing fragment (3cm x 2 cm)

Unit AA (Lot 2800)

Artifacts Collected:
1.1 Copper nail (7cm; head 1cm x 1cm) [Master Map #424]
2.1 ---
3.1 Copper sheathing fragment (7cm x 4cm) [Master Map #421]
4.1 Ballast stone
4.2 "

Artifacts Plotted on Master Map (Not Collected):
213. Crushed copper and coral conglomerate (10cm x 8cm)
214. Encrusted iron fastener, L-shaped (31cm)
236. Lead sheathing (5cm x 14cm)
388. Unidentified conglomerate (7cm x 5cm)
422. Magnetic anomaly in coral (30cm x 60cm)
423. Small magnetic anomaly in coral
425. Cannon ball encrustation (15cm)
426. Small round shot encrustation (7cm)
427. Unidentified iron object mold, broken (14cm x 7cm)
428. Iron fastener mold, hollow (12cm)

Unit BB (Lot 2900)

Artifacts Collected:
1.1 Copper fastener (13cm; 2cm x 2cm) [Master Map #505]

Artifacts Plotted on Master Map (Not Collected):
216. Cannon ball encrustation (15cm)
218. Cannon ball encrustation (12cm)
219. Encrusted iron fastener (31cm)
220. Encrusted iron object that looks like a starter (26cm x 2cm)
226. Cannon ball encrustation (10-12cm)
227. Encrusted iron fastener (30cm)
228. " " " " (26cm)
229. " " " " (33cm)
230. Cannon ball encrustation (13cm)
231. Encrusted iron fastener (28cm)
232. " " " " (30cm)
233. " " " " (35cm)
234. Cannon ball encrustation (12-13cm)
235. Lead sheathing (4cm x 6cm)

Unit CC (Lot 3000)

Artifacts Collected:
1.1 Copper fastener fragment [Master Map #263 (b)]
2.1 Copper drift bolt with wood, broken (15cm) [Master Map #242]
3.1 Flat copper ring (5.2cm exterior diameter; 3cm interior diameter) [Master Map #264]
4.1 Pebble ballast
4.2 " " " "
4.3 " " " "
4.4 " " " "
4.5 " " " "
4.6 " " " "
4.7 " " " "
5.1 Dark green glass, bottle body sherds
5.2 " " " " " "
5.3 " " " " " "
5.4 " " " " " "
5.5 " " " " " "
5.6 " " " " " "
6.1 Stoneware jug sherd
7.1 Dark green glass, bottle lip sherd
8.1 Ballast stone

Artifacts Plotted on Master Map (Not Collected):
237. Encrusted iron fastener (20cm)
238. Encrusted iron object (38cm x 23cm)
239. Encrusted iron fastener (35cm)
240. " " " " (25cm)
241. " " " " (35cm)
243. Encrusted iron fastener (22cm)
244. Encrusted iron strap, partial mold (9cm x 10cm)
245. Six-sided (9cm each side), iron nut (15cm diameter), with iron rod (27cm) through it
246. Encrusted iron fastener (26cm)
247. Encrusted iron strap, flat (40cm x 20cm x 3cm thick)
248. Encrusted iron fastener (70cm)
249. Two encrusted iron fasteners, broken (20cm; 30cm)
250. Encrusted iron fastener (35cm)
251. Unidentified conglomerate (10cm)
252. Encrusted iron fastener, broken (20cm)
253. " " " (30cm)
254. Unidentified conglomerate (23cm)
255. Encrusted iron fastener (20cm)
256. " " " fastener, square cross-section (32cm)
257. Encrusted flat iron object (15cm)
258. " " iron fastener (30cm)
259. Unidentified buried anomaly
260. Small conglomerate (8cm)
261. Unidentified buried anomaly
262. Encrusted iron fastener (25cm)
263. Two metal objects: [(b) collected, see above] (a)encrusted iron fastener (70cm)
265. Encrusted iron fastener (25cm)
266. " " " " "
267. " " " " (23cm)
268. Unidentified buried anomaly
Unit DD (Lot 3100)

Artifacts Collected:
1.1 Copper drift bolt fragment with wood (16cm) [Master Map # 307]
2.1 Copper fastener fragment (6.5cm long [broken]; head 2cm x 2cm) [Master Map #308]
3.1 Copper sheathing tack (2.5cm long; round head .85 cm) [Master Map #313]
4.1 Copper fastener point (8.5cm long) [Master Map #329]
5.1 Copper ring (4.6cm exterior diameter; 3.3cm interior diameter) [Master Map #332]
6.1 Copper fastener point (14cm long) [Master Map #334 (a)]
6.2 Copper fastener point (17cm long) [Master Map #334 (b)]
6.3 Copper ring (4.5cm exterior diameter; 3.1cm interior diameter) [Master Map #334 (c)]
7.1 Copper fastener (13cm long [broken]; head 2cm x 2cm) [Master Map #337]
8.1 Copper fastener point (6cm long) [Master Map #338]
9.1 Copper fastener (18cm long; head 2cm x 2cm) [Master Map #339 (a)]
10.1 Copper sheathing tack (2.35cm long x round head .9cm) [Master Map #343]
11.1 Copper sheathing tack (3cm long x round head 1cm) [Master Map #345]
12.1 Flat copper ring (4.7cm exterior diameter; 3.2cm interior diameter) [Master Map #346]
13.1 Copper fastener fragment (13cm long [broken]; 2cm x 2cm) [Master Map #347 (a)]
13.2 Copper fastener point (9cm) [Master Map #347 (b)]
14.1 Flat copper ring (4.5cm exterior diameter; 2.8cm interior diameter) [Master Map #348]
15.1 Copper fastener fragment (6cm long [broken]; head 2cm x 2cm) [Master Map #350]
16.1 Encrusted iron object mold, broken [Master Map #335]
17.1 Copper fastener fragment (8cm long [broken]; head 2cm x 2cm) [Master Map #293]

Artifacts Plotted on Master Map (Not Collected):
222. Two encrusted iron fasteners (37cm; 21cm)
294. Encrusted iron fastener, broken (22cm)
296. " " " " (25cm)
297. " " " " (25cm)
298. " " " " (30cm)
299. Unidentified iron object encrustation with square cross-section, broken (21cm)
300. Encrusted iron fastener (30cm)
301. " " " " (35cm)
302. Partially buried encrustation (probable fastener)
303. Encrusted iron fastener (25cm)
304. " " " " (32cm)
305. Unidentified buried anomaly
306. Encrusted iron fastener (?) (24cm)
309. Encrusted iron fastener (26cm)
310. " " " " (24cm)
311. " " " " (35cm)
312. " " " " (32cm)
314. Buried anomaly
315. Encrusted iron fastener (45cm)
316. " " " " (25cm)
317. " " " " (35cm)
318. " " " " (30+cm) (partly buried)
319. Unidentified buried anomaly
320. Encrusted iron object mold, broken
321. Encrusted iron fastener (37cm)
322. Cannon ball encrustation (12cm)
323. Iron fastener mold, broken (10cm x 6cm)
324. Encrusted iron fastener (25cm)
325. " " " (26cm)
326. " " " (25cm)
327. " " " (26cm)
328. " " " fastener, broken (19cm)
330. Encrusted iron fastener (23cm)
331. " " " (30cm)
332. Encrusted iron fastener
333. Several iron objects:
   (a) cannon ball encrustation (15cm)
   (b) cannon ball conglomerate (30cm x 20cm)
339. Two metal objects: [(a) collected, see above]
   (b) encrusted iron fastener (28cm)
340. Encrusted iron fastener (24cm)
341. " " " (31cm)
342. " " " (18cm)
344. Encrusted iron fastener (27 cm)
349. Lead fragment
351. Lead fragment (5cm x 2cm)

Unit EE (Lot 3200)

No Artifacts Collected:

Artifacts Plotted on Master Map (Not Collected):
217. Encrusted iron fastener, L-shaped (35cm)
352. Unidentified buried anomaly
353. Encrusted iron fastener (36cm)
354. Flat spoon-like encrustation (8cm x 7.5cm)
355. Encrusted iron fastener (30cm)
356. Flat round encrustation (10cm x 10cm)
357. Flat spoon-like encrustation (10cm x 12cm)
360. Encrusted iron fastener (32cm)
361. " " " fastener, partially buried (length uncertain)
362. " " " (35cm)
363. " " " " (35cm)
364. " " " " (24cm)
365. Unidentified iron object encrustation (13cm)
366. Encrusted iron fastener (25cm)
367. " " " " (55cm)
368. " " " (31cm)
369. " " " fastener, bent at tip (31cm)
370. " " " fastener, in two pieces (33cm)
371. " " " " (40cm)
372. Piece of 1960s Rimandu Mibaju wreck (?), modern debris
373. Unidentified buried anomaly
374. Rimandu Mibaju wreck debris, angled iron, etc.
375. Encrusted iron fastener, square cross-section, broken (11cm)
376. " " " " (22cm)
377. " " " " (30cm)
378. " " " " (20cm)
379. " " " " (27cm)
380. Unidentified encrusted iron object (25cm)
381. Magnetic anomaly in small piece of coral
382. Unidentified buried anomaly
383. Unidentified buried anomaly
384. Unidentified buried anomaly
385. Encrusted iron fastener, broken (18cm)
Unit PP (Lot 3300)

Artifacts Collected:
1.1 Copper object pointed on both ends, possible small tool (17.5cm) [Master Map #396]
2.1 Dark green glass, bottle body sherd
2.2 " " " " " "
2.3 " " " " " "
2.4 " " " " " "
2.5 " " " " " "
2.6 " " " " " "
2.7 " " " " bottle base
3.1 Pebble ballast
3.2 " " " "
3.3 " " " "
3.4 " " " "
3.5 " " " "
3.6 " " " 
4.1 Red earthenware ceramic sherd, dark brown glaze, worn
5.1 Small iron object mold
6.1 Copper fastener (17.5cm) [Master Map #546 (a)]
6.2 Pebble ballast [Master Map #546 (b)]
6.3 Pebble ballast [Master Map #546 (c)]

Artifacts Plotted on Master Map (Not Collected):
389. Unidentified conglomerate (8cm x 3cm)
390. Encrusted iron fastener, square cross-section (14m)
391. Unidentified iron object encrustation (27cm x 9cm x 4cm thick)
392. Encrusted iron fastener (25cm)
393. " " " " " (50cm)
394. " " " " " (65cm)
395. Magnetic Anomaly
398. Encrusted iron fastener, broken mold (19cm)
399. Unidentified encrusted iron object, broken mold (14cm)
400. Unidentified encrusted flat iron object (20cm x 13cm)
401. Encrusted iron fastener, broken (21cm)
402. Unidentified encrusted iron object, broken mold (11cm)
403. Unidentified encrusted iron objects, two broken molds (3cm each)
404. Encrusted iron eye (52 cm long x 10cm diameter eye x 2cm diameter shaft)
405. Unidentified encrusted iron object, mold (11cm)
406. Unidentified encrusted flat iron object (21cm long)
407. Unidentified encrusted iron object, irregular shape (30cm x 27cm)

Unit GG (Lot 3400)

Artifacts Collected:
1.1 Dark green glass, case gin bottle base
2.1 Stoneware body sherd
3.1 Encrustation with copper spike through it (23cm x 9cm) [Master Map #408]
4.1 Unidentified copper object with wood [Master Map #412]
5.1 Copper fastener (24cm long; head 2cm x 2cm) [Master Map #224]
6.1 Pebble ballast
6.2 " " " "
6.3 " " " "
6.4 " " " "
6.5 " " " "
6.6 " " " "
6.7 " " " "
6.8 " " " "
7.1 Dark green glass, bottle body sherd
Artifacts Plotted on Master Map (Not Collected):

397. Encrusted iron fastener (?) (82cm)
409. Lead patch, folded over (50cm x 9cm)
410. Unidentified buried anomaly
411. Chain plate (ring diameter: 23cm outside/13cm inside; doubled over shaft 30cm long [60 if extended])
413. Encrusted iron fastener (20cm)

Unit HH (Lot 3500)

Artifacts Collected:

1.1 Unidentified metal-alloy spoon with curled handle [Master Map #419]
2.1 Unidentified metal-alloy spoon bowl [Master Map #414]
3.1 Lead fragment with sheathing tack holes in edges (6cm x 4.5cm) [Master Map #415]
4.1 Cannon ball (encrustation removed, 7.7cm diameter) [Master Map #417 (a)]
5.1 Small metal-alloy object fragment found with cannon ball (3.5cm x 2cm) [Master Map #417 (b)]
6.1 Pebble ballast

Artifacts Plotted on Master Map (Not Collected):

416. Unidentified encrusted iron object, flat and irregular shape (14cm x 8cm)
418. Unidentified encrusted flat iron object (10cm x 15cm)
420. Unidentified encrusted iron object, hollow mold with holes

Unit II (Lot 3600)

Artifacts Collected:

1.1 Copper drift bolt fragment with wood [Master Map #287]

Artifacts Plotted on Master Map (Not Collected):

225. Wooden plank with remnants of metal fasteners

Unit JJ (Lot 3700)

Artifacts Collected:

1.1 Copper nut, threaded (7cm x 7cm x 3.2 cm thick; 2.9cm hole diameter) [Master Map #157]
2.1 Copper fastener, head very eroded or broken off (17cm long) [Master Map #211]

Artifacts Plotted on Master Map (Not Collected):

156. Encrusted iron object embedded in reef, possible swivel gun yoke
208. Small fragment of copper with green glass sherd
468. Encrusted iron fastener (?) (15cm)
Unit KK (Lot 3800)

No Artifacts Collected:

Artifacts Plotted on Master Map (Not Collected):
158. Unidentified encrusted iron object (40cm x 35cm)
159. Encrusted iron eye bolt (12cm x 35cm)
469. Encrusted iron fastener
470. " " "

Unit LL (Lot 3900)

No Artifacts Collected:

Artifacts Plotted on Master Map (Not Collected):
209. Hook shaped conglomerate, embedded in piece of coral
210. Encrusted iron fastener, concreted to seabed
APPENDIX H

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P.O.Box 2189
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September 24, 1993

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[Signature]

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Cayman Islands National Museum,
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Cayman Islands

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10 October 1993

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1. Figure 122 (p 110) Merchant Ship of 330 tons: lines and general arrangement.
2. Figure 126 (p 112) Merchant Ship of 330 tons: sail and rigging plan.
3. Figure 158 (p 140) Collier Brig: lines and general arrangement.
4. Figure 163 (p 144) Collier Brig: sail and rigging plan.

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Madame Margaret E. LESHIKAR-DENTON
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Dear Ms. Leshikar-Denton

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Yours sincerely,

Nick Forbes
for Copyright Officer

NF/jj
VITA

Margaret Elaine Leshikar was born in Temple, Texas, on February 27, 1952, the daughter of Jean Rosendahl Leshikar and Marvin James Leshikar. After completing Taylor High School, Taylor, Texas, in 1970, she entered The University of Texas at Austin where she received the degree of Bachelor of Fine Arts in January 1974. She studied studio art and art history in a non-degree program in 1975-7. In January 1977, she entered the Graduate School of The University of Texas at Austin where in August 1982 she received the degree of Master of Arts in Latin American Studies (archaeology and art history). Between 1977-85 she was employed by the Texas Historical Commission, Austin in the underwater archaeology and cultural resource management sections. Between 1985-8 she lived in the Turks and Caicos Islands and the Cayman Islands where she was employed by a deep diving submersible company. In 1987 she married Dennis Dale Denton. In September 1988, she entered the Graduate College of Texas A&M University to study nautical archaeology in the Department of Anthropology. In Spring 1990, she was appointed a research associate of the Institute of Nautical Archaeology and received a Dissertation Award from the College of Liberal Arts at Texas A&M University. In April of that year she returned to the Cayman Islands and participated in preparations for the official opening of the Cayman Islands National Museum, where she is currently employed. In January 1993 she was elected to the Advisory Council on Underwater Archaeology, Society for Historical Archaeology. She has worked on archaeological projects in the United States, Mexico, Spain, Turkey, and the Caribbean and has presented papers at meetings of the American Society for Ethnohistory, the Society for American Archaeology, the International Congress of Caribbean Archaeology, and the Society for Historical Archaeology. Her permanent address is: Lime Tree Bay, P.O. Box 1557, George Town, Grand Cayman, Cayman Islands, B.W.I.