

Memoirs of the Queensland Museum | **culture**

Volume 9

**Pandora Project Stage 2:
four more seasons of excavation
at the Pandora historic
shipwreck**

by Peter Gesner

Minister: Anastacia Palaszczuk MP, Premier and Minister for the Arts

CEO: Suzanne Miller, BSc(Hons), PhD, FGS, FMinSoc, FAIMM, FGSA, FRSSA

Editor in Chief: J.N.A. Hooper, PhD

Issue Editor: Geraldine Mate, PhD

© Queensland Museum
PO Box 3300, South Brisbane 4101, Australia
Phone: +61 (0) 7 3840 7555
Fax: +61 (0) 7 3846 1226
Web: qm.qld.gov.au

National Library of Australia card number
ISSN 2205-3220

COVER

Cover image: Ship-remains/photomosaic. Queensland Museum.

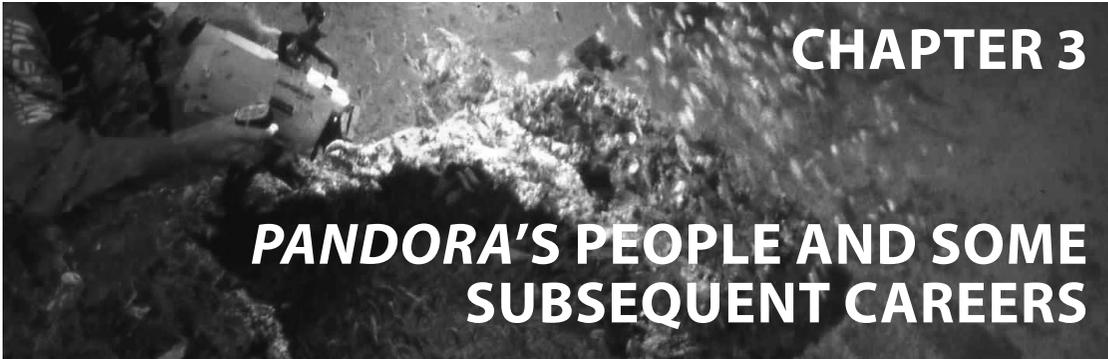
NOTE

Papers published in this volume and in all previous volumes of the *Memoirs of the Queensland Museum* may be reproduced for scientific research, individual study or other educational purposes. Properly acknowledged quotations may be made but queries regarding the republication of any papers should be addressed to the CEO. Copies of the journal can be purchased from the Queensland Museum Shop.

A Guide to Authors is displayed on the Queensland Museum website qm.qld.gov.au

A Queensland Government Project

Design and Layout: Tanya Edbrooke, Queensland Museum
Printed by Watson, Ferguson & Company



CHAPTER 3

PANDORA'S PEOPLE AND SOME SUBSEQUENT CAREERS

The story of *Pandora's* voyage reveals details of the death toll exacted by the wreck and survival voyage. But what became of the survivors who eventually made it back home? They appear to have receded into obscurity, but additional archival information on many of them remains extant.

The findings regarding the *Pandora's* crew have been gleaned from research in sources such as the *Pandora's* muster, pay book (TNA: ADM. 36/11136, ADM. 35/1360) and similar record types pertaining to other vessels the men served in or were later recruited by (TNA: ADM. 36/11092, 36/10776, 36/11085).

A Royal Navy ship's muster and pay book recorded brief information about each crew member: name, date of appearance on board, recruitment status, rating, pay, purchases of 'slops' and tobacco, sums owing for medical treatments of a venereal disease by the ship's surgeon and whether the individual died or was discharged during the voyage.

However in the *Pandora's* muster crucial data is for some unknown reason missing: the men's age upon their 'appearance' and their place of origin have not been entered in the columns provided for in the ledgers.

Tentative investigation into the nationalities of the *Pandora's* crew therefore can only be based on individual surnames indicating that the composition of the crew possibly consisted of

90 Englishmen, 25 Scots (including 8 Orcadians) 10 Irishmen, 3 Welshmen and probably 6 'other nationalities' possibly including at least three Germans and one Scandinavian, 134 in total.

The largest number of men from one place was a group of Scots, recruited by HMS *David* (tender) in July and August 1790 around the islands of Orkney (TNA: ADM. 36/11085). In 2012, further research was carried out into this group of Orcadians, consisting of Cray/Croy, Eglington, Fea, Mackie, Miller, Houston/Hourston, Murray and Scott; all but one of them did not survive the voyage – Houston/Hourston was the only Orcadian to survive. It is assumed he eventually made it home to Orkney, but there is no evidence to date confirming this.

The *Pandora's* muster reveals that the majority of the crew were pressed or had 'volunteered'. Most were 'recruited' by one of His Majesty's patrolling impressment tenders, small and faster vessels than the larger merchant ships they targeted for men.

The *Pandora's* muster records entries for 135 crew. The extra 'person' was the so-called 'widow's man', a bogus person carried on the ship's books for charitable purposes. These wages were paid into a benevolent fund to assist widows and children of men who died at sea or were killed on His Majesty's service. Upon departure from the Solent there were 134 men on board.

CAPTAIN: EDWARD EDWARDS (1742 - 1815)

Commission dated 6 Aug 1790, appeared 10 Aug 1790. Received £66 4s 3d advance pay on 26 Oct 1790 and £235 9s 3d in neat wages upon pay-off of the ship on 16 Oct 1792.

Edward Edwards was the fifth of six children of Richard Edwards of Water Newton and Mary Fuller of Caldecott, and christened in St Remigius church, Water Newton, Huntingdonshire. At 17 years of age, he was commissioned a lieutenant in the Royal Navy on 7 September 1759. In order to qualify for this commission he would have needed to pass a 'lieutenant's exam' and been required to produce evidence of at least six years 'sea time'. This indicates that he joined the navy when he was approximately 10 or 11 years old. No documents have been located to date which would assist in determining exactly when, and under whose patronage, he started his naval career. It is likely that he first went to sea as a 'captain's servant' and later gained the rest of the required sea time as a midshipman before sitting his 'lieutenant's' exam.

After he received his commission, Edwards' early naval career included service in the following ships (pers. comm., Ron Coleman) engaged in the American War of Independence:

- HMS *Nassau*, 3rd Rate (64 guns) as fourth lieutenant;
- HMS *Lowestoft*, 5th Rate (32 guns) as second lieutenant;
- HM Sloop *Zephyr*, under Capt. J. Inglis, as lieutenant;
- HM Sloop *Ferre* as lieutenant;
- HMS *Active*, 6th Rate (28 guns) as second lieutenant;
- HMS *Pembroke*, 4th Rate (60 guns) as third lieutenant; later promoted to 1st lieutenant;
- HMS *Augusta*, 3rd Rate (64 guns), as first lieutenant, under Capt. Francis Reynolds

(later Earl of Ducie). *Augusta* sank during action in the Delaware River in 1777;

- HMS *Carcass* (8 mortar bombs), from 22 Apr 1778 - 5 Dec 1780;
- HM Sloop *Hornet* (14 guns), service in the Caribbean. Promoted to post captain on 25 Apr 1781; and
- HMS *Narcissus* 6th Rate (20 guns), 25 May 1781. 'Paid off' on 27 March 1784.

After 1783, like hundreds of fellow officers in the period after the American War of Independence, Edwards spent more than six years on half-pay until appointed to HMS *Pandora* on 6 Aug 1790, aged 48.

On 17 September 1792, Edwards faced the obligatory court martial for the loss of his vessel. He and his officers were duly cleared of any blame. In attendance at court was midshipman James Dillon, later to become a Vice-Admiral. His memoirs described Edwards as:

...a fine, venerable-looking officer. His appearance completely absorbed all my attention during the trial, and I felt an inward satisfaction at the result, after all the hardships and dangers he had overcome. (Dillon, 1953)

Although Edwards and his officers were exonerated for the loss of the *Pandora*, Edwards never received another seagoing command. This does not imply that the Admiralty disapproved of the way he had conducted himself while in command of the *Pandora*. It could simply be that he was considered too frail for the rigours of life at sea. His obituary indicates that he had suffered for the rest of his life from the stresses and strains of the open boat voyage to Timor after the wreck.

Upon his return to England in 1792, he appears to have made a claim of £500 with the Navy Board, this being his estimate of the value of 'personal possessions lost with the ship'. This estimate included £200 for

loss of 'productions or curiosities [collected] at different places during the voyage' (Edwards' Papers, Adm. MS180). The sum appears to be separate from £724 8s he apparently also claimed as reimbursement for crew-related expenditure in Timor, Batavia and Capetown. These costs included monies for subsistence, accommodation and medical care of the *Pandora's* survivors. It also included passage for him and his officers charged – so Edwards asserted – by the VOC's Batavia office: 'Capt. Edwards (...) having laid before us his account of his disbursements made by him at Timor and Batavia between 3 Jan 1792 and 8 April 1792 amounting to £724.8/- according to the following particulars...' (TNA: ADM. 106/2217, 31 July. NB: These particulars must have been itemised on a separate sheet which unfortunately no longer seems to be extant).

It is unclear whether the Admiralty paid up without taking into account the advance of £80 Edwards had received prior to departure for the South Pacific to purchase trade items to be used to barter with islanders for fresh provisions (TNA: ADM. 3/107).

The next set of Admiralty documents relating to Edwards attest that in 1795 he felt strong enough to offer his services as a 'regulating officer.' On 9 March 1795 he wrote to Lord Stephens, the Secretary of the Admiralty:

Sir - In consequence of the Advertizements directing such Sea Officers as are desirous to serve in the regulating Service to send their names and address to the Admiralty Office, I beg leave to say that I am ready to serve in that capacity whenever the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty may think proper to lay their commands on me, and I have the Honor to be Sir, Your Most Obed't Humble Servant, Edw. Edwards (...) My address for the remainder of the Month of

March is at Stamford, Lincolnshire, afterwards at Water Newton, near Stilton, Huntingdonshire. (TNA: ADM. 1/1764).

On 25 May 1795 he wrote again from Water Newton to Lord Nepean:

Sir - Be pleased to acquaint the Right Hon'ble Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, that I beg leave to repeat that I am ready to serve whenever their Lordships may be pleased to lay their Commands on me, ... etc. NB penned on the back of this letter reads – 'To be appointed to regulate in the place of Capt. D. Knox' (TNA: ADM. 1/1764).

Edwards was thus appointed as a 'regulating captain', a position that gave him responsibility for naval recruiting (impressment) in Argyleshire, Scotland. He was based at Inveraray and on 30 July 1795 sent a report to Lord Nepean regarding the additional orders he had received to survey vessels and facilities relating to navigation of inland waterways (TNA: ADM. 1/1764).

By 16 June 1796 he was once again unemployed. He wrote to the Admiralty offering his services for a sea-going command and by 7 September 1796 he had been appointed once more as a regulating captain, for Hull, Yorkshire (TNA: ADM. 1/1765). For a brief period he also acted as 'Captain of Sea Fencibles' in Hull, a voluntary naval militia established in 1798 as a coastguard to provide an in-shore line of defence to protect the United Kingdom from invasion by France during the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars.

A series of honorary promotions followed, per the Royal Navy's post captain's seniority list: To Rear Admiral in 1799 and to Vice Admiral of the Blue (flying the Blue Ensign) in 1805. These honorary promotions saw Edwards eventually appointed as Admiral

of the White Squadron (flying the White Ensign) on 4 June 1814. Titularly this was the third highest rank in the Royal Navy, after the Admiral of the Fleet and the Admiral of the Red Squadron (Syrett & Niardo, 1994).

Edwards died on 13 April 1815. He was 73 years old and living at his brother's house at 13 Barn Hill, Stamford, Lincolnshire.

His estate included several farms in Huntingdonshire and Norfolk as well as substantial shares in The Grand Surrey Canal Company. His will (TNA: PRO: Prob. 11/1569 dated 12 December 1805) was drawn up while he was resident at 3 Southampton Row, Bloomsbury. He never married, and bequeathed his property to various male family members:

- his brother Richard Edwards (parish of St Martin) of Stamford, a legacy of £100;
- his nephew Richard Edwards of Salisbury, Salop, title, rights and interest in shares (#82-86) he owned in the Grand Surrey Canal – this was a son of his brother Richard;
- to his nephew William Edwards of Salisbury, Salop, title, rights and interest in shares (#87-89) he owned in the Grand Surrey Canal Co. – also a son of Richard;
- to his brother Samuel Edwards of Stamford, an annuity of £60, to be paid from income derived from the land holdings he owned in Norfolk and Huntingdon for the rest of his natural life. This annuity subsequently to be paid to his niece Mary Edwards upon death of his brother Samuel;
- to his nephew William Brown Edwards in the County of Nottinghamshire a legacy of £800 – also right, title and interest in shares (#90-93) in the Grand Surrey Canal Co. – this was a son of his brother Samuel; and
- to his nephew Samuel of Stamford his 'lands'(estates) in Huntingdonshire and Norfolk.

One of his great-nieces remembered him as a 'sweet old man', frequently out and about on walks in the country lanes around Uppingham (pers. comm., Ron Coleman). He was buried in the family vault in the Chancery of St Remigius church in Water Newton. An obituary reported that Edwards had felt the effects of the hardships suffered in the open boat voyage to Timor 'to the latest period of his life' (*The Lincoln, Stamford & Rutland Mercury* of 21 April 1815).

FIRST LIEUTENANT: JOHN LARKAN (1746 - 1830)

Commission dated 6 Aug 1790, from half pay, appeared on 14 Aug 1790. Received £33 1s 6d advance pay and £117 2s in neat wages upon pay-off on 17 Oct 1792 (which was paid to 'James Sykes', attorney).

John Larkan was born in Athlone, County Roscommon, Ireland, in May 1746. Although no christening records have been found, it is likely that his family were Anglicans (at least nominally) given that Roman Catholics at this time were forbidden by law to hold public office or commissions in the Army or the Navy.

Larkan's early naval career prior to his service in the *Pandora* is yet to be confirmed. Given his age, it is reasonable to assume that he served at sea during the American War of Independence (1776-83) and was possibly on half pay afterwards awaiting further naval employment. He joined the crew of the *Pandora* at the age of 43.

Upon his return to England in 1792 he lodged a claim for £25 as reimbursement of transport and accommodation expenses he incurred in The Netherlands, having arrived safely at Fort Rammekens (Flushing) in Zeeland in May 1792 on the VOC ship *De Zwaan* (TNA: ADM.. 106/2217 Navy Board Records).

At some time before 1794 he was appointed first lieutenant of HMS *Defence* under Sir James

Gambier. In his memoirs, Admiral William Henry Dillon (1790-1830) mentioned Larkan when both were serving in HMS *Defence* in 1794. A teen-aged midshipman at the time, Dillon observed that first lieutenant Larkan, then in his mid forties, was 'rather aged' for his rank. In a footnote by Dillon's modern-day editor, Michael A. Lewis, comment was made of Larkan having been commissioned ('made lieutenant') on 4 Feb 1778 and that he had served as Captain Edwards' first lieutenant in the *Pandora*, during which time 'in the matter of humanity' vis à vis the crew, he had performed as dismally as Edwards (Dillon, 1953:104).

Mutineer James Morrison also described Larkan in unfavourable terms – as a harsh and hard-hearted man, who apparently went out of his way to make life even more disagreeable for the prisoners in Pandora's Box. For instance, Morrison described how Lieutenant Larkan:

'...took the method of setting his foot against our breast and hauling the handcuffs over our hands with all his might (.....) And when our wrists began to swell he told us they were not meant to fit like gloves.' (Rutter, 1935:123).

Larkan appears to have been a very capable naval officer. He saw action during the French Revolutionary War at the Battle of the Glorious 1 June 1794, and was afterwards promoted to the rank of commander (figure 13). This was to be his last sea-going appointment and the promotion was possibly by way of a reward for distinguished conduct while under Gambier's command (pers. comm P. Van der Merwe, National Maritime Museum, UK).

His service during the remainder of the French Revolutionary War is yet to be researched, but Larkan may have returned to Ireland before it ended (Marshall, 1825: 250).



FIG. 13. Commander Larkan c.1820 (NMM neg. C2171/8). An inscribed paper label on the back states: 'This is the likeness of Capt. John Larkan RN, who as a midshipman was sent out with Capt. Edward Edwards in search of the Mutineers of the *Bounty* in the ship *Pandora*.' There is also the signature 'AH Fleming July 2nd 1895'.

With the outbreak of the Napoleonic War in 1803, he was appointed to command the Galway-based 'Sea Fencibles'. His command covered the west Irish coast between Greatman's Bay and Blackhead Cliff (Navy List, 1805).

He died in Athlone in 1830 (National Archives, PRO Prob. 11/1783). His will contained no religious references, and merely stated that although 'weak of body' he was of 'sound and disposing mind' (TNA: PRO Prob. 11/1783 ref 84; PRO Prob. 11/1357 ref 303). He had owned a small estate called Larkfield near Athlone, which he bequeathed to his eldest son Edward. It was subject to a £10 annuity derived from income generated by the estate in favour of his youngest daughter Olivia.

SECOND LIEUTENANT: ROBERT CORNER

Commission dated 21 Aug 1790, appeared on 13 Oct 1790. Received £33 1s 6d advance pay and £110 12s in neat wages on 26 Oct 1792.

Little is known about Robert Corner's early naval career. According to *Pandora's* surgeon George Hamilton, (Thomson, 1915:103) he had held a commission in the 'Land Service' prior to his commission as a Lieutenant, Royal Navy on 20 November 1779; he was appointed to HMS *Thunder* (a 'bomb' vessel carrying mortars and also eight guns) (TNA: ADM. 6/22).

On 2 May 1780 he was appointed to HMS *Aurora* (28 guns) as second lieutenant (TNA: ADM.11/65:31). Two years later on 24 January 1782 he was exchanged from the *Aurora* (TNA: ADM. 11/65:132) to HMS *Endymion* (44 guns), attached to Admiral Rodney's fleet at the 'Battle of the Saintes' in April 1782.

Corner's career after the American War of Independence is not known. He was likely to have been on the Admiralty's half-pay list until 12 June 1790 when he was appointed to command a press gang operating from the tender HMS *Richard* (TNA: ADM. 36/11092). The tender had been under Corner's command between 12 July and 30 September 1790. He had supervised recording of the weekly musters of the crew, the recruits and his press gang while the tender was at Scarborough, Shields, Sheerness, Great Yarmouth and Filey Bay (TNA: ADM. 36/11092). On 20 August 1790 while at Great Yarmouth, the Admiralty ordered him 'to repair with such new raised men as may be on-board her forthwith to the Nore, & remain there until further orders' (TNA: ADM. 3/107).

The Admiralty's decision to appoint Corner to HMS *Richard* was made on 22 June 1790. It was also their decision to appoint a

Lieutenant Fleming in Corner's place on 21 August 1790, having decided that Corner should be appointed to the *Pandora* as the second lieutenant (TNA:ADM. 3/107). By this date the Admiralty had already determined that the *Pandora's* sole mission would be to locate and return the mutineers and the *Bounty* to England.

Evidence has not been found to attest that Corner had been specifically chosen by Edwards for this mission, or that the Admiralty had received representations from someone acting as Corner's patron. It is more likely that the Admiralty was simply keen to appoint a seasoned officer with experience in, if not in motivating and inspiring men under his command, then at least effectively dealing with unwilling seamen. It appears that Corner possessed the required qualities to assist Edwards in carrying out the *Pandora's* mission. It is interesting to note that in the short time of his command of the *Richard*, Corner evidently gained the respect of the *Richard's* crew as well as the men in his press gang, five of whom actually volunteered to join *Pandora* on 30 August 1790 (TNA: ADM. 36/11092). In this regard, it would not be unreasonable to suggest that their motivation was to follow Corner into the South Pacific to embark on very similar tasks as they were already engaged upon as members of the *Richard's* crew or Corner's press gang.

Some records have been found to partially reconstruct his mid-career (QM/MAS research files compiled by Ron Coleman) upon his return to England in 1792:

- HMS *Terrible* (74 guns), as first lieutenant, 1793;
- HMS *Victory*, 1st Rate (100 guns) as third lieutenant. Later promoted to second lieutenant, 1794;
- HMS *Montague* (74 guns) as first lieutenant, fighting in the Battle of Camperdown in October 1797.

More research is required to determine Corner's mid-late career activities, especially his service during the Napoleonic wars. There is reference to him being awarded a presentation sword through the Lloyd's Patriotic Fund (Patriotic Fund of Lloyd's) for distinguished conduct while he was serving on board HMS *Thisbe*. The *Thisbe* captured the French warship *Veloce* in 1803 (May & Annis, 1970:70), taking it to Malta as a 'prize' (*The Morning Chronicle*, 12 Sept 1804).

In February or March 1804 Corner wrote to his former commanding officer, Horatio Nelson, requesting his assistance to find 'more active' employment. Nelson replied on 18 April regretting he was unaware of any immediate opportunity. However, he told Corner that he would not object if Corner would be able to make his own arrangements by finding a ship to serve in that was stationed in the Mediterranean fleet under Nelson's command, adding that he remembered Corner perfectly and assumed he was the 'gentleman who had been second in HMS *Terrible* and in HMS *Victory*' 10 years before under Nelson's command (Nicolas, 1846:502). However, Corner was not at Trafalgar, so presumably he sat out the war in Malta where eventually he was employed as Superintendant of Marine Police. (Marshall, 1825: 38)

Robert Corner was aged 66 when he died. He was buried in St. Paul's Anglican Pro-Cathedral, Valetta, Malta (Guildhall Library Ms 30766/1). The Register of burials records that he was also a magistrate: 'February 6th 1819, Robert Corner of Valletta, magistrate, aged 66 years'.

THIRD LIEUTENANT: THOMAS HAYWARD (1768 - 1797)

Appeared 26 Oct 1790, commission of same date.

Few details are known of Hayward's life. He was born in Hackney, London, and had

sailed with Bligh as a midshipman on the *Bounty* and was cast adrift in the *Bounty's* launch after the mutiny. He gave evidence at Bligh's court-martial on board HMS *Royal William* on 22 October 1790 and four days later was commissioned as third lieutenant of the *Pandora*. He was the only person from the *Bounty* deliberately added to the *Pandora's* crew by Admiral Roddam in order to help Captain Edwards identify and capture the mutineers. Following the wrecking he drew a chart showing the location of the *Pandora* wreck (Hydrographer's Office, Taunton, UK).

Hayward's later career in the navy is largely unresearched. He was promoted to the rank of commander and perished while in command of HM Sloop *Swift* (PRO NA Prob. 11/1357), lost with all hands during a typhoon in the South China Sea in 1797 (Clowes, 1899, IV: 549).

MASTER: GEORGE PASSMORE

By warrant dated 10 Sept 1790, appeared 15 Sept 1790.

George Passmore was appointed master of the *Pandora* at Captain Edwards' request. He 'superceded' the original master, who, according to both Edwards and Hamilton was unfit for service, apparently suffering from a 'bilious complaint' (TNA:ADM. /101/1338).

Following his return to England, Passmore served aboard HMS *Daedalus*, a ship from which he was court martialled in 1793. The nature of his offence is unknown. The following year, he was again court-martialled for refusing to serve as a mere warrant officer and his naval record has the comment, 'never to be appointed lieutenant' written in an unknown hand (TNA: ADM. 106/1317). According to Hamilton however, Passmore was an experienced and capable master, who merited special mention as a competent marine surveyor (Hamilton, 1793:57).

Passmore made repeated requests to be commissioned but his requests were never granted. Apparently lacking the right kind of 'influence' or patronage to advance his career, he was effectively being 'black-balled' by the Admiralty.

SURGEON: GEORGE HAMILTON (1754 - 1797)

Appeared on 13 Aug 1790 from half pay by warrant, dated 10 Aug 1790. Received £29 4s 6d advance pay and £97 12s 8d in neat wages on 17 Oct 1792.

Hamilton was aged 36 when he joined the *Pandora* as the surgeon, appointed as a warrant officer by the Navy Board.

Upon his return to England, he made a modest and successful, claim for loss of medical supplies and equipment, being approximately two thirds of the value of the three year supply he set out with at the beginning of the journey (TNA: ADM. 106/2217 Navy Board Records). After the court martial of the *Bounty* mutineers, he was warranted as the surgeon of HMS *Lowestoft* on 19 December 1792 (TNA: ADM. 36/11515 & 118/191).

During 1793 he wrote *A Voyage Round the World in His Majesty's Frigate Pandora*, published by W. Phorsons in Berwick-on-Tweed (Hamilton, 1793).

The following year on 15 March 1794, Hamilton was listed as 'sick' and was discharged from the *Lowestoft* at Livorno, Italy (TNA: ADM. 36/11515). A letter from the Navy Board to the Admiralty dated 26 April 1794 records that he had lost his left arm (TNA: ADM. 12/63:99.1). It is likely that he suffered this loss in action against *La Fortunée* and *La Minerve* during an attack on the fortified tower on Cape Mortella in Corsica in December 1793 (TNA: ADM.51/535).

On 1 May 1794 Hamilton was examined at Surgeon's Hall, certified as having lost an arm

and recommended for superannuation. The following day he was declared as superannuated (TNA: ADM. 118/191) and subsequently reduced to half pay (TNA: ADM. 25/126:57). From July to December 1794, Hamilton is listed in a volume of Superannuations: George Hamilton, superannuated surgeon of 3rd rate ship', £231 19s 8d for six months. He received superannuation benefits until his death on 30 Sept 1797 (TNA: ADM. 6/335/15).

He was buried on 5 Oct 1797 in St Luke's Church in Chelsea (London Metropolitan Archives, St Luke's register of burials P74/LUK-255).

His widow, Jane Hamilton (nee Bowie) of St Gabriel's parish, Fenchurch (whom he had married on 31 August 1790 in St Margaret's Pattens, London shortly prior to the departure of the *Pandora*) received a navy pension of £30 per annum. This was from the charity *Relief of Poor Widows of Commissioned and Warrant officers of the Royal Navy* to which Hamilton had been contributing at a rate of 'thruppence per pound' (TNA: ADM. 8/335).

CAPTAIN'S CLERK: EDWARD KING EDMONDS

Appeared on 10 Aug 1790. Received £5 14s advance pay and £28 15s 10d in neat wages on 16 Oct 1792.

Edmonds is believed to have been of Irish descent although his father resided in St Mary Axe, London. His father received a letter from his son by 'penny post' from Capetown, informing him about his many adventures and that he had survived the shipwreck (*Public Advertiser*, 30 May 1792). He was somewhat unkindly lampooned by Hamilton, who related how this 'great Irishman' had been attacked, robbed and stripped naked by Tongans and left only with a shoe to cover his manhood (Hamilton, 1793:84).

OTHER PANDORA CREW

LIEUTENANTS' YEOMAN

John GERMAIN

Volunteer, appeared on 22 Aug 1790 as AB, £3 bounty paid. Promoted 20 Sept 1790.

PURSER

Gregory BENTHAM

Appeared on 10 Aug 1790. Received two month's advance pay of £12 8s and £32 8s 11d in neat wages on 3 May 1793. One of the *Pandora's* standing officers. Bentham had been a clerk to Capt Charles Clerke, during Cook's third voyage in HMS *Discovery*. He was recommended by Clerke to Joseph Banks' 'interest'. He was later appointed as purser to HMS *Stag* in November 1792.

PURSER'S STEWARD

† Robert BOWLER (1763 - 1791)

Volunteer, appeared on 10 Aug 1790 as Ord, £2 bounty paid and he received £3 14s advance pay. Appointed as purser's steward on 30 Sept 1790. Discharged Dead (DD) 29 Aug 1791. Robert Bowler was from London and christened on 6 Jan 1763 at St James, Westminster. After his death, his sister Theodosia (one of three siblings) received £8 1s 6d in 'neat wages' on 13 Nov 1792 (TNA: ADM. 35/1360).

MASTER'S MATES

Edward BOWLING

Appeared on 2 Oct 1790 as a midshipman, promoted 20 Oct 1790. Edward Bowling came from York. He wrote home to a friend on 8 Dec 1791 from Capetown saying he had survived the shipwreck (*London Chronicle*, 29 May 1792).

† William OLIVER (1766 - 1791)

Appeared on 25 Sept 1790. DD 30 Dec 1791. William Oliver had come to the *Pandora* from the tender HMS *Neptune* where he

had been a midshipman in 'the lieutenant's gang' (press gang), having joined *Neptune* on 26 June 1790 (TNA: ADM. 36/11090). He was promoted to master's mate on 25 Sept 1790 and was given command by Edwards of the tender *Matavai*, which he navigated safely from Tofua to Samarang in Java after losing sight of the *Pandora* during a squall. He died on the VOC ship *Vredenburg* after leaving Batavia. David Renouard mentions that Oliver died in his '20th year' but he appears to have been mistaken as Admiralty records are unequivocal about his age (24) when he joined the *Neptune* and that he came from Great Yarmouth. He would have been 25 when he died (TNA: ADM. 36/11090).

George REYNOLDS (? - 1851)

Appeared on 22 Aug 1790 as a midshipman, received £5 14s advance pay and £46 6s 4d in neat wages. Promoted on 1 Nov 1790. Little is known about George Reynolds' early naval career prior to joining the *Pandora*. After his return to England however, it is believed he attained promotion to Lieutenant. He retired from active sea-service around 1814 although later commanded a signal station at West Wittering, near Chichester. For this service ashore he was retroactively (c. 1830) promoted to the rank of Commander. He died in 1851, 60 years after the loss of the *Pandora* (PRO NA prob. 11/2135) and was probably 'the last of the Pandoras' (pers. comm. Reverend & Mrs John Reynolds, 1998).

Thomas RICKARDS

Volunteer, appeared on 26 Oct 1790 from HMS *Royal William*.

SURGEON'S MATE:

James INNES

Appeared on 21 Aug 1790 by warrant, received £11 14s 2d advance pay and £61 10s 8d in neat wages.

QUARTERMASTERS

† John ANDREWS (? - 1791)

Volunteer, appeared on 16 Sept 1790 as AB, £3 bounty paid, received £4 18s advance pay. Promoted on 30 Sept 1790. Neat wages not paid out. DD 29 Aug 1791.

James DODDS

Volunteer, appeared on 29 Sept 1790 as AB, £3 bounty paid. Promoted 29 Sept 1790. One of the crew who followed Lieutenant Corner from the tender HMS *Richard* and on to the *Pandora* (TNA: ADM. 36/11092).

William HAYTHORN

Volunteer, appeared on 6 Aug 1790 as AB from HMS *Sandwich*, £3 bounty paid. Promoted to master's mate, then to quartermaster on 1 Nov 1790.

† Thomas LINDSEY (? - 1792)

Volunteer, appeared on 8 Oct 1790 as AB, £3 bounty paid. Promoted 1 Nov 1790. DD 16 Jan 1792 on board VOC ship *Hoornweg*.

QUARTERMASTER'S MATES

James MANNERS

Volunteer, appeared on 29 Sept 1790 as AB, £3 bounty paid. Promoted 1 Nov 1790. One of the crew who followed Lieutenant Corner from the tender HMS *Richard* and on to the *Pandora* (TNA: ADM.36/11092).

John MARSHALL

Volunteer, appeared on 29 Sept 1790 as AB, £3 bounty paid. Promoted on 1 Nov 1790. One of the crew who followed Lieutenant Corner from the tender HMS *Richard* on to the *Pandora* (TNA: ADM. 36/11092).

Charles SPENCE

Volunteer, appeared on 29 Sept 1790 as AB, £3 bounty paid. Promoted 20 Sept 1790.

Thomas WATSON

Pressed, appeared on 26 Oct 1790 as Ord from HMS *Royal William*. Promoted on 1 Nov 1790. Pressed by HMS *Champion* while serving on a 'Greenland ship'.

CAULKER

Christopher BELL

Volunteer, appeared on 6 Aug 1790 as AB, £3 bounty paid, £31 10s remitted when the ship paid off and £6 7s in neat wages. Promoted on 6 Sept 1790 to carpenter's crew and on 13 Oct 1790 to caulker. Punished on 8 Dec 1790 with one dozen lashes for insolence and quarrelling with his superior officer.

MIDSHIPMEN

James ATKINS

Appeared on 8 Oct 1790 as AB, received £4 10 advance pay and £30 7s 6d in neat wages. Promoted on 1 Nov 1790. Pressed by the tender HMS *Richard* at Newcastle. Extracts from his journal were published in London newspapers on 1 June 1792 (*Evening Mail*, 1 June 1792). Atkins's neat wages were paid to a James Evans for attorney Thomas Scratcherd on 5 Oct 1792.

† John Philip FENWICK (? - 1792)

Appeared on 17 Sept 1790, received £5 14s advance pay and £10 19s 6d to be remitted when the ship was paid off. DD 17 Jan 1792 from VOC ship *Hoornweg*. Neat wages acquitted with his brother Benjamin on 6 June 1794.

George MCKENDRICK (or KENDRICK)

Volunteer, appeared on 26 Aug 1790 as AB from HMS *Enterprise*, £3 bounty paid, received £5 14s advance pay and £27 1s 8d in neat wages. Promoted on 26 Aug 1790.

John Grant MATSON

Volunteer, appeared on 17 Sept 1790 as AB, £3 bounty paid, received £4 10s advance pay, £18 remitted when the ship was paid off and £8 2s 9d in neat wages. Promoted on 1 Oct 1790.

Henry PYECROFT (PYCROFT)

Appeared on 15 Sept 1790 as master's servant, discharged on 25 Oct 1790, re-entered on 26 Oct 1790 as AB. Promoted on 1 Jan 1791. Pyecroft was a protégé of George Passmore.

David Thomas RENOUARD (1774 - ?)

Appeared on 6 Aug 1790 as captain's servant, discharged on 22 Oct 1790 by Admiralty orders and re-entered on 23 Oct 1790 as a midshipman. Renouard was second-in-command when the *Matavai* tender was lost and kept a journal with an account of his experiences (Maude, 1964). He was a protégé of Captain Edwards.

**† John SIVAL (SIVALL? SEVILLE?)
(? - 1791)**

Appeared on 6 Sept 1790, received £5 14s advance pay. Lost in the cutter and DD 24 May 1791. Remitted wages of £5 14s 6d paid to his mother, Susanna? (cf. TNA: ADM. 35/1360).

BOATSWAIN (Bosun)**John CUNNINGHAM**

Appeared on 10th Aug 1790, received £12 8s advance pay and £32 16s 1d in neat wages. One of *Pandora's* standing officers and father of Joseph Cunningham (bosun's servant) who was lost in Sival's cutter.

BOSUN'S MATES**† James JOHNSON (? - 1790)**

Volunteer, appeared on 17 Sept 1790 as AB, £3 bounty paid. Promoted on 30 Sept 1790. DD 31 Dec 1790 off Rio de Janeiro.

William MOULTER (MOLTER)

Volunteer, appeared 26 Aug 1790 as AB, £3 bounty paid and £22 6s 8d in neat wages. Punished with one dozen lashes for striking his officer. Moulter removed the scuttle from the 'Box' as the ship was sinking, giving the prisoners an opportunity to escape as the ship sank. In his honour, 'Entrance Cay' (in Pandora Entrance) was renamed 'Moulter Cay' in 1984 in recognition of his life-saving action.

COXSWAIN (Cox'n)**William WISDOM**

Volunteer, appeared 21 Sept 1790 as AB from HMS *Defence*, £3 bounty paid. Promoted 1 Oct 1790.

CARPENTER:**† Alexander MONTGOMERY (? - 1791)**

Appeared on 10 Aug 1790 from the Ordinary book, received £12 8s advance pay. DD 7 Dec 1791 from Batavia Hospital. £18 11s 8d paid to his estate on 2 Nov 1792. A 'James Evans' received these monies for Hitchins & Baynture (attorneys) acting on behalf of Montgomery's estate.

CARPENTER'S MATE**Jonathan FARRENS**

Appeared on 15 Aug 1790 as AB, £3 bounty paid, received £5 2s advance pay. Promoted 31 Aug 1790. Brother of Robert Farrens. Both brothers made wills in favour of their widowed mother Jane Farrens in Chatham.

CARPENTER'S CREW**† Robert BROWN (? - 1791)**

Pressed, appeared on 8 Oct 1790 as AB from HMS *Sandwich*. Promoted 8 Oct 1790. DD 29 Aug 1791. Pressed at sea off Whitby by HMS *Champion* while working as a carpenter on a 'Greenland ship'.

John YOWELL

Pressed by the tender HMS *Pluto*, appeared on 26 Oct 1790 as Ord from HMS *Royal William*, promoted 1 Nov 1790.

GUNNER**Joseph PACKER**

Appeared on 10 Aug 1790 from the Ordinary book, received £12 8s advance pay and £34 5s 6d in neat wages on 26 Oct 1792. He was one of *Pandora's* 'standing officers.'

GUNNER'S YEOMAN**Robert FOSTER**

Appeared on 29 Sept 1790 as AB, £3 bounty paid and £4 6s advance pay. Promoted 29 Sept 1790. One of the crew who followed Lieutenant Corner from the tender HMS *Richard* and on to *Pandora* (TNA: ADM. 36/11092).

GUNNER'S MATE

William STEWARD (Stewart?) (1772 - ?)

Volunteer, appeared 8 Sept 1790 as AB, £3 bounty paid. Promoted 1 Dec 1790. From Peterhead. Recruited by the tender HMS *David* on 17 Aug 1790

QUARTER GUNNERS

John CAMERON

Volunteer, appeared on 29 Sept 1790 as AB, £3 bounty paid, promoted 1 Nov 1790. One of the crew who followed Lieutenant Corner from the tender HMS *Richard* and on to *Pandora* (TNA: ADM. 36/11092).

Henry NICHOLS

Appeared on 13 Oct 1790 as AB, 1 Nov 1790 promoted. 'Run' at Capetown on 22 Feb 1792. Recruited from the tender HMS *Polly*.

William PUDNEY

Volunteer, appeared on 6 Sep 1790 as AB from HMS *Sandwich*, £3 bounty paid, promoted 1 Oct 1790.

Robert REEVE (Reeves?)

Volunteer, appeared on 6 Sept 1790 as AB from HMS *Sandwich*, £3 bounty paid, promoted 1 Oct 1790.

SAILMAKER'S MATE

Thomas JACKSON

Appeared on 14 Aug 1790 as AB, promoted to quarter gunner 31 Aug, then to sailmaker's mate 1 Nov 1790.

SAILMAKER'S CREW

† Alexander ARBUTHNOT (?-1791)

Pressed, appeared on 26 Oct 1790 as AB from HMS *Royal William*. Promoted 1 Dec 1790. DD 29 Aug 1791. Pressed at Great Yarmouth by the tender HMS *Richard*.

COOPER

Henry REYNOLDS

Volunteer, appeared on 3 Sept 1790 as LM, £1 bounty paid and £19 16s 3d in neat wages, promoted 30 Sept 1790.

MASTER AT ARMS

† John GRIMWOOD (? - 1791)

Volunteer, appeared on 26 Aug 1790 as AB, £3 bounty paid and £3 12s 9d two month's advance pay. Promoted 14 Sept 1790 to corporal and 22 Oct 1790 to master at arms. DD 29 Aug 1791.

CORPORAL

† William RODRICK (? - 1791)

Volunteer, appeared on 21 Sept 1790 as Ord from HMS *Defence*, £2 bounty paid, promoted 1 Nov 1790. DD 29 Aug 1791.

COOK

† Denis MAHONEY

Appeared on 10 Aug 1790, received £4 10s advance pay and £11 11s 6d in neat wages, remitted when the ship was paid off. DD 1 Dec 1791 from Batavia Hospital. Mahoney was one of the *Pandora's* standing officers. A 'William Dodd' was a beneficiary of Mahoney's will.

ARMOURER

† William CLEMENTS

Volunteer, appeared 8 Sept 1790 as AB, £3 bounty paid and £5 2s advance pay. Promoted 20 Sept 1790. DD 2 Nov 1791 on VOC ship *Rembang*. His widow Ann Clements received £13 14s in neat wages.

ARMOURER'S MATES:

Philip STAPLETON

Volunteer, appeared on 22 Aug 1790 as AB, £3 bounty paid. Promoted 1 Sept 1790.

Joseph HODGES

Volunteer, appeared on 16 Sept 1790 as Ord, £2 bounty paid. Promoted 1 Nov 1790 to AB and subsequently to armourer's mate. Nearly drowned inside the 'Box' while knocking off the prisoners' leg irons upon receiving last minute orders from Captain Edwards to free the prisoners still inside.

ABLE SEAMEN:

† **Thomas BARKER (? - 1791)**

Volunteer, appeared on 26 Oct 1790 from HMS *Royal William*, £2 bounty paid. DD 22 Oct 1791 on board tender *Matavai* at Surabaya. Recruited by the tender HMS *Richard* on 17 Sept 1790 off Whitby. According to Renouard, Barker was 'much advanced' in age.

Thomas BEACKIE (Brackie?)

Pressed, appeared on 26 Oct 1790 from HMS *Royal William*. Pressed by the tender HMS *Richard*.

† **Thomas BRIXLEY (? - 1791)**

Pressed, appeared on 3 Nov 1790 as Ord from HM Sloop *Flirt*. Promoted 1 April 1791. DD 29 Aug 1791. Pressed off Lymington.

Allen BROWN

Volunteer, appeared on 1 Oct 1790, £3 bounty paid. Recruited from the tender HMS *Polly*.

† **James BROWN (? - 1791)**

Volunteer, appeared on 29 Sept 1790 as Ord, £2 bounty paid. Promoted 1 April 1791. DD 26 Dec 1791 on board VOC ship *Hoorntweg*. Recruited from the tender HMS *Tagus*.

Timothy CALLIGHAN

Volunteer, appeared on 21 Sept 1790 as LM from HMS *Defence*, £1 bounty paid. Promoted 1 April 1791.

John CAMPBELL

Volunteer, appeared on 25 Sept 1790, £3 bounty paid. Recruited from the tender HMS *Friendship*.

† **Thomas CARROLL (Carrol?) (? - 1791)**

Volunteer, appeared on 8 Sept 1790, £3 bounty paid. DD 29 Aug 1791. Recruited by the tender HMS *David* in Scottish waters (off Leith or Peterhead).

† **William CARTER (? - 1791)**

Pressed, appeared on 8 Oct 1790 from HMS *Sandwich*. DD 29 Aug 1791. Pressed at sea by HMS *Champion* while serving on a 'Greenland ship' at King's Lynn.

Francis COBB

Pressed, appeared 8 Oct 1790 from HMS *Sandwich*. Pressed at sea by HMS *Champion* while serving on a 'Greenland ship'.

Henry COLLINS

Volunteer, appeared on 21 Sept 1790 as Ord from HMS *Defence*, £2 bounty paid, promoted 1 Oct 1790.

From Manchester. He left a will in favour of his wife Fanny (TNA: ADM. 36/11136/62).

† **James CULLEMORE Cullimore?) (? - 1791)**

Appeared on 22 Aug 1790 as a LM, received £2 18s advance pay. Promoted 1 Dec 1790. DD 29 Aug 1791. £9 14s 6d was remitted to his heirs, among whom was his sister Eleanor (Elinor?) Roberts, who received another 2d on final pay-out on 23 April 1793. She was a milliner and mantua maker from Bromley, Kent.

John Godfrey CURLING

Volunteer, appeared on 25 Sept 1790 as LM, £1 bounty paid. Promoted 1 Dec 1790. Recruited from the tender HMS *Neptune*.

† **William DEDWORTH (? - 1791)**

Pressed, appeared on 8 Oct 1790 from HMS *Sandwich*. DD 29 Aug 1791. Pressed at sea by HMS *Champion* while serving on the 'Greenland ship' *Fountain*.

John DENEEN

Volunteer, appeared on 21 Sept 1790 as LM from HMS *Defence*, £1 bounty paid. Promoted 1 April 1791. Treated for 'venereals' on board HMS *Alcides*, January 1792.

Thomas DOUGHTY

Volunteer, appeared on 16 Sept 1790 as AB, £3 bounty paid.

John DUNNETT (Dermott?)

Pressed, appeared on 26 Oct 1790 from HMS *Royal William*. Pressed by the tender HMS *Richard*.

† **Daniel DURLING (? - 1791)**

Volunteer, appeared on 16 Sept 1790 as LM, £1 bounty paid. Promoted 1 April 1791. DD

29 Aug 1791. £6 12s 6d neat wages paid to his uncle John Brock.

† **George EGLINGTON (1769 - 1791)**

Volunteer, appeared on 8 Sept 1790, £3 bounty paid. DD 29 Aug 1791. From Orkney (TNA: ADM. 36/11085). Recruited by the tender HMS *David* at Orkney on 4 Aug 1790.

† **William FARRELL (? - 1791)**

Volunteer, appeared on 4 Sept 1790, £2 bounty paid. Promoted 1 Oct 1790. DD 30 Dec 1791 on board VOC ship *Vredenburg*. £10 8s remitted to his heirs and his mother Thirza Gardner in Chatham.

Robert FARRENS (Farran?)

Volunteer, appeared on 15 July 1790 as Ord, £2 bounty paid. Promoted 1 April 1791. Robert was the brother of Jonathan Farrens, carpenter's mate. Both brothers made wills in favour of their mother Jane Farrens, a widow in Chatham. Both survived.

† **William FLETCHER (? - 1791)**

Volunteer, appeared on 3 Oct 1790. DD 29 Aug 1791.

James FUSS

Pressed, appeared on 26 Oct 1790 as AB from HMS *Royal William*. Pressed by the tender HMS *Superb* tender at Truro? (ADM 36 / 10776).

Joseph GEORGE

Volunteer, appeared 21 July 1790, £2 bounty paid. He made a will in favour of his wife Elisabeth and his mother Martha George, a mantua maker from Holborn.

† **Samuel HAMMOND (? - 1791)**

Volunteer, appeared 2 Oct 1790 as Ord, £2 bounty paid. Promoted 1 Nov 1790. DD 29 Aug 1791. Recruited by HMS *Champion* at King's Lynn.

Jacob HANZELL

Volunteer, appeared 8 Sept 1790 as Ord, promoted on 1 Nov 1790 (TNA: ADM. 36/11085). Recruited by the tender HMS *David*.

† **Patrick HENRY (? - 1791)**

Volunteer, appeared on 8 Sept 1790 as LM, £1 bounty paid. Promoted 1 April 1791. DD 29 Aug 1791.

Hugh HOUSTON (Hourston?)

(1757 - ?)

Volunteer, appeared on 8 Sept 1790, £3 bounty paid. From Orkney. Recruited by the tender HMS *David* at Orkney on 6 Aug 1790.

William INGLESBY (Ingoldsby?)

Volunteer, appeared on 15 July 1790 as Ord, £2 bounty paid. Promoted 1 Dec 1790.

Peter KING

Appeared on 26 Oct 1790 from HMS *Royal William*. Pressed by the tender HMS *Richard*.

William KEMP

Pressed, appeared on 11 Oct 1790. Pressed at sea by the tender HMS *Richard* off Shields.

James LAYSELL

Volunteer, appeared on 6 Sept 1790 as LM from HMS *Sandwich*, £1 bounty paid, received £20 18s 3d in neat wages. Promoted 1 April 1791. Recruited from Faversham, Kent

Henry LOFT

Volunteer, appeared on 25 Sept 1790 as LM, £1 bounty paid. Promoted 1 Dec 1790. Recruited by the tender HMS *Neptune*.

† **William LION (Lyon?) (? - 1791)**

Volunteer, appeared on 2 Oct 1790 as Ord, £2 bounty paid, Promoted 1 Nov 1790. DD 29 Aug 1791. Recruited by the tender HMS *Richard*. He made a will in favour of his son William, daughter Mary (in Seaton, Devonshire) and wife Mary (from Hyde Littleton, Somerset). £9 0s 6d in neat wages paid out.

John MANSON

Pressed, appeared on 26 Oct 1790 from HMS *Royal William* as Ord. Promoted 1 Nov 1790.

† **John MURPHY (? - 1791)**

Volunteer, appeared on 21 Sept 1790 as LM from HMS *Defence*, £1 bounty paid. Promoted

1 April 1791. DD 26 Oct 1791 on VOC ship *Rembang* (Coupang to Batavia). £9 11s neat wages paid to his brother Robert on 4 Dec 1792 and £1 6s to his mother Margaret.

† **Robert MILTON (? - 1791)**

Pressed, appeared on 8 Oct 1790 from HMS *Sandwich*. DD 19 Nov 1791 from Batavia Hospital. Pressed at sea by HMS *Champion* while serving on the 'Greenland ship' *Fountain*.

Moses MITCHELL

Pressed, appeared on 29 Sept 1790 as AB. Punished with one dozen lashes for disobedience of orders 19 Dec 1790. Pressed at Chatham.

† **James MURRAY (1771 - 1792)**

Volunteer, appeared on 8 Sept 1790, £3 bounty paid. DD 21 March 1792. From Orkney. Recruited by the tender HMS *David* on 15 Aug 1790 (TNA: ADM. 36/11085). Died at sea on VOC ship *Zwaan*.

Robert ORCHARD (1772 - 1792)

Pressed, appeared on 26 Oct 1790 as Ord from HMS *Royal William*. Promoted 1 April 1791. DD March 1792 from Capetown Hospital. Pressed by the tender HMS *Superb* at Dorset (TNA: ADM. 36/10776).

† **John PATTERSON (? - 1791)**

Volunteer, appeared on 2 Oct 1790, £3 bounty paid. DD 15 Nov 1791 from Batavia Hospital. Recruited by the tender HMS *Richard* at King's Lynn.

Alexander PAXTON

Pressed, appeared on 26 Oct 1790 as Ord from HMS *Royal William*. Promoted 1 April 1791. Pressed by the tender HMS *Polly*.

† **William PERRYMAN (? - 1791)**

Pressed, appeared on 26 July 1790 as Ord. Promoted 1 Oct 1790. DD 29 Aug 1791. Pressed at Chatham.

† **William PILCH (?-1791)**

Volunteer, appeared on 2 Oct 1790, £3 bounty paid. DD 28 Nov 1791 from Batavia Hospital.

Recruited from the tender HMS *Richard* at King's Lynn.

Henry POWELL

Volunteer, appeared on 8 Sept 1790, £3 bounty paid. Recruited from the tender HMS *David*.

† **Charles, PUMMELL (? - 1791)**

Volunteer, appeared on 24 Oct 1790. DD 12 March 1792. Died on a VOC ship (*Zwaan?*).

Silas RANCE

Volunteer, appeared on 17 Sept 1790 as Ord, £2 bounty paid. Treated for 'venereals' on board HMS *Alcides*, January 1792.

† **William REEVES (Reeve?) (? - 1791)**

Volunteer, appeared on 16 Sept 1790 as LM, £1 bounty paid. Promoted 1 April 1791. DD 29 Aug 1791.

Alexander ROBINSON

Volunteer, appeared on 29 July 1790, £3 bounty paid and £5 7s 6d in neat wages.

John RUFFEY

Volunteer, appeared on 21 Sept 1790 as LM from HMS *Defence*, £1 bounty paid. Promoted 1 April 1791. He had made a will in favour of his father Peter Ruffey, a silk weaver from London.

† **William SKELTON (? - 1791)**

Pressed, appeared on 26 Oct 1790 as Ord from HMS *Royal William*. Promoted 1 April 1791. DD 29 Aug 1791. Recruited by the tender HMS *Richard*.

Thomas SMITH

Volunteer, appeared on 8 Sept 1790 as Ord, £2 bounty paid. Promoted 1 Nov 1790. Recruited by the tender HMS *David*.

Thomas SPRACKLEY

Pressed, appeared on 26 Oct 1790 as Ord from HMS *Royal William*. Promoted 1 April 1791. Recruited by the tender HMS *Polly*. Later treated for 'venereals' on board HMS *Alcides*, January 1792.

† **William SWAN (? - 1791)**

Volunteer, appeared on 22 July 1790 as Ord, £2 bounty paid. Promoted 1 Nov 1790. DD 29 Aug 1791.

Roger SWEENEY (Swiney?)

Volunteer, appeared on 21 Sept 1790 as LM from HMS *Defence*, £1 bounty paid. Promoted 1 April 1791.

Robert TAYLOR

Pressed, appeared on 26 Oct 1790 as Ord. Promoted 1 Dec 1790.

Lewis THOMPSON

Volunteer, appeared on 21 Sept 1790 as LM from HMS *Defence*, £1 bounty paid. Promoted 1 April 1791.

Thomas VARLING

Volunteer, appeared on 25 Sept 1790 as Ord, £2 bounty paid. Promoted 1 April 1791. Recruited by the tender HMS *Neptune*.

Daniel WELLS

Volunteer, appeared on 17 Sept 1790 as LM, £1 bounty paid. Promoted on 1 Dec 1790.

William WELLS

Volunteer, appeared on 29 Sept 1790, £1 bounty paid. Promoted 1 Dec 1790.

WIDOW'S MAN

Appeared on 10 July 1790 as AB. Usually a vessel of the *Pandora's* class had three 'widow's men' – however this number was reduced by Admiralty order in October 1790.

John WILMOTT

Volunteer, appeared third time on 21 Sept 1790 as LM from HMS *Defence*, £1 bounty paid. Promoted 1 April 1791. Discharged twice to Portsmouth Hospital on 17 July and 25 July 1790.

Richard WORLDHAVE

Pressed, appeared on 26 Oct 1790 from HMS *Royal William*. Promoted 1 Dec 1790. Pressed by the tender HMS *Superb* (TNA: ADM. 36/10776).

ORDINARY SEAMEN

† Henry ADAMS (? - 1791)

Pressed, appeared on 26 Oct 1790 from HMS *Royal William*. DD 14 July 1791. Recruited by the tender HMS *Nemesis* at King's Lynn. Buried at sea off Vanikoro, Solomon Islands.

† William CRAY (Croy?) (1764 - 1791)

Volunteer, appeared on 8 Sept 1790 from HMS *Sandwich*, £2 bounty paid. DD 29 Aug 1791. From Orkney. Recruited by the tender HMS *David*, on 17 Aug 1790 at Orkney (TNA: ADM. 36/11085).

† Joseph CUNNINGHAM (? - 1791)

Bosun's servant, discharged by Admiralty order, re-entered as AB on 26 Oct 1790. DD 24 May 1791. Son of the bosun. Lost in Sival's cutter.

† Robert FEA (1769 - 1791)

Volunteer, appeared on 8 Sept 1790, £2 bounty paid. DD 29 Aug 1791. From Orkney. Recruited by the tender HMS *David* on 17 Aug 1790 at Kirkwall Roads, Orkney (TNA: ADM. 36/11085).

† James GORDON (1769 - 1791)

Volunteer, appeared on 8 Sept 1790, £2 bounty paid. DD 29 Aug 1791. Recruited by the tender HMS *David* in Scottish waters, off Leith? (TNA: ADM. 36/11085).

† Richard MACKIE (1766 - 1791)

Volunteer, appeared on 8 Sept 1790, £2 bounty paid. DD 29 Aug 1791. From Orkney. Recruited by the tender HMS *David* on 17 Aug 1790 at Kirkwall Roads, Orkney (TNA: ADM. 36/11085).

† Martin MAYSONER (? - 1791)

Volunteer, appeared on 6 Sept 1790 from HMS *Sandwich*, £2 bounty paid. DD 29 Aug 1791. From Faversham, Kent.

† James MILLER (Millar?) (1769 - 1791)

Volunteer, appeared on 8 Sept 1790, £2 bounty paid. DD 29 Aug 1791. From Orkney. Recruited by the tender HMS *David* at Orkney on 21 Aug 1790 (TNA: ADM. 36/11085). £5 12s 6d in neat wages paid on 26 June 1793 to a 'William Miller' of Buckland parish, Eday, Orkney.

† James SCOTT (1772 - 1791)

Volunteer, appeared on 8 Sept 1790, £2 bounty paid. DD 24 May 1791. From Orkney.

Recruited by the tender HMS *David* at Orkney (TNA: ADM. 36/11085). Lost in the cutter.

† **William THOMPSON (? - 1791)**

Volunteer, appeared 8 Sept 1790, £2 bounty paid. DD 29 Aug 1791. Recruited by the tender HMS *David*, off Leith? (TNA: ADM. 36/11085).

† **Robert WEBBER (? - 1791)**

Pressed, appeared on 26 Oct 1790 from HMS *Royal William*. DD 29 Aug 1791. Recruited by the tender HMS *Nemesis* at Ramsgate.

LANDSMEN (LM):

† **Joseph BANDY (? - 1791)**

Volunteer, appeared on 26 Aug 1790, £1 bounty paid, DD 29 Aug 1791. His neat wages were paid to his brother Samuel (TNA: ADM.35/1360).

† **James CONNELL (? - 1791)**

Volunteer, appeared on 21 Sept 1790 from HMS *Defence*, £1 bounty paid. DD 11 Nov 1791 from Batavia Hospital. From Lymbreck, Ireland. He was the person who drank seawater after the wrecking and had to be restrained during the survivors' first night on 'Escape Cay'. He made a will in favour of his wife, Jane.

† **John DAVIS, (? - 1791)**

Volunteer, appeared on 6 Sept 1790 from HMS *Sandwich*, £1 bounty paid. DD 29 Oct 1791 on board VOC ship *Rembang*.

† **James GOOD (? - 1791)**

Volunteer, appeared on 21 Sept 1790 from HMS *Defence*, £1 bounty paid. DD 24 May 1791. Lost in Sival's cutter.

† **Evan JONES (? - 1791)**

Volunteer, appeared on 21 Sept 1790 from HMS *Defence*, £1 bounty paid. DD 29 Aug 1791.

† **William WASDELL (Wasdel ? Wasdale?) (? - 1791)**

Volunteer, appeared on 10 July 1790, £1 bounty paid and £2 4s 10d advance pay. DD 24 May 1791. Lost in Sival's cutter.

NOTES

†: Died during the voyage

£.s.d : Pounds sterling, shillings and pence (20 shillings in a pound and 12 pennies in a shilling).

Appeared: a man's pay was calculated from the day he came on board.

AB: Able Bodied seaman.

Advance pay: the *Pandora's* crew was paid this advance on 28 Oct 1790. According to the logbook on this date, the officers were paid six months' advance wages whereas the petty officers and ratings were advanced only four months' wages.

Bounty: payment made when a man volunteered or was persuaded to 'volunteer'. The amount depended on skills and experience.

DD: Discharged Dead. Most men designated 'DD' died as a result of the wrecking on 29 August 1791 but not all died this way; many were 'DD' upon succumbing to illness after surviving the wreck or they were 'lost' during the voyage, as were the five men in Sival's cutter and the two men who died of illness during the voyage before the wrecking. It is noteworthy that none of the crew rated 'Ord' or as 'landsmen' survived the voyage.

Greenland ship: a whaling vessel.

IGI: International Genealogical Index (Family Search) http://www.familysearch.org/Eng/Search/frameset_search.asp

LM, Landsman: a man 'recruited' from land and who may never have been to sea.

Neat wages: final payment of wages owed a member of the crew (or his designated heir) after the vessel was paid off on 16 October 1792. Expenses incurred during the voyage (e.g. for medical treatments such as for 'venereals' or for tobacco or 'slops' purchases etc.) were deducted.

Ord: Ordinary Seaman, a crew member with some sea-going experience.

Ordinary book: Contained the names of the men who had been employed in the dockyard to carry out the ongoing maintenance of a ship whether in reserve or not. When the vessel was 'in reserve' it was described as being 'in Ordinary'.

Pressed, 'prest': forced into naval service. Pressed men were not given any 'bounty' money.

Slops: spare clothing.

Tender: A small vessel whose duties were to assist another larger vessel.

WHAT OF THE MUTINEERS?

Information about two of the mutineers and their subsequent lives is described below. Neither were part of the *Pandora's* crew, so muster and pay book information are not included. Details of the other mutineers await further investigation although Caroline Alexander's publication on the Bountys is a comprehensively researched addition to the still growing literature on the *Bounty* saga (Alexander, 2003).

PETER HEYWOOD (1772 – 1831)

Peter Heywood received a royal pardon for his role in the *Bounty* mutiny. Remaining in naval service, he returned to sea and served as the signal midshipman in HMS *Bellerophon* under command of his uncle Sir Thomas Pasley. Heywood later served as a master's mate and acting lieutenant in various ships in the Channel Fleet.

In 1799 he was promoted to the command of the brig HMS *Amboyna*, assigned to the India Station at Madras. While serving at the India Station he surveyed northern Australian waters as captain of HMS *Vulcan* between 1800 and 1801. During this time he had occasion to visit several of the Indonesian places, including Timor, where he had landed in disgrace ten years earlier as one of Captain Edwards' prisoners (Tagart, 1832:164). Heywood eventually rose to post captain's rank and retired in 1816 after a distinguished career, most of it as a sea-going officer. His final command was the 64 gun warship HMS *Montague* (Tagart, 1832).

JAMES MORRISON (? – 1807)

James Morrison also stayed in the Navy. He served with distinction in several of the main naval battles of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars and eventually drowned off Madagascar in 1807 while serving as the gunner on Admiral Sir Thomas Troubridge's flagship HMS *Blenheim* (Rutter, 1935: 14-15).

RECRUITING PRACTICES IN 1790: NAVAL IMPRESSMENT AND 'VOLUNTEERING'

Sometimes jocularly addressed as the 'Rt Hon. Admirable Roddam', Vice Admiral Robert Roddam was entrusted with the organisation and implementation of impressment for 'the Spanish armament' fleet in 1790 (NMM/ROD/6/3, letter dated 14 May 1790).

Following time-honoured naval practice, manning operations included sending a number of warships to sea on impressment cruises in search of seamen. Together with so-called 'tenders' working inshore and along the waterfront, several 4th or 5th rated ships and smaller frigates and sloops, such as HMS *Southampton*, HMS *Champion*, and HM Sloop *Flirt*, cruised offshore near the approaches to ports and fishing villages. After a likely merchant or fishing vessel was sighted, the warship hailed them to lie to; subsequently a boat carrying a press gang as a boarding party was launched from the warship (Kemp, 1976:861).

Boarding parties were led by lieutenants or warrant officers, acting under authority of a royal 'impress warrant'. The warrant was accompanied by printed instructions setting out what were permissible actions by a press gang. For instance, upon coming on board a ship they were

...first to call the crew upon deck and let them know that if any of them will declare themselves willing to serve His Majesty (...) they shall not only receive such bounties as H.M. may have thought proper to promise (...) but also two months wages advanced (TNA: ADM. 7/967).

The commanders of the larger impressment vessels and roving press gangs operating from tenders both reported to a 'Regulating Captain'. This officer was usually a Post-Captain on 'half pay', whom the Admiralty appointed because he was considered 'fit to superintend and

regulate the service of procuring men'. Usually he was given responsibility for a county or if the coast of the county was too long, for a number of ports along a specific stretch of the coast. He received reimbursement for travelling expenses and a *per diem* allowance of five shillings in addition to his half-pay. They were also specifically instructed to ensure that no men were accepted 'but such that are of able bodies, in good health and capable of serving His Majesty at sea and (...) not under the age of 16 or above the age of 45' (TNA: ADM. 7/967).

Recruiting captains were responsible for setting up a rendezvous at a convenient location to 'receive raised men'. Usually this was on one of a number of designated 'holding ships' (TNA: ADM. 7/967).

The regulating captains were in charge of a number of junior or warrant officers considered 'fit to procure men', who were in command of press gangs. They either worked from a frigate or a sloop engaged on an 'impressment cruise' or from a tender operating inshore. Alternatively they may have led a press gang along the waterfront, in harbours as well as estuaries (TNA: ADM. 36/10776).

Along Britain's south-eastern coasts, new recruits were taken to a 'holding-ship' – HMS *Royal William* at Spithead (off Portsmouth) or to HMS *Sandwich* at the Nore (off Sheerness in the Thames Estuary) – where their names were entered temporarily in these ships' muster books. Holding-ships were anchored offshore to make it harder for recruits to change their mind about 'volunteering' and subsequently to 'run' at the first opportunity.

Upon coming on board a holding-ship, recruits were cross-examined by a number of experienced seagoing officers or petty officers to determine whether (and if so, at what level) they could be 'rated'. This also determined how much bounty they would receive. In 1790 bounties of between £1 and £3 were paid to 'volunteers'. A skilled, experienced man, who could be rated as a petty officer such as a

bosun's mate, a carpenter or a cooper, received £3, the highest sum. An experienced seaman who could be rated 'able' (AB) received £2. This was £1 more than a less-experienced sailor rated as an 'ordinary' (Ord) seaman, who was only paid £1 bounty. So-called volunteer 'landsmen' also sometimes received £1 if they were considered to be fast learners, capable of quickly 'learning the ropes' and agile about getting aloft. Having accepted the bounty money on offer, these recruits were henceforth referred to as 'volunteers' and technically had not been 'pressed' into service.

Those deemed to have no potential received no bounty and were usually soon returned ashore, because 'regulating' officers who knew their business were wary of gaining a reputation for encumbering ships' crews with men who were for some reason unteachable, maladroit or otherwise unsuited and would therefore prove ineffective at sea. Unsuited for life at sea, such men were referred to as the 'refuse'.

After being rated, those that were retained were then 'discharged' from the *Royal William's* or *Sandwich's* musters and dispersed as crew to other ships, where they were entered in that ship's muster book. Payment of regular wages started from the day of their physical 'appearance' on board the vessel to which they had been assigned.

PRESSED MEN ON THE PANDORA

The day following the court martial which exonerated William Bligh for the *Bounty* mutiny, Admiral Roddam wrote to the Admiralty suggesting that other men from among the *Bounty's* (loyal) former crew ought to be assigned to the *Pandora*, remarking that he would try to:

...complete the *Pandora's* complement with the best men there are, though most of the able seamen that have lately been brought round to this port have been taken out of the vessels in which

they came, and distributed on board the ships under Admiral Earl Howe's command. The disposable men that are still here, are chiefly Landsmen, excepting about half a dozen, and them the refuse of the men already drafted. (NMM ROD / 6 / 4: 247-48).

In a letter to the Admiralty dated 12 Oct 1790 Captain Edwards also referred to the landsmen in the holding ships still awaiting rating, as the 'refuse' (TNA: ADM. 1/1736, Captain's letters, HMS *Pandora*). A substantial number of *Pandora's* ratings were pressed men or volunteers; moreover it is interesting to note that none of the men who were signed on as ordinary seamen or landsmen survived the voyage. table 3 contains the names of the *Pandora's* pressed men – i.e. those who were not entered in the *Pandora's* pay book as a 'volunteer'.

Many men whose name appears in the *Pandora's* musters as a 'volunteer' (table 4) were in fact recruited by a press gang at sea or along the waterfront. They had been recruited after the ships they were crewing had been boarded by a press gang; and had been presented with the option to volunteer by accepting the offered bounty. The term volunteer does therefore not signify that they were patriotic or that they had joined willingly because they wanted to serve some noble cause or lofty principle, such as devotion to duty to King and country.

It was also possible on occasion for men to choose the ship they would serve in. This was the case with Dodds, Manners, Marshall, Foster and Cameron, the five men from the tender *Richard* who willingly joined the *Pandora* by apparently following Lieutenant Robert Corner, their commanding officer.

Several of the pressed men in the *Pandora* had not been offered any bounty money at all. For instance, Robert Milton and William Dedworth joined in with their shipmates to forcibly take their (whaling) ship from their captain in an effort to avoid being boarded (see *The Fountain: an impressment incident,*

following). Crews resisting lawful attempts by recruiting parties put themselves outside the law, as well as making themselves ineligible for any entitlement to a bounty payment that volunteering brought. The 'pressed' men should therefore perhaps be considered as principled men because – unlike many of the *Pandora's* 'volunteers' who later deserted – they had not accepted the bounty.

Many of *Pandora's* volunteers 'ran' (table 5), in spite of having accepted the bounty and several months' advance pay, as well as clothing from the 'slops' store (TNA: ADM. 36/11136).

THE FOUNTAIN: AN IMPRESSMENT INCIDENT IN AUGUST 1790

An example of how desperate men could be to avoid 'volunteering' is provided by the *Fountain* incident.

Murdo Downie was the master of HMS *Champion*. In August 1790, he recorded an incident during an impressment cruise off St. Abbotts' Head, Yorkshire:

'...brought a ship to and took 9 men out of her and left 4 men in her, the ship was from Dantzic to Leith with wheat (...) Fired 4 guns at different times and brought to another ship (...) sent a boat with the lieutenant to board him, which his people (the crew) opposed with lances, knives etc. and the master declaring to us when we first hailed and also to the lieutenant alongside, that the people had taken the ship from him. We at the same time fired 2 shots at another Greenland ship but she would not bring to. Got our boat in and made sail after the first and kept by her all night (.....) at noon after threatening to fire into her she brought to (...) he proved to be *The Fountain* of Lynn. Took 28 men out of her and sent 2 petty officers and 9 men to assist her to port' (TNA: ADM. 52/2212).

Table 3: Pressed men on board the *Pandora*, 1790-91.

Name (rating/age)	Pressed by	Pressed at / in	Remarks
Moses Mitchell (AB)	?	Chatham	
† William Perryman (AB)	?	Chatham	
† William Dedworth (AB)	HMS <i>Champion</i>	At sea, from a whaler ('Greenland ship' <i>The Fountain</i>)	Held on HMS <i>Sandwich</i>
† Robert Milton (AB)	HMS <i>Champion</i>	At sea, from a whaler ('Greenland ship' <i>The Fountain</i>)	Held on HMS <i>Sandwich</i>
† Alexander Arbuthnott (AB)	<i>Richard</i> (tender)	Gt. Yarmouth	Held on HMS <i>Royal William</i>
Peter King (AB)	<i>Richard</i> (tender)	?	Held on HMS <i>Royal William</i>
Francis Cobb (AB)	HMS <i>Champion</i>	At sea, from a whaler ('Greenland ship')	Held on HMS <i>Sandwich</i>
† Robert Brown (AB)	HMS <i>Champion</i>	At sea, from a whaler ('Greenland ship')	Held on HMS <i>Sandwich</i>
† William Carter (AB)	HMS <i>Champion</i>	King's Lynn	Held on HMS <i>Sandwich</i>
Thomas Watson (Ord)	HMS <i>Champion</i>	At sea, from a whaler ('Greenland ship')	Held on HMS <i>Sandwich</i>
James Atkins (Mid)	?	Newcastle	Held on HMS <i>Royal William</i>
Jonathan Dunnett (Dermott?)(AB)	<i>Richard</i> (tender)	?	Held on HMS <i>Royal William</i>
Thomas Brackie (AB)	<i>Richard</i> (tender)	?	Held on HMS <i>Royal William</i>
† William Skelton (Ord)	<i>Richard</i> (tender)	?	Held on HMS <i>Royal William</i>
James Fuss (AB)(20)	<i>Superb</i> (tender)	Truro?	Held on HMS <i>Royal William</i>
Richard Wouldhave (Ord)(18)	<i>Superb</i> (tender)	?	Held on HMS <i>Royal William</i>
Robert Orchard (Ord)(19)	<i>Superb</i> (tender)	Dorset	Held on HMS <i>Royal William</i>
Thomas Pallister (AB)	<i>Polly</i> (tender)	?	Held on HMS <i>Royal William</i>
Alexander Paxton (Ord)	<i>Polly</i> (tender)	?	Held on HMS <i>Royal William</i>
Thomas Sprackley (Ord)	<i>Pluto</i> (tender)	?	Held on HMS <i>Royal William</i>
Jonathon Yowell (Ord)	<i>Pluto</i> (tender)	?	Held on HMS <i>Royal William</i>
Jonathon Manson (Ord)	?	?	?
Robert Taylor (Ord)	?	?	?
Robert Webber (Ord)	<i>Nemesis</i> (tender)	Ramsgate	Held on HMS <i>Royal William</i>
† Henry Adams (Ord)	<i>Nemesis</i> (tender)?	King's Lynn	Held on HMS <i>Royal William</i>
† Thomas Brixley (Ord)	HMS <i>Flirt</i>	Lymington	Direct to HMS <i>Pandora</i>

(Sources: TNA:ADM. 36/11085, 36/11092, 36/10776, 35/1360)

Table 4: Volunteers on board HMS *Pandora* 1790-91.

Name (age)	Recruited by	Recruited at
James (Jacob?) Curshod	HMS <i>David</i> * (4 Aug '90)	Aberdeen? Kirkwall Roads?
† George Eglington (22)	HMS <i>David</i> (4 Aug '90)	Orkney
Hugh Houston (33)	HMS <i>David</i> (6 Aug '90)	Orkney
† James Murray (21)	HMS <i>David</i> (15 Aug '90)	Orkney
† William Cray (26)	HMS <i>David</i> (17 Aug '90)	Orkney
† Robert Fea (21)	HMS <i>David</i> (17 Aug '90)	Orkney
† Richard Mackie (24)	HMS <i>David</i> (21 Aug '90)	Orkney
William Steward (Stewart?) (18)	HMS <i>David</i> (21 July '90)	Peterhead
† James Miller (21)	HMS <i>David</i> (21 Aug '90)	Orkney
† James Scott (19)	HMS <i>David</i> (21 Aug '90)	Orkney
James Cummins (19)	HMS <i>Richard</i>	King's Lynn
Jonathan Patterson	HMS <i>Richard</i>	King's Lynn
† William Pilch	HMS <i>Richard</i>	Off Shields

Table 4: Volunteers on board HMS Pandora 1790-91 cont.d.

Name (age)	Recruited by	Recruited at
† Samuel Hammond	HMS <i>Champion</i>	King's Lynn
William Kemp	HMS <i>Richard</i>	Off Shields
James Atkins	?	?
† William Thompson	?	?
† Thomas Carroll	?	Feversham(Kent)
James Laysell	?	Feversham (Kent)
† Martin Maysoner	HMS <i>Richard</i>	Newcastle

*HMS *David* (tender), Lieutenant John Yetts commanding. Operating for the 'Impress Service' in Scottish waters between 1 July – 31 Aug 1790 (weekly musters taken by Lt. Yetts while the vessel was at Leith Roads, at sea, Peterhead and Kirkwall Roads) and between 1 Sept to 31 Oct 1790 (weekly musters taken at Peterhead, Sheerness, at sea, Leith Roads). Recruits were taken to HMS *Sandwich* at Sheerness. Eight of these recruits were subsequently 'discharged' from HMS *Sandwich*, and assigned to the *Pandora* on 7 Sept 1790 (Adm.36/11085).

† Men who did not survive the *Pandora's* voyage.

(Sources: TNA:ADM. 36/11085, 36/11092, 35/1360)

Table 5: Volunteers on the Pandora who 'ran' (deserted) before the Pandora's departure.

Name (age)		
PEGG, John	Run 31 Aug 1790 at Chatham	Appeared 10th Aug 1790.
WOODS, William	Run 31 Aug 1790 at Chatham	Appeared 14 Aug 1790
OSBORN, Thomas	Run 31 Aug 1790 at Chatham	Appeared 21 Aug 1790.
FARRIS, John	Run 1 Sept 1790 at Chatham	Appeared 10th Aug 1790.
CHIVERS, John	Run 17 Sept 1790 at Chatham	Appeared 10th Aug 1790.
PERRY, Edward	Run 17 Sept 1790 at Chatham	Appeared on 14 Aug 1790, had received £0.18s 3d in 'slops' (clothing).
MOSS, John	Run 17 Sept 1790 at Chatham	Appeared 26 Aug 1790.
DREWED, William	Run 2 Oct 1790 at Chatham	Appeared 13 Aug 1790 as LM, he had received £0.16 s in 'slops' (clothing).
SULLIVAN, Lawrence	Run 2 Oct 1790 at Chatham	Appeared on 16 Sept. 1790, had received £0.7s 3d in 'slops'.
THUSSON, Lawrence	Run 20 Oct 1790 at Portsmouth	Appeared on 6 Aug 1790 as AB, £3 bounty paid, had received £1.3s in 'slops'.
FOX, William	Run 29 Oct 1790 at Portsmouth	Appeared 13 Oct. 1790. Had been Lieutenant Corner's servant in HMS <i>Richard</i> .
SLOPER, Robert	Run 29 Oct 1790 at Portsmouth after also receiving £4.10s advance	Appeared 16 Sept. 1790 as AB, bounty paid £3.
CURSHOD*, Jacob	Run 29 Oct 1790	Midshipman (recruited by HMS <i>David</i>).
DAVIS, John	Run 29 Oct 1790 after receiving £4.10s advance. And £1.12s8d worth of 'slops.'	Volunteer, appeared 30 Aug 1790 as ORD, £2 bounty paid.
PALLISTER, Thomas	Run, at 'Jack in the Basket', 4 Nov 1790	Pressed by HMS <i>Polly</i> (tender) appeared on 26 Oct.1790 from <i>Royal William</i> as ORD.

*Curshod (also spelled Curchod) became a wanted man; a notice published by the Public Office in Shadwell on 23rd February 1791 gave information about him ('lately a midshipman on board HM frigate *Pandora*') and offered a reward of £5 for his capture or for information leading to his arrest. Jacob Gray Curchod, according to the notice, was charged with 'diverse felonies and footpath robberies'; he was described as being 'about 23 years of age, with long black hair, a dark complexion, about 5'4" tall, a crooked nose and a scar on his left cheek; he was wearing a leg iron, a black coat, white linen waistcoat and black satin breeches when he escaped; he was believed to have shipped himself out in some outward-bound ship' (*Public Advertiser* 26 Feb 1791)

(Sources: TNA:ADM. 36/11136).

The names of the 28 men from the *Fountain* appear in the *Champion's* muster lists. They were distributed among several ships including to the holding-ship HMS *Sandwich* by Rear Admiral Dalrymple's order (TNA: ADM. 36/10866).

Downie also described boarding the *Parnassus* and the *Grampus* several days later in Burlington Bay. Both were whaling ships from London, from which they '... took only 3 men from the former, the rest being already prest or gone ashore in boats' (TNA: ADM. 52/2212).

William Dedworth from the *Fountain* and Robert Milton, from another whaler were both eventually assigned to the *Pandora*. They were among the men pressed in August 1790 during the *Champion's* cruise. Charges of piracy were apparently not brought against them.

Incidents such as these may have been considered part of the 'rough and tumble' of everyday naval recruiting. It is likely that the Admiralty tacitly accepted that despite the best efforts of their officers to prevent it, seamen would always try whenever or however they could to avoid a press gang. However, it is unlikely that men like Roger Sloper and John Davis could 'run' with impunity, having accepted bounty payment and received advance pay. Jacob Curchod's case is also extreme, in that he became a wanted criminal after 'running' and taking to highway robbery (See table 5).

ARCHAEOLOGICAL POTENTIAL

Clearly details of the careers and lives of many of the *Pandoras* can be gleaned from archival sources, however the archaeological record retains information of a more personal nature. This allows lives and individual tastes to be reconstructed from the material remains, being the vestiges of the crew's 'habitus' while on their South Pacific voyage.

Their legacy of personal possessions and professional equipment appears to have been well preserved within and around the hull of the *Pandora*. The resulting collection will enable archaeologists to piece together new material evidence to reconstruct the physical reality of the crew's lives. In so doing, this reconstruction can go beyond a description of the specific particulars of the remaining artefacts.

Social anthropological analysis of the remnants of shipboard material culture may provide insights no historical source is capable of providing. Herein lies the rationale of conducting an archaeological investigation of this 'time capsule' which contains in its functional context a well preserved body of material evidence in actual use in a seafaring microcosm of late eighteenth century Britain (Rodger, 1986:14). Most significantly, this microcosm can be regarded as representative of late eighteenth century European explorers in the South Pacific during the Great Age of Exploration, most of whom were naval men sponsored by their Admiralties.

As far as the wreck of the *Pandora* is concerned, major salvage activity does not appear to have taken place although clearly this is an assumption as there is always the possibility that human disturbance of the wreck – possibly by pearl divers – went unnoticed. This cannot be entirely discounted in the decades before the site's discovery and subsequent listing in 1977 as a protected site under the *Historic Shipwrecks Act 1976*. However, there is no reliable record or hard evidence of such interference although there were apparently some rumours about pre-1977 pilfering that were reported along the Cairns waterfront during the early 1980s (pers. comm Ian Lockley 1984).

Consequently it is assumed the wreck remained undisturbed by human agency until its RAAF assisted discovery in November 1977.